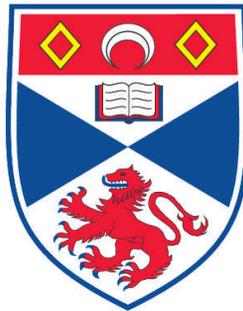


**THE CONFLICT OF THE REFORMATION AND DEMOCRACY IN THE
GENEVA OF SCOTLAND, 1443-1610: AN INTRODUCTION TO EDITED
TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BURGH OF DUNDEE**

Iain E. F. Flett

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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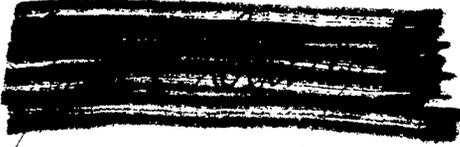
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AN INTRODUCTION TO EDITED TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS
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Iain E.F. Flett

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Iain Ernest Farquhar Flett has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1970, No. 3, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the Degree of Bachelor of Philosophy.

.....

Professor James K. Cameron,
St. Mary's College,
University of St. Andrews.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor James K. Cameron.



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THE CONFLICT OF THE REFORMATION AND DEMOCRACY IN THE GENEVA OF SCOTLAND
1443 - 1610: AN INTRODUCTION TO EDITED TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO
THE BURGH OF DUNDEE

This thesis is an introduction to a collection of edited texts concerning the course of the Reformation in Dundee, taking as a starting point the negotiations which led to the agreement between the Abbey of Lindores and the Town of Dundee concerning the burgh church in 1442/3, and as a conclusion the successful appointment of James Gleg, the nominee of the Trades of Dundee, as Schoolmaster. The starting point is significant as an expression of ecclesiastic individualism by the Town Council, an individualism which in turn nurtured a religiosity which was to provide a receptive atmosphere for reformed thought. The conclusion is also significant as an expression of individualism by the Trades of Dundee, who recognised the importance of education in continuing the impetus of reformed thought in the town, and established their share of control over that education although they lost their rights to representation on the Town Council.

The successive waves of Lutheran and Calvinist influence from Europe are considered through the trading links of Dundee with the continent, together with the effect of the successive English and French military occupations of the area. Domestic influences are also considered, such as the sympathies and relative political power of the local landed and merchant classes during the upheavals of the regencies of Queen Mary and of James VI. As the growth of reformed opinion affected a sympathetic local gentry and prosperous merchant oligarchy through the dissemination of printed texts and university education, so a growth of religious and political consciousness followed in the burgh Crafts through popular song and drama and through preaching. Fifty years after the political impetus to the Scottish Reformation, it was the Trades of Dundee who were intent on maintaining the purity of reformed education.

Finally comparisons are made between the course of the Reformation in Dundee, in the other burghs in Scotland, and in the Reformed Cities of Europe. Despite fundamental differences in the background and nature of the Reformation in Dundee and other areas, it is concluded that Dundee was a typical Scottish Reformed burgh in its awareness of its responsibilities to discipline the population, to educate the young/



young and to care for the poor. It was unfortunately like Geneva in that the progress of democracy suffered in both after the respective figureheads of Provost Haliburton and of Calvin retired from the scene.

April 1981

Iain Ernest Farquhar Flett

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EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

Editorial principles have been applied to the transcripts of original documents used in the text and footnotes of this thesis. Original spellings have been retained throughout and not modernised, although the following alterations have been made to certain letters:

ȝ : the yogh has been replaced by 'th' and by 'y' where necessary; e.g. 'ȝe' has been replaced by 'the' and 'ȝong' has been replaced by 'yong'.

& : the ampersand has been replaced by 'and'.

j : 'i' has been substituted for 'j' in numeration; e.g. 'iij' has been replaced by 'iii'.

u, v, w : modern forms of these vowels have been used where necessary, e.g. 'vedinsday' has been replaced by 'wedinsday' and 'sovme' has been replaced by 'soume'.

Contractions have been expanded, e.g. 'qlk' has been replaced by 'qhilk', and square brackets have only been used where the text of the original is obliterated or missing, or when extraneous information, such as the date, has been added by the editor.

Currency has been contracted to 'li.' for pounds, 's.' for shillings, 'd.' for pence, and 'm.' for merks.

Punctuation has been added, and capitals have been exchanged with minuscule, and likewise minuscule for capitals, where the sense demanded it, e.g. 'dauid' has been replaced by 'David'.

Quotations from published edited texts have been reproduced as printed, even where the transcriptions are difficult to follow, e.g. '... and all vy-re rentis anualis and causualties p-ten-g to ye said craft ...' (Warden, Burgh Laws, 374).

PREFACE

This thesis is an introduction to a collection of edited texts concerning the course of the Reformation in Dundee, taking as a starting point the negotiations which led to the agreement between the Abbey of Lindores and the Town of Dundee concerning the burgh church in 1442/3, and as a conclusion the successful appointment of James Gleg, the nominee of the Trades of Dundee, as Schoolmaster. The starting point is significant as an expression of ecclesiastic individualism by the Town Council, an individualism which in turn nurtured a religiosity which was to provide a receptive atmosphere for reformed thought. The conclusion is also significant as an expression of individualism by the Trades of Dundee, who recognised the importance of education in continuing the impetus of reformed thought in the town, and established their share of control over that education.

Although the negotiations between the Town of Dundee and the Abbey of Lindores were similar to those undertaken by other burghs which sought to establish the independence of their town churches, in Dundee they were carried out with determination and with a certain degree of ill feeling against Lindores. Once established under the new arrangement, the church of St. Mary's attracted many endowments from the merchant and landed classes in Dundee, and in doing so became an exclusive establishment, but the church as a focal point of civic life was eventually to create a society receptive to reformed opinions.

Dundee as a port and trading centre was constantly in touch with Europe, and merchants from the area found it more natural and straightforward to travel to countries such as Poland, Denmark and Italy rather than to England. After the invention of printing, with its rapid/

rapid distribution of European political and religious ideas, and the growth of education of the sons of the prosperous families at Scottish and European universities, Dundee landed and mercantile society was to be naturally receptive to reformed European opinion.

Around 1530 this receptiveness was evidenced by the willingness of the citizens of Dundee to help Alesius escape from his tormentors in St. Andrews, and by their willingness to hear the preaching both of friar William Airth and of friar Alexander Dick. In 1538/9 some influential Dundee merchants were prosecuted, probably for possession of Lutheran books, and 1543 saw both the outbreak of politically inspired iconoclastic riots in the town and the start of the preaching of Wishart. By the time of Wishart's death in 1546 Dundee had been established as an area receptive to the reformed faith and energetic in its propagation.

However, there then followed a period which alternatively encouraged the reformed sympathies of the burgh and then alienated them. The English occupation of Broughty Castle in 1547 at first raised hopes in Dundee of support for their Protestant opinions, and there was certainly open demand for items from the English forces such as English bibles, but the English did not have sufficient resources to maintain a broad power base in Dundee and Angus, and were forced to retreat from Dundee and to resort to a policy of despoliation. As a result, patriotism in Dundee became Francophile and Anglophobic, and the impetus of Protestant influence waned, until the unpopularity of the French occupying forces after 1550 swung opinion in the opposite direction.

This decade of vacillation after 1550 saw in Dundee the growth of popular and of civic education, in the form of the propagation of/

of the Good and Godlie Ballads and the satirical plays of the Wedderburns, and in the form of increasing control of the burgh schools by the Town Council. The combination of these educational influences could be seen in the baker trade of Dundee, which itself became an example of reformed society within the burgh, and which produced initially the autodidact Paul Methven, and later sons of bakers such as the graduates Thomas Ramsay, schoolmaster, and Patrick Galloway, Chaplain of the King's Household.

Dundee was strategically influential in the confrontation with Mary of Lorraine in 1559. The support of the Earl of Angus, and the willingness of the men of Dundee and Angus to provide a force at Cupar Muir came at a crucial time in the attempt to remove the government and religion of Mary of Lorraine. This attempt could only be successfully consolidated by the influence and military intervention of Queen Elizabeth, but the stand at Cupar Muir was an important turning point in the campaign.

After the national political settlement of 1560, Dundee underwent a period of quiet retrenchment, extending the Kirk fabric, the burgh schools and hospital, and providing for the poor and indigent. A reformed congregation had been in existence from at least 1558, and thus there was little agitation in the process of establishing the administration of a new ministry and kirk session. Instead the Town Council steadily attempted to increase the material provision for its ministry from what had been originally a temporary arrangement. This quiet retrenchment was greatly aided by the fact that Provost James Haliburton, who provided most of the religious leadership in the town, enjoyed a real national prestige, although his support for the Earl of Moray in 1565 did cause a temporary eclipse in that prestige.

The Town of Dundee continued to expand provision for the poor, extend the kirk fabric, and reaffirm the moral laws in the 1570s and 1580s, in spite of the difficulties that the area faced through the vacillations of local and national power struggles during the minority of James VI. Haliburton himself was nearly killed by Lennox in 1571, Lord Glamis was killed by one of Crawford's retinue in 1578, and Crawford succeeded in temporarily securing the Provostship in 1583. It was against such a background that retrenchment of a reformed burgh government in Dundee continued, and reached a peak in the flourishing reaffirmation of the new religion, which followed the relief felt in the country after the failure of the Spanish Armada in 1588.

Before this resurgence, however, Haliburton had resigned in 1586 from the post which he had held with such vigour, and Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable of Dundee, was elected as Provost. He had been exiled for his support of the Gowrie party, but he returned to enjoy increasing Royal favour, especially after his part in the successful negotiations leading to the Danish marriage. The combination in his person of the posts of Constable and of Provost signalled a defeat of the independence of the post of Provost which Haliburton had tried to establish, and the appointment of Scrymgeour as Provost heralded the growth of friction within burgh government, and the growth of greater direct royal influence over burghal affairs. In addition to this complication, Angus, Errol and Huntly, all local nobles with known traditionalist views on religion, were not persecuted by James VI, but encouraged so that he might have more influence in the north against the power of the Kirk.

Nevertheless, although it was at Dundee that the General Assembly of 1598, under influence from the King, was successful in the initial/

initial stages towards 'erecting bishops', the town still succeeded in extending the kirk fabric, in establishing a second charge for the ministry, and enforcing moral laws such as Sunday observance. Unrest against the unpopular rule of Scrymgeour as Provost eventually flared into open opposition under the able leadership of Robert Howie, Minister of Dundee. Howie had been appointed because of favour with James VI, but he became deeply involved in the attempt by the trades to have more participation in burghal government, and he was suspended by the Privy Council in 1605.

Although in this attempt the trades and the First Minister were unsuccessful to secure more representation on the Town Council, the trades were to be victorious in a later contest of strength when they put forward James Gleg as their nominee for the post of schoolmaster of the Grammar School. James Gleg was eventually successfully placed in the post after a short tenure by the rival, Robert Nairn, and in terms of the Reformation this was a more significant advance than if they had secured greater representation on the Town Council. The posts of schoolmaster and of minister were both highly venerated in Dundee, the former almost as much as the latter. In this final step the town had progressed from securing the independence of its burgh church from Lindores abbey, to the stage where the trades had secured an important degree of democratic control over reformed education, and therefore the security whereby, as the First Book of Discipline pointed out, 'the Church of God ... may abide in some puritie in the posteritie following'.

CHAPTER 1

FROM INDIVIDUALISM TO LUTHERANISM

DUNDEE 1443 - 1546

From the civic individualism that prompted the Town of Dundee to negotiate for the financial independence of their Church of St. Mary's from Lindores Abbey to 1443, to the Lutheran sympathy that gave Wishart approval and support before his death in 1546, can be seen the gradual emergence of Dundee as a town with a particular religious consciousness. It was a traditional consciousness, which was exemplified in 1521 by an ordinance attempting to preserve the sanctity and exclusivity of the mass,¹ but it was also a consciousness increasingly aware of new thought from the continent, which was fuelled by education of the privileged youth of Dundee at the University of St. Andrews, and evidenced by recurrent heresy trials in the area and the creation of the Gude and Godly Ballates.

This gradual emergence of Lutheran sympathy in Dundee took place against a swiftly changing political background, punctuated by the two disasters of Flodden in 1513 and Solway Moss in 1542, and a background complicated by the regencies arising from the minorities of James V and of Queen Mary. These national confusions could produce the Acts of Parliament against the importations of Lutheran Books in 1525 and 1535,² could generate the tension necessary to martyr Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, and yet could also allow Arran as Regent to actively encourage the citizens of Dundee to sack the friaries in the town in 1543.³

Such vacillation was not unusual. Scotland, like the rest of Europe, suffered from reformation and counter reformation in the Middle Ages, as successive governments and archbishops sought to compromise between reform of ecclesiastical life and the suppression of heresies that occasionally sprang from liberality of reform. By the end of the fourteenth century the bishop of Glasgow was given a papal/

papal mandate to visit monasteries in Scotland and Ireland, as they were thought to be deformed and broken down.⁴ Within a few decades the forces of traditionalism could be seen at work in the heresy trial and execution of Paul Kravar at St. Andrews in July 1433.⁵

Nevertheless, the people and clergy of Scotland seem to have been continuously receptive to radical thought from England and the continent. James of Resby, a presbyter of Wyclif's school, was condemned of heresy by a council under the leadership of Laurence of Lindores around 1407 and burned for his opinions.⁶ The letters which Quintin Folkherd is said to have directed to the clergy and to the bishop of Glasgow in 1410 are full of Lollard sentiments,⁷ and by 1418 Laurence of Lindores, as inquisitor of heretical pravity, was being criticised for failing to exercise sufficient severity against heretics and Lollards.⁸ This criticism could be taken to imply both the strong survival of Lollardy in Scotland, and the unwillingness of Lindores at this time to exercise the severity of 1407 against it. Just as established Lollard affinities in England provided support for the importation of Lutheran literature,⁹ so the persistence of Lollard opinions in Scotland¹⁰ provided a base for the growth of Lutheran sympathy. Thirty people were tried in Ayrshire in 1494 for heretical opinions, and not only were they found to be recognisably Lollard in their sympathies, but of a nature that was considered acceptable, and the defendants were dismissed uncensured.¹¹ One of these defendants, Murdoch Nisbet, travelled abroad and later returned to Scotland with a Scots translation of Wyclif's New Testament, made about 1528, which boasted a Lutheran preface.¹² The widespread absence of pre-Reformation episcopal records does not allow a nationwide investigation into Lollard survivals in Dundee and the East/

East coast, but it can be safely assumed that the dissensions of the early fifteenth century in the area of St. Andrews were constantly fuelled by continental thought and literature over the next century through the port of Dundee.

The whole process of dissemination of information, radical or traditional, was accelerated rapidly by the introduction of printing. Printing had been established in England two decades before the end of the fifteenth century, as the wealth of incunabula survives to testify. Scottish printing presses were not established until the sixteenth century, when Walter Chapman was granted a royal patent, under which he was producing traditional texts such as the Breviary of Aberdeen soon after 1508.¹³ By 1546 John Scott had established a printing press in Dundee, and was producing the very much more radical works written by the Wedderburns.¹⁴ It perhaps took some time for printers of the temperament and technical expertise of Scott to appear in Scotland, but it is clear that educated Dundee merchants, such as James Rollok, went to great lengths to acquire reformed works. Rollok, when at Campvere, ordered a quantity of radical literature from a London bookseller in 1544.¹⁵

Greater appreciation of the implications of reformed texts was made possible by the growth of education. Dundee itself had enjoyed a tradition of education from an early period, when permission was granted to Lindores Abbey to erect schools in the town of Dundee at the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Other burghs also enjoyed long established schools, but an intention to make more widespread provision was seen in 1496 when an optimistic 'Education Act' proposed compulsory schooling in Latin for children from landowning families.¹⁷ Its stated intention was to improve the standard of justice meted out/

out to the poor, but the Act is important as a measure of the appreciation of the value of literacy and interpretation, whether the Act was successful or not.

Against this changing background the Scottish Universities were gradually evolving, from their creation as bastions against heresy, to their full eventual evolution as protectors of the Reformation. Although Gavin Logie and John Winram were not the dedicated teachers of the new opinions that Knox suggested,¹⁸ together with John Major they provided a transitional outlook between medieval scholasticism and the humanism of the late renaissance. It was this gradual evolution that enabled Patrick Hamilton to search abroad for the satisfaction that he found at Marburg, before returning to Scotland to preach Lutheranism and to be tried for heresy. It was mainly to St. Andrews that the merchants and gentry of Dundee sent their sons to be educated, and it was St. Andrews that moulded the Wedderburns and James Haliburton. Even before the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, students from Dundee and Angus must have been aware of the implications of Lutheran thought. The Feast of the Faculty of Arts of St. Andrews was not held in 1527, or in 1528, because of the controversy that was aroused by the sung mass and procession associated with the Feast.¹⁹

The proof of the assimilation of Lutheranism, and the will to assimilate such opinions, lies in the Act of Parliament of 1525, and its renewal of 1535, which sought to stop discussion of Luther's 'dampnable opunyeounis' by prohibiting importation of such books into the realm.²⁰ This encouraged and drew attention to works, such as Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, which were imported in numbers after 1526 by Scottish traders from the Low Countries, and/

and which were said to be mainly distributed from St. Andrews.²¹ They were certainly bought by Dundonians in significant numbers, as is indicated by the citizens who were 'abjurit' in 1538, probably for the possession of Lutheran books.²²

Support for the new opinions was to rise fitfully after 1543, when the Earl of Angus returned after the death of James V, Arran was appointed Governor, and the citizens of Dundee sacked the friaries with the tacit consent of the Governor. This rise in the fortunes of the Protestant sympathisers was to wane with the fall of Arran, but its occurrence proves the combination of the growth of literacy, the welcome reception of reformed works, and the religious consciousness of parts of Scotland, particularly in Fife and Angus. This was a combination that would later provide the positive reaction to produce the Reformation, given the catalyst of political will and French military occupation. Although many aspects of Dundee civic life before the 1520's indicate a pious traditionalism, there are the elements of an educated individualism which were to coalesce to provide the receptiveness necessary for the appreciation of reformed works and reformed thought.

Dundee first asserted its growing independence of the established ecclesiastical hierarchy when it negotiated for the financial autonomy of St. Mary's Church from Lindores Abbey in 1442/3. Before that date Lindores had had a wide and powerful influence in Dundee. The abbey enjoyed a munificent and large endowment, confirmed by Innocent III in 1198, which included the church of Dundee 'and everything pertaining to it'.²³ This 'church of Dundee', further defined as the Church of St. Mary in 1256,²⁴ also enjoyed the advantage of being near an educational centre, as the papal confirmation of Gregory IX in 1239/

1239 also referred to the foundation of schools in Dundee which were overseen by Lindores, and this led to the formation of the Dundee Grammar School.²⁵ The two institutions of the Church of St. Mary's and the Grammar School were to combine to foster an atmosphere of civic religious independence, which was to give rise to friction between the town and Lindores in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The responsibility of the monastery of Lindores had been held to relate to the choir and greater altar of St. Mary, and they gradually began to neglect their responsibilities for this portion of the church, although the town council maintained the later additions to the church, such as the chapels, altars, and the western tower. Eventually in 1442/3 a contract was entered into, whereby the Town Council undertook to repair the walls and fabric of the choir of the church, and to accept responsibility for the vestments and ornaments of the Great Altar and of the choir of the church.²⁶ It was significant that the preamble of the Indenture referred specifically to the '... litigation, but also very great discord, contention, and altercations ... between the foresaid religious rectors and the burgesses of the said Burgh' and to the 'diverse conferences and communications between the before-named religious persons and burgesses ... often held ... and endured for many years without any agreement'.²⁷

Enlargement and enrichment of burgh churches in Scotland was a typical factor in the diversion, from the fifteenth century onwards, of endowments to burgh churches, collegiate churches and university colleges, instead of to the friaries, the traditional recipients.²⁸ Dundee was no exception to this trend, and St. Mary's was a burgh church that possessed some of the most expensive and lavish/

lavish ornaments in the land.²⁹ It was significant, however, that this recognition of independence was attained in Dundee after a long period of concentrated litigation, and that it is indicative of the determination of the burgh that this litigation was eventually brought to such a constructive conclusion. It was a particular pride that drove the burgesses to make such provision for their burgh church, even in time of hardship. Their munificence did not extend to aiding the independent friaries in the town. During the harsh winter of 1481/2, the period of raid and counter raid against the English, the Franciscan friars were forced to pawn their books, chalices and ornaments, in order to avoid starvation.³⁰ This occurred admittedly at a time of extreme national deprivation, but it happened between the middle of the fifteenth century, when the burgh church was richly endowed with goods and ornaments,³¹ and the end of the century, when the Dundee Pageant Master administered the goods of one of the most comprehensive and well endowed pageants in the country.³² The consciousness of the burgh church as a nucleus of burgh religious life had led the burgh to not only indulge in extensive litigation before 1442, but had also encouraged them to ignore the ruination of the friaries in 1481.

Meanwhile, the Church of St. Mary's continued to be endowed with rich gifts of ornamentation and income, of which an excellent example was that of George Spalding in 1495.³³ The agreement between Spalding and the Town Council, which had a traditional religious preamble, specified gifts to the altar and provision of income, in return for prayers and services for the soul of George Spalding. Such donations continued to be made to the altars and chaplainries of the unreformed Burgh Church as late as 1542,³⁴ but by the latter/

latter period donations were being transferred to the work of charity and upkeep of the poor. This glorification of the burgh church accentuated the fact that it was representative of the oligarchy of the merchant and trade classes, and not representative of the common people. Statutes were passed by the Town Council in 1521 and 1524, and presumably periodically thereafter,³⁵ against allowing the poor people into the church on Sundays and on festival days.³⁶ The prejudice against the poor would be gradually replaced by the wish for their provision from the 1540's, but it is clear that in the 1520's the desire for glorification of the fabric of the burgh church led to the exclusion of the poor from the church. It was hardly a reformed gesture, but it was a gesture that stemmed from the recognition of the burgh church as the religious focus of the burgh, and this consciousness was to develop reformed tendencies over the next two decades.

This awareness was also attempting to establish a code of conduct for the clergy, and to establish guarantees that the clergy would perform the ecclesiastical offices which they had contracted to carry out. Such rigour was eventually to be taken to its full logical conclusion at the period of the Reformation, but it is interesting that the magistrates and town council were insisting on resident and effective clergy before the influence of Lutheran thought was felt in Dundee. Churchmen were still involved in lay affairs, as there is evidence in 1523 that they indulged in trading ventures to augment their income.³⁷ The stipulation made in 1522 against Sir John Walcar, a chaplain, that he should perform a 'sufficient' service, was made because of an action brought by an Orcadian merchant, who was unsatisfied with the quality of the altar service that he had/

had personally commissioned.³⁸

A more positive attitude towards the standard of service of the clergy could be seen in a Notarial Instrument of 1530, in which the Provost and community declared that they would not misuse their patronage of presentation to chaplainries, and that those presented to the chaplainries should be fit for the position, even if that meant appointing strangers rather than the sons of burgesses.³⁹ The desire to maintain a high standard of religious service, notwithstanding burghal interest in the celebrant or in the object of the celebration, shows the beginning of religiosity through the interest in the individual burgh church itself. It is difficult to gauge the growth of Lutheran influence and its effect on the attitude of the Town Council between 1524 and 1550, because the series of minutes and acts of council was destroyed for this period by the English forces of occupation, but there are one or two isolated references which can provide glimpses of attitudes within the town. The contract between the Town Council and a mason, in March 1536/7, was drawn up to cover work on the fabric of town property and on St. Mary's church, and was traditional in that the agreement rigorously observed festival days and saints' days.⁴⁰ In addition he was granted extra holiday before Yule, Pasche, Whitsun, and Assumption. It is probably unsafe to assume too much religious observance from this agreement as an isolated example. The trades, particularly the well established mason trade, would be very reluctant to surrender any of their traditional holidays for any religious reason, and there is evidence that the tradition of 'holy' days continued even when the Reformation was at its height. The town council postponed a public rousing in 1557 because the day chosen was 'feriat',⁴¹ and after the/

the Reformation the merchant David Wedderburn regulated his trading activities by what he termed 'evil days' and 'blessed days'.⁴²

Against this fact can be placed the growing disillusionment of the town with the non-secular institutions. By 1527 it was evident that the growing reformed sympathies of the town were beginning to make collection of monastic rents and feus difficult, because the Greyfriars of Dundee were forced to requisition the services of Robert Rolland to secure payment of arrears and supervise payments of receipts.⁴³ Four years later this recalcitrance was to be highlighted by the welcome that the Provost and Magistrates of Dundee were to give to the Observantine Greyfriar Alexander Dick, who fled to Dundee from Aberdeen because of his reformed opinions.⁴⁴ Although two members of the Town Council were eventually forced to make public penance in the Franciscan friary for the protection of friar Dick in June 1532,⁴⁵ there was still an undercurrent of friction between the Town Council and the Greyfriars, because the factor of the friary took this opportunity to present a formal claim for arrears due from the town and secured it.⁴⁶ In spite of the fact that in some respects the town of Dundee was traditional in its religious observance, the friction between the Town Council and the Greyfriars in particular was evident. It was a friction partly developed by the influence of Lutheran thought and exacerbated by the growing individualism of the town, and it was a friction to erupt into fiery opposition with the encouragement of Arran in 1543.

The events of 1543, although these will be considered later in their political context, also marked a watershed in the pattern of civic benevolence. After 1543 more concern was shown not in the glorification of the decoration of the burgh church, but in the/

the provision for the poor and needy through the offices of the Hospitalmaster. The period 1544 - 1554 saw four substantial grants alone made in favour of the Hospital of Dundee, of which the last, made by the Chaplain Vicar of Kinnaird, was gifted to the almshouse 'for the merite of his sawle'.⁴⁷

This increasing concern for the welfare of the poor and indigent had a long tradition in Dundee and in other Scottish burghs, and in Dundee dated from the foundation of the Hospital by Sir James de Lyndesay in 1390.⁴⁸ This foundation was gradually expanded by the creation of additions such as that of a leper hospital,⁴⁹ and the awareness of a need for provision of the poor was constantly seen as a burghal responsibility. The increased and continued attempts, to cater for the physical if not the spiritual needs of the poor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was partly the continuation of a traditional burghal morality. It was, however, a traditional morality that was moulded by reformed education and reformed thought to become a morality based on the new religion, as eventually specified and codified in the First Book of Discipline. A good example of such traditional burghal piety before the impact of Lutheranism was the benevolence of Andrew Abercrombie, Provost of Dundee, who was made a burghess in 1513.⁵⁰ He was one of the signatories of the Letter of Guildry of 1515,⁵¹ and owned considerable property in the town. He used his influence to draw up a charter in 1521 to grant substantial endowments to the chaplainry of Saint Barbara in the parish church, the fee being limited 20 merks, and the considerable residue to go to the poor of Dundee. Previous to this charter he had also founded the last of the monastic establishments in Dundee, that of the preaching Dominican Friars.⁵² The fact that Abercrombie saw the need for/

for secure provision for the poor as well as for the chaplainries, and for the need for a preaching order rather than a contemplative order, is indicative of a growth of a practical religiosity.

Glimpses can be seen of the traditional burghal morality which expressed itself in unlikely forms. The post-Reformation dislike of slander, based on scripture,⁵³ had a strong precedent in burghal society well before the introduction of scriptural interpretation, because of an obvious desire to cultivate accord amongst neighbours. A Dundee baker was convicted of mispersoning an officer in 1521, and the judgment on him is reminiscent of similar meted out fifty years later, in that he had to appear in church and ask forgiveness of those whom he had slandered. The difference in the 1521 judgment was, of course, that the convicted had to appear at the time of high mass and had to pay his fine in the form of candle wax for the altar.⁵⁴

The more unlikely forms are those which were more allied to the superstitious traditions of burghal society. A notarial instrument was entered in one of the Dundee protocol books, which had the intention of preventing Henry Halis, presumably a young apprentice, from playing at dice. This was a laudable intention, but the agreement was reached by the acceptance of Halis from James Wedderburn of a worset doublet. If he was to succumb to temptation in the future, Halis would have to pay the penalty of the cost of the doublet, and that under threat of excommunication.⁵⁵ The intention of the instrument was moral, but the mechanics of using the ecclesiastical authority to enforce such a pecuniary bargain show the incursion of secular concepts into ecclesiastic terms, an attitude typical of the Middle Ages.

Similarly there was an example of such mediaeval bargaining in/

in 1522, when John Leich, in return for successfully concluding a trading agreement, declared his intention to pay a tribute to the altar of the patron saint of the mariners by way of reward or thanksgiving.⁵⁶

There is also evidence of the continuation of superstitious practices that were completely outwith ecclesiastical recognition, and yet were accepted in civil procedure. In 1522 an agreement was recorded in the Court Book concerning the rate for lodging of a young man for a term before his 'handfasting'.⁵⁷ Handfasting was a civil attempt to regularise common law marriages, by simply enacting an agreement for the parties to live together. Its survival in Dundee by 1522 was a surprising phenomenon in view of the pervasiveness of ecclesiastical jurisdiction into secular life, as in the case of the compulsive dice player, but the readiness of the civil court to recognise such a union pointed to a willingness in burgh society to exert a standard morality by at least discouraging promiscuity. 'Handfasting' was a practice which continued in Dundee until after the Reformation, because there was evidence in May 1560 of acts by the Town Council to regularise such arrangements in church.⁵⁸

There is also lack of evidence, before the 1550's, to establish whether the Guildry and the Trades in Dundee shared the conservatism of the Town Council in religion, or whether they showed any of the zeal for new literature and thought that typified the baker trade that produced Paul Methven, the first civic preacher in Dundee. As has been seen in the case of the agreement with the town mason, the mason craft was conservative in its observance of saints days and festivals, because they represented opportunity for physical rest as well as attendance at sacramental celebration. The ratification by the Dundee Town/

Town Council of the statutes of the Weaver Trade in 1512 was traditional in its preamble, paying homage to 'the honour and loving of God Almychtie and his modir the Virgin Marie and of Sanct Seueryne ...'.⁵⁹ Apart from the provisions for the conduct of services and for the upkeep of the altar, however, the forms of the Seal of Cause were just as concerned with the good government of the craft, and respect for the deacons of the craft, and the discipline which they administered. The final clause was more concerned with honour, commonwealth and respect for the realm⁶⁰ and as such was reminiscent of the terminology of post-Reformation craft statutes,⁶¹ if it were not for the stipulation that craft fines should be paid in altar candle wax.

On the other hand the formalisation of the office of the Dean of Guild, as set out in the 'Merchandis Letter' of 1515, was geared totally to the servicing of the Haly Blude Altar, and the raising of the considerable revenue required for its upkeep.⁶² Any disciplinary clauses were there purely to ensure that payment was made by all the merchants, the only exceptions allowed being that of the young sons of merchants.⁶³ This constitution was confirmed in 1526 and was evidently applied with vigour, and equally opposed by the crafts, who applied to the Court of Session for redress against 'the merchants anent the using of the office of collectory of the Haly Blude without consent of the craftsmen ...'.⁶⁴ Clearly there was friction between the crafts and the Guildry over the question of administration of a prestigious section of the burgh church, just as there was to be friction in the future over more general trading jurisdictions and enactments, and there would appear to have been much resentment by the trades against the Guildry and their assumption of responsibility for/

for the focal point of the burgh church. Haly Blude dues were collected with difficulty, and there was constant litigation in the burgh court on the enforcement of collection of these dues. It is possible that there was so much friction, because this administration by the Guildry was seen more as a political victory within the burgh hierarchy, rather than an attempt to intensify the glorification of services within the church. Certainly two of the signatories, Andro Abercrombie and James Wedderburn, were influential citizens of Dundee and were not given to enrichment of the Burgh Church purely for self-glorification. Abercrombie was a benefactor in his own right who made ample provision for the poor of Dundee,⁶⁵ and James Wedderburn was that Wedderburn merchant, of the West Kirk Stile,⁶⁶ who was the father of James, John, and Robert Wedderburn, the literary reformers. It was his sagacity and programme of enlightened education which prepared them for the new thought and literature from the continent.

This growing appreciation of new ideas from the continent gradually transformed the attitude of the citizens towards their burgh church and to their clergy. The growth of basic education, the absorption of European thought by the sons of the merchant and landed classes, at University, particularly at St. Andrews, and finally the popular movement encouraged by preaching friars, preachers such as Wishart, and the more doubtful urge of iconoclasm, provided a receptive base in Dundee for the emergence of a reformed society. Education even after the Reformation was restrictive and not universally enjoyed by all society, but its benefits filtered downwards, particularly through the adoption of reading scripture in the vernacular in 1543,⁶⁷ through the singing of Lutheran texts to folk song settings, as in the case of the Good and Godly Ballads, and/

and through the transformation of mediaeval pageants into satirical plays which were designed to lead the populace to criticism of the contemporary ecclesiastical system.

The general provision of education in Scotland could be traced in its foundation to the Act of Parliament of 1496, which stipulated that all barons and freeholders, whose fortunes permitted it, should send their sons to school for competent education in Latin.⁶⁸ The act was highly optimistic, but it did show an intention to improve literacy, albeit with the motive of improving the administration of justice in the realm. Many burghs in Scotland had anticipated this act by providing their own establishments, which date in Dundee at least from the monastic schools of Lindores of the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ Dundee enjoyed schoolmasters of high reputation, and had the services of Patrick Blair, Master of Arts, in the grammar school, by 1490.⁷⁰ The growth of literacy was both fed and encouraged after the proliferation and importation of printed texts, and after the foundation in Scotland of the first native printing press established by Walter Chepman in 1507.⁷¹ The thirst for Lutheran literature was evidenced by the passing of the Acts of Parliament of 1525 and 1535, imposing imprisonment and forfeiture of goods against those who imported the works of Luther.⁷² In addition to Lutheran works, a substantial importation of Tyndale's translation of the Bible arose from the trading Scottish connections with the Low Countries. A large proportion of this importation was directed through St. Andrews,⁷³ and in turn it could be expected that a significant number of Tyndale's translations found their way to Dundee.

