

Preserving the Bishop's Castle, Glasgow, 1688–1741

Athol L Murray*

ABSTRACT

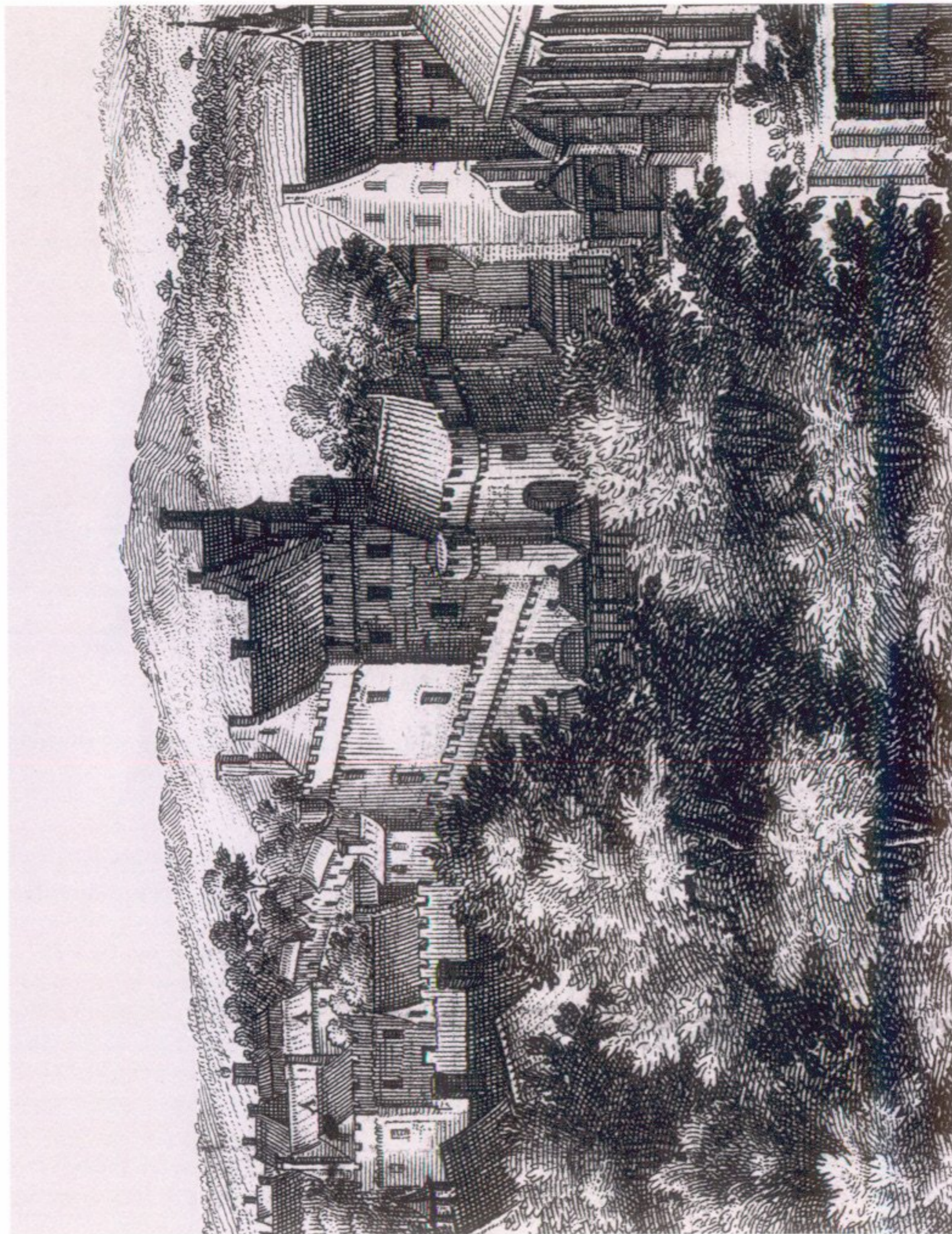
This paper examines the accepted view that the Bishop's Castle (the palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow) fell into ruin after 1688, and draws on unpublished documents to add to the existing knowledge of the building and to trace the efforts to save it between 1688 and 1741.

As existing authority in both Church and State disintegrated during the winter of 1688–9, John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow, retired behind the high walls of his palace. Stones lay piled on the gatehouse roof, in readiness 'for throwing down in case the rabble should have made any attempt upon him.'¹ He had good cause to be afraid. Rebels who had seized the building less than ten years earlier had destroyed Archbishop Burnet's possessions, 'And it may reasonably be presumed this Reverend Prelate had fell a sacrifice to their Devilish fury, had he been in their way.'² Within a few months, Paterson, translated from the bishopric of Edinburgh as recently as March 1687, was deposed along with his fellow prelates. In 1697 he was allowed to return from exile to Scotland, where he died in December 1708.³ His palace, the Bishop's Castle,⁴ one of the most prominent buildings in Glasgow, had fallen into the hands of the Crown along with other property of the archbishopric.

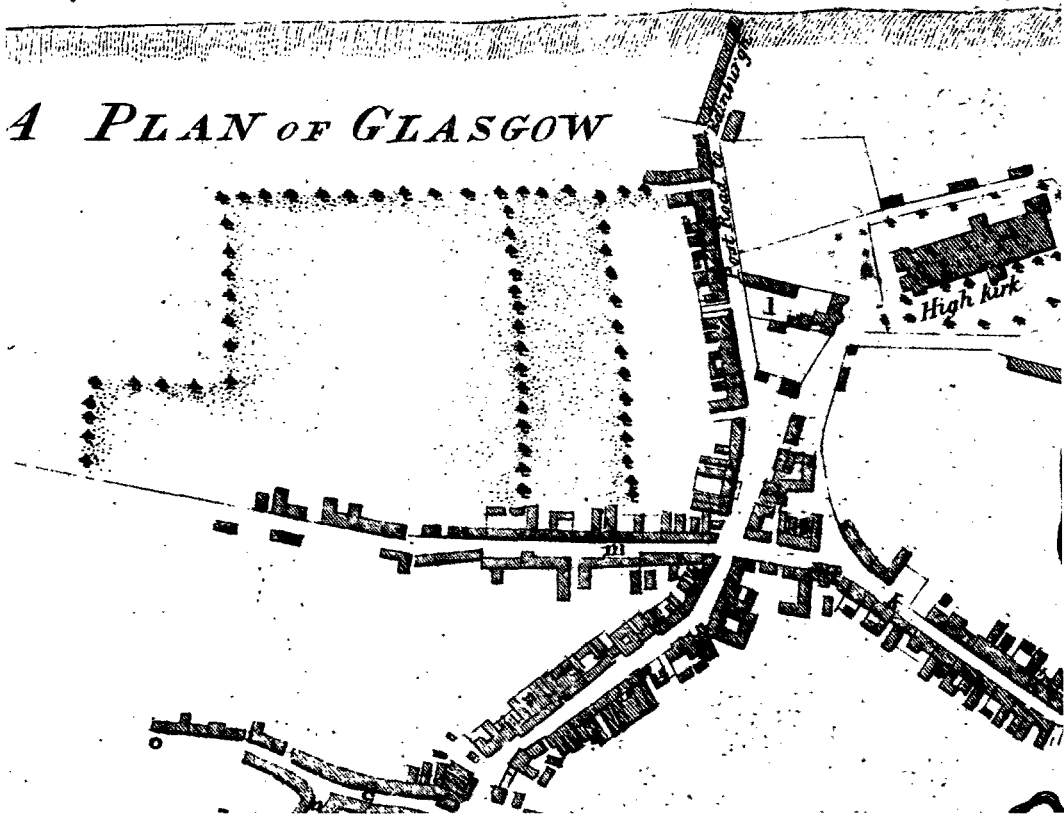
If we are to believe one contemporary description the building was 'formerly without doubt a very magnificent structure, but now in ruins, and has no more in repair than what was the ancient prison, and is at this time a mean dwelling.'⁵ Hitherto unpublished documents throw doubt on the accuracy of this statement and reflect intermittent efforts over the next 50 years to preserve the building. These are the survivors of a much larger body of documentation destroyed or lost by a fire at the Scottish Court of Exchequer in 1811. The most important are printed as Appendix 2. The earliest, an estimate for repairs submitted in 1693, shows that the Castle was then far from ruinous, its dilapidated state being largely attributable to neglect in the four years since Paterson's deposition. Extensive, though undocumented, repairs had been carried out as recently as 1674–5, at a cost of £651 Scots.⁶ The 1693 estimate (Appendix 2, document 1) also helps in interpreting the meagre pictorial evidence (Appendix 1), all, apart from the view in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693 (illus 1), dating from the last 40 years of the Castle's existence. The only plan of Glasgow to show it in any detail, that inset in Ross's Map of Lanarkshire, was not published until 1773 (illus 2); it seems to provide a reasonably accurate representation of the layout of the buildings, though not of their relative size.⁷