In addition there was a growth of important works written by Scots which were printed abroad, both for the reason of availability/

availability of technical expertise and of local censorship. The writings of John Major, John Vaus and of Hector Boece were printed in Paris,⁷⁴ while a translation by John Gau of the Danish treatise of Christiern Pedersen, was published in Malmo under the title The Right Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine in 1533.⁷⁵ This was to herald the growth of Protestant books by Scottish authors published abroad and in London, which reached a peak in the publication of Wishart's Confession of Faith of the Churches of Switzerland in 1548. Such works were in great demand by native Scots, and it is increasingly evident from litigation that the Acts against the importation of Lutheran books were being flouted by influential and sympathetic sections of society.

The action taken by Beaton, in mounting a campaign against dissenting clergy and against gentry who were tainted with heresy, reached a culmination in 1538 and 1539, and the Parliamentary Acts of 1541 confirmed the reaction of the court against attacks on the old faith.⁷⁶ In the repression of 1538/9 Wishart was forced to flee to England from Montrose,⁷⁷ John Wedderburn escaped to Europe, probably to France, followed by his brother James,⁷⁸ and James Rollok thought it prudent to sail for Holland, where he became Conservator of Campvere.⁷⁹ Of these refugees the Wedderburns were persecuted because of their literary activity, and the charges against Rollok probably included possession of forbidden publications. Certainly when in Campvere he spent much money and a good deal of energy in procuring reformed works from John Maillier, the London printer.⁸⁰

James Rollok, John, James and Gilbert Wedderburn appear to have been those Dundee burgesses to have chosen to escape abroad, probably in view of the death sentence carried out on David Straiton,⁸¹ an/

an influential man who had much property in Dundee. Straiton was condemned to death after refusing to recant at the charges of heresy laid against him, which arose out of his refusal to pay tithe to the Prior of St. Andrews. He was apparently illiterate, but he was a continual critic of corruption in the priesthood, and a close friend of the Laird of Dun.⁸² In this case the conviction of heresy of such a man has the air of a political trial rather than a religious one, and Knox was of the opinion that King James V would have granted him pardon if it had not been for the attitude of the bishops.⁸³ If this was the position it was unwise for the Wedderburns and Rollok to stay in Scotland if their convictions were based on an energetic support of Lutheranism and criticism of ecclesiastical corruption.

There were, however, a total of fifteen Dundee merchants or burgesses who were convicted of heresy in 1538/9, and who were sentenced to having their property and goods escheated,⁸⁴ apart from Straiton, who suffered the death sentence as well. The remainder all were granted complete pardons on account of their 'gude service'⁸⁵ done for the King, and more probably for the substantial monetary compositions which they paid to avoid execution of the escheatment. The willingness of the Crown to accept composition from the remainder of those convicted would suggest that they had been found in possession of the Lutheran and heretical literature which had been banned in 1525 and 1535. This was evidence of a merchant community in the town which was literate and sympathetic to reformed literature, and they were therefore the product of an improved burgh and university education which enabled them to appreciate the scriptures in vernacular and also current trends in European thought.

Many of the sons of the local merchants and gentry were sent to/

to the University of St. Andrews for their further education, and while the influence of teachers there such as Gavin Logie and John Winram were not so radical as John Knox stated,⁸⁶ there were a succession of independent scholars who 'Drank of St. Leonard's well' and were infected by 'the reek of Master Patrick Hamilton'.⁸⁷

John Winram, born in 1492, was at St. Leonard's College between 1513 and 1515, and by 1536 became subprior of the cathedral priory. In 1560 he attended the Reformation parliament, helped to draft the Confession of Faith and the Book of Discipline, and was appointed Superintendent of Fife after the Reformation. Patrick Hamilton, a member of the powerful Hamilton family, graduated at Paris in 1520 and returned to Scotland in 1523 to teach at St. Andrews. He did not survive the Reformation like John Winram, but was summoned to be tried for heresy by Archbishop Beaton and burned at the stake in 1528 for preaching the Lutheran tenet of justification by faith alone.⁸⁸ It was against this background that young men from Dundee received their education. Robert Wedderburn, later Vicar of Dundee, who worked on the publication of the Gude and Godlie Ballates, graduated Master of Arts in 1530/1.⁸⁹ John Wedderburn (the second brother of Robert), who fled to France in 1538/9,⁹⁰ graduated Master of Arts two years earlier, before entering the priesthood,⁹¹ and David Rollok, a student from a prosperous family,⁹² graduated from St. Salvator's College in 1535/6,⁹³ and was probably the same Rollok who bought his brother's escheated goods from the Crown in 1538/9.⁹⁴ Henry Scrymgeour, brother of James Scrymgeour of Glaswel and son of Provost Walter Scrymgeour, graduated from St. Salvator's College in 1534,⁹⁵ before a career that took him to the chair of Philosophy in the University of Geneva in 1561,⁹⁶ and James Scrymgeour, later Provost/

Provost of Dundee and a staunch supporter of the Reformation, graduated as Master of Arts in 1538.⁹⁷ Such eminent and energetic graduates of the University of St. Andrews returned to their civic and mercantile duties and helped to proliferate the teachings of Luther and the reformed thought of Europe amongst their towns and countrymen.

The result of this influence and sympathy could be quickly seen in Dundee after the martyrdom of Hamilton. This influence spread until after the arrival of Wishart it quickly became a popular movement which could be fired by Arran to the iconoclasm of 1543. The first remarkable symptom of this sympathetic attitude in Dundee was the ready assistance given to Alexander Alesius in his escape from St. Andrews in 1529. Alexander Alane, born in 1500, was by 1528 an Augustinian canon, an ordained priest who was much respected for his learning, and who in the course of debate with Patrick Hamilton was converted to the Lutheran faith of Hamilton by scriptural argument. Alesius was imprisoned by the Prior of the Augustinian House, Patrick Hepburn, after Alesius had censured him at a provincial synod of the bishops and clergy. Alesius was then released by friends, and made his way to Dundee, where he joined a ship bound for France, after which he was to enjoy an illustrious career in Wittenberg, Queen's College Cambridge, and ultimately Leipzig. A citizen of Dundee was summoned for providing the escape ship, and he came accompanied by an equus auratus, probably James Scrymgeour,⁹⁸ Provost and Constable of Dundee. The citizen may have been James Wedderburn, merchant at the West Kirk Style, whose sons were at St. Andrews University. The official's retort, on interrogation, that he knew nothing of the escape, but that he would have given the fugitive help if he had,⁹⁹ is a clear indication of official support in Dundee, and influential support if/

if the retort was indeed made by Scrymgeour himself.

By 1530 it was possible for William Arithe, a preaching friar, to preach openly in Dundee against the abuse of the process of cursing by churchmen. This attack against the lower clergy and also against the misrule of bishops incurred the wrath of the Bishop of Brechin, who denounced the friar, and called him a heretic,¹⁰⁰ but it can be assumed that Arithe's preaching was carried out with the tacit approval of the magistrates before it had roused ecclesiastical opposition.

This popular support was more marked in the following year, when Friar Alexander Dick, a member of the Observantine House in Aberdeen, fled to Dundee for protection after being converted to reformed opinions. He was warmly welcomed by the same Provost Scrymgeour who had approved of the escape of Alesius from the port, and by Bailie James Rollok, who may have been the father of the James Rollok who escaped to Holland in 1538/9. A deputation headed by Friar Lang was sent to apprehend Friar Dick, but they appear to have met not only with tacit opposition from the Town Council, who were probably trying to buy time, but with forceful opposition from the people of Dundee, who threatened that they 'suld pull thair cowlis our thair heides',¹⁰¹ if the deputation proceeded any further. After further official protection was given to Friar Dick by the Town Council, they met with the displeasure of the Lords of Council, and were required to perform a general act of penance within the Greyfriars monastery on 23 June, 1532.¹⁰² The town officials were publicly humiliated, and the factor of the friary took the opportunity to claim arrears of payment from the town, but the protection of Dick was a strong indication of popular support as well as of official support for reformed thought in/

in Dundee after the death of Patrick Hamilton.

There was certainly apprehension in St. Andrews at the tide of popular sympathy in Dundee and Forfar for reform. It was reported that after the trial of Henry Forrest in 1533, it was decided that he should be burned 'at the north church-style of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine'.¹⁰³

There were more and more cases of popular disaffection being expressed in violence against statuary. The earliest recorded instance is that of the charge brought against the brother of Lord Ochiltree, Walter Stewart, who was accused of damaging the statue of Our Lady in the Observant Friars' Church at Ayr in 1533.¹⁰⁴ By 1537 two men were sought for in Dundee and Perth, suspected of 'the hangeing of the image of Sanct Francis',¹⁰⁵ and the habit of violence against graven images was established and spreading.

The period 1538/9 saw the prosecution of the literate society of Dundee in their possession of reformed works, but also saw the education of the populace by satirical open air plays which were produced by James Wedderburn, and which led to his prosecution and escape to France in 1540. Wedderburn had produced several tragedies and comedies, in the trenchant style of Lindsay, which were not produced in the seclusion of court, but at the West Port and on the playfield of Dundee.¹⁰⁶ This popular enlightenment, aided by the Gude and Godlie Ballates and by the preaching of Wishart, helped to create a strong impression among the ordinary people of Dundee, and a reforming fervour that was to be harnessed by Arran in 1543.

The collection of sacred songs and ballads compiled by James and John Wedderburn, and published between the years 1542 and 1546, were/

were known variously as the Psalms of David, the Godly and spiritual songs, and the Gude and godly ballates. They derived in turn from Lutheran collections such as the Geistliche Gesänge and Psalmen und Leider, but were translations into vigorous and vernacular verse, which enjoyed widespread and popular distribution.¹⁰⁷ Some editions were probably printed by John Scott in Dundee in 1546,¹⁰⁸ but is also likely that early editions had been printed before Wishart's death, for the version of the 51st Psalm given by Knox, which was sung by his friends on the night of his capture, was identical to the long paraphrase of the Wedderburn setting.¹⁰⁹ This work of the Wedderburns marks the height of the Lutheran period of the Scottish Reformation.¹¹⁰ It helped to spread a wide appreciation of the basis of Lutheran thought and criticism of the established church, by giving the common people in Angus, the Mearns and Fife a set of texts which were passed from mouth to mouth as oral tradition and which gave them, though illiterate, a basis to evaluate and criticise their contemporary church.

The death of James V in 1542 saw the return to Scotland of the Earl of Angus and the Marriage Commissioners, and a brief ascension of the Protestant Party in Scotland while Arran as Governor was in favour of a Marriage Treaty with Henry VIII. With the Marriage Commissioners returned George Wishart, who was to mould the Protestant character of a Protestant congregation in Montrose and Dundee by a sustained campaign of preaching and visitation, and who was to die in a martyrdom that had far more popular and far reaching influence than that of Patrick Hamilton.

Wishart returned in July 1543 to his home at Pitarrow, near Montrose, where he preached in a private house near the church. Later he travelled to Dundee, possibly at the invitation of a friendly/

friendly magistracy, where his sermons, based on the Epistle to the Romans, lasted for an hour or more, and were gladly received by those who heard him. He denounced undue ceremony, prayers to saints, and veneration of images in his sermons, and concentrated on denunciations of the sins of society and of the Church, citing scripture in his argument.¹¹¹ He gradually built up a following which was Protestant, supported by at least the Earl of Cassilis from the nobility, and wholeheartedly supported by the lairds and merchants of Dundee which was to give the town the epithet of the 'Scottish Geneva'.¹¹²

It is tempting to attribute the iconoclasm of 31 August, 1543, which broke out in Dundee, as being directly caused by Wishart's denunciation of the veneration of images, but the movement was too violent and too widespread to have been triggered off by a few initial exposures to Wishart's style. Wishart was a quiet, courteous and charitable man, and once prevented a Dundee mob from revenging a priest, who had tried to attack him, by shielding the priest in his arms.¹¹³ The attack on statuary was partly organised as a political disturbance, as Governor Arran boasted to the English that he had supported their dislike of monasteries and friaries by actively encouraging the sacking of the 'Freres of Dundee'.¹¹⁴ The mob was prevented from sacking Arbroath by Lord Ogilvy,¹¹⁵ but in spite of the contemporary accusations of wholesale pillage and destruction,¹¹⁶ it appears from the official indictment brought against the town in 1552/3 that the implications of complete destruction were unfounded, for the actions of the mob were limited to iconoclasm and the deprivation of the brethren of their cowls and bedclothes.¹¹⁷ However, there must have been a groundswell of popular opinion against idolatry and against the life style of the friaries, whether or not this surge of action/

action was directly caused by the preaching of Wishart. The Town Council made an ingratiating plea for clemency to the Governor for the destruction in his later tour with Cardinal Beaton, but they could do little else in view of the fact that Arran had forsaken his Anglophile policy, and their plea must have been made with an ironic flourish in view of the Governor's manipulation of the revolt for his own political ends.¹¹⁸

The next year saw a reversal of the Protestant cause when Beaton and Arran combined to suppress that freedom of expression which Arran had done so much to encourage. In January 1543/4, during a visitation by Arran and Beaton, citizens of both Perth and Dundee were convicted of heresy and burnt.¹¹⁹ Later in the year John Roger, a Blackfriar who had been converted by Lutheran thought and who was, according to Knox, 'godly and learned',¹²⁰ preached in public to the people of Angus and Mearns, probably including Dundee. He was apparently apprehended on the orders of Cardinal Beaton, murdered in St. Andrews, and his body cast over the castle wall, the story being circulated that he had broken his neck while attempting to escape.¹²¹ The spirit of repression of the alliance of Beaton and Mary of Lorraine was felt severely in Dundee where, as in the south west, there had been popular expression of support for Lutheranism.

Dundee had also another visitation of misfortune in the form of the plague, which swept through Scotland in 1544 and 1545. It was Wishart's bearing and courage in this very real danger that established his reputation in popular opinion in the East of Scotland, and which bore more strongly the imprint of his character than any influence he may have had in the spoliation of the friaries two years earlier. He returned in haste from Ayrshire, where he had enjoyed the protection/

protection, during his preaching, of nobility in mail, armed retainers, and a trusted assistant with a two handed sword,¹²² when he heard that Dundee was struck by pestilence. He preached a famous sermon to the sufferers from the East gate, based on Psalm 107,¹²³ and continued to administer to the sick and the dying, '... not suffering the poor who were destitute of means to lack any necessary helps more than the rich'.¹²⁴ His action clearly had a salutary effect on at least one influential member of the burgh merchant class, William Spalding, who distributed meal to the poor people during the plague.¹²⁵ Such generosity was remarkable in light of the understandable hysteria that such epidemics normally aroused in burghs, when protection of the living and healthy usually had to take precedence over care for the poor and dying, and presumably it was Wishart's influence which prompted such action.

He therefore had developed a strong and devoted following among the nobility as well as the common and uneducated people. It was a measure of this support that prompted Beaton to despatch him so summarily, and on the day of his execution to have the castle artillery trained on the execution scaffold, with the gunners with lighted matches in their hands,¹²⁶ as well as providing the prisoner with an armed escort.¹²⁷

The landed gentry and nobility welcomed the opportunity of his death to murder Beaton and occupy St. Andrews castle two months after the occasion of his execution. Wishart had also spread through his preaching a spirit of criticism amongst the poor, illiterate and ignorant, which was to give burgh society in particular a future cohesion in the campaign against idolatry, superstition and ecclesiastic corruption, and in the future implementation of the code/

code of conduct laid down in the First Book of Discipline. In 1528 the execution of Patrick Hamilton was partly due to friction between the Douglas and Hamilton families¹²⁸ and the religious impact of his death was felt deeply amongst the literate of the merchant and landed classes. In 1546 the execution of Wishart was carried out for partly political reasons, in that he had attracted influential sections of the nobility and gentry, but also because he had amassed a truly fervent popular following. The satirical plays of the Wedderburns had given the populace of the burgh of Dundee a totally different and more powerful exhortation than that of the splendour of the mediaeval pageants. The singing of portions of scripture in the form of vernacular folk song had given the illiterate amongst the poor and merchants a basic text for their meditation, an advantage which the individualistic and educated had enjoyed through their acquisition of Lutheran printed works. This growth of religious consciousness, coupled with the growing realisation of identity of the burgh as a cohesive religious community centred round their burgh church, was to make Dundee the 'Scottish Geneva' and one of the earliest burghs in Scotland to embrace the Reformation.

FOOTNOTES

1. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 30 September 1521:
'It is statut and ordanit that ane and onyof the sergeandis be fundyn nocht kepan the queyr durris ilk Sondag and festuall day, the faltour sall pay xii d. till Our Lady werk; and on haliday to keip the pur fowk owt of the kirk, and the belman the wark dais.'
2. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 169.
3. Hamilton Papers, II, 38, 13 September 1543:
'And upon Fridaye before the coronacion, he declared to the said Cardinall ... al thinges that was required or laide unto hym on the behalf of the Kinges majeste, and amonges other thinges touched the suppresson of sundrie abbayes and freres, declaring that by his consente the Freres of Dundee was sakked.'
4. A.P.S., II, 25.
5. McRoberts, The Medieval Church of St. Andrews, 108.
6. Baxter, Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree, 383.
7. Ibid., 230ff.
8. Ibid., 382.
9. Dickens, The English Reformation, 56ff.
10. Baxter, Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree, 136, 383.
11. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 13; Mitchison, A History of Scotland, 104.
12. Mitchison, ibid.
13. Tytler, History, II, 280; Galbraith, 'The Glamis Copy of the Aberdeen Breviary', Archives, IV, 140f.
14. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 139.
15. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 November 1555:
'... James Rollok, eldar, producit ane acquittance wrytine be Jhone Mailler, citinar of Londone, of the dait as folojs; The xxiiij day of Junii in the yeir of God Jm v^c xliiiij yeris ...'

16. Laing, Lindores Abbey, 56.
17. Tytler, History, II, 257; Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, 92f.
18. Acta Facultatis Artium, I, lx; Dickinson, Knox's History, I, 15.
19. Acta Facultatis Artium, I, lvii.
20. A.P.S., II, 295.
21. Mitchell, Pre-Reformation Scotland, 102.
22. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VI, 430.
23. Laing, Lindores Abbey, 53.
24. Ibid., 57.
25. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 6.
26. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 28 (printed in Charters and Documents, ed. Hay, 19ff.); MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 29.
27. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 28.
28. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 11.
29. Mackie, King James IV of Scotland, 148.
30. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, II, 129ff.;
'pro sustentatione miserabilis vite'
31. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 'The Book of the Church', fo. 1ff.
(printed in Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 557ff.).
32. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 'The Book of the Church', fo. 170
verso:

'The grayth of the prosession of Corpus Christi
deliverit Syr Thomas Barbour /for/ the keyng:

In primis xxij of crownis; vij pair of angel
veynis; iij myteris; Cristis cott of lethyr,
with the hosse and glafis; Cristis hed; xxj
suerdis; thre lang corssis of tre; Sanc Thomas
sper; A cors til Sanc Blasis; Sanc Johnnis cott;
a credil and thre barnis maid of clath; xx hedis
of hayr; the four evangellistis; Sanc Katrinis
quheil; Sanc Androwis cros; a saw, a ax, a
rassour, a guly knyff; a worm of tre; the haly
lam of tre; Sanc Barbill castel; Abraamis hat
and thre hedis of hayr.

In dei Nomine amen.'

33. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 43:

'Thyr Indenturis maid at Dunde ... Witnessing that George of Spalding, burgess of Dunde, of gud mynd and devocioune, has purly and symply but ony Revocacioune frely gyvyn ... in the honor of God Almychty and of hys Moder the Blissyt Virgine Maria and all the sanctis of hevyn, to the Prevost, Bailyeis, Consall and C/ommuni/tie of the Burgh of Dunde till anorne and honor Owr Lady Kirk ... thir thingis efter followand ... ane eucaryst of silver owr gylt, ane gryt bell, ane silver chalyss owr gylt, ane new mess buyk, ane new war stall to keyp the vestiamentis of the hye altar in till, ane gryt kyst and twenty s. of annuall rent... The quhilk buyk and chalyss to serve the Lady Pryst of the forsaid Kirk that beis for the tyme daily at the Lady mess at the [hye] altar ... And the saidis Prevost, Bailyeis [etc] has grantyt ... to the said George, for hys gud Wyll and mynd ... oblist thaim that the Lady preyst ... sall exort all the pepill beand thar to pray for the said George [hys saw] ll ... and eftir the Lady mess daily, to pass in the albys to the grayf of [the said George] and hys wyf, thar antecessouris and [successouris] within the quer of the said Kirk, with all the ebdomidarys ... with ... all the diregeis and torchys at the sawll mess ... and to gar ring the ... bellis of the Kirk ... And thar obbytis ... ane yerly to be done on the morne ef eftir the feyst of the assumpcione of Owr Lady, and the t[other] upone the day of the said Georgis decess as it cumys abowt ... In wytness ... the said Georgis seyll is appensyt the sext day of September the yer of God ane thowsand fowr hundreth nynty and fyfe yeris.'

34. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, bdle. 34; Charter in favour of St. Stephen's Chaplainry, 1542.

35. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 13 April 1523:

'The quhilk day the four sergeandis has grantit to keep the Kirk and quer Ilk Sunday and festuall day, and hald owt the pur folkis, quhilk yif thai failye herintill, that is to say twa Ilk day thar cours abowt ... the faltour sall pay xxx d. to Our Lady licht.'

Vide supra, 30 September 1521. These two acts of Council survive in the Burgh Court book included in the Kirkmaster's inventory and lair book known as the 'Book of the Church'. The Burgh Court entries mainly cover the period 1520 to 1525, the intervening years between 1525 and 1550 being destroyed during the English occupation of Dundee.

36. Ibid.

37. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 8 July 1522:

'Mechel Andersone is becum in souerte for Malcom Aldirman, that he sal comper the penult day of this instant moneth of July, befor the Baileis of Dundee, and ansuer to the instans of Master Robert Lawader and Schir John Kar, anent the clame of v sekkis and v canvas clamit be thaim apon Malcum, and til underlaw the law for thaim.'

38. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 11 September 1522:

'anent the persut and clame of Schir Jhon Walcar, cheplan, on Alexander Strang, burges of Kyrkwall, of his fee of a quarter service that he feit hym for be his obligatioun; The said Alexander denyit that he aw hym ony fee, and the said Schir Jhon producit his obligatioun under his hand writ and merk herupon, for preif the quhilk he were feit and grantit ...'

39. MS Dundee Town Clerk's protocol book, 1518 - 1534, fo. 174 verso; MS translation fo. 231f.:

'On 2nd of September 1530, the Provost, bailies, councillors, and a multitude of the deacons and community of Dundee, with one voice consented, and obliged themselves by oath, by their right hands to me the notary, that in no time coming, shall they present any one to any vacant chaplainry, at their gift as patrones, unless only a more able chaplain, chantor, chiefly the sons of burgesses of the said burgh, if they are as fit as strangers; and for observing this they consented and nominated Mr. John Barry, vicar of Dundee, and Mr. Patrick Carnegy, and Mr. James Rolland, their procurators etc., in riper form of Procuratory, to enact them in the act book of the bishops of Brechin, or his commissaries, under the pains of excommunication.'

40. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 48:

'This Indentit charter party maid at Dundee the xxiii day of Merch in the yeir of God ane thousand fif hundreth and thretty sex proportis ... that it is ... fulllely concordat ... betwix honorable men the Prevost, bailyeis, counsall and communitie of the burgh of Dundee, and Andro Barry, Kirkmaister for the tyme of the parochie Kirk of Our Lday ... on that ane part, and George Boiss, masoun on that uther part; ... the sadis Prevost [etc.] ... feit and infeft hym for all the ... termis of his lifyme for his/

his daily werk and lawbour of masoun craft ...
at the Kirk werk forsaide or commone werkis ...
and the said George sall werk all festuall
evinnis that beis fastryng dais quhill four
houris efter none, except Yule evyn, Pasc evyn,
Witsoun evyn and the Assumpcione even of Our
Lady, and at thir four evinnis to leiff at xii
houris ...'

41. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 22 July 1557.

42. Wedderburne's Compt Buik, xviii.

43. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, I, 229.

44. Ibid.

45. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 14.

46. Ibid.

47. Joint Appendix of Documents, 2ff.

48. Ibid.

49. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, bdle. 34.

50. R.E.B., 11.

51. Warden, Burgh Laws, 96.

52. R.E.B., 12.

53. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 167.

54. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 5 December 1521:

'Reche Crag amerciat, as it is fundyn be this assis
for the myspersonyng of Wil Cathro, officiar,
sayand that he has fals wechtis to wey his breid
with; And for the mendis he is ordanit to cum on
Sunday next to cum in tyn of the hie mes, and with
a candill of a li. of wax ... and ask hym
forgevness, and say that the wordis was fals he
said ...'

55. MS Dundee Town Clerk's protocol book, 1518 - 1534; fo. 13 recto;
MS translation fo. 21:

'14th of December [1520], Henry Halis received from
James Wedderburn a worsset doublet, for which he
became bound on his oath not after the feast of the
Nativity to play at the dice in any time future,
and if he failed herein he constituted Mr. Martin
Balfour and Mr. Patrick Carnegy, to act him in the
books of the Official of St. Andrews, under pain of
excommunication, by payment of 20 m. for the said

56. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 19 November 1522:

'Jhon Leich has oblist hym be his hand uphaldyn, he gettin the scot and lot of the merchandis ... he promyttis to ansuer for iiii li. gret or ix li. Scottis to sanct James lot ...'

57. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 10 December 1522:

'It is fundyn be previs admittit, that Wat Aldcorn suld bind Jhon Wallace, quhill he be handfast with a wif, at meit and drynk none and evyn, for xii m. of the quhilk thair is vi m. pait and the tother vi m. to be pait at the handfasting of the said Jhon.'

58. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 285.
MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 21 May 1560

59. Inventory of Charters belonging to the Corporation of Weavers of the Royal Burgh of Dundee, 7:

Ratification by the Provost etc. of the burgh of Dundee of statutes made by the Weaver Trade in terms of a supplication made by them 'in the quhilk wes contenit certain statutes and articles maid and awysit w^t thame for the honour and living of God Almychtie and his modir the Virgin Marie and of Sanct Seueryne, and for the suppleing and vphaldyn, be thame on our Lady kirk of the said burgh, and for the governance of thar werk and lawbouris, and rewle baith for worschip of the Realme, commone profit of this gud towne, and lawte of craftismen and for vtheris diuers and mony causis of gud motyf ...'

60. Ibid., 9:

'... loveable to God and halikirk, honorable and profitable for all the Realme, and specially for this gud towne and craftismen.'

61. Warden, Burgh Laws, 410; Act of Dundee Glover Trade, 17 February 1607:

'... Takand consideratioun of the vphold of ye glory of God ... And for ye weilfair and maintenance of ye Liberties and ancient priveleges of ye said Craft ... And for Intertanyng of Lowe and brotherlie concord ...'

62. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 2, no. 265 (printed in Thomson, History of Dundee, xxxi ff.).

63. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 16 July 1523:
'... ordanit to ger gif again to Andro Henrison,
Andro Henrisonis son, his geir again that was
tane be the collectouris of the haliblund silver
and be the small customaris of this burgh,
becaus thai fynd he suld nocht pay na sic
dewiteis als lang as he is under his faderis
burd and ward'
64. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 27.
65. R.E.B., 12.
66. Calderwood, I, 142.
67. Ridley, Knox, 31.
68. Tytler, History, II, 257.
69. Laing, Lindores Abbey, 56.
70. Durkan, 'Education in the Century of the Reformation', Innes Review, X, 76.
71. Tytler, History, II, 280.
72. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 169.
73. Mitchell, Pre-Reformation Scotland, 102.
74. Davidson, 'Influence of the English Printers on the Scottish Reformation', S.C.H.S. Records, I, 75.
75. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 247.
76. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, 124f.
77. Thomson, History of Dundee, 44.
78. R.E.B., 21.
79. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 79.
80. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 November 1555.
81. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VII, 77.
82. Spottiswoode, History, I, 131.
83. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 76.
84. Robert Anderson^{a, c}
George Annand^{a, c}
James Annand^{a, c}
John Duncan^d

Alexander Fleschour	a, c
John Fleschour	a, c
Thomas Kyd	b, d
John Paterson	a, b
Robert Paterson	b, d
James Rollok	b
Richard Rollok	b, d
David Straiton	e
Alexander Wannand	b, d
Gilbert Wedderburn	a
John Wedderburn	b

- a: goods escheated, Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VI, 376f.
b: abjuration of heresy, Ibid., VII, 74ff.
c: composition by payment, Registrum Secreti Sigilli, II, 396ff.
d: do., Ibid., II, 407f.
e: goods escheated, death sentence, Accounts, VII, 77.

85. Registrum Secreti Sigilli, II, 408.
86. Acta Facultatis Artium, I, lx.
87. Calderwood, I, 83ff.; Dickinson, Knox's Memoirs, I, 18.
88. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, 122.
89. Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 125n.
90. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VII, 79, 153.
91. Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 121.
92. Ibid., 131; 'dives'.
93. Ibid., 134.
94. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VII, 78.
95. Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 132.
96. R.E.B., 34.
97. Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, 140.
98. McNeill, 'Alexander Alesius, Scottish Lutheran', Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, LV, 168.
99. Ibid.:

'But I, if I had known that Alexander was making ready his departure, would with a ready mind have provided for him both ship and travel money that he might escape from your cruelty.'

(original Latin printed in Thomasius, Orationes, 313)

100. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 77, 216.
101. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 14.
102. Ibid.
103. McRoberts, The Medieval Church of St. Andrews, 109.
104. McRoberts, 'Material Destruction Caused by the Scottish Reformation', Innes Review, X, 129.
105. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VI, 307.
106. Mitchell, The Wedderburns and their Work, 13.
107. Ibid., 5, 16.
108. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 378.
109. Mitchell, The Wedderburns and their Work, 13.
110. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 16.
111. Ridley, Knox, 41.
112. Mitchell, Pre-Reformation Scotland, 120.
113. Spottiswoode, History, I, 152. Neither was George Wishart the Martyr the 'Scottish man called Wysshert' who brought news to Henry VIII in 1544 of an assassination plot against Cardinal Beaton. The two have been confused as the same man, but the 'Scottish man called Wysshert' was probably George Wischeart, the inhabitant of Dundee who was included in the indictment of March 1552/3 of having participated in the sacking of the friaries in 1543. (Tytler, History, III, Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 54.)
114. Hamilton Papers, II, 38.
115. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, 29:

.'In this tyme thair was ane greit heresie in Dundee; thair thaj distroyit the kirkis, and would haue destroyit Abitbrothok kirk, war not the lord Ogilbie.'
116. Ibid.; Hamilton Papers, II, 15, 14 September 1543:

'But trew it is, that the towne of Dundee hath rysen and put downe both the Black and Grey Freers within the same towne, and have sacked theyr houses and dryven away the freers ...'
117. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 54 (translation printed in Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 393ff.):

'Also/

'Also, for art and part in the oppression committed on the Friars Preachers and Minorites of Dundee, by coming to their Places within the said burgh with convocation of the Queen's lieges in great number, armed in warlike manner; and there breaking up the doors and gates of the Places, and breaking and destroying the ornaments, vestments, images, and candlesticks; carrying off the silvering of the altars, and stealing the bed clothes, cowls, victuals, meal, malt, flesh, fish, coals, napery ... in company with Mr. Henry Durham and his accomplices ... on the last day of August, 1543 ...'

118. Two Missions of Jacques De La Brosse, 36:

'Et davantage les habitans de la ville de Dondui qui avoient par heresie desmolly les eglises de ladite ville sont venues devers ledict gouverneur demandans misericorde offrans reparer lesdictes eglises et faire telles autres Reparations honourables quil advisera.'

119. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, 30:

'Vpoun the xxviiij day of Januare, the governour with his lordis past to Sanctionstoun and Dundie, and brunt mony lymmeris in the said tolbus ...'

120. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 77.

121. Spottiswoode, History, I, 149.

122. Tytler, History, III, 42.

123. Psalm 107, verse 20 (Authorised Version):

'He sent his word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.'

124. Spottiswoode, History, I, 152.

125. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 November 1554:

'the Provest, Baillies and Counsale hes grantit and gevine to George Spalding, sone and air of umquhile Williem Spalding, thre burgesschip for certane maile distribut be the said umquhile Williem to the pure folkis in the yeir of xlv in tyme of the gryt pest.'

126. Tytler, History, III, 44.

127. Spottiswoode, History, I, 161.

128. Ridley, Knox, 27.

CHAPTER 2

THE GROWTH OF REFORMED OPINION IN DUNDEE BETWEEN
THE DEATHS OF GEORGE WISHART AND WALTER MYLN
1546 - 1558

In 1546 the burning of George Wishart by Archbishop Beaton acted as a catalyst for revolt, which immediately took the form of the occupation of St. Andrews Castle by the 'Castilians', and which was later broadened to popular disaffection with the Scottish Church when the octogenarian priest Walter Myln was similarly executed by Archbishop Hamilton in 1558. Just as 'The reek of Master Patrick Hamilton infected as many as it blew upon',¹ so Dundee could not fail to be influenced by these events in St. Andrews, a nearby town with which the merchants traded and where they sent their sons to be educated. Dundee was very much aware of the actions of the Castilians, and of their reforming ideals which were openly discussed during their supremacy in St. Andrews.