The Castle lay within an irregularly shaped site, approximately 100 m from north to south and a maximum of 35 m wide, bounded by Castle Street on the west, the Kirk Port or Kirk Street

* 33 Inverleith Gardens, Edinburgh EH3 5PR



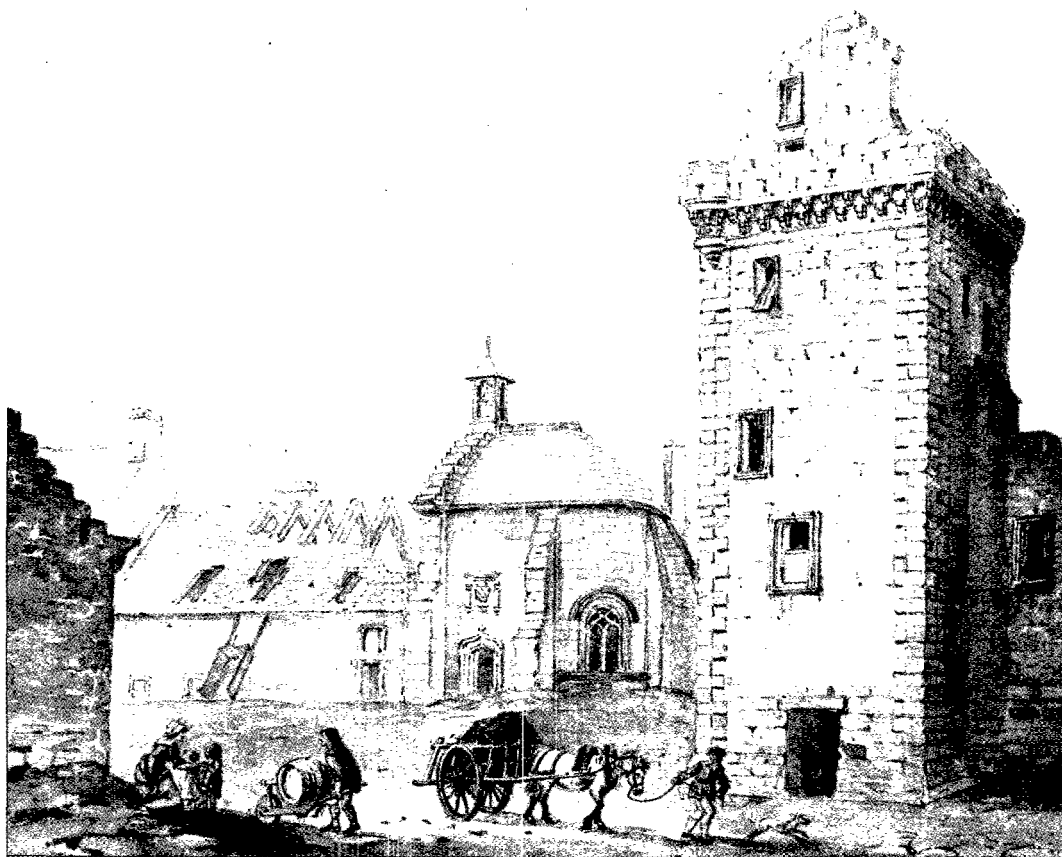
ILLUS 1 The Bishop's Castle in the 17th century: detail of plate in *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) (Trustees of National Library of Scotland)



ILLUS 2 Site of Bishop's Castle 1773: detail from Ross's Map of Lanarkshire showing Bishop's Castle (marked 1); the gatehouse is recognizable by the two projecting turrets on its east side. (*Trustees of National Library of Scotland*)

on the south-east, the Cathedral on the east and the Bishop's yard or garden on the north.⁸ Its high stone walls, erected by James Beaton (archbishop 1508–23), were to prove the most lasting part of the whole complex.⁹ At intervals along the walls were small towers and at their southern extremity a larger tower, sometimes erroneously identified with the great tower erected by Bishop Cameron (1426–46).¹⁰ This tower, four storeys in height but apparently only one room deep (illus 3), was the last part of the Castle to remain intact.¹¹

From the south tower the wall ran north-east to a massive gatehouse attributed to Beaton's successor, Gavin Dunbar (1523–47), opposite the entrance to the Cathedral yard. This was rectangular, having two flanking circular towers, crow-stepped gables and a pitched slated roof, with a paved walkway around it. A heraldic panel from the gatehouse¹² is now preserved in the Cathedral. Through the gatehouse lay the 'court' or courtyard, perhaps a distinct part of the 'close' which probably denoted the whole area within the walls. At its north-west corner were the stables, identifiable as the long building on Ross's plan. They are not mentioned in the estimate of 1693 which does, however, refer to the bakehouse and brewhouse, both having stone walls and a slate and 'fogg' (thatched) roof. These may have shared a detached building at the centre of the close. In



ILLUS 3 South Tower and St Nicholas' Hospital from east c 1790. (*People's Palace Museum, Glasgow*)

pre-Reformation times an 'inner flower garden' adjoined the Bishop's Castle.¹³ This may not have survived into the 17th century but Slezer shows that the close contained a number of trees.

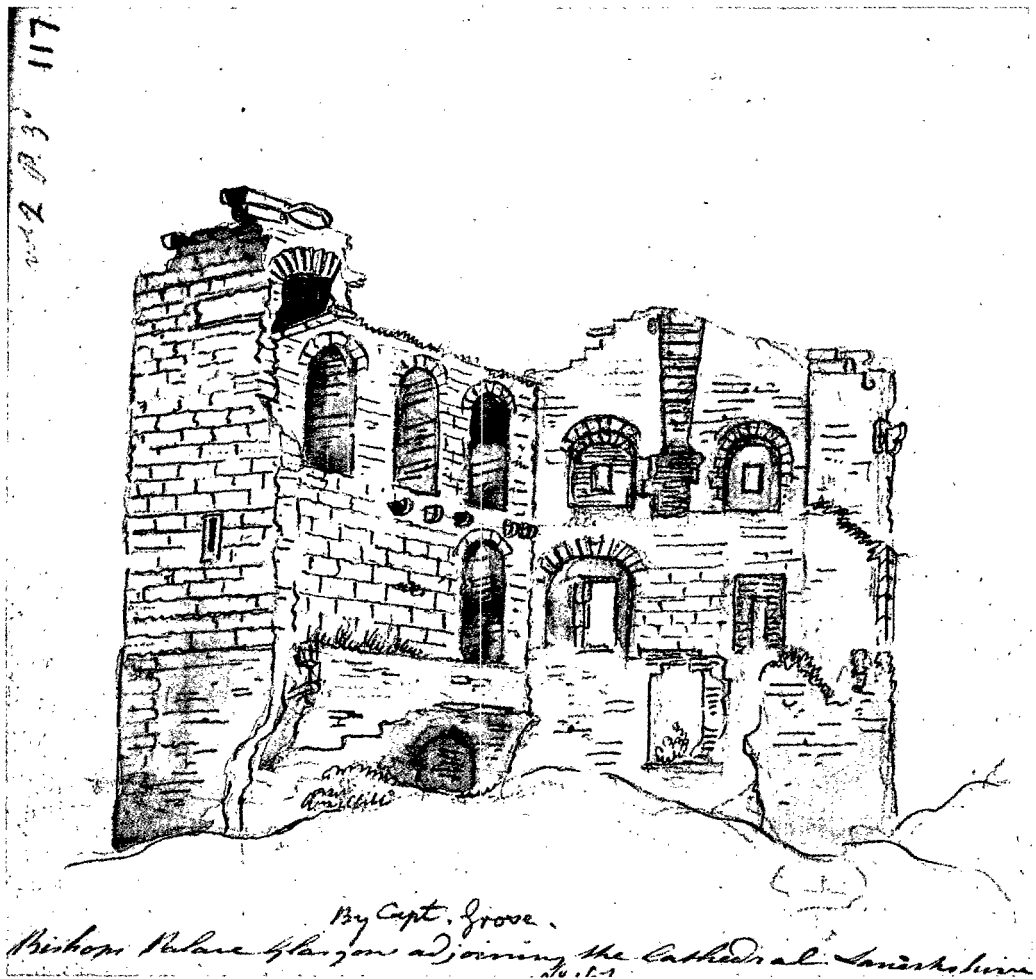
The main building, a tower-house with later additions, lay just south of the gatehouse, linked to it by the 'new dining room.' The estimate refers to 'higher' and 'lower' towers, both having battlemented parapets and slate roofs. Slezer's view suggests that the latter should be identified with the great tower, directly adjacent to Beaton's wall (illus 4) and containing four floors and a garret.¹⁴ Its main entrance was on the first floor, reached from the courtyard by a 'great blistered [balustered] stair', perhaps of similar date and construction to the 'lion and unicorn staircase' in the Old College of Glasgow University.¹⁵ A later document refers to an iron yett 'of great weight', which probably hung at the main entrance, and the 'iron work of several great windows above and below', perhaps metal grilles.¹⁶ Within the tower (illus 5) the principal apartment was the great hall, described in 1635 as a 'poor mean place',¹⁷ but having no less than eight large windows. This information comes from the 1693 estimate, which refers to it as the 'high hall', perhaps indicating that a vaulted first-floor apartment was the 'laigh hall'. The great hall may have contained a gallery.¹⁸ Above it was the 'great chamber' with a fireplace whose flue emerged in a 'long necked chimney head'.¹⁹