During this period, as during the Reformation itself, political and military developments around Dundee were of both national and local importance, and pressure of national importance on Dundee tended to make it difficult to discern clear local patterns of alignment in political sympathy, as well as in traditional or reformed religious thought. In this earlier period, however, unlike the watershed of 1599 - 1560, Dundee was at the mercy of powerful outside influences, and did not yet have the authority or power of a mature Haliburton to give its actions and policy its own stamp of dedicated reformed individualism. The policy and temper of the town vacillated to ensure its survival, and it is necessary to look at both traditional and reformed characteristics of the town in this period, and compare them with the related outside pressures, before coming to any conclusion on the general development of reformed thought and government in Dundee.

Dundee was the hub of political and military activity in Scotland during November and December 1548, the height of Somerset's campaign/

campaign, and the town was, in the long term, to be torn in the dichotomy between the sympathy that its citizens felt for the Protestant faith and Bibles of the English, and the suffering and financial hardship that followed the burning and ruination of the town. On the one hand suspicions of complicity with the English were still being levelled in 1553,² while on the other hand, in 1550, a full reference was made in an estate administration to a tenement 'distroyet, brynt ... and put to sack and uter rewyne, as the remanent of the said bourgh is for the maist part be oure ald Innemies of Yngland'.³

At the outset of Somerset's campaign of 1547, Dundee was under the protective influence of local nobility with reformed sympathies, but this influence was soon to lose its protectiveness. Broughty Castle was not besieged seriously in January 1547/8 because Patrick Lord Gray bribed Argyll to desist,⁴ and in the same year the Lairds of Dun and Pitarrow were considered to be two of the 'most faithful, godlie, and wise men',⁵ north of Dundee. In a short time Dundee was to suffer the ravages of the German mercenaries hired by the English in 1549,⁶ and suffer the insolence and high handedness of the French troops brought to garrison the area the year after.⁷

This fluctuating military and political situation was to have an obvious effect on attitudes such as religious toleration. There was a general spread of toleration in the country which accepted English refugees after the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553, but it was a toleration which waned quickly by 1558. Dundee was at the centre of this political, military, and religious confusion, and it is therefore not surprising that it is difficult to discern a clear development of Calvinistic influence in a town which had traditionally received Lutheran thought and literature, and it is also difficult to discern/

discern development of reformed thought when patriotism before 1550 was Anglophobic, and therefore non-Protestant in nature, and when patriotism after 1550 was Francophobic and therefore Protestant in inclination. Nevertheless, such events as the return of Robert Wedderburn from exile in 1548, and his presentation to the Dundee Vicarage, the return of James Rollock from exile before 1551, and the inclusion of extracts from Lindsay's works in legal protocol books, all point to the general resurgence of reformed thought in Dundee and its acceptance in official circles. Even before the commencement of this period, it must be assumed that Wishart's work prior to his death was carried out with the knowledge, approval and assistance of the magistrates.

However, conflicting policies and principles, with their resultant discord in Dundee society, could also be seen in the capture of St. Andrews Castle by the Castilians in 1546. The traditional Anglophobia against 'oure ald Innemeis of Yngland'⁸ had been heavily fuelled by the 'Rough Wooing' of the spoliation campaigns of the Earl of Hertford, which were carried out in 1544 and 1545. Nevertheless, the occupation of St. Andrews Castle, and the murder of Archbishop Beaton in 1546, were seen just as much as a diplomatic defeat for the French in Scotland, as a revenge for the burning of Wishart. Although this had a profound effect on the French, this diplomatic defeat was not sustained by the Castilians long enough to be supported by Somerset's fleet, which arrived outside St. Andrews on 20 September 1547.⁹ If Somerset's fleet had arrived in time, then there might have been the opportunity to negotiate, thirteen years earlier, for the equivalent of the Treaty of Edinburgh, but Scotland was forced instead towards the protection of Henry II of France.

Admiral Clinton of the English fleet then proceeded to the Firth of Tay, and obtained possession of Broughty Castle, which had been pledged by Patrick Lord Gray for delivery to the English forces in March 1546.¹⁰ There then followed an extraordinary two and a half years of occupation of Broughty Castle by English forces, which appears to have begun on a note of cautious acceptance on both sides, but which ended in devastation for Dundee, partly because the English forces did not have sufficient continuous strength to maintain superiority over the French occupying forces, and were therefore pressed to safeguard their position by laying waste the countryside. Although it was expected that Dundee would attempt to minimise the antagonism of the English garrison, the initial correspondence of the English commanders suggests that the magistrates were more than willing to co-operate with them, in return for Protestant literature and support for a reformed society.

On 24 September, 1547, Clinton informed Somerset that the principal inhabitants of Dundee had made peaceful overtures, and had arranged for the provision of victuals to the forces.¹¹ By October 8 Sir Andrew Dudley reported that local notable inhabitants had expressed willingness to adopt Protestantism, but that they wished first to see how the English cause succeeded before they committed themselves.¹² On October 27 Sir Andrew, captain of the castle, negotiated articles with the Town of Dundee, whereby the magistrates bound themselves to victual the garrison at fair prices, to admit the English freely to the Town, to warn them of danger, not to fortify the town unless compelled to do so by the Queen, and to resist the Governor unless he should come with an army. The signatories to these articles included those who were to be active later in the Reformation, and also those/

those who had been suspected or convicted of heresy in 1538,¹³ and a further report of 1 November confirmed that 'Most of the honest and substantial men favour the Word of God and would be glad to become English'.¹⁴ Although this report does admit that the Town of Dundee admitted allegiance 'with myche adoo', and that it was necessary to bombard the town with artillery from the three naval ships in the river, this report did include the remarkable propaganda statement by Dudley that '... Angus and Fife greatly desire a good preacher, bibles and testaments, and other good English books of Tyndale and Frithe's translation, which I pray your grace to send me, as I have promised a great "sorte" ...'.¹⁵

It is very likely that the citizens of Dundee did thirst for vernacular testaments, as John Wedderburn had been forced to flee the country in 1546 after his publication of anticlerical songs, and John Scott, who was probably his printer, was shepherded out of the town by Provost John Scrymgeour, who protested to the Lords of Council that he 'had socht for Johne Scott, and could nocht find him'.¹⁶ Certainly the town was serious in its request for reformed literature, for the request for bibles, testaments 'and other good books' was repeated on 17 January 1547/8.¹⁷ The town's reaction to the burning of Balmerino abbey on Christmas night 1547 is not recorded, but in view of the abbey's doubtful moral reputation as stated by Sir David Lindsay,¹⁸ the citizens of Dundee must have approved the sacking of the abbey, if not the burning of the corn.¹⁹

Before the burning of Balmerino, however, and its inherent threat to the citizens of Dundee, it was evident that the town was as conscious of the danger from their own countrymen as from the wrath of the English garrison. On 22 December Wyndham reported the fear felt/

felt by Dundee both of the Earl of Arran 'and the spirituality',²⁰ on 17 January, 1547/8 Dundee was threatened by Argyll with fire and sword, and the citizens eventually abandoned the town on 28 January when they saw the strength of Argyll's forces.²¹ At this point the town was spared serious damage because of the influence of Lord Gray. The English forces removed the town artillery, fired the steeple, and burned all the 'ydolls' in the church, but spared the town specifically at Lord Gray's request, who wished to preserve his standing with the inhabitants.²² Lord Gray was influential in Angus, and influential in Dundee, and obviously enjoyed favour in English diplomatic circles to be granted such an indulgence by the English Commander. Similarly the citizens of Dundee could also be expected to show sympathy and cooperation with the English during the initial part of the occupation because of the local influence of Gray.

Lord Gray had long been inclined towards the English, and had made a serious attempt the previous year to persuade the Earls of Atholl, Errol, Sutherland and Crawford to join in the service of England.²³ It was also Gray who acted as agent in persuading Argyll to accept a bribe of one thousand crowns from Dudley, and to unexpectedly depart from the siege of Dundee with his mind 'wonderfully given to further the king's godly purpose'.²⁴

In spite of this seasonable bribe the English were forced to abandon the fortification of Dundee in March 1547/8 and concentrate on the fortification of Broughty Castle,²⁵ In spite of the initial support of Gray and of northern earls such as Dun, Pittaro and Fyvie,²⁶ the English forces found it difficult to hold both Broughty Castle and Dundee from sustained attack. Broughty Castle, with a minimum of defenders and provisions, appeared impregnable to the French,²⁷ and/

and was a secure place of retreat for the English garrison, but the constant shortage of funds and provisions for the garrison meant that the English could not maintain the constant presence that a sympathetic faction in Dundee required for security against the Queen's forces. Therefore a gradual deterioration of relations occurred through these vacillations, which resulted in Dundee suffering heavily from a 'scorched earth' policy carried out by the English, and the citizens abandoning any sympathy or rapport that they had with the English forces. By June, lack of funds dictated that Somerset demanded the return of German mercenaries from Broughty Castle, and that Luttrell should lie low, and 'in no wise to attempt eny encountre, skirmish, or do eny thyng to thadventure ...'.²⁸

Fairly honourable military relations were maintained between Dundee and Broughty Castle, as is seen in the arrangements for the release under licence of a prisoner from Broughty in October 1548²⁹ and a contract for the exchange and ransom of prisoners drawn up in June 1549.³⁰ However, the letter of defiance from Luttrell to the Provost of Dundee in November 1548³¹ shows none of the diplomatic relations of the previous year, and a report by Luttrell to Somerset makes it plain that a policy of harassment against the town was being followed by the soldiers at Broughty.³² The Provost of Dundee, James Dog,³³ and his successor, James Haliburton,³⁴ both were involved in attacks against the English forces during this period. James Haliburton, who was to later prove to be a driving force in the Scottish Reformation, fought hard and well against the occupying forces of the English and was to be later remembered by the Crown for his services at this time.

The first flush of enthusiasm by Dundee for the reformed/

reformed reputation of the English was certainly overcome by November 1548, when already an English observer commented on the complete wasting of the countryside around Dundee.³⁵ By the time that Broughty Castle finally fell at midnight on 12 February, 1549/50,³⁶ the town was ruined physically and financially, and its sufferings were to be continually referred to in correspondence with the Scottish government in its subsequent pleadings for relief. Dundee was almost immediately granted a licence to abstain from the muster of 1550 as it was 'alluterlie brint and distroyit be oure auld Inemeis of Inglannd ...'.³⁷ The fact that it suffered so heavily may have also been a factor in the acquittal of the inhabitants in March 1552/3 of the charges of aiding the English occupation as well of sacking the friaries in 1543. The list of inhabitants includes many who would be expected to be of reformed opinions and would certainly have been involved in the 1543 actions if not collusion with the English in 1547-50.³⁸

However, the reversals of Haddington and Broughty Ferry, which were suffered by the English because of French military aid to the Scots, and because of their own incapability to sustain a protracted campaign, led to the Treaty of Boulogne in 1550. England undertook to withdraw from Scotland, and the complete suppression at this time of their designs on the country led to a strong partnership between Henry II of France and the Queen Dowager, Mary of Lorraine, which in turn swung political and popular opinion in Scotland against French influence. This counter swing of the pendulum of opinion was particularly strong after 1554, when Mary of Lorraine assumed power from Arran, and alienated the nobility by filling high offices of State with Frenchmen. It was this particularly strong incursion of French influence which encouraged the growth of the Lords of the/

the Faithful Congregation, who did indeed set out to defend the Protestant faith, but who also declared their intent to free Scotland from 'the bondage and tyranny of strangers'.³⁹

This increasing friction, caused by the increase of French influence, was seen at an early stage in the mercantile circles in Dundee. In October 1550, soon after their deliverance from the English ravagings from Broughty Castle, the Town Council enacted that French currency be accepted within the town, under the heavy penalty that those who refused be distrained of their goods, one half of which would go to the town and the other half to the repair of the town church.⁴⁰ In February 1551/2 a potentially serious incident occurred when an influential merchant, Alexander Paterson, and a town officer were offered violence by French officers, when they challenged them on taking away vegetables from a town garden. The bailies considered the matter and deferred a decision until the return of the Provost, and the absence of any subsequent decision in the Court Books suggests that the Town Council was helpless in such cases.⁴¹ A joiner in December 1554 was charged to make a more substantial piece of furniture for a French officer than he presumably had undertaken to do,⁴² and in January 1554/5 a citizen was ordered to pay a Frenchman a sum of money, unless he could produce a receipt to prove that he had already done so. This court action suggests a difficult situation in similar temperament to that of February 1551/2.⁴³

In addition to the strain put on the town government by the English and French occupations, it was also evident that the disruption of civic and mercantile life would also affect the nature and force of local government itself in Dundee. It was with difficulty, for instance, that the Town Council gradually retook possession of the/

the various ornaments of St. Mary's Church, after they had been removed for safety by the citizens of Dundee to avoid the spoliation of the English forces. Fairly soon after the English withdrawal, George Bell and his mother undertook to return the ornaments of St. Katherine's altar to James Scrymgeour,⁴⁴ but in fact it was November 1553 before a substantial amount of the church silver was recovered,⁴⁵ and it was not until August 1557 that the remainder was returned to the Council.⁴⁶ In January 1553/4 the Council found it necessary to renew an ordinance establishing respect for the magistrates, with a heavy monetary penalty and confiscation of goods for subsequent offences. There must have been a certain degree of unrest and lack of respect for authority before such an act was promulgated.⁴⁷ The Town Council also found it necessary to define and insist on their rights in 1556, when they presented Mary of Lorraine with a petition asking that the Constable of Dundee, John Scrymgeour, return to them a prisoner for trial who the Constable had forcibly removed from the town tolbooth.⁴⁸ Judgement was in fact awarded in favour of the Town Council, but these events illustrate the internal dissensions and frictions that were underlying civic life after the English occupation, and which inevitably muddied any overall picture of the community as a whole. In addition there would appear to have been an attempt by the trades to establish their rights in the Town Council. No records survive of their deliberations at this time, but a Protest by the Trades does exist for 1554 concerning the transmission of the common seal to Edinburgh.⁴⁹ The insistence of the Trades on their participation in the running of the town affairs was one which was to continually recur in Dundee in the sixteenth century, particularly during the ministry of Robert Howie, and evidence of dissension between the Trades and the magistrates on/

on the process of government at this time points to another source of friction within the town society.

Against this background of dissension it is difficult to see definite general trends in the development of reformed thought in Dundee. Like all developments, in this transition from Lutheran sympathy through to Calvinistic government, there is much of the old and traditional, together with interesting developments arising from the introduction of reformed thought. This duality was also seen at a national level. By 1552 Parliament had passed an act against 'ballattis, sangis, blasphematiuous rymes ...',⁵⁰ in an attempt to suppress criticism of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and yet 1552 also saw the second of the reforming General Councils of the Scottish Church, a Council which accepted responsibility for the publication of Hamilton's Catechism, a work which was remarkable for its 'admirably clear and non-polemical exposition of the faith',⁵¹ and also for its sympathy towards Church reform.⁵² In the same way Dundee could be seen to be undergoing the same transition. The town was shocked by the burning of Wishart and was influenced by the reformed doctrine preached in St. Andrews during the tenure of the 'Castilians' in 1546 and 1547, and yet in July 1551 was still imposing a penalty against a civil defender of 'ane wax candle of ane pund wegcht' for the kirk.⁵³

In November 1552 the Town Council, in view of the general devastation of town and kirk, was quite prepared to ignore the indenture of 1442/3⁵⁴ by which it assumed responsibility for the kirk fabric, and to accept with alacrity an offer from Abbot John of Lindores of five hundred pounds, to be applied to 'the reparacioun and biggine of the quier of the parroche kirk ...'.⁵⁵ In 1553 they/

they appointed John Martin as a chorister to perform the services of matins, mass and evensong,⁵⁶ and they insisted the next year that he lead a single and celibate life.⁵⁷ At the eve of Reformation, and in the same year that the First Covenant was drawn up, the Town Council, having convened to rousp the salmon fishings, decided to adjourn proceedings as it was the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene and the day was therefore 'feriat and halve'.⁵⁸ It is not surprising that a trading community should be so careful about avoiding certain days, as David Wedderburn was a trader of reformed opinions after the Reformation and yet still kept a list of 'evil' and 'blessed' days which were considered dangerous or auspicious for conducting business.⁵⁹ It is still interesting, however, that serious deference should be paid to the habits of the established church in Dundee so near the Reformation. In March 1557/8, the same year that Paul Methven, a former baker himself, was acknowledged as the reformed preacher of Dundee, the baker trade passed a resolution that the Deacon would have to pay a penalty of forty shillings to the upkeep of St. Cuthbert's altar for any misconduct.⁶⁰ The baker trade of Dundee was the most vociferous and energetic supporter of reformed opinion in Dundee, and it is therefore significant that it also was still prepared to let some aspects of tradition continue unchallenged at the eve of the Reformation.

However, despite these continuations of tradition, Dundee during this difficult transitional period did provide examples of the development and growth of reformed thought. Wishart, after all, preached long and to great effect in Dundee, and can only have done so with the aid and approval of the magistrates. Governor Arran included Dundee in his circuit of the North in 1546 to try those who were/

were '... contemners of the Church and episcopall power',⁶¹ and it was probably because of this circuit that John Wedderburn fled Scotland in 1546 for the second time, presumably as a result of the reaction from the authorities caused by the publication of his Gude and godly ballates.⁶² The first collected edition of these balads was probably first printed in Dundee in 1545 by John Scott, who was in turn denounced by Governor Arran. John Scrymgeour, then Provost of Dundee, was ordered to bring Scott to Edinburgh to be punished, which he evaded to do, and he renounced office in April 1547 rather than 'do his exact diligence for the seeking and searching of John Scott'.⁶³ John Scrymgeour had his lands sequestrated for aiding the English⁶⁴ and it is likely that with such sympathies he did all that he could to protect Scott from the Governor and to aid his escape.

The illustrious brother of John Wedderburn, Robert Wedderburn, was also active in Dundee at this period. He returned home from Europe in 1546, was suspected of aiding the Castilians in St. Andrews,⁶⁵ and worked together with his brother on the first production of the Ballates. He had a forceful reputation as an opponent of the established church, and was associated with the burning of Cardinal Beaton's effigy on his return from Europe,⁶⁶ and it is therefore remarkable that he was Vicar of Dundee by May 1548 and held that position until his death.⁶⁷ His presentation was probably made possible by the fact that Abbot John of Lindores was a pragmatic reformer of the established church, who presided over the Provincial Council of 1549 which enacted canons for reforming the lives of churchmen.⁶⁸ Robert Wedderburn was probably the author of the The Complaynt of Scotland, which was published in 1549. It made specific reference to the occupation of Dundee by English troops and/

and the despair which replaced the initial illusion of them as reforming allies.⁶⁹ Wedderburn as the author of the Complaynt was a more compromising and pragmatic figure than the youthful Wedderburn, but it is indicative of a reforming climate in Lindores and in Dundee that he should hold the vicarage at this difficult time.

However, it is likely that the English occupation of Dundee would have given the town copies of the first edition of the Book of Common Prayer. Much of the content of the Book of Common Prayer was to be used later in Book of Common Order⁷⁰ and therefore the town benefited from this perhaps unsavoury opportunity to read the first edition as a freshly printed work. Certainly the Book of Common Prayer was in use in Angus in May 1560⁷¹ and it may have been the English occupation which first gave the nucleus of a reformed congregation in Dundee its reformed order of service.

Evidence of the existence of other reformed works in Dundee at this time is provided by the return of a reformer, James Rollock, who went into exile in 1538/9 after having his good escheated for heresy⁷² and became Conservator of Campvere. He returned before 1551⁷³ and in 1555 was summoned at the Burgh Court to prove payment to John Maillier, London, for books which he had purchased abroad in 1544.⁷⁴ Maillier was in trouble in 1541 through the Six Articles 'and for being a sacramentary and a railer against the mass', and the return of Rollock confirms that reforming literature was still reaching the magistrates and merchants of Dundee through agencies such as Campvere.

Other evidence of the appreciation by Dundee of reforming works is the inscription in Alexander Maxwell's protocol book of the most trenchant excerpts from Lindsay's works. In particular the passage from 'Ane Exclamatioun aganis Idolatrye' from Ane Dialog betuix/

betuix Experience and the Courtcour was evidently felt to be significant, where Maxwell wrote out twice the line

'Bot our dum Doctoris of Divinitie'

from the verse which ends with the trenchant line

'Cryis, Fy! gar cast that faltour in the fyre.'⁷⁵

Alexander Maxwell was a notary by apostolic authority within the diocese of St. Andrews before 1555,⁷⁶ and the fact that the leaves of his protocol book were rounded with such works, together with the transcript of a sermon of William Christison,⁷⁷ suggests that reforming literature was appreciated in legal circles, as well as the mercantile circle which Rollok moved in. It was also significant that this literature was accepted by a Dundonian who obviously moved in ecclesiastical areas.

Similarly reformed thought is evident as early as 1554 in the baker trade, the guild which produced Methven and which was also noted for its reforming zeal throughout the rest of the century. The form of oath to be taken by masters and their sons, as drawn up in November 1554, could be taken for a reformed oath of entrance, were it not for the fact that participation in the sacraments probably referred to the seven Sacraments of the established Church, and not the two Sacraments of the Reformed church.⁷⁸

In addition to the interest of the community of Dundee in reformed thought, there was also an increasing application of that reformed thought to the care of the poor and the maintenance of reformed education. Dundee, like other Scottish towns, had taken a substantial interest in its own almshouse and the maintenance of the poor, but the decade after 1550 saw more funds being channelled to the poor from court fines rather than to fund wax to burn at the altars. In April/

April 1551 the Council decreed that the almshouse collection should be taken up every Sunday and on holy days, and citizens who refused to take up the duty of collection, should have to reimburse the funds to the extent of the previous collection.⁷⁹ This statute, and the one before it to regulate the price of ale,⁸⁰ both recognised the plight of the poor and the need of their protection, and in that they echoed the later statutes of the decade which were prompted by the First Book of Discipline. By July 1554 a case of assault was heard in the burgh court, whereupon the accused was found guilty, ordered to ask the forgiveness of his victim, and also to pay a fine directly to the almshouse master.⁸¹ Also in 1554 a retrospective act by the Town Council granted three burgess-ships to George Spalding for the generosity of his father to the poor of Dundee during the plague nine years previously.⁸² It is clear that the civil magistrates were conscious of the growing sense of responsibility that would later be formulated in the First Book of Discipline to sustain '... the poore and the teachers of the youth.'⁸³

The Town of Dundee was also increasingly conscious of the need to encourage their own teachers of the youth, and took measure to protect teachers of reformed doctrine against those who taught the manners of the established church. The post of master of the grammar school had traditionally lain with the Abbot and Convent of Lindores, and the Convent became concerned in 1555 at the reformed teaching pursued by Thomas Makgibbon, and encouraged opposition schools to take away his pupils. The Town Council supported Makgibbon and suppressed the rival schools, by insisting that two of the rival teachers only teach in the company of Makgibbon, master of the grammar school, and Richard Barclay, master of the sang school, on pain of banishment.⁸⁴

The magistrates appear to have met with some opposition from the inhabitants in enforcing this policy, for in September 1556 thirty two parents were warned to send their children to the grammar school, and not to the rivals, under threat of a fine of sixteen shillings.⁸⁵

The Convent of Lindores then took the Town Council to court at St. Andrews to prevent their harassment of John Rolland, their nominee.⁸⁶ The case then went to the Court of Session and dragged on until the Reformation, by which time it was no longer necessary for the Town Council to defend their action. The Town Council resolutely defended Makgibbon during this period of litigation, and passed another ordinance in October 1559 threatening distraintment against schoolmasters who took Makgibbon's pupils away from him.⁸⁷ It is significant that the magistrates were so insistent on establishing teaching of reformed thought to their youth at this time, in opposition to litigation by the same ecclesiastical authorities which had been so generous in helping the reconstruction of the Kirk after the destruction caused by the English forces.

In spite of the wave of Anglophobia which swept Scotland after the withdrawal of English forces in 1550, and in spite of the religious vacillations of the regencies of Arran and of Mary of Lorraine, there is evidence that reformed opinion was influential in the mercantile, trade and legal circles of Dundee. Through the links with Europe and the passage of those returning from exile, there was a constant refreshment of Lutheran ideology and reformed works that would be transformed into Calvinistic practice at the Reformation itself. The list of those inhabitants of Dundee who were accused of heretical opinions in 1538 - 1539, the accusations against those who were suspected of aiding the Castilians, and the protracted litigation over/

over the right to teach reformed opinions to the youth of the burgh before the Reformation proper, are all indications of the continual and successful growth of reformed opinion in Dundee after the death of Wishart.

FOOTNOTES

1. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, 122.
2. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 54.
3. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 November 1550.
4. Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 210 n.
5. MS Salisbury, Cecil Papers 137/155 recto.
6. Hamilton Papers, II, 624.
7. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 4 February 1551/2.
8. Ibid., 12 November 1550.
9. Ridley, Knox, 65.
10. Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 203 n.
11. Cal. S.P. Scot., I, 21:

'Since my coming, the chief burgesses of Dundee & c. have come in, and but for fear of the great men and priests, would submit. They have supplied us with fresh victuals, and the men of two villages by the river side, fishermen and pilots, are to fish for us.'

12. Ibid., I, 24:

'I use the country gently as ordered. Divers gentlemen who favour the Word of God would come in if they durst, but wait "till they see how the world goo".'

13. Ibid., I, 33:

Signatories to the articles granted by Dundee to Sir Andrew Dudley, 27 October 1547:

John Scrymgeour, Constable and Provost^a
Robert Anderson, bailie^b
George Lovell, bailie^c
George Rollok, bailie^c
Robert Mitchell^b
James Rollok^b
Andrew Annand
James Watson
James Lovell
John 'Streinmur'
John/

John Fotheringham
Richard Rollok^b
Alexander Paterson

- a. lands sequestrated for aiding English.
- b. convicted or accused of heresy 1538-9.
- c. commended by Knox 1559.

- 14. Ibid., I, 35.
- 15. Ibid.
- 16. R.P.C., I, 69.
- 17. Cal. S.P. Scot., I, 62.
- 18. Lindsay, A Satire of the Three Estates, 31:
 'Speir at the monks of Balmerino
 If lechery be sin!'
- 19. Cal. S.P. Scot., I, 50.
- 20. Ibid., I, 62.
- 21. Ibid., I, 67.
- 22. Ibid.
- 23. Tytler, History, III, 64.
- 24. Ibid., III, 65.
- 25. Cal. S.P. Scot., I, 186, 196.
- 26. MS Salisbury, Cecil Papers 137/155 recto.
- 27. Jean de Beague, Histoire De La Guerre D'Ecosse; 91.
- 28. Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 247.
- 29. Ibid., 273.
- 30. Ibid., 307.
- 31. Ibid., 274f.:

'And where ye refuyse to gyve me a playne awnser whatt
yvell warrys ye wyll shoo, beddinge me do my uttermost
and yow wyll do yowrs ... dowl yow nott, altho yowr
horsys be never so shhyft, yow cannott carye all the
rest so fast awaye on yow shulders butt somwhatt wylbe
overtakenn.'

32. Ibid., 275: Luttrell to Somerset, November 1548:
'hattbutters ... rone daylye unto the towne of Dundee,
cuttyng of ther vytalls that ys broght yn by the
contrye, so as thaye be enforcyd daylye and nyghtlye
to travayle bothe ther fotemenne and horsemenne for
supplye theryn, or otherwyse to want ther vytallys.'
33. Ibid., 275 n.
34. R.E.B., 25.
35. Cal. S.P. Scot., I, 169.
36. Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 322 n.
37. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 53: Warrant by Earl of Arran granting citizens of Dundee absence from the army, 10 April 1550:
'... It is understand that oure burgh of Dundee is
allutterlie brint and distroyit be oure auld Inymeis
of England, being in the forth and craig of Bruchty;
And sen the wyning thairof ... the inhabitants ...
are reparand the samin and makand sum polecy for the
sustentatioun of oure lieges ... And throu the greit
heirschippis and douncastis and downecastis thai
haif gottin ... as yit may nocht sustene the ...
coistis and expensis of oure weris.'
38. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 53.
39. Smout, History of the Scottish People, 56.
40. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 7 October 1550:
'statut ... anent the Fransche soulsis and money of
France ... that na persone within this bourgche ...
refuse the said money, thai beand onrongit and
unbatterit under the panis ... Quhilk is ... ane
half of thare geir and gudis, quha refusis the
said money to the autorite, and the other half to
the reparacioun of Our Lady Kirk.'
41. Ibid., 4 February 1551/2:
'Alexander Paterson and James Cossymus, officier,
complenit that certane Franschmen had clum ower the
said Alexander Patersonis yaird dykis, and tane
away his cale, and because the same James Cossymus,
officier, chargit thame to comper before the
baillies, thai maid mannesing, drawing thare
rapperis offering battell, quhilk mater the baillies
hes continuit till the provestis hame cumming.'

42. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 December 1554:

' ... Mareschall de la Foye, Frensche man hes tane to preif upon Fryday nixt to cum, that George Blak, wricht, condicionit to mak the liddis to his pres ...'

43. Ibid., 18 January 1554/5:

' ... Pate Gray is decernit to pay to Jhone du Wykace, Frenschan of the fort, the some of ellevine li. x s. or ellis to preve hym payet ...'

44. Ibid., 23 January 1550/1:

'... Elspet Elge and George Bell, hir sone, hes grantit thaim to present and delyver the ornamentis of Sanct Katrynis altare, in presens of ane baillie, to be deliverit to James Scrymgeour, and alsua grantit that James Fyf of Drone hes the silver chalice of the said alterage.'

45. Ibid., 20 November 1553:

' ... David Gardine in Pilmour grantit that he ressavit fra David Aldcorn ane gild chalice, with ane spule upon it, with certane other geir, gold and silvir; the quhilk chalice, with other geir, the said David Gardine, hes deliverit agane to the said David Aldcord.'

46. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 August 1557:

'the Provest, Bailyeis, Consale and Comonte of this Burgh ressavit, fra the handis of David Wederburn of Cragye, thir jowellis underwrytine:

In the first, ane gryt ocaryst with ane small ocaryst of silvir awergilt;

Twa silvir crowettis and chaleis of silvir owergilt, with ane pax and aine silvir spune;

The quhilk jowellis the said David had in keping of the foirsaid Provest, Bailyies, Counsale and Comonte; And because the said David has delyverit the said jowellis to the Provest, Bailyies, Counsale and Comonte foirsaidis, We, the said Provest, [etc.] dischargeis the said David Wederburn, his heris, executoris and assignais for now and ever, and order this wryting to be incert in the court buke of this Burgh:

The gryt ocarist and ane crowat wyit fyve pund wicht.

The chalice, pax, spune and crowat wyit thre li. twa unce.

The lytil ocarist wyand xxiiii unce.

47. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 8 January 1553/4:

' ... gif ony persone or personis within this burcht beis fundine dishobeying or mispersoning ony officier bering ony office within this burcht for the tyme, sall pay to the Kirkmaister of Oure Ladye Kirk fyve li. of money, but ony forther prossus and his reddyast gudis to be poyndit thare for qha beis convictit.'

48. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 59; Judgment by Queen Regent, Aberdeen, 21 September 1556:

' ... Anent the supplicatioun gevin in to the Quenis grace be the Provest and baillies of the toun of Dunde upoun Johne Skrymgeour, Younger, Constabull of Dunde; Makand mentioun that Johne Williamsone in Baireddy being within the toun of Dunde laitlie in the moneth of August lastbypast, for trublance of the said towne be hurting and wounding of Thomas Robartsoun, inhabitant of the said bourgcht, wes taken and apprehendit be the baillies and officeris of the said bourgcht, and put in the stokkis, as suir firmance, within the tolbuith of the said bourgcht; And upoun the mourne thaireftir, the said Johne at his awin hand, without warnitioun or licence of the sadis baillies, or ony uther that power had, brake the lok of the saidis stokkis, and tuke away with him the said Johne Williamesoun to his place of Dudop ...'

49. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 56.

50. A.P.S., II, 438f.

51. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, 138f.

52. Smout, History of the Scottish People, 54; Donaldson, Scottish Historical Documents, 115.

53. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 6 July 1551.

54. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 28.

55. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 9 November 1552:

' ... George Rollok, eldar, David Wedderburne, elder, conjunctlie of thare awyne fre motyver willis, ar becun caucioneris and principall debtoris to the Provest [etc.] for ane Reverend Father in God Jhone Abbot of Lundoris, for the some of fyve hundreth li. usuale money of Scotland, to be payet at thir termis foloing, that is to say; twa hundreth li. at this nixt Feist of Anderismes, or within aucht dayes nixt immediatlie foloing; And ane hundreth li. at the Feist of the Rwyd callit Inventio ... in the yeir of God 1553; And ane/

ane hundreth li. at the Feist Petri ad Vincula callit Lammes nixt tharefter; And the remanent hundreth li., in compleit payment of the said fyve hundreth li., to be payet at the Feist of the Rwyd callit Inventio Crucis in the Yeir of God 1554 ... the quhilk soume above wrytine to be exponit and varit upon the reparacioun and biggine of the quier of the perroche Kirk of the said bourcht.'

56. Ibid., 18 July 1553:

'the Provest, baillies and counsale hes decernit Williem Kinloche to content and pay to Jhone Mertyne, chorister in our quere, the some of ten m. money of this realme for this nixt yeris service, to be maid be the said Jhone at matynnis, mes and evinsang; And siclyk yeir be yeir sa lang as the counsale thinkis expedient ...'

57. Ibid., 25 June 1554:

'... Jhone Mertyne is decernit to devoid Elene Ramsay furth of his cumpanye within the space of foure dayes, and the said Elene Ramsay to have terme to pas and bring certificatioun that scho is fre of all man ...'

58. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 22 July 1557:

'... in presens of George Wyshart and Wilyem Carmichel, bailyies, with divers of the Counsale convenit for rouping of the Comone Gude ... as term assignit therunto, the Bailyeis and Counsale hes continuat, because this day is feriat and halye, the said rouping unto the morn.'