ILLUS 4 Great Tower from north-east c 1790. (*People's Palace Museum, Glasgow*)

Slezer's view shows the 'higher tower' immediately to the west of the great tower and clearly with a much smaller floor area. It may have contained the 'great bedchamber' with two windows. However, the location of this and three 'jamb chambers', with six windows between them, could have been a lower structure which Slezer depicts to the south of the great tower. It is not clear whether this was a separate building or merely a 'jamb' or wing added to the main structure. Slezer does not show the chapel, which is recorded as having four windows. This may be the structure depicted in a later view (Appendix 1, no 7) at the north-west corner of the great tower, apparently resting on an undercroft. That it was on an upper level is confirmed by a reference to the 'large stair of the chapel.'²⁰

As we have seen, the 'new dining room' linked the great tower with the gatehouse, allowing one room in the latter to be used as an additional bedchamber. No precise location can be given for the 'new fore rooms' also mentioned in the estimate, which had a flat roof, prone to leaks. These were clearly in an extension to the original building, perhaps to the south-west of the great tower. Though 'new' is imprecise, it must surely denote post-Reformation structures, perhaps of the period of Archbishop Spottiswoode (1598–1615) or even later. He is said to have put his Cathedral



ILLUS 5 Interior of Great Tower, 1789, attributed to Francis Grose. (Trustees of National Library of Scotland)

and Palace into 'a tolerable condition of repair.'²¹ The 'new rooms', mentioned in the estimate as in proximity to the 'long necked chimney', might be the same as the 'new fore rooms'. Alternatively they could have been formed by adapting existing accommodation, possibly in the garret of the great tower.

It is apparent from the estimate that no repairs had been carried out for five or six years, that is since the removal of Paterson's predecessor, Alexander Cairncross. All the chimney heads were 'ready to fall', the 'long necked' one, noted as 'high and uneasy to scaffold', being liable to crash through the roof of the new rooms. Apart from the need for pointing the walls and battlements, all the roofs required attention. The gatehouse was in particularly bad shape. Paterson's stockpile of missiles, still in place, had cracked some of the flagstones, displacing others, and the whole roof was overgrown with vegetation. Rainwater seeping through had spoiled the walls and plasterwork of the bedchamber, with the prospect of even more damage. Vandalism probably accounted for the

large number of broken windows and there was 'never a lock nor sneck' left on most of the doors. Finally the staircase from the courtyard would have to be rebuilt, as it was partly collapsed and many of the balusters were broken. The bakehouse and brewhouse required pointing and re-roofing.

Out of the total estimate of £783 13s 4d Scots, no less than £272 would be spent on the flat roof of the new fore rooms, where the timber deck had to be replaced. Even then it would 'need yearly reparations and perhaps not be watertight when all is done, for it never was so.' Though its replacement by a slate roof would involve heightening the gables at an additional cost of nearly £400, 'all after reparations for a long time will be saved.' On 27 June 1693 the lords of the Scottish Treasury authorized payment of £100 sterling (£1200 Scots) out of the bishopric rents to John Hamilton of Barncluith to be expended under the direction of the Duke of Hamilton.²² This sum, duly paid out on 15 September, was more than sufficient to cover all the items in the estimate, including the new slate roof. Even if the work was carried out as planned, it did not make the building fully habitable, only secure and weatherproof. Windows were to be boarded up with the exception of a few where old glass could be re-used 'for handsomeness' or where repairs might prevent further deterioration (Appendix 2, document 1).

Without a resident archbishop the repaired building lacked an occupant or purpose. This was remedied in 1696 when the king granted Lord Cathcart a yearly pension of £200 with liberty to occupy by himself or his family the house in the city of Glasgow formerly belonging to the archbishops of that see.²³ The Treasury authorized expenditure of a further £150 sterling on the building, to be spent by the king's Master of Works at Cathcart's direction, the only condition being that he show that the work was 'absolutely necessary'.²⁴ Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony acknowledged receipt of the money on 14 January 1697, though the work may have carried out thereafter. It presumably included replacement of windows and internal improvements. Though Lord Cathcart may have occupied the castle until his death (June 1709), in December 1706 Daniel Defoe reported to Robert Harley that an anti-Union mob had taken possession of it.²⁵ It was later used to house Jacobite prisoners after the Rising of 1715.²⁶ At that time it was again said to be ruinous and 'encompassed with an exceedingly high wall of hewn stone'.²⁷ Another contemporary description of it as 'built of polished stone, and yet in good condition',²⁸ may be more accurate.

In 1697 the Crown had agreed to lease the revenues of the archbishopric to Glasgow University for 19 years in return for a fixed annual payment.²⁹ Renewed regularly until 1826,³⁰ this lease evidently excluded the Castle and was to be a contributory factor in its destruction. Separated from the rest of the archbishopric property, the Castle was no longer under the eye of a local Crown official with an interest in its preservation. With the abolition of the Scottish Treasury in 1708, ultimate responsibility for it passed to the Treasury in London, acting through the Barons and officials of the Scottish Court of Exchequer in Edinburgh. There is no sign that either body took any interest in the building for some 20 years after the Union.

In this situation the civic authorities of Glasgow seem to have exercised some control over both Castle and Cathedral, though the former lay outside their jurisdiction. Belatedly in 1728 the Barons demanded to know by what authority the magistrates 'take upon themselves to give liberty to any persons to possess part of the Palace, and particularly to order and allow persons to be buried in the quire of the Cathedral and to exact dues for the same'.³¹

It is doubtful, however, whether the magistrates connived at the increasing use of the Castle as a quarry. This particular development had been brought to the Barons' attention in July 1726 by a petition from Robert Thomson, a Glasgow merchant, 'setting forth the ruinous condition of the Archbishop's Palace there'.³² His subsequent conduct throws doubt on the sincerity of his

complaint that 'some bad men are become so barbarous and unjust as to carry off the stones, timber, slates and other materials belonging thereunto, and apply the same to their own particular use, to the shame and disgrace of the Christian religion'.³³ Thomson, who had explained his concern 'as living near to the said Castle', was appointed to 'oversee the said house in the meantime till further order.' Meanwhile Baron Sir John Clerk was to appoint a fit person to examine and report on the state and condition of the building.³⁴

Several months passed without any action. In February 1727 the Barons of Exchequer considered a petition from Thomson relating to the yard (garden) belonging to the Palace but deferred any decision until after the inspection. For this Clerk employed his friend, the architect William Adam. Adam's report was considered by the Barons on 24 July 1727, when they decided that he should be paid 10 guineas out of the archbishopric revenues for his trouble. They also empowered Thomson to look after and take possession of the Palace (probably meaning the whole area within the walls) and 'to demand and receive the keys of the several parts thereof from all persons'. He was to receive the rents of the garden and to apply them 'towards keeping the Palace in order', for which he was to give an account to the Court of Exchequer from time to time 'and of all his proceedings'.³⁵

At first the new arrangement appears to have worked well. After only six months Thomson lodged a petition and account 'concerning the expenses and reparations he had made'. On 6 February 1728 the Barons ordered that these should be examined 'and the Court will give further directions about the matter before they part' at the end of Candlemas term. On 12 February Adam was invited to go to Glasgow 'upon the first occasion'. With the assistance of the Lord Provost and the Principal of the College (University) he was to view and examine the works carried out by Thomson and 'what the stones and other materials are that are sought to be sold by him.' Thomson himself was 'to inquire as to the stones and materials that have been taken away, by whom and the value.' Two days later the Barons authorized repayment to him of £8 13s 6d expended on repairing the Palace.³⁶

Adam's inspection of the building appears to have been delayed. On 11 February 1729 he wrote telling Baron Clerk that his report was ready and that he had returned a bundle of papers containing Thomson's petitions and accounts to William Bowles, the deputy King's Remembrancer. With his letter he enclosed the precept drawn on the College of Glasgow for the fee for his original inspection. If Clerk could get him a new precept including the fee for his last visit to Glasgow, he would again apply to the College for payment: 'Tho' I found that they did not like to apply that fund any other way than to their own purposes, yet as the Principal said there was not a Faculty then sitting, I may apply to them when there is'.³⁷ On 18 February the Barons signed a new precept for payment of £21 'on account of this and his former service'. At the same time they ordered the deputy auditor to examine Thomson's accounts of his receipts and disbursements in taking care of the palace, following which a precept was to be drawn on the College for payment.³⁸ On 28 April the College's factor was instructed to pay Thomson £1 2s 1½d; Adam did not get his money until December.³⁹

Of all the lost documents relating to the Castle, William Adam's two reports would surely have been the most interesting. Clearly he thought that it was worth spending money on the building and this may well have been the last point at which it could have been saved. That it was not is largely attributable to Thomson, who evidently found the Barons too dilatory in responding to his request for permission to sell materials.

On 4 February 1730 the Barons considered an anonymous letter complaining that Thomson had 'taken upon him without order to pull down and dispose of iron grates, stanchers and stones', belonging to the Palace. William Bowles was ordered to prepare a letter asking the Lord Provost to

inquire into and report on the matter 'and what method he thinks most proper for the keeping and preserving of the said palace for the future without any expense to the Crown'.⁴⁰ Bowles certainly drafted a letter which noted that Thomson had removed and sold the ironwork of several 'great windows above and below' and an 'iron gate or yeat of great weight', as well as 'a great deal of fine hewn stone of the dyke at the back side of the castle' (possibly part of the north wall) and good old oak timber. The Lord Provost and magistrates were also 'to consider of the most proper and easy way to the crown of keeping and preserving the said palace, and whether it is not capable of being put to some beneficial use for the good of the town'.⁴¹ Though the draft is dated March 1730, it is doubtful whether any letter was sent at that time. Thomson remained in possession and leased the chapel to the Incorporation of Weavers for use as a storeroom from Whitsunday 1730. He was still collecting rent for it in 1732,⁴² but at some point thereafter the Barons revoked his commission, entrusting the oversight of the building to Robert Molleson, an excise official. Molleson remained in charge even after his removal to be collector at Ayr but appointed another excise officer, Charles Mitchell, 'who lives hard by the Palace Gate', to act in his absence.⁴³

Eventually Bowles wrote to Glasgow on 20 December 1734. Replying on 10 February 1735, Lord Provost Ramsay explained that the magistrates had waited until Molleson could join them. On visiting the Castle they had found that 'there is nothing remaining of the whole fabric but a ruinous heap of stones and a great part rubbish, so that it is fit for no manner of use.' All the depredations had been committed before Thomson's commission was revoked, but 'had it been recalled sooner more would have been preserved, for several times complaints were sent in by the preceding Magistrates to the Barons of the depredations that Thomson and his wife were committing'. While thanking the Barons for their offer of the building, he dismissed it as 'of no manner of use to us'.⁴⁴

Though Molleson was to claim that he had been successful in preventing further depredations, he found problems in dealing those who regarded the Castle as a convenient source of building material. On a visit to Edinburgh in January 1736 he handed in a letter 'containing the names of several persons supposed to have been accessory',⁴⁵ but either the Barons were not informed or they chose to take no action. Soon afterwards Charles Mitchell caught some stone robbers in the act.⁴⁶ On the evening of 31 January 1736 he surprised Archibald Paterson, a mason, in the close with two accomplices and a horse and cart. Paterson had already undermined the 'large stair of the chapel',⁴⁷ but 'not being quite satisfied with the stones thought proper to fall a-cutting down the joists and door checks within the said castle.' Paterson escaped through a window but Mitchell arrested his accomplices, who were imprisoned in the Tolbooth. Mitchell soon found a strange lack of co-operation from all concerned. Despite his objections, the bailie of the regality freed the two men on bail. Lawyers who had promised assistance drawing up his statement 'neglected and shifted it off from day to day', making him suspect that they intended to delay matters until the time-limit for prosecution had expired.

Mitchell finally drew up his own statement, sending it to Molleson on 27 March 1736. Four more months elapsed before Molleson passed the papers on the Bowles, with the observation that they 'should have been laid before the Honourable Court e'er now, had I thought their Lordships would have been at the trouble of taking any cognizance thereof,'⁴⁸ probably an implied criticism of their failure to act on his previous letter.

Worse was to soon follow. On the afternoon of Wednesday, 13 October 1736, a large part of the building 'came down by lump' a few hours after a murder had been committed in its 'inner vault'. Mitchell put a guard on the ruin before removing the fallen slates and timber to a more secure location. Writing two days later, he asked Molleson for directions on their disposal, 'for I'm persuaded they will not be kept two days without watching'. Meanwhile he had received a

complaint about 'that outer turret which is just falling and people not safe to enter to or from the Church.' Molleson directed him to dispose of the timber and slates in the presence of a magistrate but forbade him to take down the turret. On 18 October he informed Bowles of what had happened,⁴⁹ but again there is no evidence of the Barons taking notice.

Before the end of October 1736 Robert Finlay 'of the Old Tannerie, Glasgow' had come forward with a proposal. He noted that the recent collapse had destroyed 'the whole of the building on which any roof or timber remained.' Little was now left standing 'but a frightful wall which hangs over the main street by which people enter the town from Edinburgh and a turret which projects over the street leading to the High Church'. This turret probably belonged to the gatehouse, which was still standing as late as 1760.⁵⁰ Finlay claimed that 'passengers coming to the Town, and the inhabitants going to Church' were 'in eminent danger'. Should the Barons grant him a lease of the grounds and garden, he would take down the wall and turret at his own expense. Given two rent-free years, he would clear the ground of rubbish, paying £5 a year thereafter. As he might possibly set up 'some kind of manufactory', he expected power to re-use the stones and other materials, but if his lease were not renewed all the new 'houses and inclosures' would revert to the Crown.⁵¹

While Finlay's memorial certainly reached the Exchequer, it does not seem to have been considered by the Barons. On 25 January 1737 they made one last effort to save the building by asking the principal of the College to view it and report 'what's proper to be done with it'.⁵² Any report must have been unfavourable and no further action is recorded until 1741, when John Cochran of Waterside petitioned the Crown. He had carried on a linen manufactory in the west of Scotland 'and has now brought it to a very great length'. Having found that Glasgow was the best location and that there was 'an old house uninhabited, and which has been ruinous for more than thirty years', formerly belonging to the archbishop, he sought a lease with power to him and his partners 'to make use of the stones of the old house and yard to build such houses as shall be wanting to carry on the said manufactory'.