59. The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, xviii.

60. Warden, Burgh Laws, 335: 3 March 1557:

'... And gif onye thing beis done Inco-trar heirof ... ye Dekin, quha happy-nis to be for ye tyme, sall paye fourtye schillings to ye ophance and repirance of Sant Cobortt's aulter.'

61. Herries, Historical Memoirs, 14.

62. Mitchell, The Wedderburns and their Work, 12f.

63. R.P.C., I, 69.

64. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 24 September 1551:

'... Willem Elphestoun is creat officier to Schir Neill Lang, scribe to my Lord Governouris Grace, of his aikeris lyand within the terretorie of Dundee and Barronie of Dudop and Schirefdome of Forfare; the quhilk Willem hes maid fayth upoun the Haly/

Haly Evangelis to do dew administracioun in the said office of sergeandschip ay and quhill he be dischargit.'

65. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 54.
66. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 138.
67. Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 69.
68. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 147.
69. Ibid., 143.
70. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 83.
71. Spalding Club Miscellany, IV, 120f.
72. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, VII, 78.
73. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 January 1550/1.
74. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 12 November 1555:

'... James Rollok, edlar, producit ane acquittance wrytine be Jhone Mailler, citinar of Londone, of the dait as folgis; The xxiiij day of Junii in the yeir of God Jm v^o xliiiij yeris; I, Jhone Mailare, prenter in Londone in Sanct Bottellis paroch, grantis me weil contentit and payet of all soumes of money owine to me be James Rollok, Portar of Camfeir, and in special of ane obligatione owine to me be the said James for vij li. Scottis and od money for certane bukis bocht and ressavit fra me be the said James, of the whichis somes I discharge the said James, and all otheris in his name ...'
75. MS Protocol book fragments, from protocol book of Alexander Maxwell:

Bot our dum doctoris of devinitie
Bot our dum docturis of divinitie
And ye last fond religioun
Of pure transgressouris ye have no petie
Bot cryis to put to confusioune
As cryit the Jowis for the effusioune
Of Chrystis blud in too thair byrnand yre
Crusifie so ye aine unioune
Cryis fy gar cast yone faltoure in the fyre
...

As rane the perverst prophetis of baall
Quhilkis dyd consent to the Idoltry
Of wikit Achab kyng of Israell
Quhose nommer war four hundreth and fyftie
Quhilkis honourit that Idoll opinly
Bot quhen Elias dyd preve thair abusioun
He/

He gart slay thayme crewellie
So at aine hour cam thair confusioun.

Comparative text from Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour, 37f.:

Bot our dum Doctoris of Divinitie,
And ye of the last fonde religioun,
Of pure transgressouris ye have no petie,
Bot cryis to put thame to confusioun:
As cryit the Jowis, for the effusioun
Of Christis blude, in to thare byrnand ire, [2570]
Crucifige, so ye, with one unioun,
Cryis, Fy! gar cast that faltour in the fyre.

...
As ran the perverst Prophetis of Baall, [2581]
Quhilkis did consent to the idolatrye
Of-wickit Achab, king of Israell,
Quhose nommer wer four hundreth and fyftie,
Quhilkis honourit that Idoll opinlye:
Bot, quhen Elias did preve thare abusioun,
He gart the peple sla thame creullye;
So at one hour came thare confusioun.

76. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 584.

77. MS Protocol book fragments, from protocol book of Alexander Maxwell, portion begins:

[The words of] my maister Willem Crystessoune
Minister of the trewe wurd of God In Dundee ...'

78. Warden, Burgh Laws, 332; 23 November 1554:

'The forme of the oathe to be giwne be the maisteris
sones and entrantes to the Baxter Craft of ye burgh
of Dundie, The maner quhairof followies:-
1. In the first ze sall fear, serve, and obey the
Almichtie God, maker of heawine and earth, se sall
frequent vith reverence To the hearing of his holy
vord, and to the participatioun of his blessed
sacramentis.'

79. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 6 April 1551:

'... ordanit that the almishouse bred gang every
Sunday, and nother pece nor other bred except Our
Lady ... and the said almishous bred bot to gang on
other haly dayes ... and honest nychtbouris to gang
with the bred quhen thai ar chargit.'

80. Ibid.:

'... ordanit that the broustaris within this bourgch
brew gud aill for thre d. the pynt, and na darrer
aile to be sald within this bourgch fra the xiii/

xiii day of this instant moneth ...'

81. Ibid., 28 July 1554:

'... Andro Lochmalony is decernit be the bailye and counsale that he hes failyeit to Robert Vidder in strubling of hym upon the schore ... quhare for the said Andro ... sall content and pay to the almishous maister of this burcht foure s. ...'

82. Ibid., 12 November 1554:

'... the Provest, Baillies and Counsale hes grantit and gevine to George Spalding, sone and air of umquhile Williem Spalding, thre burgesschip for certane maile distribut be the said umquhile Williem to the pure folkis in the yeir of xlv in tyme of the gryt pest.'

83. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 160.

84. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 15 November 1555:

'... the baillies and counsale hes gevine inhibicion be ane officier opinlie in judgiment till Robert Merschell and Andro Kemp, that thai bor name of thame teache, nor instruct ony bairnis in place nor placis... nor opinlie grammar, ynglis, nor sangine, bot with the cumpany of Maister Thomas Makgibbon, Maister of the Grammar Schole, and Richard Barry, Maister of the Sang Schole; and gif thai be fund doand the contrar thai to be banesit this bourcht for yeir and day.'

85. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 28 September 1556:

'... thir nychtbouris under wrytine, ar decernit and ordanit to send thare bairnis to the commone Grammar Scole to be teacht be Maister Makgibbon, Maister of the said schole ... under the pane of the unlaw of sextene s. to be uptakine unforgevine, toties quoties that thai be dishobedient agains this statute.'

86. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 154.

87. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559.

CHAPTER 3

THE HALIBURTON ERA I;
REFORMATION AND ENTRENCHMENT 1559 - 1570

Although Lutheran and Calvinist reformed thought had been successively widespread at significantly early times in Dundee, it was not until August 1559 that the Town Council formally assumed responsibility for the upkeep of the Ministry,¹ and not until October 1559 that laws were passed against blasphemy of the minister and deacons of the congregation.² Reformation legislation in Dundee occurred roughly at the same time as other centres of reformed thought, such as in Ayr, where the chaplains were discharged from service in May 1559,³ and in St. Andrews, where the Register of the Kirk Session commenced in October of that year.⁴ However, the receptiveness of Dundee to the Reformation movement was strong, for in spite of the accession of David Lindsay as the tenth Earl of Crawford in 1558⁵ and his strong support of the Queen Dowager and Queen against the Lords of the Congregation, Dundee still provided the focus for rebellion by rising against Perth and Scone and marching to protect their preachers against prosecution. The men of Dundee suffered heavily in the French counterattack at Leith, and Dundee itself almost experienced sacking, and certainly was penalised financially, for Haliburton's support of the Earl of Moray's revolt in 1565. Despite risk of intervention by a traditional nobility, and despite real financial hardship caused by the penalty of 1565, Dundee was nevertheless one of the first towns to appropriate ecclesiastical property for civic and reformed uses,⁶ and despite pressing problems it extended a Kirk fabric ruined by the English, securely established a Reformed Ministry and educational system, and imposed a comprehensive reformed code of moral conduct on the population.

The background and support for the Reformation in Dundee and Angus was strong. The Earl of Angus was one of the Council of the/

the Lords of the Congregation in 1559,⁷ and it was the areas of Dundee and Angus which provided nearly a thousand men to check Mary of Lorraine's army at Cupar Muir.⁸ This confrontation had in turn been fuelled by the Queen's attempt to arrest Methven, Minister of Dundee, for his preaching. Naturally James Haliburton, Provost of Dundee, proved unhelpful and made only a 'counterfitt search',⁹ for Methven, but it was significant that Lord Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth and Provost of the town of St. Johnstone¹⁰ also refused to suppress the reformed movement, answering the Regent that '... in what concerned their bodie, his charge was to keep them in order, but what concerned their soulls, or relligion, it was neither in his charge, nor would he medle with it ...'.¹¹ After the arrival of Knox in Dundee, it was noted in intelligence reports that the nobility was strongly represented¹² at his continual preaching, preaching so powerful that a probably exaggerated figure of 6,000 people made their way to the area.¹³

Dundee, after providing the initial impetus of armed volunteers and the military experience of Haliburton, continued through 1559 to provide both a tactical and resource centre for the Lords of the Congregation. The 'Instructions' of Knox to Croftes of July 1559 recognised that 'some strength must be made by sea for the safety of Dundee and S. Johnston',¹⁴ and that Broughty Crag and its fort should be taken and fortified, an action later admitted by the Lords of the Congregation.¹⁵ It was the Provost and townsmen of Dundee, in the absence of the Lords of the Congregation, who left Edinburgh on 31 October to invest Leith,¹⁶ and who suffered heavily in the French counterattack, when their artillery was captured and Haliburton's brother Alexander was killed.¹⁷ By December the English Privy Council were informed that the merchants of Dundee could be relied/

relied upon to provide support at sea for an invading English force, and that their harbour would be a welcome haven.¹⁸ In the guerilla warfare that continued into 1560, the town of Dundee was a centre for captured prisoners¹⁹ and it was an enterprising Dundee merchant, Andrew Sands, who boarded and stripped the ships that were victualling the French forces.²⁰

As a community, however, Dundee could not be isolated from the extensive influence and powerful personality of their Provost James Haliburton. In the common opposition against the French military occupation of Scotland and the common interest in promoting a reformed religion, the merchants and trades of Dundee identified with Haliburton, and gave him continual support, with the result that much of the events surrounding the Reformation in Dundee appeared to be his work, and with the result that the whole community suffered after his support of Moray in 1565. Haliburton was at the forefront of all political developments in the Scottish Reformation. His signature appeared on the Instructions issued to the Commissioners who went to negotiate at Berwick on 10th February 1559,²¹ it appeared on the declaration of the Last Band at Leith on 27th April 1560,²² and also on the subscription to the Book of Discipline on 27th January 1560/1.²³ This recognition by the Provost of Dundee of the Book of Discipline was significant in view of the respect with which its principles were applied by the community of Dundee through the rest of the century. In addition Haliburton was made Commissioner for Angus in representations made by the General Assembly of 1564 'perteinand to reformatioun of maners ... and others concerning the universall kirk of this realme...'.²⁴ Apart from his attendance at General Assemblies, Haliburton was a tireless participant in Parliaments and Conventions/

Conventions of Estates, and represented Dundee almost continuously on these two bodies from 1563 to 1581.²⁵

Haliburton's support of the Earl of Moray's rebellion against Queen Mary's marriage with Darnley, however, threatened to wreak havoc with the fortunes of Dundee, which was still recovering physically and financially from the English occupation. In September 1565 it seems fairly certain that Dundee would have been sacked yet again, this time by their own irate Queen, had Mary not desperately needed the fine of £2,000 Scots to pay her army.²⁶ In turn a large part of the financial burden fell on the wealthy burgesses of the town, James Lovell, George Rollok, and Richard Blyth, who had to raise loans to pay off the fine, and who protested in 1567 that they were being 'all put at for a cause'.²⁷ In spite of the fact that the Lovell and Rollok families were identified by Knox in 1559 for their reformed opinions,²⁸ it would appear that they resented being associated with Haliburton's support of Moray, despite their undoubted reservations over the Darnley marriage. Haliburton probably fled to England with the Earl of Moray after being put to the horn, and the Earl of Crawford was placed by Queen Mary in the office of Provost. The terse prelude to the entry of the Earl of Crawford, in the burgess roll in September 1565, suggests that his nomination to the post of Provost was arbitrary and unwelcome to the town council of Dundee.²⁹

However, Moray was pardoned within the year and Haliburton returned to favour and a substantial increase in his pension to £1,000 Scots.³⁰ This sum was double the £500 Scots he had been granted by Mary of Lorraine for his 'withstanding of Inglannd in tyme of weir'.³¹ His rapid change of fortune reflected the swiftly changing political scene at a national level. Haliburton was one of the members of the/

the temporary governing council appointed after the resignation of Queen Mary, pending the appointment of Regent Moray.³² He took part in the Battle of Langside after Mary's escape from Loch Leven, and was instructed to quell the abortive rebellion of the Gordons to restore Queen Mary to the throne.³³ Haliburton's victory over the Earl of Huntly was just as remarkable as his performance at Cupar Muir nine years earlier. With only 300 men the Tutor of Pitcur successfully carried out 'a desperate adventure upon the Earl',³⁴ who had a force superior in numbers which had seriously worried the Parliament in Edinburgh, and which would have probably been successful had it made rendezvous with Argyll and Fleming in Glasgow. Complaints would be made against Haliburton by the English in the next decade that he was unable to curb the Anglophobia of the Dundee merchants, but the Gordon insurrection gives a good indication of the personality and influence of the Provost of Dundee as a man who could inspire his followers, at over fifty years of age, to challenge a greatly superior force. It is clear how so much of the progress of the Reformation in Dundee and Scotland bore the imprint of his personality.

The relationship between Queen Mary and the town of Dundee vacillated, and generally deteriorated towards the end of her reign. It is interesting to note, however, that the Queen made representations to Elizabeth on the attacks on Dundee merchant shipping, a traditional spoliation that must have dispersed quickly the good will caused by English naval intervention in 1560. The Grace of God, a Dundee ship bound for Bordeaux, was taken into Harwich by an English Man of War in November 1563. Queen Mary wrote to Queen Elizabeth on 20 January 1563/4³⁵ requesting restitution, Elizabeth promised a Commission of Enquiry in February 1563/4,³⁶ and Mary was still attempting to/

to secure restitution for Dundee in her remembrance to Bedford in January 1566/7.³⁷ In spite of the friction caused by the resentment of the merchant class in Dundee against the high taxation caused by the 1565 fine, it is evident that their interests were still being pursued by the Queen.

The beginning of her reign heralded good will and anticipation in Scotland, and Dundee as the second burgh in the land extended the hospitality expected of it. Aberdeen went to great expense in 1562 to welcome the Queen because of 'her Grace's honorable receiving at her first entry, and princely propines given to her in Edinburgh and Dundee'³⁸ in the previous year. Queen Mary was actually in Dundee when she granted a licence to the burgh ratifying their use of the former Grey Friars' yard as a burying place in September 1564,³⁹ and this action must have resulted from good will on both sides. She also enjoyed lavish hospitality from the Earl of Crawford when Provost, in the form of three puncheons, fourteen gallons and one tun of wine,⁴⁰ but this was understandable in the light of Crawford's appointment and the threat of sacking of the town. Relations then deteriorated to the point in August 1570 when the inhabitants of Dundee refused to allow proclamation of the Queen.⁴¹

Against this constantly changing national background, the town of Dundee gradually established control over the former ecclesiastical lands, a process that was to take another three hundred years to complete satisfactorily,⁴² extended the kirk fabric, and firmly established a reformed ministry and education. The magistrates became more and more unwilling to give summary decrees against debtors who owed ecclesiastical rents, and by January 1558/9 left the chaplains to try to obtain ecclesiastical rents by civil action only.⁴³ The/

The bemoaning by Pölar John Grierson in October 1559 of the ruinous state of the Dominican houses in Dundee and Montrose⁴⁴ was somewhat belated in the case of Dundee, as the monasteries and churches in the town had been laid in ruins during the English occupation of Broughty Castle eleven years previously. There was consequently little if any iconoclasm in Dundee itself, as the English forces had carried it out so efficiently. Perhaps as a result of this there was neither an outbreak of anticlericalism in Dundee. The magistrates actually fined a wright who had broken down the gate of the Blackfriars' herb garden and ordered him to make restitution in July 1559.⁴⁵ The friar who tended the herb garden, Findlo Dunckan, was probably one of the chirurgians who tended the wounded at the siege of Leith in 1560,⁴⁶ and he, along with other clerics, could be seen to be absorbed into post-Reformation Dundee if they performed useful functions or if they adopted the new religion.

Unfortunately the population of Dundee, probably the 'rascal multitude' did indulge in iconoclasm outside Dundee, but it was probably spoilt in the landward areas which attracted their attention rather than a genuine desire to spread reformed thought. The friaries of St. Johnston⁴⁷ were despoiled by a Dundee mob in May 1559, which also was probably responsible for removing the bells of Liff and Kilspindie. Both bells were located in 1560 by the bailies of Dundee, who ordered their return.⁴⁸ However, the Greyfriars had probably abandoned their property by August 1559, as the magistrates were in possession of the lands and buildings, and sold the growing crop by auction on 7 August.⁴⁹ Before the roup the Commissioner for John Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee, protested that the Constable had a right to part of the Greyfriars' lands, and prevented them from/

from proceeding with their sale.⁵⁰ The Constable proved his right to the lands, which remained in the family's hands until 1591, when Sir James Scrymgeour sold the ground to the Town of Dundee.⁵¹ In October 1560 the Town Council resolved to use stones from the ruins of the Greyfriars buildings to build the new slaughterhouse.⁵² The Town Council leased the remaining portion of ground to Thomas Monorgound, but later in 1562 remitted part of the rental for the public use of the enclosed yard, probably as a burial ground.⁵³ This action was later ratified by Queen Mary in September 1564, when she licensed the burgh 'to bury thair deid in that place and yardis quhilk somtyme was occupyit be the Grey Cordelier Freris ...'.⁵⁴ It was possibly because of the Burgh of Dundee's precipitate action that it was not mentioned specifically in the Act of Privy Council of 15th February 1561/2, when the Secret Council instructed burghs, where friaries were not demolished, 'to interteny and uphold the saids freris places standand in the saids townis, upon the commone gude thair of, and to uss the samyn to the commone weil and service ...'.⁵⁵ The Greyfriars property stood to the east of Friar Wynd, and a smaller property belonging to the Black Friars stood to the east. It would appear to have been in reasonable repair, but insignificant enough not to have been mentioned in the Act of 1561/2, as the Town Council had possession of the Black Friars property in March 1563/4 and instructed the Treasurer to take the fabric apart, but only insofar as was necessary to comply with the condition of acquisition of the property.⁵⁶

The lands of the Greyfriars, with the exception of the church and cemetery, had been feued for a nominal annual duty of seventeen merks to David, Earl of Crawford, in July 1557.⁵⁷ This was an early example of a trend which was to become prevalent over the next two/

two years, as many burgh friars took the precaution of feuing their land to local magistrates or to sympathetic landowners.⁵⁸ Earl David's successor then secured the validity of this feu charter by obtaining a Precept for a Charter of Confirmation in March 1565.⁵⁹

The situation generally concerning former ecclesiastical lands was consolidated following the Act of Secret Council of 10 January 1566/7,⁶⁰ when Commissioners were appointed to consider provision in each burgh for the upkeep of the ministry, which would issue from the unclaimed annuals of chaplainries, and obits. A Precept for Charter under the Great Seal was given in favour of the Town of Edinburgh on 13 March 1556/7,⁶¹ and another was granted in favour of Dundee on 14 April 1567,⁶² which was followed by a Precept of Sasine on 15 April⁶³ and Instrument of Sasine on 1 May.⁶⁴ This gift to the Magistrates of Dundee of the ecclesiastical properties within the burgh included the lands and endowments of the Grey Friars, Black Friars and Grey Sisters. In turn the Magistrates executed a formal conveyance of their general rights to the Hospital Master on 9 January 1569/70 'that only the samen be labourit, occupyit, and manurit to the welfare of the pair persons of the said Hospital, and to nane uther use ...'.⁶⁵ In spite of this clear condition, the rents of the 'Queen's Donation', as it was known, were collected for the use of the Hospital, but were also largely applied to other purposes of the grant, especially the sustentation of the ministry. This vesting of powers in the Hospital Master was an attempt to ease the problems of collecting income when the other competing rights of Scrymgeour and Crawford made collection difficult, but the problem was not to be resolved until Sir James Scrymgeour conveyed his rights to the third part of the common meadows to the town in 1591, and the Earl of Crawford abandoned his claim in

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Evidence of the treatment of dispossessed friars and ecclesiastics is scanty and dispersed, but there is nothing to suggest that they suffered ill treatment, and they do in fact appear to have been well cared for and respected if they adopted the new religion. In view of the climate of opinion in Dundee following the English occupation, and the initial despoliation by the English forces, it may have been that ecclesiastics and monastic brethren may have left the area if they did not agree with the reforming climate of the burgh. We have already seen how a Black Friar, who was probably a chirurgian, had his herb garden protected by the Magistrates in the latter part of 1559. Before Sir John Wishart took up office as Collector General in 1561 he found that £32 11s 4d was a sum due as Thirds to the Blackfriars, Greyfriars, and Greysisters, '... with the quhilk the town of Dunde and thair thesauris intromettit and applyit in thair commoun aufairis ...',⁶⁷ but on the other hand the sum of £128 was paid by him as 'Freiris Wages' to friars in Dundee, Barry and Montrose.⁶⁸ Later it was found that John Brown, a former Greyfriar, could be presented with income from a chaplainry, for performance of the civic duty of maintaining the town clock,⁶⁹ and could still be recognised in 1573 as '... ane of the Gray Freiris and man be sustenit vpoun the rent thairof during his lifytyme yeirlie pay to him ... xvi li'.⁷⁰ John Brown was treated well because of his good standing in the town, and there is no reason to suppose that the other friars were ill treated. With their tradition of preaching and the local tradition of reformed thought in Dundee it can also be assumed that they were easily assimilated into burgh society.

There is more evidence of the healthy survival of the former clergy in Dundee after the Reformation, partly as 'tulchan' collectors of annuals and partly as adherents of the new reformed/

reformed religion. Sir James Wicht, who performed the office of chaplain of St. Colme's altar, had his income maintained after the Reformation when in 1561 it was known that he was a man of sincere and true religion, of good conversation, and had renounced all Papistry and idolatry.⁷¹ Sir Thomas Duchirs, a former chorister, and Master Andrew Cowper, former chaplain of St. Ninian's altar, were appointed as factors by the Magistrates in 1562 to uplift their former annuals on condition that they gave one half of the money to the common good.⁷² The preamble to the act makes it probable that both Duchirs and Cowper were not in spirit 'priests and choristers for maintenance and upholding of idolatrie ...'.⁷³ As the value of the annuals fell, presumably from the increasing difficulty of their collection, increasing provision was made for Duchirs, when in the next year he was also presented to the benefice of Little Saint John.⁷⁴ By 1565 the former chaplain of St. Ninian's altar was referred to as 'weille lovit Androw Cowper glassinwreicht and Maister gunner'⁷⁵ and was, like John Brown, welcomed into burgh society and was performing important civic duties. By 1573 eight chaplains and choristers and John Brown were still receiving money from the Queen's Donation 'on lyve',⁷⁶ among whom was Sir John Sowter, formerly of St. Andrews chaplainry. Sir John had been involved in an argument with the magistrates in 1566,⁷⁷ when his private school was summarily repressed, presumably because he opposed the reformed teachings of the Grammar School. If this was so, then the Magistrates, although they did not tolerate the teaching and views of clergy maintaining their former religion, showed a degree of compassion which would suggest the peaceful continuance of the former clergy after the Reformation without molestation.

The magistrates of Dundee also attempted to improve the actual fabric of their burgh Kirk as well as taking over former ecclesiastical property in the burgh. A major step in the rebuilding of the Kirk was the appointment of a Kirkmaster. A kirkmaster of some form had presumably existed since the Indenture between the Abbot of Lindores and the Town of Dundee in March 1442/3, which passed responsibility of upkeep of the fabric to the town,⁷⁸ but the magistrates in January 1561/2 sought to re-establish the post and to formulate general rules for the maintenance of the Kirk. An 'honest godlie and famous man' was to be placed in this exacting office,⁷⁹ and rules for the tidy governing of the churchyard were repeated, and arrangements were made for the repair of the kirkyard styles and dykes,⁸⁰ and for the removal of private building materials from the kirk yard area. Although it is unlikely that the detailed provisions for 'Reparation of the Kirkes',⁸¹ were published by this time, the zeal of the citizens of Dundee to put their Kirk in order reflected the exhortation of the Book of Discipline and suggests the personal influence of Haliburton. However, Edinburgh Town Council had earlier taken steps for the 'gude ... decoring' of their kirk in June 1560.⁸² In October 1564 the Dundee Kirkmaster was instructed to put a roof on the steeple of the kirk⁸³ and by December the magistrates were considering the raising of funds to make permanent repairs to the kirk fabric.⁸⁴ The windows of the kirk, a valuable and fragile commodity, were guaranteed special care after August 1565, when Andrew Cowper was given the responsibility of maintaining the kirk windows, and punishing the parents of children who brok the windows, in return for free lodging.⁸⁵

More important than the fabric of the kirk was the sustentation of the ministry that preached the reformed gospel within it. Although/

Although the reformation movement was first established in Edinburgh, Dundee was '... the first town in which a reformed Church was completely organised, provided with a regular minister, and favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments'.⁸⁶ The first regular Minister, Paul Methven, was awarded a living to be paid out of the common good by the Treasurer, George Lovell, (who was highly thought of by Knox⁸⁷), and this award was made on 4 August 1559⁸⁸ 'during the tyme that he sall remaine in the parochine'. Methven had been summoned to appear in February 1558 before the Queen Regent, and had been active in preaching at least a year before that,⁸⁹ so presumably this financial arrangement was a formalisation of previous practice. Methven administered communion in Dundee in Easter 1559, against the stipulation of the Queen Regent that only authorised priests should celebrate communion, and it was the summoning of Methven and other reformed preachers to appear before the Privy Council at Stirling on 10 May 1559 that sparked off the sacking of Perth on 11 May and the road to revolution taken by the 'faithfull Congregation of Christ Jesus in Scotland'.⁹⁰ Methven's successor, William Christison, a native of Fife, returned from exile in Denmark early in 1559 at the request of 'the city fathers and the folk',⁹¹ and was appointed as Minister of Dundee on 20 July 1560.⁹² By 1561 the Magistrates were presumably using the Thirds rather than the Common Good to pay the Ministry, as the Collector General announced their prior collection by the magistrates and treasurer,⁹³ by July 1562 the magistrates were taking half the choristers' annuals⁹⁴ and in 1567 the Queen's Donation laid the basis for formal support of the Ministry. Christison was elected Moderator of the General Assembly in July 1569, and in November of that year he was presented to the Vicarage by King James VI.⁹⁵

In later years his security and amount of stipend was to increase, but it is clear that in the years before the rationalisation of finances brought about by the Queen's Donation, the Town of Dundee made sure that Methven and Christison had adequate provision. As early as September 1561 the Town Council had guaranteed Christison a minimum stipend of 250 merks.⁹⁶ The rents and patrimony of the Church in Scotland presented a thorny problem which the Book of Discipline attempted to solve by laying down guidelines for their reallocation, but in doing so aroused the opposition of the landed classes on which the Reformers relied for political power. Adequate provision for the early Ministry in Dundee was made, however, and it is clear that in Dundee, as exhorted in the Book of Discipline; 'merchants and rich craftsmen ... having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must take some provision ... to support the need of the kirk'.⁹⁷

The Book of Discipline, as well as providing for the support of the ministry, was also concerned with the establishment and support of an educational system capable of inculcating and spreading the new reformed religion; '... every severall kirk have one School-maister appointed, such a one at least as is able to teach Grammar and the Latine tongue if the town by of any reputation'.⁹⁸ Dundee, however, anticipated the recommendations of a reformed education by spreading reformed opinions through its grammar school from at least the time that a reformed congregation was in existence. The grammar school had been long established in Dundee since the Abbot and Convent of Lindores had been given permission to found one shortly after 1224,⁹⁹ and the school enjoyed a solid reputation and produced good scholars, including Hector Boece, who received a primary education there.¹⁰⁰ Thomas Makgibbon was appointed master of the school before 1555, and/

and thereafter would appear to have taught reformed doctrines, because the Abbot and Convent of Lindores supported opposition schools. The magistrates attempted to suppress these by decreeing that children learning grammar, English and singing, should attend the classes of the burgh grammar or song school.¹⁰¹ This started an action in the ecclesiastical court, which was then taken to the Lords of Council, but the action did not come to any final conclusion before the events of the Reformation made the action void.¹⁰² In October 1559 the magistrates re-affirmed their support of Makgibbon's school by making him the only teacher who could legally command fees, and enabling him to recoup his fees from rival teachers if children of dissenting parents should send their children to them.¹⁰³ By May 1560 the Magistrates regularised payment to Makgibbon and assistants in return for teaching the '... bairnis sufficientlie in grammar oratorie and poetrie ...',¹⁰⁴ but with the condition that Bailie George Wishart oversee the standard of teaching. Possibly Makgibbon retired or was ousted because of Bailie Wishart's dissatisfaction, because Alexander Hepburn was appointed in December 1562 to instruct 'the haill youthe of this burgh ... in oratorie, poetrie, grammar, and uther moral letters, and alsua in guid maneris and cumlie ordour'.¹⁰⁵ Alexander Hepburn was to rise to be Protestant Bishop of Ross in 1574, and he enjoyed connections with the elite of Dundee society through his marriage with Christian Scrymgeour.¹⁰⁶ A graduate of St. Andrews University, he was a very able man, and it was an indication of the respect that Dundee had for reformed education, and of the importance of the post, that they made Hepburn a burges of the town in January 1564/5.¹⁰⁷ In March 1563/4 the Kirkmaster was instructed to build a new school.¹⁰⁸ The instructions were not carried out, but the intention shows a/

a willingness on the part of the magistrates to extend education in Dundee, which was definitely shown by the recruiting of three assistant teachers to the grammar school in June 1564, who were to be paid by the annuals of St. Agatha's chaplainry.¹⁰⁹ There were occasional attempts to set up rival schools, as is shown by the suppression, in 1566,¹¹⁰ of the school of John Soutar by the magistrates. Soutar had been serving the chaplainry of St. Andrews before the Reformation, but the suppression of his school was confident and summary, and his peaceable enjoyment of his old income in 1573¹¹¹ suggests that the magistrates tolerated him and did not consider his presence to be a threat to the reformed religion. The appointment of Hepburn heralded an educational renaissance in Dundee which was willingly fuelled by funds from the burgh, a renaissance which was forwarded by Hepburn and his able successors, Thomas Ramsay and David Lindsay. Lindsay was another master of ability and was to become Bishop of Edinburgh.

It is evident from other sources and from the civic records that a congregation and a kirk session were functioning in Dundee at the Reformation, and continued to grow and develop after this date. The History of the Estate of Scotland, talking of a meeting of reformed ministers at Edinburgh in July 1558, refers to members of the congregation of Dundee, who were summoned to appear for trial and were bound over in security. They returned to preach the reformed religion as best they could, and it was noted that '... cheifely the faithfull in Dundie exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldnes, preferring the true religion to all things temporall.'¹¹² Prior to the summoning by the Queen Regent of Methven in 1559, she had instructed Provost Haliburton to arrest him, whereupon he, 'fearing God',¹¹³ warned Methven and made a 'counterfitt search'.¹¹⁴ The/

The community organisation was strong enough in Dundee prior to May 1559 to protect their minister from outside interference. By August 1559 the Kirk Session was identified by name when twelve ceremonial capes which belonged to the priests were auctioned, and were sold to John Flesher for £120 on the condition that 'the saidis kapes be alterit fra the Sessioun and nevir to serve in Papistrie heirefter'.¹¹⁵ By this date the Session was clearly a finite and separate organisation, although its members were probably also members of the Town Council. By October the Town Council took measures to reassert their traditional authority and also included the ministers, elders, or deacons of the congregation within their protective custody.¹¹⁶ George Lovell and William Carmichael accompanied William Christison to the General Assembly in Edinburgh in December 1560, and it is therefore to be assumed that they were members of the Dundee Kirk Session. Of these George Lovell was certainly a magistrate, and the fact that both Lovell and Carmichael were singled out for commendation by Knox in June 1559¹¹⁷ suggests that Carmichael was also influential in civic affairs.

Dundee Kirk Session was recognised by that of St. Andrews, who probably contacted it in August 1560 when it requested William Christison to use his knowledge of Danish to translate a testimonial sent to them from Denmark.¹¹⁸ A working relationship was also proved in September 1562, when the Minister of St. Andrews ordered Janat Gedde, accused of fornication with David Scrymgeour from Dundee, to return to Dundee, to 'underly disciplin and obteyn hyr barne baptised and nocht to return quhill sche bryng testimoniall of the fulfylling of the same'.¹¹⁹ Such duties were carried out only by the Kirk Session, and is clear evidence of a responsible Session/

Session operating fully in Dundee. In October 1562 the Town Council again made a protective act on behalf of the Kirk Session, referring to them as 'ecclesiastical magistrates',¹²⁰ and threatening arrest by the town officers if the accused did not appear before Session when requested. They reinforced it with a still stronger act in January 1562/3, which also threatened imprisonment, but stipulated that fairly punitive fines, if levied, were to be paid to the poor. It is fortunate that some documentary evidence relating to the Kirk Session has survived amongst the civic archive, but this reference also proves a strong interrelationship between the ecclesiastical and civil magistrates, a relationship which was recommended and delineated by the Book of Discipline.¹²¹

The civil magistrates, in collaboration with the Kirk Session, continued the imposition of moral laws and church discipline which was typical of Scottish mercantile communities which administered their own burgh church before the Reformation. After the Reformation, however, and for a period before it, the civil magistrates adopted a reformed moral code which was to echo the later sentiments of the Book of Discipline. An early act against immorality in January 1558/9 combined a severe penalty of banishment for either slander of immorality or the transgression of immorality,¹²² and the fact that this act was closely followed by one suppressing brothels and 'sic vitious maneir of leiving',¹²³ heralded civic laws that were not only for the well being of the citizens, but were also inspired by reformed doctrine. After the success of the Reformation movement was more widespread, the punishment for adultery and fornication was increased in October 1559 to public humiliation, followed by a ducking for second offenders. It is noteworthy that those found guilty were given/

given the option of openly repenting for their sin in front of the whole congregation.¹²⁴ Public repentance was to be sought for such sin by the Book of Discipline, and such repentance had been advocated by Calvin in the Institutes.¹²⁵ A re-enactment against fornication in October 1564 added another penalty for a second offence, consisting of shearing of the hair and carting the guilty offender through the streets of the town.¹²⁶

The upholding of the new reformed religion brought with it a series of acts against blaspheming, against 'disputation', and in support of the Ministry. We have seen how the Town Council took the Kirk Session under its protection against those who might blaspheme or rail against the Kirk Session, their precepts, or their 'counsallis of the ordour of disciplyne'.¹²⁷ This was followed a year later in October 1560 by an act against swearing and perjury,¹²⁸ which was in turn followed by an act in January 1561/2 against 'common blasphemers' who were to be tried by a 'sys of nyctbouris'.¹²⁹ By January 1568/9 that disputation had reached serious proportions and presented a threat to the new establishment, because the magistrates took action against 'venturous ingyneis' who disputed 'the guid trew Religioun', affirmed the penalty of Acts of Parliament, and compelled heads of households who heard of disputations within their property to inform the magistrates immediately.¹³⁰ It may be that the revolution which established the regency of James VI in 1567 brought with it a Protestant backlash against Marian sympathisers, which was accentuated by Huntly's attempted revolt in 1568. The tone of act is quite different from the earlier acts against simple railing, and is indicative of a lowering of toleration, which was also shown by a visit of Regent Moray, who burned witches in St. Andrews and in Dundee.¹³¹

The nature of their witchcraft is unknown, but it is possible that their prosecution could be related to religious dissension, because there appears to be no other documentary evidence of persecution of witchcraft in Dundee for the remainder of the sixteenth century.