The Treasury referred the petition to the Barons of Exchequer, who duly reported on 23 March 1741. They claimed to have taken all possible care to preserve the fabric of the building and to prevent the materials from being pulled down and carried away, 'yet it will be difficult entirely to prevent the same'. If the Crown were to grant a lease for a yearly rent of £3 10s 'as the yard adjoining to the said house pays at present', it would more advantageous to the public than if it were to remain in its present ruinous condition.⁵³ The Treasury instructed them to draw up a signature (warrant to be signed by the king) for a lease, the draft of which was ready on 31 July.⁵⁴ The lease was to run from Whitsunday 1741 for four terms of 19 years at an annual rent of £3 10s.⁵⁵ Cochran and his heirs and assignees were allowed to convert the premises into a linen manufactory and to use 'the stones and other materials of the said old house and yard for building such houses as shall be wanting for carrying on the said manufactory within the precincts of the said old house and yard but not elsewhere'. They might prosecute any persons who had already carried away any stone or other materials, but at the end of the lease they were obliged to leave 'the stones and other materials or houses to be built therewith' in 'as good condition as they are in at present', according to a report to be made by the Dean of Guild court.

Despite that curious final proviso, Cochran's lease can be taken as marking the end of any attempt to preserve the Bishop's Castle. There must be some doubt about his true intentions, as he admitted to having obtained the lease for the benefit of another member of his family, Major Thomas Cochran.⁵⁶ The manufactory did not materialize. In 1791 the Barons were to report to the Treasury that 'the object then in Mr Cochran's view had not turned out as expected' and that 'the ground with the ruins upon it remain at this day in much the same situation' as they had been in

1741.⁵⁷ However, as early as 1758 Major Cochrane was said to have 'pulled the building to pieces in order to sell the stone'.⁵⁸ Road-widening and natural decay also had their effect.⁵⁹ By 1791 the great tower had been reduced to a shell, lacking its west wall and all ancillary buildings, while the gatehouse and adjacent walls were only represented by a mound of earth and rubble.⁶⁰

We may note briefly the fate of Cochran's lease. In 1744 he notified the Town Council of a proposal that it should be surrendered to the Crown to allow barracks to be built within the Castle.⁶¹ If indeed the Crown was having second thoughts about the usefulness of the site, nothing came of it. Later the Town Council itself was to show an interest in a building which the Lord Provost had rejected out of hand in 1735. In 1782 an application to the Crown was under consideration; two years later a committee was appointed to enquire into the terms of the lease 'to which it is informed the family of Dundonald have succeeded' with a view to getting the Castle vested in favour of the city.⁶²

At a general meeting of the subscribers to the new Glasgow Infirmary on 6 February 1788 the site of the Bishop's Castle was unanimously agreed upon as 'the most eligible for the future hospital'. A committee was appointed to approach the Earl of Dundonald, as current holder of the lease, and also to make application to the Treasury and Barons of Exchequer for a grant of the ground. After protracted correspondence all parties agreed, but it took another three years to obtain a Crown charter of the site of the Castle and adjoining ground, following a favourable report from the Barons.⁶³ In August 1792 an English clergyman saw 'workmen very busy in pulling down a grand ruin near the cathedral, the ruins of the episcopal palace'. He added: 'But this will occasion you no surprize, as every body knows how little partiality the inhabitants of North Britain entertain for the episcopal order, and all its appendages.' In this case, however, he had to admit that the demolition was for a good cause.⁶⁴ With the building of the Royal Infirmary all visible traces of the Castle disappeared, though substantial foundations remained to be discovered during later extensions and more recent archaeological investigations.⁶⁵

NOTES

- 1 Appendix 2 document 1. Spelling of quotations has been modernized.
- 2 Anon, 1679 *A true relation of the inhuman cruelties lately acted by the rebels in Scotland ...*, London (Wing T.2971), 2.
- 3 *CSP Dom 1697*, 25. For a biography of Paterson, see Gordon 1871, 215–7.
- 4 Contemporary sources refer to it as both 'palace' and 'castle'; 'Bishop's Castle' has been the form preferred by local historians, though 'Archbishop's' would be more correct. St Andrews and Spynie are analogous buildings in Scotland, and Durham a much grander English example.
- 5 Morer 1702, 108. Morer's book was 'made out from some few notes I had taken about fourteen years ago, when I was called to Scotland', ie 1688–9.
- 6 *Glasgow Records 1663–1690*, 498. This was paid by the city, which was to be reimbursed by the archbishop.
- 7 McArthur's Plan of Glasgow 1779 only shows the south tower, marking the rest of the area as 'Bishop's Palace in ruins'. This area extends farther north than the boundary line shown by Ross, probably up to the original north wall, beyond which 'Bishop's Garden' is marked. Later reconstructions of the ground plan, eg Roger 1856, 327, do not agree with Ross or some 18th-century views.
- 8 The south part of the area later became Cathedral Square (NS 601655). For a site plan, see Stevenson & Torrie (1990, 10, fuller description in Part 2, 40–7). A model by D Alexander (1975–6) in the People's Palace Museum, Glasgow, shows how the Castle might have appeared in the mid-16th century.
- 9 According to Macdonald (1890, 248) a 70-ft (21 m) stretch of the north wall still remained in 1886 under the Chronic Surgical House of Glasgow Royal Infirmary.

- 10 Primrose 1913, 240, correcting MacGregor 1890, 231, and Millar 1898, 330.
- 11 Hearne's view (Appendix 1, no 5) shows it still roofed c 1783.
- 12 The gatehouse is shown in a drawing dated 1752 (Appendix 1, no 2). For a description and photograph of the panel see Millar 1898, 332.
- 13 *Glasgow Reg*, 580.
- 14 The only views of the interior (illus 5 and Appendix 1, no 7) show two rows of windows above a vault, indicating a building of only three storeys, which does not agree with the exterior views. It is suggested that the vault covered the first floor and that the bottom floor was obscured by earth and rubble.
- 15 See Murray 1890, 58, 60.
- 16 Appendix 2, document 2.
- 17 Millar 1898, 349.
- 18 *Glasgow Records 1573–1642*, 444, refers to a room 'under the gallery'.
- 19 Slezer shows such a chimney on the 'higher' tower, but this cannot belong to the great chamber.
- 20 Appendix 2, document 3.
- 21 Crawford 1726, 164. Spottiswoode was not consecrated until 1610.
- 22 Appendix 2, document 1.
- 23 *CSP Dom 1696*, 139.
- 24 E6/5 p 449, receipted warrant E54/46/12.
- 25 Millar 1898, 352, quoting Historical MSS Comm. *29 Portland XVth Report* app. 4, 364.
- 26 *Glasgow Records 1691–1717*, 549, 577, 587.
- 27 Millar 1898, 354, quoting *Present State of Scotland* (1715). A similar passage in Defoe's *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain* should be attributed to later editors of the work. The 1st edition (1726) does not mention the Castle, while the 2nd edition (1738) says nothing about the wall.
- 28 Hamilton 1831, 4.
- 29 *CSP Dom 1697*, 263, 1698, 13.
- 30 Coutts 1909, 176, 362–3.
- 31 E305/3 p 189.
- 32 E305/3 p 78.
- 33 Partly printed in *Glasgow Reg*, lviii note x, from a document found 'among the scattered leaves saved from the fire at the Exchequer in Edinburgh' [1811]. The date given, 1720, appears to be an error for 1726, but the original has not been traced and is no longer among the Exchequer records.
- 34 E305/3 p 78.
- 35 E305/3 pp 130,154–5.
- 36 E305/3 pp 182,188,190.
- 37 SRO Clerk of Penicuik muniments, GD18/4732/1.
- 38 E305/3 pp 266–7.
- 39 Edinburgh University Library Laing MSS II–435/8.
- 40 E305/3 p 329.
- 41 Appendix 2, document 2.
- 42 Strathclyde Regional Archives Incorporation of Weavers account book, T-TH5/5/1, discharge 1730–1; discharge 1731–2 refers to 'ane room to hold the spainzie [Spanish reeds] in the Castell'; receipts for rent (T-TH5/8/20) show that this was the chapel.
- 43 Appendix 2, document 3.
- 44 E342/24/2.
- 45 E342/24/5.
- 46 Appendix 2, document 3.
- 47 Roger (1856, 327) found stones from a staircase reused as tombstones in the Cathedral graveyard.
- 48 E342/24/5.
- 49 Appendix 2, document 4.
- 50 Kemp 1887, 50. The turrets were intact in 1752 (Appendix 1, document 2).
- 51 Appendix 2, document 5.
- 52 E305/4 p 117.