For those who did cleave to the reformed kirk, a series of acts was passed to secure their attendance at kirk and their observance of the Sabbath, a reformed attitude in direct contrast to the act of 1521 which was passed to keep the poor out of the Kirk on Holy Days.¹³² October 1559 saw the prohibition of trading during the time of preaching on forfeit of eight shillings,¹³³ whereas five years later the inhabitants were exhorted to attend the preaching, to be admonished by the Kirk Session for their first three absences, and thereafter to pay twenty shillings to the kirk wark.¹³⁴ A simple effective method of enforcing a ban on Sunday trading was put into operation by the Magistrates in January 1568/9, when they ordered that the ports be closed at 10 p.m. on Saturday, and not to be opened till 4 p.m. on the Sunday.¹³⁵ The fish merchants were excepted, and were allowed to bring fish for sale after 'all the foirones preiching be done, under pane of confiscatioune' if they transacted business during preaching.

There were also acts against drunkenness, night revelry, games and dancing. This was a continuance of the traditional imposition of civic discipline that could be found before the Reformation, as was the habit in 1562 of paying land rent 'at the pulpit',¹³⁶ a continuation of a pre-Reformation custom. The reaffirmation of acts against 'drunkenness, excesse be it in apparel, or be it in eating and drinking, ... oppressing of the poore, ... wanton words and licentious living' was based on Calvinist thought and spread by the/

the Book of Discipline,¹³⁷ and should be viewed in that light. The fine set of moral and civic laws of January 1558/9 included a clause on night walkers, limiting the sale of ale and wine to 10 p.m., under a heavy fine of 40 shillings for the first fault, and banishment for the second.¹³⁸ The act of January 1561/2, which put third time offenders before an assize of neighbours, and banished them for a year if found guilty, was preceded by the reformed preamble that '... we knaw it to be the command of God that thair sall nocht be ony drunkardis and blasphemaris of his holy name amang his pepill ...'.¹³⁹ A wider act of January 1568/9 banned dancing, drinking, playing 'or sic vane exercises' outside their homes after 9 p.m., on penalty of destruction of the minstrels' instruments, and payment of twenty shillings to the poor.¹⁴⁰ It is the phrase 'vain exercise' that distinguishes this act as being made in a reformed spirit, together with the fact that the fine was to be paid to the poor. Many of the fines levied by the magistrates went to the relief of the poor, whereas for similar offences before the Reformation the penalty was candle wax for the high altar.¹⁴¹ This concern for the poor was also a product and reflection of reformed thought which was concerned with the relief of the poor from the church dues of the 'cruell Papists',¹⁴² and the granting to the poor of some 'comfort and relaxation'. The magistrates of Dundee continually made provision for the poor, and the conveyance they drew up in favour of the Hospitalmaster in 1569 was ostensibly for that purpose, although much of the funds were to go to the support of the general Ministry.

By 1570 Dundee had survived as one of the spearheads of the Scottish Reformation through the leadership of Haliburton, and the support of a dedicated merchant class, despite nearly facing ruin in/

in 1565 through Moray's revolt. After a remarkable declaration of reformed intent in their burgh laws of January 1558/9 the Town Council maintained a policy of gradually imposing a moral law on the burgh, secured what ecclesiastical property they could at an early stage, and successfully established a reformed Ministry and educational system that were both examples for lesser burghs to emulate. Paul Methven, in spite of his later fall from grace in Jedburgh, had before his departure from Dundee proved an untutored Calvin in his undoubted influence over the new burgh laws, but it was the power and influence of Haliburton which gave the town the impetus to act as an axle for the first wheel of revolution in 1559 and to act as a barrier to Marian insurgence in 1568.

FOOTNOTES

1. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 4 August 1559:

'The quhilk day the foursaid Baillies sittand in jugment, with avise of the maist part of the Counsall, ordainis George Lovell [Treasurer] to deliver to Paul Meffan ther necessair furnishing during the tyme that he sall remaine in the parochine, and this to be gevin furth of the collectit silver.'
2. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559.
3. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation, 50.
4. St. A.K.S.R., I, 3, 5.
5. R.E.B., 42.
6. Dundee was not included in the list in the Act of Secret Council on 15 February 1561/2 of those towns where '..... the places of freris as zit standand undemolissit'. (Joint Appendix of Documents, 6.)
7. Herries, Historical Memoirs, 45.
8. Ibid., 40.
9. Ibid., 37.
10. Perth.
11. Herries, Historical Memoirs, 37.
12. Cal. S.P. Foreign, 19 May 1559, no. 710.
13. Ibid., 26 May 1559, no. 765.
14. Ibid., 30 July 1559, no. 1097(9).
15. Dickinson, Knox's History, I, 236.
16. Ibid., I, 259.
17. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 24.
18. Cal. S.P. Foreign, 10 December 1559, no. 392(9).
19. Dickinson, Knox's History, I, 279.
20. Ibid., I, 280.
21. Ibid., I, 308.

22. Ibid., I, 314.
23. Ibid., II, 324.
24. B.U.K., I, 47.
25. R.E.B., 26.
26. Cal. S.P. Foreign, 19 September 1565, no. 1510(1):
'She thought to have sacked Dundee, but now has compounded with the same, and they have bought their quietness with 2,000 l Scottish. The cause was she lacked money to pay her soldiers ...'
27. R.P.C., I, 597:
'... the sowmes payit be the saidis complenaris in particular, thay being all put at for a cause, that wes the favour suspectit thai buir to sic of the nobilitie as wes prosequitit be the Quenis Grace for the tyme.'
28. McCrie, Life of John Knox, 487.
29. R.E.B., 42.
30. R.P.C., I, 503.
31. Ibid., I, 501.
32. R.E.B., 26
33. Ibid.
34. Cal. S.P. Foreign, 21 August 1568, no. 2444(1).
35. Cal. S.P. Scot., II, 36.
36. Cal. S.P. Foreign, 26 February 1563/4, no. 195.
37. Cal. S.P. Scot., II, 310.
38. Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398 - 1570, I, 339.
39. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 60.
40. MS Dundee Council minute book, 25 September 1565.
41. Cal. S.P. Scot., III, 301.
42. An action was raised by the Presbytery of Dundee against Dundee Town Council in 1850 in relation to the support of the Ministry from the Hospital Fund. After intensive and protacted litigation a compromise was reached and embodied in a local Act of Parliament/

Parliament in 1864, 27 & 28 Victoria, cap. 14. (Hay, Charters and Documents, xl; Joint Appendix of Documents; MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 32.)

43. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 13 January 1558/9:

'the foursaidis Baillis, sittand in jugment, ordainis officaris to pass with the choristaris of the queir of the Burgh to evere land and tenement, lyand within the samen, detbund for ony annuall rent to the saidis choristaris, and inquyr at occuparis or indwellaris therof, quhat quatation of annuall rent the saidis landis respective aucht to the saidis choristaris, and be quhat space the samin restis awing; and according to ther confessiones and grantingis, that the said officaris poynd and distrenie ther reddiest guidis and gair for the samin, and mak payment therof to the saidis choristaris. Utherwise, gif na confessione uf the saidis persones, indwellaris and occuparis of the saidis landis beis maid, ordanis the saidis choristaris to persew therfoir be way of actione.'

44. Durkan, 'The Dominicans at the Reformation', Innes Review, IX, 216.

45. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 20 July 1559:

'Edmund Fermorair, wrycht, to big and repair the dur of the Blakfreiris kirkyaird ... quaha wes be Fyndlo Dunckan chargeit, alsua to content and pay to the said Findlo the soume of xvi s. as for the skaith of his herbis and kell growand thairintill.'

46. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 165 n.

47. Perth.

48. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 164.

49. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 7 August 1559.

50. Ibid.

51. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 72.

52. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 14 October 1560:

'And alsua be the terme of this present Act, the saidis Provest, Bailleis, Counsal and Commonte ... hes disponit sa many of the Gray¹ Freris stainis to the bigging of the fleschehous as will sufficientlie big the same; and hes with comone consent electit and chosin James Lovell, Thesaurer, to be Master of Werke, Thessaurer, and Debursar of the saidis soumes upoun the said tolbuith and fleschehous; and mairover with comone/

comone consent foursaid, hes, be ther termes of
this present Act, disponit and assignit all the
stainis of the Black Freir kirke to the
reparatioun and bigging of ther new bulwerk.'

i. word interlined

53. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 28 April 1562.

54. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 60. (Printed in Hay, Charters and Documents, 40; Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, II, 145; Joint Appendix of Documents, 6.)

55. Joint Appendix of Documents, 5f.

56. MS Dundee Council minute book, 16 March 1563/4:

'Ordanit the treasurer to tak down sa many stanes
out of the Blak Friers walls as will satisfie the
condition made to the town the tym of the
dissolving of the said walls.'

57. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, II, 143.

58. McRoberts, 'Material Destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation', Innes Review, X, 139.

59. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, II, 144f.

60. Joint Appendix of Documents, 8.

61. Ibid., 11.

62. Ibid., 13f.

63. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 14/1.

64. MS Protocol Book of Thomas Ireland, 1566/7 - 1575, fo. 4.

65. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 15.

66. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars, I, 228.

67. Donaldson, Thirds, 96f.

68. Ibid., 98.

69. MS Dundee Council minute book, 26 June 1566:

'Ordanit James Scrimgeour to pay to John Broun
kepar of the kirk five m. for the touns feu
mail of Sanct Agathas chaplainrie ... sa lang
as he serves the tounship in keping of the knock.'

70. Joint Appendix of Documents, 199.

71. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 24 January 1560/1:

The bailies 'decernis and ordanis all persones within this Burgh restand awand ony maneir of anuelrentis or feu maills of ony tyme bygane, and siclyke in tyme cuming, pertening to James Wycht or to his benefices, to mak him thankfull payment therof; And that becaus it is notourlie knawin to the saidis Bailleis that the said James is ane man of sinceir and trew religioun, and of guid conversatioun, and hes renuncit all papistrie and idolatrie.'

72. MS Dundee Council minute book, 7 July 1562:

'The Magistrates and counsal considering that the annual rents, feu mails and duties quhilk befor pertenit to the toun in patronage, and war assignit to priests and choristers for maintenance and uphalding of idolatrie in tyme of ignorance; and now sen God has shewn his true religion amang us, the said annual rents ... are neglectit and forgot to be uptaken fra the persons due the same; therefore Thomas Duchar and Andro Cowper are appointed to uptake al maner of annual rents ... quhilk of befor were uptakin be the choristers and canons of the queir; ane half to be applyt to their awn sustentation for ther labor and the other half to the common gud ...'

73. Ibid.

74. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 December 1563:

'Thomas Duchirs chaplane of the benefice callit Lytill Sanct John, quhilk Mr. George Scott possesst of befoir, getts all annuel rents ... belonging therto for life, and officers ar to pas poind and distren all ... proprietors of ony lands and tenements detbund for ony annuel rents ... to the said chaplainrie and mak him to be payt therof ...'

75. MS Dundee Council minute book, 28 August 1565:

'... disponit to thair weilbelovit Androw Cowper, glasinwreicht and maister gunner, all and hail the luggein quhilk ... Androw presentlie occupyis ... for all the dayis and space of the said Androwis lyftyme; for the quhilk the said Androw Cowper hes actit himself now presentlie to mend and repair the hail glasnwendokis of the parochie kirk of this burgh; ... provyding giff the said Androw can try ony persone brekin the saidis glasnwendokis ... the said persone ... or parenttis of the ... barnis sall recompans and pay to the said Androw the hail of the skayth; and alsua the said Androw sall attend upoun the artailye of this burgh ...'

76. Joint Appendix of Documents, 198.
77. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 April 1566.
78. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 28.
79. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1561/2:
'Ordanit ... thair be ane honest godlie and famous man and ane most notable within this burgh to be placit and put in the office of Kirkmaister; and he to gif ane aith for deu executioun of his office and that he be obeyit in his office and the payment of the teyndis by passit and to cum for poynding of the kirk dewty summarlie as law will.'
80. Ibid.
81. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 202.
82. Extracts from the Records of Edinburgh, 1557-1571, 67.
83. MS Dundee Council minute book, 6 October 1564:
'Ordanit ... that the Kirkmaster put up ane ruiff upon the stepil, to be allowit in his compts.'
84. MS Dundee Council minute book, 6 December 1564:
'ordanis ... ane braid to pas throw the Kirk of this burgh everie Sounday, befoir the tyme of preching, for gadding of support to the reparatioun of the said Kirk decayit; and that everie honest man of this burgh obey and pas with the said braid quhome the Kirkmaster sall name, and to be warnit be the belman the nycht befoir, under the pane of viii s. of unlaw to be upliftit of the dissobediencie geir and applyit to the said Kirk wark.'
85. MS Dundee Council minute book, 28 August 1565.
86. McRie, Life of John Knox, 140f.
87. Ibid., 487.
88. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 4 August 1559.
89. F.E.S., III, 683.
90. Ridley, Knox, 316ff.
91. Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 25.
92. F.E.S., III, 684.
93. Donaldson, Thirds, 96f.

94. MS Dundee Council minute book, 7 July 1562.

95. F.E.S., 684.

96. MS Dundee Council minute book, 24 September 1561:

'... the Provest, Ballies and Counsall being convenit in the Provestis lugeing, hes appoyntit with Mr. Crysteson, Minister, with his awin consent for his stipend videlicet for twell scoir ten m. yeirlie, and that for his office of Ministrie in this congregatioun.'

97. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 162.

98. Ibid., 130.

99. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 151.

100. Ibid., 152.

101. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 15 November 1555 and 28 September 1556.

102. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 154f.

103. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559:

'ordanit that na Mastir nor doctour techand barnis within this burgh fra this day furth, tak upoun hand to resaif in thair schullis or chalmeris ony barnis quhilkis hes bene in Maister Thomas Makgibbonis scule, without the said Maister Thomas testimoniall that he is thankfullie payit of ilk ane of thame that happinnis to depart, for his lawbouris maid upoun thame preceding thair departing fra him; and gif the saidis utheris Maisteris or Doctouris failyeis heirin, thai sallbe compellit to pay of thair awin propeir guidis the det awand be the saidis disciplis to the siad Maister Thomas, and officiaris poynd and distrenye thair guidis and geir thairfoir.'

104. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 28 May 1560.

105. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 23 December 1562.

106. R.E.B., 40f.

107. Ibid.

108. MS Dundee Council minute book, 16 March 1563/4:

'ordanis George Spens Kirkmaister to big and repair ane convenient place to the Maister of the gramer scull and his barnis us and quhat expenss he makis thairupoun salbe allowit.'

109. Ibid., 12 June 1564;
- 'disponis to the doctorris of the grammer schowill thre in nummer, to be at the electione of the Maister thairoff, thair feu annuellis of Sanct Agathas chaplanrie extending yeirly to sevintein m. induring the tyme of thair guid service in the scowill and kirk, at the optioun and will of the said Maister; that is to David Mathow, sevin m., and to every ane of the uther twa, fyve m.'
110. Ibid., 2 April 1566;
- 'ordanis John Sowntair to be dischargit of halding of scuillis bot desist and ceis thairfra in tyme cuming, and that his scuill dur be stekit up; and gift he refusis, to tak and apprehend him and put him in warde; and siclyke that na nyctbour of this burgh pretend to put thair bairnis to the said scuill or hald thame thairatt, under the pane of viii s. to be upliftit of thair reddiest guidis sa oft as thai or ony of thame failyies.'
111. Joint Appendix of Documents, 198.
112. 'A Historie of the Estate of Scotland', Wodrow Miscellany, I, 53f.
113. Dickinson, Knox's History, I, 159.
114. Herries, Historical Memoirs, 37.
115. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 7 August 1559.
116. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559;
- 'statut that quha blasphemouslie spekis of the Ministeris, Eldaris or Dekynis of the congregatioun, or agains thair preceptis and counsallis of the ordour of disciplyne, sall incure the pane contenit in the act maid aganis thame that blasphemis the Provest, Ballies and Counsale of this burgh.'
117. McRie, Life of John Knox, 487.
118. St.A.K.S.R., I, 47.
119. Ibid., I, 172.
120. MS Dundee Council minute book, 5 October 1562;
- '... ratefeis and approvis the actis maid of befoir concernyng the obedience of the ecclesiasticall magistratis and thair discipline in the ordour of religioun, with this additioun; that gif ony persoun being warnit to compeir befoir the assembleie and dissobeyit the first tyme salve convict ... and gif/

gif he be warnit the secund tyme and dissobeyis, the bailleis and officiaris sall tak and apprehend him and put him in the stepill, thair to remaine in ward be the space of xxiiii houris for the saidis dissobediencie; ... nocht to be lattin furth of ward quhill unto the tyme he find cautioun to compeir befoir the assembleie ... under the pane of ten li. quhilk salbe ... applyit to the reparatioun of the kirk and kirkyard ...'

121. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 196f.

122. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1558/9:

'The quhilk day the ballies and counsale, with avyse of the dekynnis of craftis of the samyne, for the expulsioun of vices furth of this burgh, and conservatioun of the commone weill thairof, hes maid statute the actis and ordinances eftir following; ... becaus to the grit defame sklander and schame off honest menis wyffis, thair dochteris and wemen servandis ... It hes bene reportit and spokyne that thai have bene seducit be pandoris or incurraris to use thameselfis unlafulie in fornicatioun and hurdome; for remeid of the quhilk it is statut and ordanit that gif thair be ony sic men or wemen ... that thai depeche thameselfis ... within xxiiii houris ... under the pane to be takyne and openlie haid to the merket croce ... and thair to be baneist ... for evir.'

123. Ibid.:

'Item that fra this day furth na huir houss nor bordell be haldin within this burgh, bot that thai depeche thame selfis of the town, or ellis amend and leif sic vitious maneir of leiving, and gif thai be apprehendit thairwith in tyme cuming to be opinlie at the merket croce baneist this burgh for evir.'

124. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559:

'ordanit ... that gif ony adulterer man or women be apprehendit within this burgh, sall for the first part stand in the jokis of yrne at the croce thre houris in the maist notable tyme of day, and thaireftir haid to the see quhair the gybot salbe sett up and thryiss dowkit, and agane brocht to the said croce and baneist this burgh for evir ...'

125. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 168 n.

126. MS Dundee Council minute book, 6 October 1564:

'ordanit that the woman apprehendit in fornicatioun, of quhat estait that evir scho be, salbe brocht to the markett croce oppinlie, and thair hir hair to be cuttit of and the samin to be nallit upoun the cukestuill, and als to mak hir publict repentence in the kirk, and this for the first falt; and for the secund falt scho salbe haid to the markett croce, hir hair cuttit of, nallit up as said is, hir self caryit in ane cart throw all the pairtis of this towne.'

127. Ibid., 2 October 1559.

128. Ibid., 4 October 1560.

129. Ibid., 10 January 1561/2.

130. Ibid., 21 January 1568/9:

'Ordanit that forsamekle as sum venturous ingyneis usis to mak argument and disput agains the guid trew Religioun and ordour therof and discipline universallie within this realme, quharby God and His religioun now is dishonerit and blasphemit, and papistrie with ... detestable ... ressonis are usit and defendit ... agains the Act of Parliament; Quhairfor it is statut and ordanit that na persone of quhat estait or degree ... presume within this burgh to mak or hald the said argumentis or opiniounis ... and that mayster or owmar of the houss quhair the said disputatiounis ar maid ... sall cum incontinent to the bailyeis and gif up their nameis and opiniouns.'

131. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, 145.

132. MS Dundee Burgh Court book, 30 September 1521.

133. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1559:

'statute that na merchandis, craftismen nor flesheoris in speciall or hukstaris oppin thair buithis, nor use na maneir of traffique or breking of flesche upoun the Sounday, bot the samyn to be kept in the meditatioun of Goddis worde; and als wa that na tavernair, browster nor baxter sall oppin thair buithis, nor sell breid, wyne, nor aill, during the tyme of the preching upoun the Sounday; and quhasoevir beis apprehendit doing the contrair sall pay viii s. unforgevin.'

134. MS Dundee Council minute book, 6 October 1564:

'ordanit that the Sounday be kept in the meditatioun and hering of Goddis word be all persones inhabitantis of this burgh, and quhaevir bydis fra the preching upoun Sounday eider befoir noune or eftir sall for the first, secund and third tymes be admonisit be the minister and assemblie; and gif thai forbeir nocht that thair obstinacie being declarit to the magistratis, thai sall pay for the first falt xx s. to the kirkwark, and the persound quhill hes nocht it to pay sall stand iiii houris in the chokis.'

135. Ibid., 21 January 1568/9.

136. Laing Charters, no. 738.

137. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 166f.

138. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1558/9.

139. Ibid., 10 January 1561/2.

140. Ibid., 21 January 1568/9:

'Ordanit for eschewing of tumult, seditioun, drynkin and uther uncumly insolencies and wantoness, and that na persone pretend to cum forth of his awn ludgeing with menstrallis ... efter ix hours at nicht, to use ony kynd of dansing, drinking, playing or sic vane exercises, under the pane of the breking of the mestrallis instrumentis, and thair personis to be imprisonit and not depart quhill thai pay xx s. to the pair.'

141. Warden, Burgh Laws, 507.

142. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 156f.

CHAPTER 4

THE HALIBURTON ERA II;
ASCENT OF THE CRAWFORD FAMILY 1570 - 1586

The period from 1570 to 1586 saw the ascendancy of the Crawford family in Angus and in national politics, and the vacillations of their fortunes mirrored the periodic unease which the Burgh of Dundee felt in its relations with the local nobility and central government. It was common during the civil war between the King's Party and the Queen's Party, for burghs to feel politically isolated and prey to victimisation by Crown or nobility, and Dundee was no exception when it occasionally was silhouetted by Haliburton's uncompromising stance for the true religion against a background of a conservative nobility.

In August 1570 Haliburton was commissioned by the Earl of Lennox to march with men from Dundee and Perth in an attempt to surprise Lord Ogilvy, Sir James Balfour and the tenth Earl of Crawford.¹ By 1585 the eleventh Earl of Crawford was seriously considered to be successful amongst the faction advocating a pro-French policy to the King,² and this after having been favoured by the King as a replacement Provost instead of Haliburton two years previously.³ Against this difficult background the Burgh continued a programme of securing the property which had passed to them, and also reaffirming their support of the true religion and a reformed civic life in the 1580's, when it was politically embarrassing to do so.

Dundee made its stance obvious in 1570 by resisting with force the Catholic Earls, and also by being the one area in Angus which would not allow a proclamation in support of the Queen.⁴ It suffered loss in trade and piracy during this difficult time, and was identified by Lennox as suffering undue hardship together with Edinburgh.⁵ In April 1570 the nobility in the hinterland of Dundee were seriously divided in their political affections, as were the nobility of Scotland. The Earls of Angus and Morton were against the Queen, as were the/

the Lords Methven, Lindsay and Glamis; it was said she could look for support to the Earls of Huntly and Crawford and to Lord Gray.⁶ It was in this civil war that Provost Haliburton nearly lost his life when he was captured by Regent Lennox's forces at Edinburgh Castle on 27 August 1571,⁷ when he was probably spared execution by the intercession of the Burgesses of Edinburgh before being freed by Mar. Mar in turn was strengthened by heavy artillery from Dundee and Broughty Castle,⁸ and Broughty Castle a month after this despatch was in turn taken by the Queen's Party, 'to the displeisour of the burgh of Dundie, quha wes great enemies to all thame assistand the quenis auctoritie'.⁹ The following year, however, two events took place which would indicate an inconsistency in the anti-Marian attitude of Dundee, but which showed the personal nature of political division in the nobility. In April 1572 Dundee Town Council seized correspondence from the Archbishop of Cashel, who intended to sail from the port.¹⁰ The fact that the correspondence was addressed to the King of Spain suggests that political intelligence was good in the town, co-operation between the mariners and burgesses was close, and that the Town Council were determined to obstruct the Marian sympathisers. Later that year, in July 1572, the Earl of Mar asked men of Dundee to follow him in pursuit of Adam Gordon, brother of the Earl of Huntly. His request was ignored, however, because of 'the great gentilness of the said Adam',¹¹ who had let prisoners go free when he chased the Earl of Buchan to Brechin. The events of this year show how the Town of Dundee could ignore the opportunity to pursue 'the Lieutenant to the Quene in the North',¹² if personal considerations were more important than political ones, and the events of the preceding two years illustrate the swiftly changing national scene which the Town had to survive in.

Provost Haliburton, after narrowly missing execution in 1571, was evidently in much influence when he was nominated amongst the powerful group of Lord Graham, Lord Glamis, Erskine of Dun and Sir John Wishart of Pittaro, to act as an arbitrator in the terms of the Pacification over the area north of the Tay.¹³ His nephew, George Haliburton of Pitcur, was a signatory to the 'Band of Baronis in the North' which confirmed Morton's pacification.¹⁴ The balance of power north of the Tay was seriously shaken in 1578 when Lord Glamis was killed by one of the Earl of Crawford's retinue at Stirling Castle, in an accidental brawl between their followers.¹⁵ It is unlikely that Crawford himself was responsible¹⁶ but he nevertheless went into voluntary exile to France and Italy until 1581, where he spent company with the Earl of Huntly and became increasingly committed towards a pro-Marian policy. After Crawford's return, Haliburton fell from grace when the Ruthven Raid failed on King James' escape from captivity. Haliburton had been accessory to the raid itself at Perth¹⁷ and James viewed Dundee with great suspicion as the seat of the Ruthven Raiders. James forced Crawford on a reluctant Dundee as Provost, in spite of the fact that they had already elected Haliburton.¹⁸ The degree of reluctance can be seen from the entry in the burgess roll of 16 October 1583, when the terse introduction confirmed the conferment by right of his father and not by any praiseworthy services.¹⁹ Haliburton was reinstated in the next year, but not till after Gowrie had been arrested at Dundee by the King's forces. It is evident that the town did not make any great effort to apprehend Gowrie until they received clear Royal instruction to do so, and that Crawford felt sufficiently insecure in the post he had been nominated to, to stay in hiding in Dundee until Royal troops had actually arrived there.²⁰

There was a brief respite for the anti-Marian party when the Earl of Angus, together with the Earl of Mar and Lord Glamis, seized Stirling Castle and declared in favour of King James in 1584, but the movement failed and Angus fled to England.²¹ By April of the next year Gray, Huntly and Crawford were considered to be in the ascendancy and to be persuading the King to veer towards 'France's gate'.²² In the previous year there had been constant rumours of a French body-guard being provided for the King.²³

Although there was strong sympathy in Dundee for the anti-Marian party, this is not to say that this sympathy was Anglophile. In 1581 it was reported to Walsingham that Haliburton was sympathetic to the English court, but that he could not move the burgesses of Dundee to any action in support of England.²⁴ This fact is hardly surprising in view of the fact that any latent Anglophobia amongst the merchants of Dundee was constantly fired by the recurrent incidents of piracy on Dundee shipping and mercants. In addition to the reference made in 1570 to the spoliation of the goods of Dundee merchants,²⁵ the King made representations in 1580 and 1582 on behalf of Dundee and Perth merchants who had suffered from piracy,²⁶ and the members themselves of Dundee Town Council wrote to Walsingham in 1583 in a direct attempt to secure redress for a merchant who had been plundered by English pirates, and they did so specifically because Walsingham had a reputation of adhering to '... the true religion which they from the heart profess ...'.²⁷

However, in spite of the recurrent isolation of Dundee in Scottish politics, Haliburton had enough influence and character to guarantee the survival and flourishing of the true reformed religion in that town, in spite of his own loss of favour with the King after/

after the Raid of Ruthven. He was too large a figure to be eclipsed by the return to favour of Crawford and of Scrymgeour. Apart from being involved in the pacification of the nobility in the North, he was welcomed as an arbiter in the border troubles at Teviotdale,²⁸ he was one of those involved in drawing up the report on the reformation of St. Andrews University in 1579,²⁹ and he was also appointed to be one of the Privy Council in 1581 as he had been 'occupeit in his Majestie's affairs ... at all times sen his Highness' coronation'.³⁰

Haliburton also maintained his influence within the town. Although apparently unable or unwilling to persuade the merchants to adopt any strong policy towards the English, he successfully avoided the growth of internal political confrontation in the town, except for the revolt of the Dundee baxters in 1561 and the final successful attempt at union between the trades in January 1581/2.³¹ The union amongst the trades was not in itself a political confrontation, but the successful establishment, after two unfruitful attempts in 1575/6,³² of the post of Collector for the whole trades, heralded a unity amongst the trades that would be tested after the succession of Scrymgeour as Provost. A measure of the respect which Haliburton enjoyed could be seen in the way in which Dundee Town Council hotly defended him in 1579 as their representative to the Convention of Burghs, when the Convention wished to fine Dundee for sending as their representative one 'nocht beand ane mercheand trafficquar'.³³

The growth of identity amongst the trades also led to a resurgence in overt attempts to re-establish the moral laws of the true religion. It was not until the 1580's that the Town Council acts again referred in detail to the suppression of drunkenness and blasphemy, whereas the period of the regencies of Lennox, Mar and Morton saw a cautious/

cautious retrenchment in establishing the material assets of the reformed church in Dundee, without any great activity in appearing to apply its moral principles to the citizens. On the other hand the seizure by the Town Council of Spanish letters from the Archbishop of Cashel in 1572³⁴ showed a determined community anxious to prevent any erosion of the path of Reformation in Scotland.

The Disposition by the Town Council of Dundee to the Hospitalmaster on 9 January 1569/70, although an attempt to force the payment of a former almshouse lands, was in fact a novel departure by Dundee in that it was made specifically for the use of the poor and not for both the poor and the ministry.³⁵ The Disposition stated that income from former church lands was to have been applied to the upkeep of the Ministry, but that 'the puir decayit honest personis of this Burgh ... is ane pairt and portion of the said ministerie of this Burgh', and that as rents were difficult to collect, the lands of the former monasteries were disposed to the Hospital master. This formalised for Dundee the decision to the Privy Council in February 1561/2 that the revenues of chaplainries, prebends and friaries within the burghs should be wholly devoted to hospitals, schools and 'other godly uses'.³⁶ The town had to make compensation to the Ministry, under the instructions of the Lords Commissioners, to the sum of 100 merks in 1573.³⁷ It was later upheld in its right to apply the income from the monastery lands to the upkeep of the poor in 1574, when the Lords of Council granted Letters of Suspension against the Collector General after his attempt to exact a third from the Dundee friary revenues.³⁸ The object of the Disposition was to give the Hospitalmaster power to collect the revenues of the Queen's Donation, but it was an object which proved difficult because of the claims held by Scrymgeour of/

of Dudhope and the Earl of Crawford, and because of an apparent obduracy of others 'detbound for ... annuel rentis to the almshous', which forced the Town Council to make continual attempts to collect rents, the first being ten years after the Disposition was drawn up.³⁹ This obduracy was also met by the Dundee Guildry in their collection of the Holy Blood Silver, which was also originally a pre-Reformation levy, adapted after the Reformation to the upkeep of poor members of the merchant fraternity. The indications are, however, that the burgesses and merchants of Dundee were conscious of the exhortation in the Book of Discipline to sustain the poor,⁴⁰ and the constant references to difficulties in collection of contributions witness a genuine effort to uplift those contributions and an awareness of the needs of their poor brethren.