- 53 E307/4 pp 257–8.
 54 E307/5 p 1.
 55 SRO Privy Seal (English register) PS3/8 p 264.
 56 *Glasgow Records 1739–1759*, 179.
 57 E307/9 pp 224–6.
 58 National Library of Scotland MS 2911 f 12. I am indebted to John Dunbar for this reference.
 59 MacGregor 1890, 244–9, follows Roger (1856, 323) in asserting that the magistrates of Glasgow allowed stones to be taken for building the Saracen's Head Inn. But the relevant council act of 24 November 1754 (*Glasgow Records 1739–59*, 412) shows that the stones were to be taken from the city's East Port. See also NLS charter 1097).
 60 Appendix 1, nos 7–9.
 61 *Glasgow Records 1739–1759*, 179.
 62 *Glasgow Records 1781–1795*, 36, 120.
 63 Buchanan 1832, 3; E507/9 pp 224–6.
 64 Lettice 1794, 69.
 65 Roger 1856, 327; MacGregor 1890, 249. For recent excavations see Stevenson & Torrie 1990, 35–6, and McBrien 1990, 35.

APPENDIX 1

VIEWS SHOWING THE BISHOP'S CASTLE

These are listed in the probable order in which they were executed and not by date of publication, which might be considerably later.

1 J Slezer (d. 1714): 'Prospect of the town of Glasgow from the north-east', published in *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693), but possibly drawn in the 1670s. Whole view reproduced in a number of works, including Cavers (1993). Fawcett (1985) has the portion showing the Cathedral and its environs; similar portion as lithograph in Roger (1856, 323). Illus 1 (detail) shows (left to right): south tower, building or buildings to south of great tower, great tower, with adjacent tower (partly hidden), entire south-east wall with gatehouse and small portion of north-east wall. The building on the extreme right is the south-west tower of the Cathedral. Reconstruction view by Charles McKean, based on Slezer, exhibited in 'Lifting the Veil: Revelations of a Scottish Renaissance' at Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland Gallery, Edinburgh, 1994.

2 J Hopkirke: 'Gatehouse Archiepiscopal Palace, Glasgow', original drawing (not traced) dated 1752, reproduced as lithograph in Roger (1856, 324). East front and north side of gatehouse from north-east; east front, turrets and gables intact, but roof partly collapsed and substantial damage to north-west corner; only small portion of Castle wall remaining north of gatehouse. Gordon (1871, 76) has reconstruction drawing clearly based on Hopkirke.

3 R Paul: 'A View taken from the west of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow', engraved by R Paul and published by the Foulis Academy, Glasgow, c 1760 (possibly one of two views of the Cathedral published by R & A Foulis, advertised in *Glasgow Journal*, 21 February 1757), reproduced by Stevenson & Torrie (1990, 49). Although the Castle is in the distance, this is the only view showing it from the west, albeit in a ruinous state; the east gable of the great tower is standing to its full height. Gemmell (1913) reproduces this view and two others by Paul showing the Cathedral and Castle from the south-east (Plates X–XII).

4 Paul Sandby (1725–1809): 'Glasgow Cathedral', engraved by W Angus and published by G Kears, 46 Fleet Street, London, 1 December 1780, and in two collections of Sandby engravings, *The Virtuosi's*

Museum containing select views in England, Scotland and Ireland, London (1778, but including some plates of later date) and *Collection of one hundred and fifty select views drawn by Paul Sandby Esq. R.A.*, vol 2, London (1782). Remains of Castle gatehouse on left, archway intact, but little remaining of upper floor and north turret, south turret reduced to ground-floor level. Exact date of original unknown, but must be later than no 2.

5 Thomas Hearne (1744–1817): ‘View of the Cathedral and Episcopal Palace at Glasgow’, engraved by W Byrne and T Medland, the figures by F Bartolozzi, and published by T Hearne and W Byrne, London, 2 June 1783, and in Hearne (1807). This and no 6 are the most frequently reproduced views of the Castle. View along Kirk Street towards Cathedral, showing south tower to its full height, with caphouse and roof intact (cf no 10); east wall only of great tower visible; south-east wall of Castle intact, apart from breach just south of gatehouse, which appears to be as in no 4. This view probably used for reconstruction drawing in Gordon (1871, 73), which is angled to show whole of great tower.

6 After T Hearne: ‘Archiepiscopal Palace and Cathedral as they stood in the year 1790’, published in *Selected views of Glasgow and its environs engraved by Joseph Swan*, Glasgow (1828), there said to be from ‘an original drawing in the possession of Alexr McGrigor Esqr of Kernock’, attributed (p 21) to ‘a Mr Ettridge, an English Gentleman, then in Scotland.’ Despite its ostensible date and provenance this is no more than an exact copy of no 5, perhaps through an intermediate drawing.

7 A Henderson: ‘Ruins of the Archbishop’s Castle from Kirk Street’, lithograph by D Allan, published in Smith (1832) and Buchanan (1832) ‘from an old painting in the possession of John Smith ygst Esq.’ Reproduced as plate 28 in Paton (1890), where the original painting is said (p 216) to have been lent to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 by its then owner, John Knox. Despite its title, the picture’s viewpoint is within the Castle close, looking east towards the Cathedral, the west end of which is visible beyond a low stone dyke, replacing the Castle wall at this point. Interior of great tower visible, west wall having collapsed; two rows of windows above the remains of stone vault, presumably over first floor; basement completely obscured; fenestration differs in detail from that shown in no 8, which is probably more accurate; at north-west corner of great tower, lower ruinous wing, its first floor higher than that of tower, with single lancet window at west end, probably the chapel, on its ground floor a low, round-headed doorway. Painting must have been executed earlier than no 8, in which vault has collapsed completely.

8 Francis Grose (d. 1791): ‘Bishops Palace Glasgow adjoining the Cathedral Lanarkshire’ (illus 5), original drawing in National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 29.4.2 vol 2 fo 117r. Attribution ‘by Capt. Grose’ in later hand but most probably correct, dating drawing to Grose’s tour of Scotland in 1789.

9 James Brown: Ruins of the Archbishop’s Palace, lithograph by Allan & Ferguson (Stuart 1848, 9). Original (unsigned) or copy in People’s Palace, Museum, Glasgow (illus 4). Great tower from north-east, its north wall standing to full height of four storeys, fenestration of the upper floors agreeing with no 8; opening at east end of first floor probably marks passage to ‘new dining room’, which has disappeared along with gatehouse, site of which marked by mound of earth and stones; wall adjacent to and south of great tower full height, but lacking parapet; north face of south tower visible. This (or possibly no 7) may be the ‘excellent drawing ... taken by an eminent artist’ prior to demolition of the castle’ (Brown 1797, 64).

10 [Walter?] Weir: Part of the Archbishop’s Palace and St Nicholas Chapel, lithograph by Allan & Ferguson (Stuart 1848, 17). Copy signed ‘H W Williams 1812’ [Hugh William Williams 1773–1829] in People’s Palace Museum, Glasgow (illus 3). South tower from east, with St Nicholas’ Hospital, partly roofless, in background. Another copy in Hutton Collection (National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 30.5.23 no 63) ‘from a drawing in the possession of Mr Wilson, Bookseller, Glasgow, 1813.’