Dundee Town Council also took a renewed interest in the fabric of the burgh church in 1582. The western transept had remained unrepaired since the English occupation of Dundee in the 1540's.⁴¹ and it was not until 1582 that a serious attempt was made to rebuild this area as an additional place of worship. A strong act was passed in a council meeting protecting the 'kirkwark' and 'commoun warkis' from being plundered, where the town walls, town ports, and the town churches were evidently thought of as being of equal importance.⁴² In addition, funds were to be raised for the cost of erection of the Cross Church by a special collection on Sundays, which was to be uplifted by representatives of the merchants and the crafts.⁴³ The Town Council also petitioned the King later in October 1582, for a relief of taxation to aid them to build their new kirk, 'it being sa godlie a wark tending to the glorie of God and policie of this realm'.⁴⁴ Relief from taxation was granted for the period of five years, but/

but this grant was made by the Privy Council during the period of Gowrie's ascendancy and it is probable that little benefit was derived from this relief when Gowrie was removed from power. It took much intense effort over the next decade to successfully raise the Cross Church, but the initial legislation of 1582 shows that the town council were conscious of a definite need to expand their 'kirk, quhairunto they resort and have access for hearing of the word of God teachit'.⁴⁵

A particular part of the kirk fabric which required constant attention was the church windows. The Book of Discipline dictated that kirks should have 'close windowes of glasse'⁴⁶ and the regular fulfilment of this condition occasioned the Town Council some energy and expense. For some reason the kirk windows attracted vandalism, and the burgh laws passed to combat it attributed the damage to unruly children. In 1558/9 parents were made responsible for damage to windows caused by their children,⁴⁷ in 1565 the town gunner entered into a contract to repair the kirk windows for his lifetime⁴⁸ and to prosecute the parents of those children responsible, and in October 1582 parents were made responsible for meeting the cost of glass repair, together with a fine of 8 shillings for every time that their child was found in the kirkyard.⁴⁹ It may be that for some of the disaffected community it was simple to express their disapproval, either of the ruling council or of the new religion, by encouraging their children to attack this fragile and expensive commodity, but on the other hand this continuous vandalism may have simply been caused by lack of civic discipline.

The Town Council started to repeat and modify in the 1580's those moral laws which had been established twenty years previously. The/

The first of these followed the General Assembly which was held at Dundee in July 1580, and the reversal of episcopalianism and accent on pastoral care which resulted from this Assembly⁵⁰ must have initiated a resurgence of appreciation of these fundamental moral laws, which was to be later strengthened by the temporary success of the Gowrie conspiracy. The first act of the Head Court of 4 October 1580 was a general statement of intent, explicit in its support of the true religion:

'... it is statute and ordanit, be commoun consent, that our mercifull God haif his dew honour and glory within ... this burgh; ... and that the trew religioun instantly teichit thairuntill be mantenit, and dischipline execute, upon all personis accordyng to Goddis holy word ...' 51

The deliberations of 4 October included formulating punishment for adultery, which was to consist of imprisonment, public humiliation and permanent banishment.⁵² This was not as severe a punishment as the death penalty which Calvin advocated,⁵³ a penalty which was actually carried out in Perth in 1584, but it was an ultimate penalty in the sense that it marked the end of reputation and means of livelihood of anyone convicted, and it was a penalty that was more likely to be inflicted on those found guilty because of its comparative leniency. There then followed an act against women blasphemers, 'that hes money to pay', who had to pay 40 shillings to the town works if they could afford the sum, and had to spend three hours in the stool of repentance if they could not.⁵⁴ This act was obviously aimed at slander rather than blasphemy, which called for more severe penalties, and it was unusual in that it penalised those with wealth, and therefore could be assumed to discourage 'wanton words and licentious living tending to slander'⁵⁵ amongst the merchant and wealthy trade classes.

This act against slander, with its high financial penalty, was followed by an act against whoredom which had as a penalty only public humiliation.⁵⁶ This comparison is surprising in view of the Levitical penalties that were called for against such transgressions,⁵⁷ but this act would appear to be aimed at young women who could with guidance develop the 'fruits of repentance'.⁵⁸

The longest and most detailed moral act of this October Court of 1580 considered the problems of drunkenness, and stipulated a graded table of punishments which started at a fine of 5 merks for the first offence, 10 merks for the second offence, 10 pounds for the third offence, banishment for a year for the fourth offence, with increasing prison sentences for those who could not pay fines.⁵⁹ The Town Council obviously took a serious view of drunkenness, equating it with blasphemy, by imposing an inquisition by citizens upon the miscreant as well as heavy civil fines. A year later, on 2 October 1581, the council again expressed their concern about blasphemy itself when they drew up a different scale of punishments for those found guilty.⁶⁰ Whereas the fines for drunkenness were applied wholly to the use of the poor, the fines for execration were split in half, one half to be given to the informant and the other half to the poor. The instructions given to the officers of the burgh to wait on market days and watch for offenders in the flesh, fish and victual markets, and the concern shown that good example be shown in houses to children and servants, show the compilers of the statute to be seriously and practically concerned with the prevention of evil speech.

In a sense the searching and examination of weights and measures, as stipulated in another act of October 1581,⁶¹ was a moral act, as well as being an administrative ordinance made by a merchant and trades/

trades fraternity for their mutual convenience. The Book of Discipline was concerned that the poor should not be oppressed by exactions or deception through false weights and measures,⁶² and the concern by Dundee Town Council that 'ane universall ordour' of measures should be established 'without respect of ony persone' suggested a strong concern for the poor. The desire of the burgh of Dundee to improve the area and quality of the parish Kirk, the formalisation of provision for the poor, and the reaffirmation of the desire of the Town Council that the citizens should lead a life according to the principles of the true religion, all pointed to the fact that the course of the Reformation was continuing in the burgh, despite civil war in the nation of Scotland and recurrent political isolation as a town.

It would also appear from other sources that the Dundee Kirk Session was active and energetic, although we have seen that the civil courts in Dundee dealt with much that could be considered to be under a kirk session's jurisdiction. In June 1573 St. Andrews' Kirk Session noted that John Christal, a citizen of Dundee, had been excommunicated by Dundee Kirk Session, and forbade members of the Kirk in St. Andrews to have anything to do with him until he was reconciled to his own kirk,⁶³ while the following year Dundee Kirk Session asked for a testimonial to be sent to them from St. Andrews, clearing Euphemia Rolland of adultery, before the ministry would proceed with her marriage to Thomas Plafeir.⁶⁴ It must also be assumed that the congregation in Dundee must have been self sufficient and energetic, in order to have borne the real tribulation of having such a remarkable and esteemed Minister such as William Christison. Christison attended thirty eight out of sixty successive Assemblies,⁶⁵ being/

being Moderator in 1569. He was one of those appointed 'to draw up and make overture of the policie and jurisdiction of the kirk'⁶⁶ in 1576, and he was also made a Commissioner for the revision of the proposed Second Book of Discipline in 1578.⁶⁷ It is unlikely that he can have been able to spend much time to his pastoral duties in Dundee, and this supposes that the congregation in Dundee were energetic and self sufficient enough to flourish without his guidance and attention.

The merchants and trades, like the Town Council, also used this period to consolidate their revenues for new reformed purposes and to care for their poor. In November 1570 the Guildry considered the fate of their 'decayed brethren',⁶⁸ and in order to raise funds, instructed the Dean of Guild to levy specified duties on certain merchant goods, passing through the port, for the period of three years. Six years later the collection was still being levied for 'the Gild Poor',⁶⁹ together with penalties to be applied to those merchants and factors who refused to pay their contribution. In 1576, however, the levy was referred to as 'the halie sliver' and therefore was the continuation of a tradition commenced in 1515, when the 'Merchandis Letter',⁷⁰ raised money by a tax on merchandise to support the Holy Blood Altar in the parish church.

Likewise the baker trade in 1573, 'haiffand consideratioun of ye gryt powertie qlk sune of our brether comonity if yis burt presently susteins',⁷¹ established that the collection known as 'St. Cobartis pennys' would be uplifted in church for the benefit of the poor. This levy was originally used to upkeep St. Cuthbert's altar in the parish church, an altaraige dating to 1486.⁷² Similar actions were taken elsewhere in Scotland, as in Kirkcaldy in 1591 when the merchants/

merchants directed the levy called 'Prime Gilt' to the use of the poor,⁷³ but the direction of the Dundee Guildry, and of the powerful baker trade, of such levies for the use of the poor witnessed a desire in the 1570's that the 'poore ... may now receive some comfort and relaxation'.⁷⁴

The general tenor of phraseology used in the acts of the trades is also indicative of a reformed zeal, no matter what the actual business to be transacted consisted of. The Dyer Trade, in their confirmation of their trade duties in December 1582, introduced the statutes with a fine godly dedication.⁷⁵ The important Union of the Trades of 1581/2 included a simple but powerful dedication,⁷⁶ whilst there was a remarkable entry concerning the election of the Deacon to the baker trade in February 1585/6, when it was mentioned that the election had been postponed because of an outbreak of plague. This serious outbreak spread through Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Perth and Dundee⁷⁷ and yet the postponement was referred to with resignation as 'intervenit be the prouidens of God'.⁷⁸

The baker trade, traditionally the powerful and reforming trade in Dundee, which had the distinction of producing Paul Methven, the first minister of the first reformed church in Scotland,⁷⁹ maintained a recognition of the importance of preaching the gospel and teaching youth, and gave honorary membership to Thomas Ramsay and Patrick Galloway, both sons of masters of the craft, on 19 April 1577.⁸⁰ Thomas Ramsay succeeded Thomas Makgibbon as Master of the Grammar School, developed an excellent reputation as an educator, and was made a burgess in 1583.⁸¹ Patrick Galloway was Minister at Forgan and Fowlis and was later to become Minister of Perth, Chaplain of the King's Household, and Moderator of the General Assembly.⁸² The baxter trade was rightly/

rightly proud of two of its distinguished sons and the extraordinary measure of granting an honorary trade membership illustrates their continuing appreciation of preaching and education.

The Trades, Guildry and Town Council of Dundee, although suffering economic hardship in an economic recession, and although inhabitants of a town unpopular with the local nobility and the Crown because of its uncomprising support for the reformed religion, still maintained a desire to expand the place of worship, to maintain a godly life and in particular to sustain the poor. At one end of Dundee reformed society, Haliburton was insuring the continuation of reformed education by considering the administration of St. Andrews University, whilst at the other end the baker trade continued to enthusiastically encourage their members to educate themselves in the true religion.

FOOTNOTES

1. Herries, Historical Memoirs, 129.
2. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, I, 435:
'The King bears with Gray. Matlane, Melvil and Gray,
with Huntly and Crawford, meane France's gate ...'
3. R.E.B., 57.
4. Cal. S.P. Scot., III, 301:
'On Monday last, now eight days past, the Queen was
proclaimed in "Brighan" and "Forfarde", Lords Oglebye,
Hume, and Balforde, and George Gordon being present,
and should have been proclaimed in Dundee, but the
inhabitants would not suffer it.'
5. Ibid., III, 296:
'... injuries that we (Regent Lennox) and the King's
people have received since the beginning of your
(Sussex) negotiations with Lethington - as the taking
of the merchants of Edinburgh and Dundee, and staying
of their goods, the "assegeing" and taking of the
houses of some honest barons and gentlemen...'
6. Warrender Papers, I, 80.
7. R.E.B., 26.
8. Cal. S.P. Scot., III, 707.
9. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, 255.
10. Cal. S.P. Scot., IV, 253:
'Nevertheless, when we (Archbishop of Cassell) came to
the burgh of Donde intending at the port thereof "to
ashipped and tayne our viage theare by sea", the
"Bayllis and Counsell" of the said burgh have arrested,
taken, and "warded", and also intromitted with, taken
from us and retained the King of Spain's letters, and
that without any cause or offence done ...'
11. Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents, 304f.
12. Ibid.
13. Warrender Papers, I, 119.
14. R.E.B., 32.

15. Ibid., 58.
16. Melville of Halhill, Memoirs, 264.
17. Calderwood, III, 637, 645-6.
18. Cal. S.P. Scot., VI, 622:

'And albeit Dundee had chosen their old Provost, yet the King has commanded them to elect Crawford';

Ibid., VI, 629:

'Crawford is gone to Dundee, and Montrose to Glasgow, to take possession of the offices in those boroughs, a course which greatly grieves all the boroughs.'

19. MS Dundee Lockit Book, 16 October 1583:

'Quo die Alexandri Craufurdiae Comes, Dominus Lindesay, civium Deidonavorum numero est adscriptus ratione est filius et heres nobilis et potentis Domini Davidis Craufurdia Comitis, qui fuit prefata civitate donatus.'

20. Cal. S.P. Scot., VII, 65:

'... by express commandment come from the King to Crawford, Provost of that town, and all the rest - Crawford was not present - the town put themselves in arms against Gowrie, and thereon he yielded himself to Colonel Stewart ...';

Ibid., VII, 67:

'... Crawford, being sent before by the King to Dundee, entered therein on Tuesday last and kept himself very close until Colonel Stewart was landed at Dundee on Wednesday ...'

21. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, I, 413.
22. Ibid., I, 435.
23. Cal. S.P. Scot., VII, 56:

'... it is commonly bruided ... that 600 Frenchmen shall come with the next wind out of France into Scotland for the King's guard. Sundry of Edinburgh and Dundee, receiving letters from their friends in Paris, have advertised me, that by those letters it is confirmed ...'

24. Cal. S.P. Scot., V, 624:

'The provost of Dundee [is] an old friend, ... but/

but finds his burgesses so given to peace and particularities that hardly for any cause they would be moved.'

25. Cal. S.P. Scot., III, 296.

26. Ibid., V, 460; VI, 214.

27. Ibid., VI, 427:

'The good report made to them (Baillies and Council of Dundee) by sundry of their nation makes them bold to put him (Walsingham) to charge when they or their afflicted neighbours have ado, but much more the sincere favour he has to the true religion which they from the heart profess.'

28. R.P.C., III, 364, 448.

29. A.P.S., III, 178.

30. R.P.C., III, 458.

31. Warden, Burgh Laws, 247.

32. Ibid., 243f.

33. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, I, 80.

34. Cal. S.P. Scot., IV, 253.

35. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 15:

'We ... the Counsal ... and Cominaltie of the Burgh of Dundee, hevand consideratioun that the autoritie for the tyme gave ... to us ... All and Sundrie the places, yardis, croftis, akeris, rentis, feunalis, annual rents, emoluments, and utheris dewties quhatsomever, quhilkis pertent to the Gray-freris, Black-freris, Gray-sisteris, chaplainries, cloisteris, and hebdomodaries ... to have been applyit to the uphald and sustentatioun of the ministrie ... and hevand respect and consideratioun that the puir decayit honest personis of this Burgh to be placit in the Hospital of this Burgh ... is ane pairt and portion of the said ministerie... and that it belongs to us and our duties for thair sustentatioun to provyd, thai at this present being all utterlie destitute of ony sufficient rent to sustain thaim ... Therefour we, the saidis ... Counsal ... and Comminaltie ... disponis perpetuallie to the Maister or Maisteris of the Hospital or Almishouus ... in name of the puir ... All and Hail the foresaidis placis ...'

9 January 1569/70.

36. Donaldson, Thirds, xi.

37. Joint Appendix of Documents, 200:

'ANSUER to the allowances gevin in be the Toun of DUNDEE.

In the first anent the hundreth markis allowit to the Minister it is ordanit that the toun sall stent the nyctbouris of the burgh for ane hundreth markis to be payit yeirlie to the Minister and sall pay the same be the same stent to the effect that the rentis foirsaidis may be haillelie applyit to the sustentatioun of the pair for quhilk it wes foundat.'

38. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 16.

39. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 October 1580:

'Ordanit that all personis within this Burgh, detbound for ony annuel rentis to the Almoushous or Hospitale of this Burgh, that thai mak thankful payment thairof to the Almoushous Maister, to the effect the deokayid honest men thairof may be sustenit ...'

40. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 160.

41. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 248.

42. MS Dundee Council minute book, 1 October 1582:

'Ordanit that quhosoever salbe tryit to take away ony maner of staneis, lyme, tymber or ony uther mater materiall quhatsumever appertenyng to the kirk wark or commoun warkis, ... salbe accusit as airt and pairt of the thift, ... and ... salbe stingit throw the town, his lug naillit to the trone and banishit this burgh for ever ...'

43. Ibid.:

'Ordanit that the Den of Gild of this Burgh convey his merchandis, and elect and choiss ane number of thame that ar maist honorabill, to gang severallye upon the Sondag in the kirk for collectyng of help for bigang of the croce kirk; and also that the Deacons of Crafts, in lyk maner, convey thair brethren of craft, and chois out of thame ane number of the maist honorabill and qualefiet, to pas severallie with the said brod to the effect foirsaid; And quhat persone that is chairgit to pas with the said brod be the officiar of the kirk, and disobeyis the samyn, his rediest guidis and geir salbe poyndit for alss mekill money as that persone collectit the soday immediatlye preceding ...'

44. R.P.C., III, 520.

45. Ibid.

46. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 203.

47. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1558/9.

48. Ibid., 28 August 1565.

49. Ibid., 1 October 1582:

'ordanit ... that the actis maid anent the bairnis that playis, cryis and perturbis in the kirk yeard, and brekeris of the glasin wyndowis thairof, be put to executioun, with this additioun; that quhat bairne heirefter beis fund breking the said actis, thair parentis salbe compellit to mend the skayth ... and als sall pay viii s. of unlaw for ilk tyme that thair saidis bairnis be apprehendit in the said kirk yeard.'

50. James Melville, Diary, 62.

51. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 October 1580.

52. Ibid.:

'ordanit ... that gif ony adulterar, man or woman, be apprehendit within this Burgh, sall suffer the punishment for the odious cryme of adulterye (quhilk nocht only procuris the punishment of God upon the haille congregatioun, bot bryngis on desolatioun and wrak upon haille famelies) ... be punishit in maner following; ... the said adulterar salbe takin and put in the maist strang prissone ... be the space of aucht dayis, and salbe takin out thre severall dayis ... and had to the skaffet; ... and thair betwix the houris of ten and twelf befoir none, to be bound with ane iryn cheinye and crown of pepir ... declaryng that thair punishment is for the caussis of adultery ... and efter the saidis aucht dayis the adulterar salbe tane to the croce of this Burgh, and thair salbe banishit this Burgh for ever.'

53. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 196f.

54. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 October 1580:

'ordanit that gif it salhapin ony menis wyffis or uther wemen that hes money to pay, to be hard opinlie in schamefull flyttyng, reproching, sclanderyng, cursyng, bannyng or making ony horrible imprecatiounis, or fearfull blasphemeis of the name of God, betwix thame and ony uther persone; that the offendare haiffand money to pay sall stand in/

in ward quhill thai pay xl s. to the reperatioun of the commoun warkis of this burgh, and als sall pas to the merkat croce ... or to the place quhair thai offendit thair nychtbour, and upon thair kneis ask thame forgeivenes; and the person that hes na money to pay salbe put in the cokstoill be the space of thre houris in maist patent tyme of day, and thairefter satefie the pairtie in maner foirsaid.'

55. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 167.

56. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 October 1580:

'ordanit that gif it salhappin ony young woman to commit huirdome within this Burgh, and efter thai be conceavit with bairne, salbe fund gangand with thair bair hair as ane schameles huir, that incontinent scho salbe had to the cokstuill, and upon skaffet thairof hir hair salbe cutt of and thair naillit to the example of utheris.'

57. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 196.

58. Ibid., 197.

59. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 October 1580:

'ordanit Forsamekle as we knaw it to be the command of God that thair sall nocht be ony drunkettis and blasphemers of His haly name amang his pepill; ... gif ony man be apprehendit in drunkennes ... and haif ony geir, for the first falt fyve merkis ... to be takin up be the deacones and distribut to the puir; for the secund falt ten merkis and gif he be thridly noitit in this falt sall pay ten lib to the puir; bot gif he will nocht avoid bot continew thairin, the Provost and Bailyeis sall gif him ane assyss of nychtbouris, and gif he beis convictit he salbe banischit this Burgh for yeir and day, and sall nocht be receavit without his oppin repentance; and the persone that hes na geir being apprehendit ... salbe put in the theiffis hoill the space of twa dayis and twa nychtis for the first falt; and for the nixt falt sall remaine four dayis; and for the thrid falt the haill oulk ... and gif efterwart he continewis ... he sall haif ane assyss of nychtbouris and being convictit salbe banischit ... for yeir and day; ... and the samyn act to proceed upon druken women.'

60. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 October 1581:

'ordanit that na persone within this Burgh tak upon hand to sweir, blaspheme or comonlie to tak the name of the Lord God in vaine, or bane or execrat in tyme/

tyme cuming; and quha beis apprehendit ... that hes money to pay sall payfor the first falt twa s., and thai that hes no money sall stand in the brankis twa houris; and for the nixt falt thai that hes money to pay sall pay xx s.; and thai that hes none sall stand sex houris in the brankis, and for the thrid falt banishing this Burgh to bayth; and als that the Officiaris of this Burgh attent ilk merkat day upon the flesche merkat, fische merkat and victuall merkattis for apprehendyng of the banneris and swereris, and sall put thame in the tolbuthe incontinent; ... the pane foirsaid to be applyit ... the ane half thairof to the Officiar apprehendar, and the uthar half ... to the pair of this Burgh; and that ilk nychtbour of this Burgh haif ane buist or ane box hung above his buird, with ane puline hung thairat, for correctyng of the bairnis and swereris in thair awin domestik howssis.'

61. Ibid.
62. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 166f.
63. St.A.K.S.R., I, 379.
64. Ibid., I, 401.
65. F.E.S., III, 684.
66. James Melville, Diary, 55.
67. A.P.S., III, 105.
68. MS Dundee Guildry minute book, 13 November 1570.
69. Ibid., 10 October 1576.
70. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 2, no. 265.
71. Warden, Burgh Laws, 339.
72. Maxwell, Dundee Prior to the Reformation, 30.
73. Lythe, The Economy of Scotland, 122.
74. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 157.
75. Warden, Burgh Laws, 546f.:

'... In ye first, in ye honor of God ye Father, Sone, and Holy Spreit, and in ye defense of his holy vourd putle professit vtin yis realme and burt; secundlie, for ye mentinance of ye said vourd of or Kingis Grace Maiesties defense of his body, crown, and realme ... Vnto ye cuming of or Lord Jesus Chryst in his glorie, to qwhome vt ye Ffather, Sone, and/

and Holy Spereit be all houer, prays, varld wtout ending ...'

76. Ibid., 247:

'FIRST - To defend ye honor and glory of ye et-nall God, and furthsetting of Chryst Jesus ewangell, and mentinance of ye samyn...'

77. R.P.C., IV, 26.

78. Warden, Burgh Laws, 343.

79. F.E.S., III, 683.

80. Warden, Burgh Laws, 341.

81. R.E.B., 59.

82. Ibid., 60.

CHAPTER 5

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCRYMGEOUR
1586 - 1598

In 1586 James Haliburton resigned as Provost of Dundee and James Scrymgeour was elected to fill his place. Scrymgeour was out of favour with King James after his association with the Ruthven Raid of 1582, but was soon to regain royal favour through his work in the negotiations over the Danish marriage in 1589. His participation in the negotiations earned him a knighthood and charter¹ and a respectability which also earned him inclusion amongst the Commissioners in 1604 '... to meet with others from England, to treat upon a perfect Union of the two realms.'²

Respect for the office of Provost was very great in Dundee after the long service of Haliburton for the Town and for his promotion of the reformed religion at home and throughout the nation. The establishment of Scrymgeour heralded a gradual loss of this respect, as the relationship between the Provost, the Town Council and the Trades was to gradually change because of their internal power conflicts. The appointment of Robert Howie as Minister of Dundee in 1598 came after the retirement of William Christison, who, like Haliburton, was a man of great local and national stature and who brought to his office respect and reverence from the local people. Howie, within seven years of his appointment to office, was to be embroiled in a conflict between the trades and the town council oligarchy, a situation unlikely and unthinkable forty years earlier when the Provost, Town Council and Minister had too many external problems to contend with to become involved in an internal power struggle.

The establishment of Scrymgeour was to initiate an attempt to halt the democratic tradition of election of the Provost and of the Town Council itself. By the beginning of the seventeenth century/

century the second Viscount Dudhope was to attempt to make the office of Provost perpetual and the elections of the Magistrates and Town Council mere nominations.³

However, from the appointment of Scrymgeour, until that of Howie, there was enough preoccupation in the Town of Dundee with the threat of Spanish invasion, and enough tradition of effort in the implementation of the reformed religion, to subdue overt clashes between factions. There were nevertheless increased references to Town Council procedural discipline which suggested a gradual rise of discontent.⁴

In this period the threat of external invasion of Scotland also met with the threat of internal dissension, in particular the rising of the Northern Earls in 1589. English intelligence reports from Scotland preoccupied themselves with Spanish influence, the presence of real or imaginary Spanish agents, and the political and religious affections of the Scottish nobility. It was evident that Dundee was considered to be, like other burghs, at the calling of the local nobility, and therefore under the influence of Crawford.⁵

These intelligence reports give a recurring and sometimes monotonous picture of the religious stance of the nobility, although, in cases such as that of the son of the Earl of Angus in 1591, the nobility were quick to adopt a conciliatory stance with the local ministry, and retreat from non-conformist positions, if their inheritance was endangered.⁶

The General Assembly also considered the loyalty of the Scottish nobility from time to time. In their complaint to King James of 20 February 1587/8 they listed Lord Gray, and Graham of Fintry as the notable papists in Angus.⁷ Scrymgeour in turn had been associated/

associated with the Master of Gray when he had offered to follow him to the 'Low Countries' in 1586.⁸

The 'State of Scotland' report of 1588/9 listed Crawford, Glamis, Gray, Ogilvy and Innermeath as 'papiste and yll devoted, all savinge the Lord Glammis'.⁹ The report further pointed out the contradictions of the state of the Angus area in that the inhabitants of the towns were mostly protestant, the nobility mostly papist, that most of the Jesuit agents in Scotland were concentrated in the area, and that they were in that area because of the port facilities, the port facilities presumably being under the control of the protestant burghs.

This assessment was graphically borne out by the events later in 1589, when a report to Walsingham spoke of how Glamis narrowly escaped from Huntly and fled to Dundee, where 'They chased him to the walls of the town, but he got into it.'¹⁰ The crisis of April 1589, however, although an armed rising and a rising of Catholic earls, brought the disaffected nobility into perspective as adopting a political stance, rather than a stance calculated to enforce their religion on the crown. Resistance waned almost immediately once it was realised that King James was in the field in person, and that Huntly and Errol were therefore in true rebellion.¹¹

The northern nobility was deeply involved in the complex arrangements for a Spanish invasion to restore papistry, and clearly implicated in the considerable documentary evidence surrounding the case, and yet only a minor member of the Roman Catholic conspiracy, Sir David Graham of Fintry, was beheaded hurriedly for treason on 15 February 1592/3.¹² It became apparent that the King, like the nobility, was prepared to place political considerations above religious dogmatic ones, as was seen by his unwillingness to pressure/

pressure Huntly for his actions, in order to maintain influence against the growing demands of the Kirk.¹³ Fintry clearly identified the assumed names of the earls of Angus, Errol and Huntly in the Spanish correspondence,¹⁴ and yet these three were denounced rebels after non appearance at court, and remained virtually unaffected by the King's expedition to the North, from which he returned on 13 March and 'Little or nothing was done'.¹⁵

The Kirk was still attempting to influence the King to take further action on the nobility responsible for the Spanish Blanks in January 1593/4, and to make their appearance for trial in Edinburgh or Dundee.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the Kirk was evidently satisfied with the ability of Dundee to provide a secure area in which to conduct trial proceedings of such magnitude, even although in July 1592 the King had had to take a detour to Burntisland rather than travel to Dundee, where the influence of Crawford was strongly considered by English observers to make it a '... dangerous ... place ... to reside at'.¹⁷

Furthermore, later in 1594, the Northern Earls were to consider Dundee as the centre bulwark of their campaign to the South. Robert Bowes reported to Burghley that Huntly had given the Master of Gray £10,000 Scots for Broughty Castle and that the magistrates of Dundee were afraid 'that Huntly will fortify the same place near the town wherein the Englishmen before built their fortifications, and that afterwards the Spaniards shall be received in the same'.¹⁸ From that apprehension felt in July the Town of Dundee moved to take 'very strong watch and guard' in September, fearing a double surprise attack on themselves and Perth by the Northern earls.¹⁹

By June 1597 Huntly, Errol and Angus had returned from their/

their exile imposed for their disaffection, and had been absolved by the Northern ministers. Their presence abroad had been too much a threat, and their absence from the North had caused too great a power vacuum, for the King to continue their physical and spiritual banishment.²⁰ It was their resulting reliance on the King's personal support that placed the Kirk in a weakened position and allowed the King to 'smooth' the affairs of the General Assembly at Dundee in May 1597,²¹ and afterwards to persuade the General Assembly to appoint a General Ecclesiastical Commission, which consisted of sympathetic ministers to treat of 'the interteanment of peace and obedience to his Majestie within this realme'.²² The support of the nobility enabled the King to attend the General Assembly of 1598 at Dundee and to influence it in 'erecting bishops'.²³ It says something for the power of the Kirk and the atmosphere of Dundee, however, that if 'the King had not gone the ministers would sure have prevailed'.²⁴

By the time Howie was appointed Minister of Dundee the Town was entering a period of open internal political dissension, which was occurring against the background of a nobility lukewarm in their support of the Kirk, and powerful in their support of the King. This was because the King was prepared to restrict the presbyterian sympathies of the Kirk by using a nobility which was papist in inclination, isolated from the Kirk and therefore dependent upon the King.

The Town of Dundee maintained reasonable relations with the local nobility during this period. There was friction, as in the case of other towns, over the matter of former church lands in which the local gentry expressed interest. The Conveyance by the Town/

Town Council to the Hospitalmaster of Dundee in 1569²⁵ expressed that some of the emoluments of the Queen's Donation were not realised, and that 'sum particular persons persavis to have interest and possession of ane gryt pairt'. After agreement in principle by the Town Council on 25 April 1588, to accept the offer made by Provost Scrymgeour²⁶ to convey his interest in the former church lands, a formal charter was drawn up on 27 August 1591 conveying a third part of the Meadows to the Town.²⁷

It proved more difficult to come to terms with the other major interested party, the Earl of Crawford. After Dundee Town Council decided to approach the Estates for confirmation of the charter of Queen Mary, he presented a petition to Parliament claiming that the Provincial of the Gray Friars had concluded a charter of alienation with his father.²⁸ Presumably his title was strong, as eventually the Town Council settled on a compromise, when the Earl executed a discharge to the Hospital on 17 November 1594 in return for 1800 merks.²⁹

The Town of Dundee was prepared to give shelter to the well-devoted Lord Glamis, as has already been seen when in April 1589 his life was saved by the town walls after he had been pursued by Huntly. Equally they were prepared to resist Huntly in July of 1594 when they feared capture of Broughty Castle for the use of the Northern forces.

In spite of a lack of a surrounding sympathetic nobility, the Town and Kirk Session of Dundee continued to pursue a quest for a reformed society and attempted to follow the guidelines of the First Book of Discipline. They were to improve education, to expand the ministry, to continue the issue of moral ordinances, together with the help of the trades, who duplicated many of the moral ordinances and exhortations to prayer and church attendance. Friction was to/

to appear, however, over the matter of raising funds to finance the extension of the ministry, and some of the divisions which were to become more apparent in the serious dissension in Howie's ministry, could be seen in the dispute over the financing of the second charge.

As a community, Dundee was aware of the importance that it held both as a tactical base, and as a major entry point for immigration from Europe. It has already been seen that they foresaw the threat of a Spanish investment of Broughty Castle. They could hardly be unaware of the tactical importance of Broughty Castle as the ravages of the English occupation had been so extensive. The events of 1588 were to underline their significance as a port and tactical centre, when they were aware of the consternation caused by the 'Spanish Blanks' and also aware of the English ships in the harbour prepared to repel any invasion.³⁰ While the populace of Dundee presumably welcomed the English force on this occasion, it is evident that the events of the 1540's, and the continued ravages of English piracy upon Dundee merchant shipping, created an Anglophobia that was extreme and unreasoning. In 1592 English agents, who had been hired to follow the Spanish agent Semple, were hurriedly arraigned and executed by a suspicious Dundee faction.³¹

As a community they were also charged with the responsibility of inspecting travellers, as in the royal circular of 1589 which instructed towns to 'fens and arreist the same shippis and vescheilles' which carried 'Jesuits, excommunicat personis, seminarie preistis ...' and others carrying treasonable writings.³² It is to be assumed that there was a certain degree of tolerance or apathy towards such travellers by the merchant community, when there was not a higher degree of detection of foreign agents and of Catholic clergy.

In 1590 Robert Bowes reported the arrival in Dundee of an agent of the Scottish Jesuit James Tyrie, who came with news from France, and reported it in such a way as to suggest that the community was not vigorously executing the instructions of the 1589 order.³³

In 1592 Bothwell escaped to Caithness from Broughty Crag with supposed help from local inhabitants, and King James later tried a number of people for giving Bothwell assistance.³⁴ From the statement given by Andrew Kinnaird, a merchant of means³⁵ and a burgess of Dundee, it would appear common knowledge that Bothwell was involved with the papist lords, and it could be inferred that Kinnaird acknowledged the complicity of his townsmen in the conspiracy, but was unwilling to involve them.³⁶ There was therefore a certain degree of complicity in the Dundee community in the illicit traffic and conspiracy centred on the port, but it never reached extensive proportions, and apart from the trial for assistance to Bothwell, did not attract serious comment or apprehension from observers. It would have been impolitic for a trading community to oppose too strongly the associates of the local nobility, while the continuance of the town community in establishing reformed opinion suggests a firm base for Protestant activity.

Before the appointment of Howie as minister, the efforts of the Town Council in maintaining the new religion consisted of reaffirming the moral laws, and extending the ministry and education. Their efforts to extend the ministry by the appointment of a second charge, did however meet with opposition. This was not surprising in view of the already extensive efforts to raise money for the fabric of the Cross Kirk, and the powerful trades could be expected to oppose extensive taxation for the support of two such innovations.

The Council had made repeated efforts to repair the Cross Church, and in January 1589, together with the agreement of the deacons of crafts, decided to levy a church rate to raise 500 merks to commence building.³⁷ This formal rate proved insufficient, and by 5 October 1590 it was decided that council members were to approach people in the burgh to ask them to 'charitablie offer and geive' so that the repair might be completed.³⁸ This final attempt was presumably successful, as the Council discussed contracts for the supply of timber for the roof on 27 October,³⁹ and promised a monument in the church to any benefactor who would subscribe to a part of the roof on 3 November.⁴⁰ This promise was made in the light of a particular offer from Henry Lyell of Blackness, whose generosity in provision of roof timber was recorded in a lyrical memorial which compared his gift with that of King Hiram to Solomon's Temple.⁴¹ Work was finally completed when arrangements were made in October 1593 for the provision of slates.⁴²

In spite of the exhortation of the Book of Discipline on the financing and administration of repair to church fabric, work generally in Scotland in raising taxation for the repair of churches 'proceeded most tardily'.⁴³ Although Parliament had made arrangements for taxation for the reparation of churches in January 1572,⁴⁴ these arrangements proved ineffective, and the success of Dundee, in extending this building in the space of eleven years, is remarkable even in the light of the relief of taxation of the burgh granted by the Privy Council in 1582.⁴⁵ The repair of the Cross Church was evidently only accomplished by the extensive donations of the community in finance and in labour. Substantial members of the community donated their labour in the building work, as can be seen by/

by the decision of the Town Council to give Henry Baxter, skipper, a pension in 1595 because he had been permanently disabled 'be the fall he ressavit in the reparatioun of the Croce Kirk'.⁴⁶

The Town increased the provision for the Ministry as well as the Kirk fabric, and it was the added burden of the addition of the second charge that caused friction with the trades. James Robertson, who was Third Master in the New College, St. Andrews, and who had been forced to take refuge with James Melville in 1584 for his part in assisting the production of a written protest against episcopalianism,⁴⁷ was appointed Second Minister in 1588. His appointment immediately put pressure on the funds for the ministry, and by 1590 the Guildry formalised the duties formally belonging to the Chaplain of the Holy Blood Altar, confirmed that they were now for the upkeep of the ministry, and decided to prosecute Guild brethren for non payment after the Taxman complained 'of the evill payment of the samen, sua that the said deuties is almost lichtliet in taking be all men'.⁴⁸ The Guildry were determined to assist the Town Council in the enforcement of the collection of taxation for the ministry, in spite of the apparent growth of apathy to the pre-reformation tax for the Holy Blood Silver.

On 2 December 1588 the Town Council confirmed the contribution of a penny on every boll of malt, appointed collectors of the tax, and referred to the opposition of the maltmen to the tax. They had refused to pay their contribution and had engaged an advocate 'to mak contradictioun thairto'⁴⁹ and as they were fined for their opposition and fined for 'thair blaspheming of the bailleis',⁵⁰ it is to be supposed that the dispute was acrimonious. On 17 January 1588/9 a full agreement was drafted for the uplifting of dues from the Guildry, the/

the Nine Crafts, the mariners, maltsters, litsters and coopers,⁵¹ but was opposed, this time by the baxters, who claimed that they were not obliged to pay the tax on malt 'seing thai pay thair pairt of the craftis contributioun in large maner'.⁵² There were several lengthy discussions on this matter, which confirmed that the baxters were an influential group amongst the crafts. As a craft they were traditionally conscious of the teachings and needs of the reformed religion. Paul Methven, Minister to the original congregation, had been a baxter, and had found through his trade sufficient education and encouragement to be able to proceed to minister to a congregation. Eventually the discussions on taxation ended in a compromise negotiated on 14 July 1589, whereby the deacons of crafts agreed that ten pence on each ten bolls of malt was to be exacted universally from all the inhabitants of the burgh during the lifetime of Master James Robertson.⁵³ It was significant that David Tendell, Deacon of the baxter craft, was made special factor to oversee this general collection.

Although the baxters and the maltmen had won a compromise in effecting a general taxation for the provision of the ministry, it was to be necessary in the future to increase support for the Minister as his family increased, a necessity which called for additional methods of funding, and a necessity which caused the repetition of exhortations to the community to be zealous in the payment of their dues. Robertson's stipend was increased three times before 1603, when the Council were to make provision separately for his daughter, as encouraged in the Book of Discipline, where daughters 'be vertuously brought up and honestly doted',⁵⁴ and indeed in the receipt for her support the Council stated the support to be 'to ane honest condition of lyff'.⁵⁵ The maltmen were not conscientious in their collection/

collection of the tax on malt, for exhortations were repeated on the necessity of the provision of an adequate stipend, and in 1608 the maltmen were accused of being 'slack and remiss' in settling the collection.⁵⁶

The Town Council naturally maintained an adequate standard for William Christeson, their first Minister, during this period, and on 4 November 1595 provided him with a handsome arrangement, whereby he agreed to surrender the vicarage of St. Margaret's chaplainry in return for a hundred merks a year, which together with other income made his stipend worth a hundred pounds.⁵⁷ If the recalcitrant attitude of some of the crafts towards the provision of the second charge made life financially difficult for Robertson, then the Town Council certainly ensured that the Minister to the first charge enjoyed income equal to his stature, derived from sources that did not depend entirely on the vagaries of supplementary taxation.

Education and 'The Necessity of Schooles', as advised in the Book of Discipline,⁵⁸ was recognised by the Town Council, which at an early stage had set up its independent schoolmaster. The Grammar School had expanded and it was necessary to find new accommodation. Accordingly on 15 May 1589 it was decided to pay 160 merks for waste ground on the site of the old St. Clement's church, and in return for hospital funds the Hospital master was infert in the cellars and vaults underneath the proposed school.⁵⁹ As in the case of the rebuilding of the Cross Church, the community gave labour and subscriptions to the school. William Spenss agreed to lend to the town the arch centres to help make the vaults underneath the school, in return for relief from taxation,⁶⁰ and these vaults in turn helped to maintain the cost of the school by being in part put up for public roup.⁶¹ With the old school passed/

passed the former master, Thomas Ramsay, who passed into retirement with a handsome presentation of one hundred pounds 'as ane remembrance of his lang treavellis and panes tane in the instructioun of the youth of this burgh'.⁶² This was a remarkable sum as a gratuity, even though

it had to suffice as a pension, and illustrates the value that the Town Council attached to the virtuous education of the youth. The Town Council was determined to maintain control over education in the burgh, and in 1594 suppressed rival schoolmasters by enacting that 'incais ony nechbour of this burgh put thair ... bairnis above the aige of aucht yeris to ony uthir maistir within the said burgh ... the parent ... sall pay to the pure or reparatioun of the kirk wark ...'.⁶³ The rivalry

of other schoolmasters was eventually ended by the appointment in 1597 to the charge of the Grammar School of David Lindsay, a son of the Laird of Edzell, and previously Master of Montrose Academy.⁶⁴ His quality of ability and learning made him the successor to Robert Howie after his removal in 1605, and the appointment of such a man of stature illustrates the value placed on education by the Town Council, and an acceptance of the importance stressed by the Book of Discipline of the duty of the 'godly Magistrate' to make arrangements so that the Church of God 'may abide in some puritie in the posteritie following'.⁶⁵

Dundee Kirk Session, the Town Council, and the individual trades all co-operated in the suppression and trial of acts of 'fornication, drunkennesse, fighting, common swearing or execration'.⁶⁶ The acts of the Town Council and of the trades tended to repeat and duplicate each other, and from other sources it can be assumed that the judgments of the Town Council and the Kirk Session were also duplicated. Two cases recorded in the St. Andrews Kirk Session confirm that the Dundee Kirk Session were treating cases of alleged fornication with gravity. In/

In 1589 Janet Ogilvy was instructed by the Kirk Session of St. Andrews to produce proof that she had satisfied the Kirk Session of Dundee in the matter of her trial for fornication,⁶⁷ and in 1593 Bessy Ramsay was ordered to return to Dundee to answer a charge of fornication 'quhair the samyn wes done'.⁶⁸ In 1589 the Town Council referred to the trial by the Kirk Session of Gilbert Gelletlie on a charge of 'harlotry', and furthermore dismissed him from office.⁶⁹ Earlier in the year the Council had passed an act against adultery, enforcing public penance for transgressors followed by banishment from the burgh.⁷⁰ In January 1588/9 the Council extended the prison for 'fornicatouris and adulteraris',⁷¹ as the old prison had been 'incommodious', but placed the new work at the East end of the Kirk, where it became a public gallery for the congregation to witness those doing penance, in a literal interpretation of the instruction given in the Book of Discipline of examination of offenders 'when the whole kirk convenes together'.⁷²

The trades supported the application of these moral laws by their own ordinances. In 1587 the Hammerman Trade enacted that their apprentices, if convicted of adultery or fornication during their apprenticeship, should double their apprenticeship and pay forty shillings to the poor or lose their liberty.⁷³ In 1591 the Baker Trade decided that members of the trade, if convicted of fornication, should pay 6s 8d. Evidently there was a great disparity between the attitude towards and punishment of moral offenders, probably arising from the independence of the trades and their energetic defence of that independence. The Book of Discipline recognised the difference between 'secret' offences 'known to few men' and 'publick' crimes witnessed by the community, and approved private admonition of those suspects who would probably accept correction.⁷⁴

Similarly the trades and the Town Council individually passed laws concerning the upholding of the Sabbath day, both in the veneration of church going, and in the suppression of work or trade during the times of preaching and prayers. The trades and the Council appear to have acted in harmony on this issue, whereas in Perth some trades, in particular the fleshers, were recalcitrant and paid little attention to the Kirk Session of Perth in its exhortation to cease breaking the Sabbath.⁷⁵

Although the frequent repetition of acts by the Town Council on Sabbath observance and church attendance would suggest laxity on the part of the community, and indeed did mention such a laxity as a reason for this repetition, the Town Council did take their duty seriously of reminding the community of their religious obligations.

The Town Council Acts of October 1594 reaffirmed that flesh and fish markets were not to be held on the Sabbath, that action be taken against those who did not attend the kirk on the Sabbath and in time of preaching, that mariners should not sail on the Sabbath, and that those who rose before the end of preaching would be fined.⁷⁶ These provisions were repeated with careful additions and qualifications three years later in 1597, when the baillies were charged to report every Monday morning on the execution of this act.⁷⁷

Of the trades the Hammermen enacted regulations covering servants and apprentices of members, who were not to dance, play, drink or play games in time of preaching or prayers, under pain of a fine of two shillings as well as suffering the 'punishment of the kirk'.⁷⁸

The Sabbath acts of the Guildry were noteworthy in that they duplicated the acts and punishments of the Town Council, and also extended them in particular detail. Their regulations of 1593 related/

related to the attendance at Kirk during sermons, the keeping of the Sabbath, and travelling on the Sabbath on land and by sea. Guild brethren had to attend sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays, and had to close their booths at that time or else be fined forty pence. The Sabbath had to be kept, and booths shut, under fine of ten shillings, and brethren were not to travel to neighbouring towns, including Forfar, Kirriemuir and Brechin, and were not to trade on the Sabbath under a fine of forty shillings. It is interesting to note that landward Forfarshire would appear to have been comparatively lax in prohibiting Sabbath trading, and that the Guildry were evidently conscious of a necessity for Dundee to show good example. In spite of the exhortations of the Book of Discipline, and an Act of Parliament of 1567 to observe the Sabbath, it was generally found difficult to enforce observance.⁷⁹ The heavy fine imposed by the Guildry in this instance evidenced a strict conscientiousness at this time.

This attitude was most marked in the final clause of the 1593 enactments,⁸⁰ which forbade any ship to sail on Sabbath day. The Guildry, recognising that some mariners were not members of the Guildry, suggested that the Kirk Session be advised that 'ane act sould be sett down be ane general consent' to have the desired effect, and that a heavy fine of ten pounds be imposed. It was presumably in the interests of the Guildry to ensure that their members did not suffer in competition with other traders who did not value observance so highly, but their action was a practical example of the easy communication between the Guildry and the Kirk Session.

Before the appointment of Robert Howie in 1598 the Town Council, trades and the Kirk Session operated in relative harmony to keep the community in a state of consciousness of their duty, as laid down by/

by the First Book of Discipline, to lead a godly life and respect the teaching of the scriptures. Although the community of Dundee had evidently striven in this direction after the Spanish threat had lessened, it was evidence of a developed reformed opinion in Dundee that this effort was neither suppressed by a local nobility, powerful in their opposition to the Kirk, nor by the geographical vulnerability of the area of Dundee.

FOOTNOTES

1. A.P.S., IV, 90.
2. Ibid., IV, 264.
3. Thomson, History of Dundee, 86.
4. MS Dundee Council minute book, 30 November 1591:

'It is ordanit that na persoun heirefter sall presume to speak in counsall without he first creave licence of the provest and Bailleis to that effect, that materis in counsall be cumlie and ordourlie intreated as effeiris.'
5. Cal. S.P. Scot., XIII, 1118:

'... the burghs and burgess towns are wholly at the devotion of some nobleman or other; ... Dundee at the Earl Crawford ...'
6. Cal. S.P. Scot., X, 531:

'The Earl of Angus is either d[ead] or not likely to live ten days. The Master his son was at Dundee, to pass into foreign realmes as ex [communicate] for papistry. But hearing of his father's sickness, and the danger of prejudice to his title in his absence, he seeks to confer with the ministers here (Edinburgh) and to reconcile himself.'
7. B.U.K., II, 718.
8. Cal. S.P. Scot., VIII, 410.
9. Ibid., IX, 666.
10. Ibid., X, 25.
11. Calderwood, V, 55.
12. Warrender Papers, II, 196.
13. Ibid., II, 279.
14. Ibid., II, 196.
15. Calderwood, V, 238.
16. Cal. S.P. Scot., XI, 265.
17. Ibid., X, 737.

18. Ibid., XI, 393.
19. Ibid., XI, 446.
20. Spottiswoode, III, 62; Warrender Papers, II, 276.
21. Cal. S.P. Scot., XII, 504.
22. Calderwood, V, 645f.
23. James Melville, Diary, 291.
24. Cal. S.P. Scot., XIII, 169.
25. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 15.
26. MS Dundee Council minute book, 25 April 1588.
27. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 72.
28. A.P.S., III, 474.
29. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 17.
30. Cal. S.P. Scot., IX, 561:

'The Spaniards are in readiness at Lisbon, as our ships which are come into Leith and Dundee ...'
31. Ibid., X, 722:

'It is given me to think that some of Dundee desiring the deaths of the Englishmen, and seeing some sent thither by me whom I (Robert Bowes) chiefly employed to hunt after John Sempill and other like practisers, "dowted" that I should have saved their lives and goods, did therefore in haste arraign them then, and executed them the same day.'
32. R.P.C., IV, 363.
33. Cal. S.P. Scot., X, 415.
34. Moysie, Memoirs, 93:

'At that tyme he (James VI) remanit viij or ix dayis in Dundie, quhaire he vsit a tryell of sum personis that had ressavit the erle of Bothuell ...'
35. Register of Testaments; Marjorie Kinnaird, sometime spouse to Andrews Kinnaird, Merchant, burgess of Dundee. Test. reg. 4 July 1598.
36. Cal. S.P. Scot., XI, 522.
37. MS Dundee Council minute book, 17 January 1588/9.

38. Ibid., 5 October 1590.
39. Ibid., 27 October 1590.
40. Ibid., 3 November 1590.
41. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 251.
42. MS Dundee Council minute book, 16 October 1593.
43. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 202.
44. Ibid.
45. R.P.C., III, 520.
46. MS Dundee Council minute book, 21 October 1595.
47. James Melville, Diary, 218.
48. MS Dundee Guildry minute book, 11 August 1590.
49. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 December 1588.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 17 January 1588/9.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 110.
55. MS Dundee Council minute book, 9 November 1604.
56. Ibid., 5 January 1608.
57. Ibid., 4 November 1595.
58. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 129.
59. MS Dundee Council minute book, 15 May 1589.
60. Ibid., 16 July 1589.
61. Ibid., 12 October 1591.
62. Ibid., 22 December 1591.
63. Ibid., 25 June 1594.
64. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 324.
65. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 129.

66. Ibid., 168.
67. St.A.K.S.R., II, 657.
68. Ibid., 750.
69. MS Dundee Council minute book, 17 December 1589.
70. The Municipal History of Dundee, 45.
71. MS Dundee Council minute book, 16 January 1588/9.
72. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 168.
73. Warden, Burgh Laws, 477.
74. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 168.
75. The Spottiswoode Miscellany, II, 263.
76. MS Dundee Head Court Laws, 6 October 1594:

'In the first, it is statut and ordanit be comoun consent that our mercifull God have His due honour and glorie within the haill boundis of this Burgh and jurisdiction therof, and that the true religioun, now profest and teichit within the said, be mentenit and desciplin execut aganis all personis, according to Godis Holy Word, the Actis of Parliament, and statutis of the Burgh maid of befor.

Item, it is statut and ordanit that the haill actis maid anent the profanacioun of the Sabathe day, be halding and keping of mercattis of flesche, fische and utheris viveris therupoun, and careing of laidis to or fra this Burgh, and anent the resorting to the Kirk on the Saboithe day and uther ordinar dayis appointit for preching, be put in executioun aganis the contravenaris therof, with this additioun;

Thatⁱ na persoun, mercheand or mariner, pretend to saill, or tak ther voyage upoun the Sabouth day heirefter, under the pain of ten li., to be upliftit of everie persoun contravenar heirof;

and forder, that the day of publict exerces be keipit be all inhabitaintis of the Burgh, alswa preceisl the as the ordinar dayis of precheing, under the panis forsaid;

and siclyke, the actis maid anent personis quha bringis infantis and bairnes, under the aige of fyve yeirs, within the said Kirk in tym of sermone or prayers; and anent the personis quha ryses and depairtis furth of the Kirk befor the end and conclusioun of the sermon and prayeris, be put in executioun with all severetie, be admonishing of the persoun notit contravening the saidis/

saidis actis for the first and secund faultis; and for the third fault be uptaking of ane penaltie of xl s. of the persoune that mey pey the samen, and be incarcerating of the persoun that mey not pay, be the space of xxiiii houris on breid and water, by and attour the declaratioun of the said falt publictlie fra the pulpit.'

i. Marginated: 'Against sick as mack saill on the Sabboth day'

77. MS Dundee Head Court Laws, 3 October 1597:

'... and that na persone presume in the tyme of precheing or prayeris to sell any meat, aill, beir, wyne or uther drink within or without ther housses under the pane of fourtie s., and^t that the baillies, keparis of the calsay, be chairgit be the Kirk ilk Mononday in the morning with ane compt his office in executing this act ...'

i. 'and that the baillies ... this act' is marginated.

78. Warden, Burgh Laws, 479.

79. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 181.

80. MS Dundee Guildry minute book, 16 October 1593.

CHAPTER 6

THE RISE OF ROBERT HOWIE AND CIVIC UNREST

1598 - 1610

The appointment of Robert Howie as Minister to Dundee coincided with the growth of friction between King James VI and the Church of Scotland caused by his wish to introduce a form of episcopacy and thus increase his influence over the Church. This increase of control over the Church was paralleled by an increase of control over local government in the burghs. In 1604 and in 1606 King James directed that Sir James Scrymgeour be elected Provost of Dundee, and on both occasions his wishes were carried out in spite of the opposition of the trades and of part of the Town Council. In 1583 King James had proposed the Earl of Crawford as Provost, but at that time the Town Council had successfully opposed the nomination.¹ This successful imposition of Royal will also reflected internal weaknesses and dissension within the Town Council. The Council was unable to resist a Royal nomination when the traditional oligarchy was eager to placate King James, because it wished in turn to recruit his support to help suppress democratic protest within the burgh caused by the growth of influence of the trades. The attempt by the trades in 1603 to restrain the power of the magistracy in Dundee led to a year of civic unrest which attracted the attention of the rest of Scotland. However, because the traditional oligarchy relied upon central government to uphold their position, King James did not find it in his interest to lead any meaningful mediation between the parties, and as a result the traditional oligarchy continued successfully, as after the case of similar urban riots in Glasgow in 1606.²

Robert Howie was appointed through his high academic and civic reputation and through the favour he enjoyed from the King's supporters. He was elected to serve in Dundee instead of John Hall, minister of Leith, a powerful candidate,³ and was elected through the influence/

influence of the King's supporters because of his support of the King's proposals on episcopacy. In consideration of Howie's strong credentials as a responsible minister in civic affairs in Aberdeen,⁴ and of his strong support for the King's proposals, it is surprising that he identified so strongly with the democratic claims of the trades against the traditional magistracy. It must therefore be concluded that the civic insurrection in Dundee was of a serious and responsible nature, and it was an insurrection that would have been more successful if the Crown had not intervened to uphold and restore the status quo. The trades continued their opposition after Howie had been removed and replaced by Lindsay, when they attempted to change the nomination of the schoolmaster, a position in the town which carried much importance and reputation, possibly second only to that of the first ministry.

Despite the internal conflict in the Town of Dundee, concern continued to be expressed for the relief of the poor and the financial provision for the ministry. Although there was an understandable reinforcement of acts in support of dutiful respect by subjects to the civil magistracy, there was also a continued concern for adequate provision for the ministry, there was additional provision for the poor, there was reaffirmation of the moral laws, and after the demise of Scrymgeour there was evidence of the establishment of a music school and an associated interest in the enrichment of church services. There was less evidence of such godly activity than in the previous decade, but the fact that such activity continued in spite of civil disturbance and serious outbreaks of plague suggests an underlying strength of reformed opinion in Dundee.

The civic conflict that occurred during Howie's ministry was exacerbated by the provostship of James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Constable/

Constable of Dundee. His influence had been kept in check during the last years of Provost Haliburton, but after his death Scrymgeour became a powerful force in Dundee and held the post of Provost from 1601 to 1609. He could look to Royal support against opposition from within the burgh, as his national influence was great. He had sat as a minor Baron in the Conventions of 1594, 1597, 1598, and 1604, he represented Dundee in the Parliaments of 1600 and 1605, and represented Forfarshire in 1605 and 1607.⁵ He had been instrumental, together with Earl Marischal and Lord Dingwall, in the successful negotiations on the Danish marriage in 1589,⁶ and had enjoyed Royal favour since that time, with the result that Scrymgeour was also one of the Commissioners appointed in 1604 to meet English representatives to discuss the Union.⁷ It was unlikely that King James would suffer any serious opposition to Scrymgeour within the burgh, even if that opposition was supported by a minister of proven civic service and of potential in the King's campaign for an extended episcopacy.

At the appointment of Howie it seemed most likely that he was likely to become embroiled in the internal dissensions of a burgh in political turmoil. He had been appointed Principal of the new Marischal College in Aberdeen in the summer of 1593,⁸ and had so involved himself in the work involved in this new foundation, and in his responsibilities as a parish minister, that he was elected a burgess of Aberdeen on 11 April 1597.⁹ On his departure from Aberdeen he was presented with a silver casket by the Town Council 'remembering that Maister Robert Howye had diligentlie dischargit him selff in the office and functioun of the ministrie'.¹⁰ He had changed his opinions from one repudiating the 'pseudo-episcopacy' of the English Church¹¹ to one supporting the King's policy. By 1601 he could state support for the King against those who/

who opposed his policy and who were afraid that the Church would slide into a pontifical tyranny.¹² He had certainly built up sufficient reputation amongst the King's supporters to win his election to Dundee over John Hall, minister of Leith,¹³ and he further established his position after his election, by being appointed one of the commission selected to co-operate with the King in ecclesiastical affairs in 1600 and in 1602.¹⁴ In civic life in Dundee he continued initially this reputation of respectable acceptability, for he was made a burghess of Dundee on 25 July 1603,¹⁵ eighteen months after David Lindsay, the schoolmaster.¹⁶

By the end of 1603 it is evident that Howie was becoming directly involved in political unrest within the Burgh, In the exhaustive inquiry conducted by the Privy Council in 1605,¹⁷ it was alleged that on 8 December 1603 Howie defended Robert Flesher, who had been ordered by the Magistrates to return to his lodgings after assembling a faction in arms, in which defence Howie stated that '... the Councill were all partiall and that he wald admitt na Judges but the deacons'.¹⁸ The crafts would appear to have rallied together at this time, for the town piper was tried at the Burgh Court for playing 'sum springis throw this burgh' that were likely to 'breid griter seditioun within this burgh'. The rallying tune that caused so much upset was called 'tobacco or the laird tint his gauntlet',¹⁹ a tune which was taken up by part of the community as an emotive rallying cry. Shortly after the Town Council took the precaution of restraining the piper, a sailor called William was spared punishment for assaulting Thomas Davidson, when it was learned that Davidson had uttered the words of the song.²⁰ Later that month, in March 1604, the synods of Angus and Mearns sent commissioners to Dundee 'for pacifying of the troubles ther',²¹ which commissioners/

commissioners cautioned Howie not to become involved in the burgh frictions, but to work with his colleague 'to be awthors and preachers of peace and na wyse to be caryed nor led with partiall affection and alwyse to forbeir particular applications to exasperat the people'.²² The fact that James Robertson, Minister to the Second Charge, was mentioned as a peaceful example, would suggest that Howie was taking an individual line in becoming involved in these burgh politics. At any rate he had a reputation for capable diplomacy, unlike Howie, who was considered to be of a 'hott and vehement humour',²³ and he was one of two from the Synod who were directed in 1599 to effect reconciliation amongst the ministers in order to strengthen their action against papist beliefs.²⁴

Howie did not take the criticism of the Synod commissioners at all well, as it was stated that he then assembled 160 of his 'faction' at the Cross Church and told them that the commission was sent to depose him, at which a riot broke out, 'grite bluidsched' was caused, and the commissioners were threatened with violence when they left Dundee.

Before the departure of the commissioners, Howie appears to have been unwise enough to have spoken of armed revolt as a solution to the troubles within the burgh; '... the said Mr. Robert publictlie and openlie said that he might raise two or three hundred swordmen quhen he pleasit'.²⁵ He may not have been so rash as to actually have uttered these words, as accused by the Privy Council, but the situation was certainly serious enough to cause the Master of Gray, the Laird of Laurieston, the Bishop of Brechin and more commissioners of the Kirk to hold an enquiry in Dundee. At this point Howie must have realised his error of judgment in open exhortation of the trades to protest, and it is evident from the Privy Council proceedings that he now undertook a/

a more conciliatory role, possibly in an attempt to defuse the situation and certainly in a manner more likely to win concessions for the trades.²⁶

Howie took it upon himself to personally represent members of the baker craft, who were called before the Lords of Secret Council for unlawfully deposing John Alasone, their deacon, and was therefore further implicated in the considerable unrest caused by the reinstatement of Alasone by the Privy Council. On 14 April 1604 James Fyff, younger, a member of the baxters, was put in ward because of his 'uttering ... blasphemous wordis aganes the present provest ... viz that he hard him mansweir him selff befoir the Lordis of Secrete Counsall ...'.²⁷ On 17 April a large council meeting considered the case of William Kyd, cordiner, who was accused with others of causing unrest late at night on 11 April, by passing through the town with drawn swords, drinking the health of Robert Flesher at the Cross, proceeding to John Alason's house where they struck his door with their swords and called him 'fals traitour',²⁸ throwing stones at John Scrymgeour's house, and then drinking the health of Walter Rollok outside his house and crying out that 'gif he wer at hame he suld haif fyve hundreth at his bak ...'.²⁹ The magistrates attempted to calm this disorder by having recourse to the town acts against blaspheming magistrates and against night walkers, but obviously feeling among the trades were high, although in this quoted case the accused would appear to have been as much on a drunken spree as a protest against unpopular figureheads in the crafts and town.

The claims of the crafts for increased representation were put forward to the Convention of Burghs held at Perth in July 1604, but their answer was unsatisfactory even although Howie had travelled to Perth with 'two or three hundred of his seditious complices'.³⁰ Howie/

Howie's appearance at Perth was remarkable, considering that he had been instructed by the Privy Council to remain in St. Andrews and not to come within six miles of Dundee. After this point, Howie seems to have lost his temporary exhortation to the crafts to negotiate peacefully, and returned to Dundee to deliver a hot and vehement address, referring to Provost Scrymgeour, declaring that '... gif thai wuld chuse a provost for greatnes, a laird wes grittar nor a barroun, a erle gritter nor a lord, a duke gritter nor an erle, and the devill wes gretest of all'.³¹ When it was pointed out that King James had recommended Scrymgeour for the post of Provost, '... he upbraidit them with maist dispytefull betrayers of a gude cause'.³²

The spearheading by Howie, of a reaction against Scrymgeour as Provost, meant that the opposition within the Town Council had the advantage of his experience, in civic and university life, to lead a campaign that may have been discredited as a violent democratic campaign, but which was also remarkably powerful in its appeal to legal precedent and to ancient usage. His personal influence in attempting to formalise and legitimise proceedings could be seen in the campaign to influence the Convention of Burghs, immediately after which Howie 'himself raid to Aberdeen and brocht with him all sic actis and wreatis as he thocht mycht strengthin his cause'.³³ This expertise of Howie did much to strengthen the cause of his faction in legal opposition to the election of Scrymgeour, but this opposition was against a favourite of King James VI and was therefore doomed to failure.

The Privy Council stated that Sir James was to continue in office because he was to be employed in England on his Majesty's service,³⁴ upon which the magistrates obtained a Letter of Suspension against his continued office. This led to a confrontation between Scrymgeour and/

and the Town Council on 4 September 1604, when Scrymgeour accused them of challenging him as 'ane brekir of fayth promes and honour',³⁵ and the minute recorded that Robert and Andrew Flesher and Thomas Man 'gaif na direct nor cleir answer',³⁶ In a further meeting on 19 September to nominate the new Council, Robert Flesher called for the inclusion of four members of the crafts upon the Council, and cited acts of parliament to substantiate this claim as legal.³⁷

Flesher and the dissenting portion of Council³⁸ then retired, and elected their own Council with William Rollock as Provost, and for a short period assumed power as Town Council. This action culminated in actions being taken against the ringleaders, and in particular Robert Flesher, and the eventual decision of the Privy Council on 23 July 1605 that Howie was 'nawyse to be capable of ony public office, function, or charge within the said town'.³⁹ The pattern of events, from the rival election on 19 September 1604 to the meeting of 18 September 1605, when former representation was continued and Scrymgeour was unopposed in office,⁴⁰ was complicated but well documented.⁴¹ It was clear that Howie was instrumental in advising the crafts on procedure and tactics, and that therefore in the eyes of the Privy Council 'his ... residence and remaining ... wald produce farder confusion disorder and unquietness ...'.⁴² Certainly, after his departure, discontent between factions in the town subsided to individual disputes and broils, without the hallmark of organised opposition which had been stamped on the campaign against Scrymgeour in 1604. In one of these individual disputes, it is interesting to note that the Minister of the Second Charge, James Robertson, was referred to in terms that made it obvious that he shared none of his former colleague's views on the cultivation of democracy. Andrew Lamb, Commendator of Cupar, was called to effect reconciliation/

reconciliation between James Wedderburn, son of the Town Clerk, and Robert Rollok, which reconciliation was opposed by David Blyth, a mariner, who in turn was put in ward by the Council because he questioned Lamb's suitability in the reconciliation. Blyth stated this knowing that Lamb would decree him 'as Mr. James Robertson did rayill aganes him in the pulpit'.⁴³ Howie's colleague did not become embroiled in civic disputes, as did neither William Wedderburn when he was presented to the newly formed Third Charge in 1611 on the recommendation that he was of 'peaceable inclinations'.⁴⁴ Their background is probably important to their attitudes, as Robertson was connected through marriage to the Scrymgeour family,⁴⁵ and William Wedderburn was the son of Alexander Wedderburn of Pittormie,⁴⁶ whereas Robert Howie was the son of an Aberdeen merchant burghess⁴⁷ and therefore most likely to identify himself with the aspirations and frustrations of the merchant and craft classes in Dundee. On the other hand, his direction of the campaign of the Dundee crafts resulted in giving that campaign a certain respectability and legal force, and prevented it from descending into violent chaos at the end of 1604. It is unlikely that Howie would have suffered a banishment for only two years, before his appointment to St. Andrews, if all the statements ascribed to him in the accusations of 1605 were true. Howie failed in his attempt to increase democratic representation on the Town Council because his campaign naturally focussed on the office of Provost, and because he therefore met the personal opposition of King James VI.

On the departure of Howie, David Lindsay, who had been Master of the Grammar School in Dundee since 1597, was appointed Minister of the First Charge. He attempted at first to hold both positions of Minister and Master until 1606, when he surrendered the post in the Grammar/

Grammar School and thereby opened another avenue for the dissenting crafts to express their discontent. It has been seen that the posts of Minister and of Schoolmaster were regarded in Dundee as being of equal importance, and the appointment of a replacement, to the post of Schoolmaster, was regarded by the crafts to be of sufficient importance to warrant their insistence on their participation in the appointment. Their opposition to Scrymgeour was transferred, from a militancy in burgh elections, to a militancy in opposing an applicant who they believed to be a nominee of the oligarchy.

David Lindsay resigned his mastership on 25 March 1606,⁴⁸ and later that day Council accepted a nomination from Mr. Robert Nairn, who came with recommendations from Linlithgow Council and from the Rector of the University of St. Andrews, and the Town Council ordered Nairn's supplication to be presented to the ministers and Presbytery for their consideration. This surprise nomination was objected to by the Collector of the Crafts, who 'desyrit that the saidis provest bailleis and counsale wald lyikwayis heir and ressave the petitioun of any uthir persone ...'.⁴⁹ This protest marked the beginning of a conflict which was to last until the end of Scrymgeour's rule and which would appear to have been brewing for some time. On 30 July 1605 one of the teachers in the Grammar School had been assaulted by two burgesses, one a maltman and the other a merchant.⁵⁰ On 22 April 1606 the Council and ministers accepted Robert Nairn 'quha wes first presentit to thame',⁵¹ and James Gleg, one of the Regents of St. Salvator's College and the favourite of the crafts, retired from his suit for the office. The election proceeded formally on 23 April, and after long deliberation the post was given to Nairn, after which Patrick Hodge, the Collector of the Crafts, registered his disapproval by stating that he thought there/

there were better candidates to be had in the country, and by stating his objection to the interest shown by Provost Scrymgeour in the voting of the deacons.⁵² The honour of a burghership was bestowed on James Gleg the day before, and it must be assumed that such an unusual honour was offered as an inducement by a Council embarrassed by the qualifications of the rival candidate, and anxious to placate the wishes of Provost Scrymgeour.⁵³ After Scrymgeour's retirement Nairn surrendered the office of schoolmaster on 1 January 1611, Gleg having been elected as Master on 18 December 1610. Relationships were not surprisingly poor between the two, as was shown by the fact that James Gleg had to find a cautioner for 500 merks in 1612 for his good conduct to Robert Nairn, 'sumtyme scholemaister'.⁵⁴ The dismissal of Nairn was made ostensibly for some offence, as reference was made in Gleg's appointment for his need to 'answer to god upoun his conscience and utherwayis uderly sick censures and punischmentis, as the qualitie of his cryme and offence sall deserve'.⁵⁵ It is also tempting to speculate that Nairn's dismissal did follow upon the retirement of his patron Scrymgeour, and that the appointment of Gleg marked the eventual participation of the crafts in Council business that Robert Howie had worked so hard for.