APPENDIX 2

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE BISHOP'S CASTLE, 1693–1736

1 Estimate for repairs, 1693 (SRO E54/27/1)

June 3d 1693 Accompt of necessars and works for repairing the Castle of Glasgou

First for poynting the battaline about both the higher and lower towers and for taking down some of the stones which are ready to fall and for poynting fogg and slateing the roofe of these towers and for furnishing slates fogg lyme and sand and for taking down and rebuilding two chimney heads that are ready to fall and furnishing lyme and sand thereto in all 0180 : 00 : 00

Item for down taking and upbuilding a long necked chimneyhead for the great Chamber above the Hall which if it fall will goe quite thro the roof of the new rooms beneath it being high and uneasy to scaffold its thought it cannot be done for less than 0040 : 00 : 00

Item the alering of the tower above the gate being much spoiled with weight of stones laid there by the late Bishop Paterson at the time of the revolution for throwing down in case the rable should have made any attempt upon him whereby the stones of the alering are some broke and some put out of their place and all overgrown with grass and fogg so that the rain coming in there has quite spoiled the walls and plaster of the bed chamber above the gate and will spoyle both the floors and finishing unless it be helped in time it will be 0080 : 00 : 00

Item 8 great windors in the Heigh Hall which wants glass and must be secured against storme by broads of timber which with the worke will be eight dolors 0023 : 04 : 00

Item for slatting poynting and fogg the new dining room which joyns the tower above the Gate to the Great tower 0020 : 00 : 00

Item the flat roof of the new fore rooms having been of timber with pitch and shell by 5 or 6 years neglect is now almost all rotten and will require to mend it at least 200 dales at 0072 : 00 : 00

Item for pitch rosin tarre and shell collfin and work-man-ship 0200 : 00 : 00

Item if it be thought fitt to take some of the old glass and make up some windors in the house for handsomness and to repair some that are not quite decayd but in a small time will be utterly lost if not helped now it may be done for about 0040 : 00 : 00

Item there being never a lock nor sneck left on most of the doors of the house it will be fitt that some of the rooms should be kept fast for which its thought 20 shilling will be sufficient inde 0012 : 00 : 00

Item for lyme to cast and poynt the breu house and bakehouse walls and for slates and fogg to the roofe and for worke 0024 : 00 : 00

Item for timber to secur the Chapell windors being 4 and havin neither broad nor glass in them also for two windors in the Great bed-Chamber and 6 windors in the 3 Jamb-Chambers being in all 12 windors its thought will take timber and work 0026 : 00 : 00

Item the Great Blisterd stair that goes from the Court to the great hall and is the principall entry to the house is in parte fallen down and many of the balusters broken now if it be thought fitt to rebuild it this will coste 100 merks 0066 : 13 : 04

Total of the other page including this 66 13 4 is¹ 0783 : 13 : 04

The flat roof being of pitch and shell will need yearly reparations and perhaps not be watertight when all is done for it never was so. Therefore if it be advisable to raise the gables and make it a slate roofe the workmen thinks it may be done for 0666 : 13 : 04

The price of the new roof with gables and slate 666 : 13 : 04

from this deduce 272 : 00 : 00

that which it will presently take to repaire, it will be over 394 : 13 : 04

only, and by this may all after reparations for a long time will be saved

The quota of repairing the roofes as they now are is 783 : 17 : 04

but if it be thought fitt to change the pitch and shell roof to slate it will in all be about 1178 : 10 : 8

James Hammiltoun Chamberlane of the Rents of the Bishopricks yow ar heirby ordered to pay unto John Hamilton of Barneclough² the sum of one hundred pounds ster. for furnishing of materialls to and making of the reparations at the Castle of Glasgow conforme to the foregoing particulares on this and the other page and which sum is to be given out as his grace the Duke of Hamiltoun sall give order. For payment of which sum these presents with the said John Hamiltoun his receipt salbe your warrant. Daited at Edinburgh this 27 of Junii 1693.

[signed] Drumlanrig; Hamilton; Breadalbane; Linlithgow.

[Discharge by John Hamilton to James Hamilton, collector general of the Bishops' Rents, for £100 sterling in terms of the above precept by the Lords of the Treasury.

Hamilton, 15 September 1693. Signed by John Hamilton and David Craufurd and Arthur Nasmith, servants to the Duke of Hamilton, witnesses.]

[Endorsed] Estimat of what may repare the Castle of Glasgow June 3: 1693.

[Added in another hand] with the Lords of the Tresaurys precept and Barncluths receipt of 100 lib. sterl. No.1.

2 Draft letter to Lord Provost of Glasgow, 1730 (SRO E342/24/1)

My Lord, I transmit to you by order of the Barons, the inclosed anonimous letter sent to me, representing Mr. Robt. Thomson (to whom they committed some time ago the care and oversight of the Arch-Bishopps Palace) to have been guilty lately of a very great breach of his trust, in taking out the iron work of severall great windows above and below, as also carrying off of an iron gate or yeat of great weight,³ with a great deal of fine hewen stone of the dyke at the back syde of the Castle with good old oak timber &c and selling and converting the same to his own use, alleading he had orders from the Barons so to do; which not being so, they desire your Lordshipp will at a proper time repair to the said Palace, and there inquire into the matters contained in the said informacion; and that in case Mr. Thomson shall refuse to give you a just and fair account of his accions about the same, that then you call before you at the said place, such persons as can give any account thereof; and there on oath to take their testimony concerning the same, which with an account of your proceedings, my Lords the Barons desire you will return to them against the 1st of June next. I am further order'd to desire, that your Lordshipp, and the Magistrates of Glasgow, will consider of the most proper and easy way to the Crown of keeping and preserving the said Palace, and whether it is not capable of being put to some beneficiall use for the good of the town, and to acquaint them at the same time with your thoughts about it.

I have likewise sent an open letter to Mr Thompson acquainting him of your Lordshipp being desired by the Barons to examine into his conduct, and to require his submission to it, that he might have no excuse to the contrary.

I am, My Lord, Your Lordshipp's most humble servant⁴

Edinburgh, Exchequer March 1730

[Endorsed] Letter to Lord Provost of Glasgow to inquire into the wasts committed by Mr Thompson at the Arch Bpps Palace.

3 Report on depredations, 1736 (SRO E342/24/4)

Glasgow 27th March 1735/6

Charles Mitchell officer of excise having a letter from Mr Robt Molleson collector of excise and overseer of the Castle of Glasgow, desiring him to frequently view and look after the said castle and endeavour to discover any persone or persons robbing or carrying off from the said castle any timber, stones, irone, &c., and to acquaint him therof with a list of their names. Upon the 31st of January last in presence of Mr. John Fulton officer of Excise in Glasgow and Andr. Millar maltman there, he found within the said Castle

about or between the hours of seven & eight a cloak at night James Millar tacksman of Limehouse⁵ with his princple servant William⁶ Wardrope and Archibald Paterson masson in Glasgow who had befor I came there undermined the large staire of the Cheppel which was fallen doun and his own horse and carte ready within the Castle Closs in order to carrey off the same, but not being quite satisfied with the stones, thought proper to fall acutting doun the joists and dor cheeks within the said castle. I immediatly securd the said Millar and servant, but Paterson made his escape by a window. I brought them with the horse & cart to the house of the above Andr. Millar and deliverd them to Mr. Robt. Marshall writer in Glasgow who happend accadently to be in the house. He with Mr Fulton carried them to a closs roome where they promisd to keep them untill I went to the Guarde for a party in order to carrie them to prison, but befor I returnd with the party the above Paterson who had formerly made his escape thought proper to come in to that roome in a most violent manner beat, blud, & abusd the said Fulton and carried off the said Millar, but Wardrope was kept by Mr. Marshall who I forthwith sent to the Guarde. About half ane houre thereafter I was informd by Wardrops wife in view of getting of her husband that Millar was privately drinking in the house of Willm. Mathey brewer in Glasgow. I immediatly calld the above Mr. Marshall, Mr. Alexr Pollock writer, and Mr. Fulton and went to the said house where we found Millar and securd him the second time, and with another party carried him also to the Guarde, where he lay from Saturday night till Munday morning at ten acloak⁷ by a warrand from Mr. John Wardrope Bailie of the Regality of Glasgow.

There was twice beal offerd me for the above Millar but being advisd by the lawyors in toun that the crime was not belable so thought proper not to medle with them, yet Bailie Wardrope thought proper to liberat them and tooke the beal himself.