It was remarkable that despite the civic unrest and faction during Scrymgeour's reign, monetary provision for the general ministry was regularly reviewed, education was expanded, and the trades continued their internal concerns of maintaining moral standards and supporting the poor and needy.

On 12 July 1603 the Town Council made increased provision for both their ministers. Firstly they considered the case of Mr. James Robertson, who had a stipend 'quhilk wes na way answerable to the/

the charge quhilk he sustenit of his wyiff bairnis and famelie' and they therefore decided to pay his eldest daughter 500 merks before Whitsunday 1605, and 50 merks before then, 'for hir support to sum honest conditione'.⁵⁶ This echoes the exhortation of the First Book of Discipline to the Kirk to support the daughters of the Ministry.⁵⁷ They also increased Howie's stipend to 800 merks to match that of Mr. James Robertson. The Council were also anxious to maintain provision for the ministry in time of crisis, as during the outbreak of plague in 1608. Because of the outbreak James Robertson had not been paid 235 merks as part of his stipend from the Pitkerro Mill fees, and the Treasurer was instructed to pay him eight pounds as 'his estait to be sic as may nocht spair the delay'.⁵⁸ In 1610 it was necessary for the Council to regularise payment to David Lindsay, First Minister, for the payment due to him out of the Thirds of the Abbey of Lindores. Collection of these Thirds had presumably proved difficult, as payment had been outstanding for three years and Lindsay promised to co-operate with the Town Council to 'follow furth all meanes that sall be devysit be thame for obteneing payment ... in tyme cuming ...'.⁵⁹ The Town Council recognised their responsibility to the widows of their ministry as well as their daughters, as recommended in the First Book of Discipline.⁶⁰ In 1604 the Dean of Guild and three bailies were nominated to discuss with the Ministers how Anna Wynter, widow of William Christison, should be sustained for the rest of her life.⁶¹

Constant attention was also paid to the readership in Dundee. At the same meeting that considered the stipends of the two Ministers in 1603, it was recognised that the vicarage which had been awarded to Mr. Gilbert Ramsay, Reader, was now insufficient and he was awarded 100 merks to supplement the vicarage.⁶² After his death the Council/

Council ensured that his children received arrears of stipend which were due to him.⁶³ Immediately after his death the Ministers and Moderator had asked for a replacement, and in addition that the 'rowme be fillit with ane godlie persone learned of gude qualiteis meitt for the dischaarge of the Ministerie of the ... burgh'.⁶⁴ After negotiations with the deacons of crafts and the Presbytery, William Wedderburn was eventually appointed first Minister of the Third Charge in 1611. It says much for the ability of Gilbert Ramsay that the Council thought it necessary to replace him with a full Minister, but it is also noteworthy that the Town managed to sustain the burden of a full Third Charge when resources had been so stretched by plague and poor harvest. The fulsome references to consultation with the deacons of crafts also indicate that the crafts were now deeply involved in the nomination of appointees to posts in the Kirk.

Education in Dundee was also extended during this difficult period. The Council Act of 12 July 1603 which considered the circumstances of both Ministers, the Reader and the Schoolmaster, also made the first recorded reference to the music or 'Song School', when John Williamson, Master of the school, had his stipend increased to 120 merks.⁶⁵ By 1609 the Master of the Music School had his duties laid down in detail and it is interesting to see how extensively music must have been used in church services in Dundee by this time.⁶⁶ The accent was on providing good psalmody, as well as giving the scholars a firm education. No guidance is given in the First Book of Discipline on the provision of music in education or in church, other than the singing of psalms was considered profitable but not necessary.⁶⁷ Congregational singing, however, was distinctly Calvinistic and spread widely in Scotland by the end of the sixteenth century after enjoying/

enjoying recognition in the 1561 edition of the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques.⁶⁸ The expansion of education in Dundee, to cater for proper musical guidance in church services, was indicative of the strength of general acceptance of the importance of the service itself at the time.

Continued concern was shown for the poor and infirm. Under an Act of 2 October 1598 people intending to marry were forbidden to travel to landward churches for solemnisation. Concern was felt partly at the fact that this practice was carried out to avoid detection of fornication, but primarily that this practice deprived the poor of the burgh of income.⁶⁹ Those intending to pass to such churches for solemnisation were required to pay five pounds for the use of the poor. It was also felt that the needy were not being sufficiently catered for, as Hospital income had not been carefully collected. Rentals of the Hospital lands were renewed in 1598,⁷⁰ and in 1602 Sir David Lindsay was finally persuaded to pay arrears on rentals on land at Glenesk.⁷¹

It also appears certain that aid in some form was given to Geneva in its struggle against the forces of Savoy. Two bailies and two councillors were nominated to liaise with the ministers and elders of the Kirk to arrange a collection for the contribution,⁷² and so it must be assumed that under such arrangements a substantial sum was raised for the support of Geneva, and that the Town of Dundee felt a distinct responsibility to aid oppressed Calvinism.

The Trades also continued their policy of supervision of morality and support of the poor, although at a reduced scale of activity to that experienced in the renaissance after the victory over the Spanish Armada. In 1603 the Nine Incorporated Trades raised the contributions/

contributions of members and apprentices in order to cover the burden 'in the aiding, supporting, and supplying of our poor and decayed Brethren, when it pleases God to visit them with poverty and inability of person ...',⁷³ a prayerful extension of the simple plea for generosity given in the First Book of Discipline.⁷⁴

The Guildry repeated the Act of Parliament of 1579, when in 1607 it forbade Guild members to trade or drink in time of preaching or prayers, although the fine of 6s 8d was to be levied 'toties quoties',⁷⁵ which would indicate a readiness to accept the fact that some culprits would be fined on a regular basis, rather than prevented altogether from showing lack of respect.

Similarly the Acts of the Glover Trade of 1607 are not so disciplinarian as those made by the other trades in the late sixteenth century, but they still show a willingness to maintain a certain standard of moral discipline. Apprentices were required to either pay again their entry fee, or double their apprenticeship, if they were found guilty of fornication. Servants and apprentices were to attend Kirk on the Sabbath and not to be found drinking or fighting or playing 'vnder ye heichest paine ye Craft may Injoyne'.⁷⁶ The Book of Discipline mentioned that servants should attend service on the Sabbath,⁷⁷ and it is interesting that a comparatively new trade should try to prove its acceptability by being more disciplinarian and traditional in its interpretation of Calvinist morality, than some of the older established trades.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century traditions of the reformed Kirk were still being continued and developed. They were developed and it is indicative of the strength of the reformed religion in Dundee that this development continued in spite of civil unrest, plague, and the destructive association of the First Ministry with the period of civil unrest.

FOOTNOTES

1. R.E.B., 50.
2. R.P.C., VII, lxxii.
3. Cameron, Letters, lxvi.
4. Extracts from the Council Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1570-1625, 164.
5. R.E.B., 50.
6. R.P.C., IV, 439.
7. A.P.S., IV, 264.
8. Cameron, Letters, lxiv.
9. Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, I, 90.
10. Extracts from the Council Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1570-1625, 164.
11. Cameron, Letters, Nos. XIV, XVII and XIX.
12. Ibid., No. XXI.
13. F.E.S., I, 55.
14. Calderwood, VI, 2f., 21.
15. R.E.B., 97.
16. Ibid., 97.
17. F.E.S., III, 685ff.; R.P.C., VII, 95ff.
18. F.E.S., III, 685.
19. MS Dundee Council minute book, 28 February 1604.
20. Ibid., 1 March 1604.
21. F.E.S., III, 685.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., III, 691.
25. Ibid., III, 685.

26. Ibid., III, 685f.:

'... the said Mr. Robert ... keipit conventiones and meetings with the crafts sometymes in the kirk, sometymes in tavernes, and sometymes in his own hous craftilie and seditiouslie perswading and intyseing them to spaik of ther obedience and to the autoritie of their Magistrats ...'

27. MS Dundee Council minute book, 14 April 1604.

28. Ibid., 17 April 1604.

29. Ibid.

30. F.E.S., III, 686.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. MS Dundee Council minute book, 4 September 1604:

'... Sir James Scrymgeour declaired that thair wes ane charge direct be the Lordis of our Soverane Lordis Secrete counsall, to the Baillieis, Counsall and Dekynis of Craftis of the said burgh, for preventing of the day of the electioun of the Magistratis thair of, and continewing of the said Sir James in provest, inrespect he wes imployed to pass to Ingland in his Majesteis service.'

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid., 19 September 1604:

'Robert Fleshour Baillie ... declaired that the electioun of the counsale and Magistratis aucht to be conforme to the decret arbitrall pronouced ... and lyikwayis conforme to the actis of parliament quhairunto the said decret is relative, videlicet; the twentie nynt act of the fyift parliament of King James the third and to the lvi act of the sevint parliament of the sam King, and in caiss the Provost, Baillieis and Counsall proceid and elect uthir wayis, nor is prescryvit be the said decret and actis forsaidis, protestit for remeid and reducioun.'

38. R.P.C., VII, 735f.:

On 19 September 1604 Robert Flesher and 32 of the council, 'with convocatioun of the ignorant multitude of the said toun' convened at the tolbooth 'for the maist pairt in/

in armes' and elected William Rollok as provost, Walter Rollok, James Finlasoun, James Ker, and Thomas Ogilvy as bailies, Thomas Man as Dean of Guild, David Hunter as Treasurer, James Low as Collector, and David Mudy, John Rankene, William Saidler, Thomas Gray, James Wat, Patrick Gairdin, Alexander Kinmonth and Andrew Barclay to be Deacons.

39. F.E.S., III, 684.
40. MS Dundee Council minute book, 18 September 1605.
41. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 358ff.; F.E.S., III, 685ff.; R.P.C., VII, 585, 587, 735ff.
42. F.E.S., III, 687.
43. MS Dundee Council minute book, 7 October 1605.
44. F.E.S., III, 694.
45. R.E.B., 81.
46. Ibid., 102.
47. Cameron, Letters, xv.
48. MS Dundee Council minute book, 25 March 1606.
49. Ibid.
50. R.P.C., VII, 206.
51. MS Dundee Council minute book, 22 April 1606.
52. Ibid., 23 April 1606:

'Patrik hodge, Collector of the Craftis, disassentit to the said nominatioun for thir twa caussis, videlicet; that their wes better men ... to be gottine in the cuntrie, and that the said Mr. Robert haid nocht formallie maid his suitt, and lyikwayis ... allegit that the Provest ... suld nocht haif inquyrit the particulare voitis of the Dekynis ...'
53. R.E.B., 101.
54. MS Dundee Council minute book, 26 August 1612.
55. Ibid., 18 December 1610.
56. Ibid., 12 July 1603.
57. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 110.
58. MS Dundee Council minute book, 5 January 1608.

59. Ibid., 4 September 1610.
60. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 110.
61. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1604.
62. Ibid., 12 July 1603.
63. Ibid., 11 July 1609.
64. Ibid., 1 March 1609.
65. Ibid., 12 July 1603.
66. Ibid., 10 October 1609:

'Mr. Johne Mow, Musiciane, ... hes bound and oblist him to teache and instruct the youth of this burgh in musik and in wretting and reading; and to attend upon the musik schole diligentlie for that effect; and siclyik to tak up the psalme daylie upon the ordinare dayis of preaching befoir and efter the sermone; and siclyik daylie befoir the prayeris in the morning and evening; And farder to reid in the east kirk upon ilk Sunday befoir the preaching ... as he sall be directit be the Ministeris of this burgh ...'

67. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 180.
68. Ibid.
69. MS Dundee Head Court Laws, 2 October 1598:

'In consideratioun of the grit abuse laitlie introduct within this comounweill, to¹ the slander of the Kirk and defraud of the puir, be the granting of licences and testimonialis to nichtbouris and inhabitantis of this Burgh to pass to landwart Kirks for solemnizatioun of ther mariagis, quhilk thai procure partlie for corrudge of their wicked lyvis in abusing of that haly band befoir the said solemnizatioun, and pairtlie for defrauding of the puir of sickbenefit as thai may ressave of the liberalitie of the persones quha honoris the saidis mariages be thar presence; thairfoir it is statutit and ordanit, with consent of the Ministeris and Session of the Kirk of the said Burgh, that na testimoniall or licence sall be grantit to ony persone within this Burgh, quhas marriage sale be solemnizit within the Kirk thereof, to pass to ony uther Kirk for ther efferis, without the persone desyrer therof first pay the soume of fyve li., att the descretioun of the said Ministeris, to the use of the puir of the said Burgh, and that the Collector of the puiris almous be chargit yeirlie with ane compt theirof.'

1. 'to the slander ... of the puir' is marginated.

70. MS Dundee Council minute book, 31 October 1598.
71. Ibid., 23 March 1602.
72. MS Dundee Council minute book, 2 July 1605.
73. Warden, Burgh Laws, 249.
74. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 113.
75. MS Dundee Guildry minute book, 10 February 1607.
76. Warden, Burgh Laws, 414f.
77. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 181.

CHAPTER 7

DUNDEE AS THE GENEVA OF SCOTLAND:
MYTH OR REALITY?

Dundee has been occasionally referred to as the 'Geneva of Scotland'.¹ This powerful sobriquet appears to have risen from the influence of George Wishart and the work of the Wedderburns in Dundee before the Reformation,² but it is not a sobriquet used by contemporaries of the Reformation, and not one used by John Knox, who held immense respect for Geneva and called it the most perfect school of Christ on earth since the days of the Apostles.³ In turn Knox recognised the strength of Dundee in the Reformation movement,⁴ and the town of Dundee was acknowledged by contemporaries as being the first town in which a reformed Church was completely organised, provided with a regular minister, favoured with the dispensation of the sacraments,⁵ and in which the congregation 'exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldnes, preferring the true religion to all things temporall'.⁶ In spite of such acclamation, Dundee was not heralded as the most perfect 'Reformed City in Scotland', because this was a title that had overtones of primacy in religiosity, and one that was fought for fiercely by the burghs of St. Andrews and of Edinburgh well into the seventeenth century. The burgh of St. Andrews, on a basis of strict comparison between background and effect of religious revolution, was more akin to Geneva than was Edinburgh, but propagandists in Edinburgh were pleased to laud their town as a 'mirrour and exampill to all the rest of this realme'⁷ and by the 1570's thought themselves to have overtaken St. Andrews as the best reformed city in Scotland.⁸

Unfortunately it is not possible to examine the relationship between the ministry and the magistracy in Dundee, as has been done for Edinburgh and St. Andrews, because the records of the kirk session were probably destroyed during the Cromwellian occupation of Dundee,⁹ and/

and the records of the burgh, although surviving in volume form and principal charters, were also stripped of informative ephemera at the same time.¹⁰

However, although it is not possible to investigate the precise nature and membership of the reformed congregation in Dundee and its relationship and common identity with the reformed magistracy, it is still relevant to examine the course of the Reformation in Dundee and compare it to the Genevan and other European models.

Dundee, like the other principal Scottish reformed burghs, underwent more the reformation experienced by German and Swiss townships in their separate evolutions from a medieval corpus christianum,¹¹ than the Henrician Schism imposed on an English state which experienced little initially of the reformation of religion. Dundee, like Montrose, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Ayr, was intimately connected with Europe through the activities of its merchant community. Like other Scottish seaports it enjoyed more trading activity with Europe than with England, and in the late medieval period found it natural to take the appeals of its citizens to the Rota Romana in the absence of a strong Scottish central judiciary.¹² By the fifteenth century Scots students and teachers were an important element at Louvain and at Cologne,¹³ and by the end of the sixteenth century most Scots who achieved positions of authority in religion, education or politics had spent a period at one of the European centres of learning.¹⁴ Scots exiled for their religious opinions, and some who were to later to return in the course of the Reformation, found refuge in Cologne, Vienna, Wittenberg, Greifswald, Frankfurt, Leipzig and Copenhagen.¹⁵ Exiles from Dundee such as Richard Wedderburn lived at Elsinore,¹⁶ and a succession of Dundonian/

Dundonian families such as the Butcharts, Gellatlys, Hardys and Blairs became burgesses of Danzig.¹⁷ By the 1560s an average of eight ships a year were passing through Zeeland from Dundee en route for Veere, Middleburg and Flushing,¹⁸ and it is evident that at least by the 1520s extensive European travel and relations were accepted as commonplace by the Dundee trading community. The protocol books of the town clerk include credentials issued on behalf of two brothers James and David Mores, to be presented to the town of Cracow in 1520,¹⁹ and a trading agreement between Nicholas White in Dundee and John Cant from Leith in 1527, concerning the exchange rate to be paid to Cant's factors in Copenhagen.²⁰

It was therefore natural that Dundee should follow the underlying pattern of reformation in Europe and undergo a revolution in religion as a burgh society. Moeller has pointed out the interdependence of burgh society and religious reappraisal in the German context in particular; 'No towns, no reformation; of this assertion we may be certain'.²¹ Towns in Germany, Switzerland and Scotland shared a tradition of communal life tempered by regulations and constitutions, in which moral codes were well defined and worship took place in an atmosphere of collective religiosity.²² The outward form of reformation would ultimately differ in Europe depending on whether Calvinistic or Lutheran settlements were obtained, but both settlements depended on this town or burghal consciousness, this concept of corpus christianum,²³ and Dundee was to experience elements of both Lutheran and Calvinist teaching in its own evolution as a 'reformed city'.

This burghal consciousness was in evidence in Imperial Cities and in Scottish burghs by the end of the middle ages, as they sought/

sought to achieve monopoly of patronage over the distribution of ecclesiastical prebends and to create a private church, an ecclesia propria reserved for the urban community.²⁴ This was the case in Esslingen in Germany,²⁵ in St. Andrews in 1494 when the burgh negotiated an agreement with the rector of Holy Trinity Church on the repair of the chancel,²⁶ and in Dundee in 1442/3 when Dundee Town Council came to a similar agreement with the abbey of Lindores.²⁷

The reformed cities and towns of Europe were to follow different paths according to their surrounding circumstances. Luther had a willing ruler in the Elector John, under whose authority the Visitation was created. The Visitation was a committee of two electoral councillors and two theologians, who took over the government of the Church from the bishops.²⁸ This committee, through following Luther's tenet that the Christian magistrate had a duty to uphold good government, in effect established the Lutheran Church of Saxony as a state-church,²⁹ and Lutheranism in future was to be characterised by the predominance of princely control.³⁰

On the other hand, the burghal traditions and background of Bucer, Zwingli and Calvin made their settlements quite distinct from the Lutheran form in their accent on the community ethic.³¹ Both Bucer and Zwingli anticipated Calvin in their ideal of a holy city, a civitas christiana, that was to be eventually implemented by Calvin into what contemporaries thought a reality.³² Although it was the town structure that fostered both the Lutheran and Calvinist forms of reformation, it was the French and Swiss form that corresponded most to the Scots burgh, and therefore the form of Geneva is the one most suited for direct comparison with the 'reformed city' in Scotland.

Before the Reformation, Geneva was an episcopal city, part of an/

an episcopal principality.³³ In this sense it was more like Glasgow than Dundee, but Geneva had secured a large measure of independence through delegation of temporal power to a ducal judicial official called a vidomne and an elected body of four male citizens who were called syndics.³⁴ It was this elected body, and the city council, who gradually seized power that had formerly been held by the episcopal government.³⁵ From the 1520s onwards, these two organisations, with the help of the lay merchants and professional men of Geneva, obtained control of the administration of justice, occupied monastic buildings, negotiated treaties with friendly and potent cities such as Berne, and finally supervised a formal vote by the entire male population to adopt the protestant reformation in 1536.³⁶ Final consolidation of these advances was not to be made until 1555, when John Calvin suppressed opposition to his interpretation of the Ordinances, but the actual formal decision to live by the gospel and the word of God was a milestone typical of other burgh reformations.

Wittenberg town council issued an ordinance supporting Carlstadt's abbreviation of the mass,³⁷ and Zürich city council accepted Zwingli's theology after a public disputation.³⁸ In Scotland a similar train of events took place when in June 1559 the magistrates, Provost and bailies of St. Andrews 'did agree to remove all monumentis of idolatrie, whiche also thay did with expeditioun'.³⁹ It was Edinburgh that superficially approached the German model of the 1520s when in July 1559 it was proposed that '... the inhabitantis ... wer convenit and euery ane to be examinit quhat religioun he wald be of ...',⁴⁰ but in fact the Protestant party avoided such a plebiscite because it felt itself to be a beleaguered and threatened minority isolated by the policies of Mary of Guise.⁴¹ Perth had a violent reformation/

reformation thrust upon it when Knox's sermon against the adoration of images on 11 May 1559 sparked off a series of events that led to a popular iconoclastic riot.⁴² There is no evidence, however, of a similar milestone in Dundee in 1559/60. The burgh had already experienced two watersheds in the form of an iconoclastic riot in 1543 and in the form of the English occupation of Broughty Crag, and had already enjoyed the existence of the first organised congregation in Scotland.⁴³ It was therefore to be expected that documentary evidence for the period 1559/1560 is confirmatory of an established order rather than a revolution in violent progress. References to children being noisy during the time of preaching in January 1558/9⁴⁴ and to argument by citizens with the ministers, elders and deacons of the congregation in October 1559⁴⁵ point to a burgh society that had already undergone a thorough reformation in religion and which therefore had no need of a crisis of insurrection or a definitive statement of policy.

In a sense there was no crisis in Dundee in 1559/60 to compare with that in Geneva in 1536. The growth of reformed opinions had been steadily nurtured in Dundee not only by an educated merchant class, but also by influential men such as Provost Haliburton of Pitcur and the landward families of Erskine of Dun and Lovell of Ballumbie. In contrast Geneva was surrounded by the hostile ducal government of Savoy and the savoyard noble families of the surrounding area, and until the 1520s was dominated internally by episcopalian government. It would have been unable to have withstood these pressures if it had not been for the military power of Berne, which had in the first place encouraged Geneva to protestantism after itself adopting zwinglianism in 1528.⁴⁶ In this action the burgh of St. Andrews was comparable to/

to Geneva in its vigorous and revolutionary action against an established church, while against such a background the reformation in Dundee could be said to be evolutionary. If there was decisive popular action in Dundee, then it was the despoliation of the friaries in Dundee in September 1543, and the indications are that this action was engineered by Governor Arran.⁴⁷ The appearance of a large and committed Dundee military force under Haliburton in 1559, which had such a decisive effect, was more the product of a society which had itself accepted and established the new religion, than the expression of a late and sudden conversion to that religion.

In the retrenchment and consolidation of the protestant reformation in Geneva after 1536, the church was given an institutional standing by Calvin by his publication of the Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques in 1541. These ordinances created four categories of ecclesiastical officials, namely pastors who were to preach the word of God, doctors who were to study the word of God and teach, elders who were to maintain discipline within the community and deacons who were to supervise the administration of charity.⁴⁸ These officials, together with the administration that developed around them, were paralleled in similar forms in Scotland after the introduction of the First Book of Discipline. Readers were appointed to read the common prayers and scriptures,⁴⁹ in burghs. Ministers were appointed to preach the Gospel and Schoolmasters to teach the young,⁵⁰ elders were appointed to maintain discipline⁵¹ and deacons were appointed to collect and distribute alms.⁵² Provost Haliburton of Dundee subscribed to the Act of Privy Council of January 1560/1 which approved of the articles in the First Book of Discipline,⁵³ and it was possibly through his influence that the provisions of these articles were already being applied in Dundee.

The reforming principles behind these articles had probably already been conveyed to people in Dundee and Angus by Wishart. His translation of the Confession of Faith of the Churches of Switzerland, which was published after his death in 1546, would have been compiled before his return to Scotland in 1543, and must have been transmitted generally to his followers by his preaching.⁵⁴ Although the Confession was by nature a philosophical rather than a practical treatise, it did contain exhortations of the need for preaching the word of God,⁵⁵ caring for the poor,⁵⁶ and for the provision of education and schools.⁵⁷

Two characteristic features of Genevan society, which were formulated and regularised by Calvin, were the consistorial committee, composed of elders and city pastors, and the post of hospital-general. The consistorial committee met to consider and impose ecclesiastical discipline, mainly on offences of immorality, and was the instrument used by Calvin to maintain the influence of his party in Geneva. On the other hand the co-operation of deacons and the hospital-general had existed and functioned successfully before the arrival of Calvin, but their inclusion in the framework of his Ordonnances gave them higher respect in Genevan society.⁵⁸

It is difficult to make detailed comparisons of the first of these two important bodies with its later counterpart in Dundee, because the documentary evidence for the administration of the kirk session and its committees has not survived for this period. The kirk session and congregation certainly existed from an early period⁵⁹ and was functioning by September 1562 as a disciplinary court in co-operation with the neighbouring kirk session of St. Andrews.⁶⁰ Like Geneva, Dundee had a hospital foundation before the reformation, which was/

was originally administered by the Trinity Friars after a grant from Sir James Lindesay in 1390.⁶¹ Thereafter it attracted donations from the burgesses of Dundee, particularly in the 1540s as an alternative to the enrichment of chaplainries,⁶² but the almshouse suffered from loss of income after the appropriation of ecclesiastical property. Measures were taken to secure additional revenue for the almshouse and hospitalmaster, but it was not until 1567 that the Council were formally granted the former possessions of the Black and Grey Friars by Queen Mary,⁶³ and this 'Queen's Donation' was in turn formally conveyed to the Hospitalmaster by the Town Council in January 1569/70.⁶⁴

Dundee encountered particular difficulty in establishing the reformed Hospital with sufficient income, because of the interests of the Scrymgeour and Crawford families in the lands concerned,⁶⁵ and the town council was still complaining of the 'informalite' of the Hospital rentals on October 1598.⁶⁶ There does not appear, however, to have been a clear co-operation between the Hospitalmaster and the deacons of the kirk session, which would suggest that he was considered to be a sufficient person to administer alms to the poor in his capacity as a civic official. Because he was evidently seen as an official with a grave responsibility, and because the town council agreed that the 'almshous ... is ane pairt and portion of the ... ministerie of this Burgh',⁶⁷ it becomes evident that the concept of division between the civil power and the church was not a clear one in Dundee, and that the magistrates were exercising more than their strict duty in the 'conservation and purgation of religion',⁶⁸ in their continuing execution of measures against immorality, blasphemy and profanation of the Sabbath, and that they saw themselves as a civitas christiana⁶⁹ in their support of the ministry, the poor, and church

The particular responsibilities of disciplining the population, educating the young and caring for the poor, were those which identified the typical reformed burgh in Scotland in the later sixteenth century. Edinburgh saw itself as the best reformed city in the realm by the 1570s because of its consciousness of the importance of these three programmes.⁷⁰ Dundee also carried out these responsibilities. The magistracy, the guildry and the crafts all combined to impose respect for the reformed church on the citizens, merchants and tradesmen. As early as 1555 the town council forbade the nominees of Lindores Abbey to teach in the burgh and supported reformed teaching in their grammar and song schools,⁷¹ and after the reformation sought men of ability and reputation such as Thomas Ramsay, later Minister of Inchtute, to be schoolmasters.⁷² And finally, although the burgh met with continued opposition from landed interests to its attempts to fully establish an almshouse with sufficient income to sustain the poor, it met this opposition with determination and from the outset stated that it wished the Hospital-master, or Collector of the Queen's Donation, to have complete authority in the execution of his duties and that no person resist or disobey him.⁷³ In addition the citizens were encouraged to make donations to charity, and many fines were directed towards the upkeep of the poor.

Dundee, therefore, was in some ways a reformed burgh typical of Scotland, deriving its inspiration from European traditions. It was not a Geneva in the sense that it experienced a sudden revolution of opinion followed by an institutional programme, for the roots of the reformation of opinion in Dundee date from at least the time of its protection of Alesius, and it was a burgh which by the/

the 1550s had produced a congregation who 'exceeded all the rest in zeall and boldnes'.⁷⁴ Geneva was a late developer which had received encouragement from Berne to adopt protestantism,⁷⁵ and until the time of reformation it was one of the few European cities left which was still under the control of episcopal government.⁷⁶

Dundee was a Geneva in the sense that the golden years of its retrenchment were ruled by the perfectly balanced trio of Provost Haliburton, Minister Christison and the Guildry. There were of course a number of internal frictions and dissents, but Dundee during this period gives an impression of being a finely balanced civitas christiana, conscious of its continuing role as a Christian commonwealth. Unfortunately, Dundee was also a Geneva in that after the deaths of Haliburton and Christison, as after the death of Calvin, the disappearance of men of sufficient power, influence and vision meant that the impetus of the reformation was lost. Democracy in Geneva suffered under Beza, and democracy in Dundee suffered heavily after the failure of Minister Robert Howie to establish the rights of the crafts in government.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mitchell, Pre Reformation Scotland, 120; Baxter, Dundee and the Reformation, 3; McLennan, 'The Reformation and the burgh of Aberdeen', Northern Scotland, II (1977), 128.
2. Mitchell, Pre Reformation Scotland, 120.
3. Chadwick, The Reformation, 91.
4. McCrie, Life of John Knox, 487.
5. Ibid., 141.
6. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, I, 54.
7. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, III, 92.
8. James Melville, Diary, 60.
9. The records of the General Kirk Session are extant only from 1681. I am grateful to Messrs. Carlton & Reid, Solicitors, Dundee, for this information.
10. The Town Clerk of Linlithgow, writing to the Town Clerk of Dundee in 1914 (Dundee Town Charter Chest 2, no. 296/1A), returned a collection of papers which had been found amongst Linlithgow writs. These Linlithgow writs had been placed with Dundee for safe keeping, but had been ransomed after the sack of Dundee. Therefore many loose documents were destroyed or dispersed in 1651, and nothing survives comparable to the subscription list of 'faithful brethren' of Edinburgh of November 1562 (see Lynch, 'Edinburgh and the Reformation ...', 404ff.).
11. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, 49.
12. In spite of the fact that Scotland was described as a kingdom 'situated, as it were, at the ends of the world ...' (Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418 - 1422, xii) Scotland enjoyed a privileged position as the special daughter of the Apostolic See, and Scottish supplications to the Curia were disproportionately numerous to other European countries. I am grateful to Mr. J.J. Robertson of the Department of Private Law, University of Dundee, for access to his transcripts of the registers of the Rota, 1464 - 1565, which also show a disproportionate number of Scottish cases.
13. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 279.
14. Cameron, 'The Renaissance Tradition in the Reformed Church of Scotland', Studies in Church History, XIV, 251.
15. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 279.

16. Lythe, Life and Labour in Dundee, 6.
17. Fischer, The Scots in Prussia, 193ff.
18. Lythe, The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 244.
19. MS Dundee Town Clerk's protocol book, 1518 - 1534, fo. 23 recto.
20. Ibid., fo. 90 verso.
21. Moeller, 'The Town in Church History: General Presuppositions of the Reformation in Germany', Studies in Church History, XVI, 257.
22. Ibid.
23. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, 49.
24. Ibid., 48.
25. Ibid.
26. McRoberts, Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 97.
27. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 1, no. 28.
28. Elton, Reformation Europe, 56.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 234.
31. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, 81.
32. McRie, Life of John Knox, 62; Chadwick, The Reformation, 91.
33. Kingdon, 'Was the Protestant Reformation a Revolution? The Case of Geneva', Studies in Church History, XII, 207.
34. Ibid., 209.
35. Ibid., 211.
36. Ibid.
37. Bainton, Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther, 160.
38. Elton, Reformation Europe, 67.
39. Cameron, 'The Uproar of Religion', The Alumnus Chronicle, L, 22.
40. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, III, 47.
41. Lynch, 'Edinburgh and the Reformation...', 336f.
42. Spottiswoode, I, 272; Tytler, History, III, 92.

43. McRie, Life of John Knox, 141.
44. MS Dundee Council minute book, 10 January 1558/9.
45. Ibid., 2 October 1559.
46. Kingdon, op.cit., 212ff.
47. Hamilton Papers, II, 38.
48. Kingdon, op.cit., 216f.
49. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 105f.
50. Ibid., 17f., 55f.
51. Ibid., 36.
52. Ibid., 178.
53. Ibid., 210ff.
54. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, I, 3ff.
55. Ibid., 20.
56. Ibid., 21f.
57. Ibid., 22.
58. Kingdon, op.cit., 219.
59. McRie, Life of John Knox, 141.
60. St.A.K.S.R., I, 172.
61. Joint Appendix of Documents, 2.
62. Ibid., 2ff.
63. Ibid., 14f.
64. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 15.
65. Maxwell, The History of Old Dundee, 225.
66. MS Dundee Council minute book, 31 October 1598.
67. MS Dundee Town Charter Chest 14, no. 15.
68. Cameron, The First Book of Discipline, 62.
69. Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation, 92.
70. Lynch, 'Edinburgh and the Reformation...', 377.

71. MS Dundee Burgh Court Book, 15 November 1555.
72. R.E.B., 59f.
73. MS Dundee Council minute book, 7 October 1567.
74. Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, I, 54.
75. Kingdon, op.cit., 212.
76. Ibid., 220.

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