[Signed] Chas. Mitchell

[On same sheet: covering letter of same date from Mitchell, addressed 'Robert Molleson Esqr. Collector of Excise for present at Irvine', explaining delay in furnishing his report]

Sir, With this yow have the whole of James Millars robrey & abuse about the Castle, it would have been sent yow long ago but Robt Marshall and Willm Lang promisd more than a month ago to have it ready and done exactly in its proper terms, but they always neglected and shifted it off from day to day I belive in view the 40 days should expire so yow had not time to give the criminals there charge. I have given yow the heads of the affair myself so as yow may put them in such adress as yow think proper.⁸

[Endorsed] Mr Mitchell with my Excheqqr comm[ission].

4 Correspondence relating to collapse of building, 1736 (SRO E342/24/6-7)

Dr Sir, On Wednesday last the whole part of the castell as we enter the port where post Thomson liv'd came down by lump. The timber & sleats allmost broke to picess. I have since every night keepd sentries of soulders, and this day has ordred the whole to be carried to Mulgays stable & yeard. This morning a complaint was made to me by the Conveeners, by order of the magistrats of that outer turret which is just afalling and people not safe to enter to or from the Church. Upon Tuesday night or timely Wednesday morning on Willm. McLea teacher of french got his throat cutt in the inner voalt of what fell that afternoon, suposd to be about Mulgays & by the laird of Orchard, but no discovery as yet made.

I expected to have seen yow Saturday last at Glasgow; I beg youl upon receipt of this acquant me what shall be done with the remaining timber & sclates sav'd for I'm persuaded they will not be keepd two days without watching. I likeways expect to hear your proceeder with Rose at Irvine.⁹ I am in heast

Dr Sir your most obedt servt.

Glasgow 15th Octr 1736 [signed] Chas. Mitchell

[Addressed] To Robert Molleson Esq. Collector of Excise at Air.

Sir, The inclos'd which I received from Mr Mitchell the gentleman whom I appointed to oversee the Bishops Palace at Glasgow in my absence will show you that a great part of it is now faln down, and as it will be impossible for him to keep what timber slates & ca may be saved I have directed him to dispose of them in

presence of a magistrate for his Majesties use but I have forbid him to take down the Turret, which the magistrates think endangers the people in going to & returning from the Church, till I should receive your orders thereanent.

I am Sir Your most humble servt.

Air October 18th 1736 [signed] Robt. Molleson

[Annotated] To Mr Bowles D[eputy] Remembr[ancer] in Exchq[ue]r Edinburgh¹⁰

[Endorsed] Messrs Molleson & Mitchells letters about the ruinous condition of the Bps palace at Glasgow. 18th October 1736.

5 Petition for lease of Castle [1736]¹¹ (SRO E342/24/8)

Memorial to Mr Linn of Gorgie by Robert Finlay of the Old Tannerie Glasgow

The many depredations committed on the Bishops Palace of Glasgow has at last reduced it to utter ruine. For several years past there was nothing to be seen but a few decayd walls, and now within this moneth the whole of the building on which any roof or timber remained came down by the lump, so that theres little left standing but a frightfull wall which hangs over the main street by which people enter the Town from Edinburgh and a turret which projects over the street leading to the High Church, and this being quite undermined the magistrates have made repeated application, tho without success, to Mr Molleson the present overseer to have it pulled down, passengers comeing to the Town and the inhabitants going to Church being in eminent danger.

If the Barrons of Exchequer would therefore be pleased to give proper directions for pulling those ruinous places down, or if they shall think fitt to grant me a lease of the grounds and gardens thereto belonging for any reasonable number of years I will take them down on my own charge. The grounds and garden belonging to the Palace pay presently about £3 per annum, and after the expiration of the two first years (for it will take that time before the ground can be cleared of the rubbish) I am satisfied to pay £5 yearly during the continuance of the tack, and as I may possibly set up some kind of manufacture in that place I will expect a power to reemploy the stones &c of the said Pallace in such manner as I may find best answering my purpose, and at the expiration of the lease if I dont find it convenient to renew the same as formerly I will agree that all the houses and inclosures which may be built, and shall be then standing, shall pertain to the Crown without any allowance whatsoever for my trouble or expence in erecting them, provided the lease be granted for any number of years exceeding nineteen.

[signed] Robert Finlay

NOTES

- 1 Inserted in another hand.
- 2 Name added in different hand.
- 3 'and disposing of the same' deleted.
- 4 Unsigned, but in handwriting of William Bowles, Deputy King's Remembrancer.
- 5 E342/24/3 says 'mason in Hartsfield'.
- 6 Forename added later. E342/24/3 calls Wardrop 'land labourer in Broomhill'.
- 7 E432/24/3 indicates that Millar and Wardrop were not released until the evening of Tuesday, 3 February 1736. No reference to the case has been found in the Glasgow regality court records (SRO RH11/32).
- 8 Remainder of letter relates to excise business.
- 9 This relates to excise business.
- 10 In William Bowles' own handwriting.
- 11 Without endorsement and undated, but clearly soon after no 4.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge information and assistance received from Glasgow Art Galleries and Museums, the Mitchell Library, the National Monuments Record of Scotland, Strathclyde Regional Archives, and Dr Richard Fawcett. Transcripts of Crown copyright documents are reproduced by permission of the Comptroller of H M Stationery Office. Other documents in the Scottish Record Office are quoted with the approval of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland and by permission of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (William Adam letter). Illustrations are reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland (nos 1, 2 & 5) and the People's Palace Museum, Glasgow (nos 3 & 4).

REFERENCES

- Buchanan, M S 1832 *History of Glasgow Royal Infirmary*. Glasgow.
- Brown, A 1797 *History of Glasgow*, vol 2. Glasgow.
- Cavers, K 1993 *A Vision of Scotland: The Nation Observed by John Slezer 1671 to 1717*. Edinburgh.
- Coutts, J 1909 *A History of the University of Glasgow*. Glasgow.
- Crawford, G 1726 *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- CSP Dom Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) William III*.
- Fawcett, R 1985 *Glasgow Cathedral*. Edinburgh.
- Gemmell, W 1913 *Early Views of Glasgow*. Glasgow.
- Glasgow Records Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, Scottish Burgh Records Society (1876–1911) & Glasgow Corporation (1912–16).
- Glasgow Reg Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (Bannatyne & Maitland Clubs), 1832. Edinburgh.
- Gordon, J F S (ed) 1871 *Glasghu Facies*, vol 1. Glasgow.
- Hamilton, W 1831 *Description of the Sherriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew*. (Maitland Club). Edinburgh.
- Hearne, T 1807 *Antiquities of Great Britain*. London.
- Kemp, D W (ed) 1887 *Tours in Scotland, 1747, 1750, 1760, by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath* (Scott Hist Soc). Edinburgh.
- Lettice, J 1794 *Letters on a tour through various parts of Scotland in the year 1792*. London.
- McBrien, J H 1990 'Bishop's Castle, Cathedral Square, well', *Discovery Excav Scot* (1990), 35.
- MacGregor, G 1890 'Historical notices of the castle of Glasgow', *Trans Glasgow Archaeol Soc*, new ser 1 (1890), 228–49.
- Millar, A H 1898 'The Bishop's Castle', in Eyre-Todd, G (ed), *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*. Glasgow.
- Morer, T 1702 *A Short Account of Scotland*. London.
- Murray, D 1890 *Memorials of the Old College of Glasgow*. Glasgow.
- Paton, J 1890 *Scottish National Memorials*. Glasgow.
- Primrose, J 1913 *Mediaeval Glasgow*. Glasgow.
- Roger, J C 1856 'Notices of sculptured fragments formerly in the episcopal palace of Glasgow', *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 2 (1853–6), 317–29.
- Slezer, J 1693 *Theatrum Scotiae*. London.
- Smith, J 1832 *Burgh Records of Glasgow*. (Maitland Club). Edinburgh.
- Stevenson, J & Torrie, E P D 1990 *Historic Glasgow: the Archaeological implications of development*. Edinburgh.
- Stuart, R 1848 *Views and Notices of Glasgow in Former Times*. Glasgow.
- Unpublished documentary references:
 Scottish Record Office (SRO), Exchequer Records: E6 Treasury minute book; E54 Bishops' rents accounts; E305 Exchequer minute book; E307 Treasury reports; E342 Buildings & works papers.