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# THE REFORMATION IN GLASGOW IN 1559-60

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What exactly happened in major Scottish towns at the Reformation of 1559-60 is not a subject that is well covered in the literature. Generally there is a disappointing lack of detail in the surviving evidence,<sup>1</sup> and for some towns there are serious inaccuracies in the standard accounts.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Glasgow, one looks in vain for a coherent narrative; and even basic questions are not answered or even considered: for example, when did Protestants begin to assemble for worship; when were the friaries destroyed; and when was the parish church (St Mungo's) reformed and Protestant worship introduced.<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this paper is to answer

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<sup>1</sup> For Ayr, see M.H.B. Sanderson, *Ayrshire and the Reformation* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1997). For Dundee (and Haddington), see I.E.F. Flett, 'The Conflict of the Reformation and Democracy in the Geneva of Scotland, 1443-1610' (M. Phil. thesis, University of St Andrews, 1981); T. Slonosky, 'Civil Reformations: Religion in Dundee and Haddington, c. 1520-1565' (PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2014). For Perth, see M. Verschuur, *Politics or Religion? The Reformation in Perth, 1540-1570* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2006); D.W.B. Somerset, 'John Knox and the destruction of the Perth friaries in May 1559', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal (SRSJ)*, 3 (2013), 1-34. For St Andrews, see B. Rhodes, *Riches and Reform: Ecclesiastical Wealth in St Andrews, c. 1520-1580* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). For Stirling, see T. Slonosky, 'Burgh Government and Reformation: Stirling c.1530-1565', in *Scotland's Long Reformation*, ed. by J. McCallum (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 49-68. For Edinburgh, see M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh: Donald, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> See D.W.B. Somerset, 'The "Alteration of Religion" in Aberdeen in 1559: an ancient and persistent historical error', *SRSJ*, 4 (2014), 1-62, where details of the earlier literature are given.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., R. Renwick, J. Lindsay, and G. Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow*, 3 vols (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1921-34), I, 404-411; *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625*, ed. by D. McRoberts (Glasgow: Burns, 1962), p. 436. In spite of its promising title, Daniel Macleod, 'Servants to St. Mungo: the Church in sixteenth-century Glasgow' (PhD thesis, University of Guelph, Ontario, 2013) says nothing on the events of 1559-60. The fullest account of the Glasgow Reformation can be found in J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577* (University of Glasgow Press, 1977), pp. 228-231, but this has several inaccuracies and omissions. The important fact that the Glasgow friaries were reformed on Thursday 29th June 1559 was established by Margaret Sanderson, *A Kindly Place? Living in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 186-7.

these questions as far as possible. The council records from the period have not survived so we cannot penetrate the internal workings of the burgh, but we glean what there is and establish a sequence of events.<sup>4</sup>

## I. BACKGROUND

To envisage the Reformation in Glasgow, we have to re-orient ourselves in two ways. The first is that the centre of Glasgow has shifted probably more than that of any other historic town in Scotland. While their medieval buildings may not have survived, Edinburgh, St Andrews, Aberdeen, Dundee, Stirling, Perth, Ayr, and Inverness all have the modern-day town centre roughly where it was in 1559, but in Glasgow the entire old town has become a backwater. One could live in modern Glasgow long enough without visiting the High Street, the Trongate, the Gallowgate, the Cathedral, and Glasgow Cross. This was the town in 1559-60: there were farms, villages, and castles of the nobility in other parts of what is now Glasgow but in those days they were outside the town.

The second point regards the population. Glasgow now dominates Scotland in terms of population, but in 1559 its population was about 4,500 (according to estimates).<sup>5</sup> For comparison, Edinburgh was about 12,000, Aberdeen about 6,000, Stirling about 1,500, and the total population of Scotland about 650,000. About 7/8 of the people were living in the countryside, and towns were very small by modern standards. In military terms, a powerful landowner could raise enough retainers to defeat an army from any of these towns except possibly Edinburgh.

The main ecclesiastical buildings of Glasgow in 1559 were the Cathedral (much as it is today); the Bishop's Palace or Castle which was near the west end of the Cathedral and survived until 1752; the Franciscan friary or Grey Friars on the west side of the High St between Albion St and Shuttle St;<sup>6</sup> the Dominican friary or Black Friars on the east side of the High St; and the College church, St Mary of Loreto and St Anne, which was on the

<sup>4</sup> A preliminary version of the material presented here – which has been revised, corrected, and expanded – can be found in Section 5 of D.W.B. Somerset, 'The Scottish Reformation in late June 1559: the destruction of the friaries of Stirling, Linlithgow, Glasgow, and Edinburgh', *SRSJH*, 5 (2015), 1-33 (see pp. 18-25).

<sup>5</sup> *A Tale of Two Towns*, ed. by N. Baxter (Glasgow City Council, 2007), p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> For the Franciscan friary, see J. Evans, 'Greyfriars in Glasgow', *Scottish Historical Review*, 3 (1906), 179-193; W. Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Sands & Co., 1909), I, 343-351.

south side of the Trongate near the present Tron theatre.<sup>7</sup> The Bishop also had a hunting lodge out at Easterhouse and possibly another residence at Partick Castle.

The Archbishop of Glasgow from 1552 was James Beaton (nephew of Cardinal David Beaton); and his Palace, with the Cathedral precinct, dominated the upper town. There was a division in Scottish Romanism during the 1550s between Archbishop John Hamilton of St Andrews and the more Protestant-leaning 'spirituali' party, on the one hand, and the more reactionary Tridentine-style party on the other.<sup>8</sup> James Beaton belonged to the latter party, and there was also long-standing jealousy between the Hamilton and Beaton families, but how this affected the religious situation in Glasgow is not known. Archbishop Hamilton's half-brother, the Duke of Chatelherault, was the most important person in Scotland after Mary of Guise, being the next in line to the throne after Mary Queen of Scots. He was the Regent of Scotland from 1542 to 1554, but he is usually considered a weak and unstable character.<sup>9</sup> His main residence was at Hamilton, about twelve miles south-east of Glasgow.

There were also tensions between Archbishop Beaton and the Glasgow burgh council from 1553 to 1557 over his ancient right of selecting the Provost and the two baillies from a leet submitted to him by the council. In October 1554 the council elected baillies without consulting Beaton, but the Lords of Council and Session, after extensive enquiry, gave judgement in Beaton's favour in May 1557. As late as 1561 – by which time Beaton had withdrawn to France – the council went through an elaborate show of trying to consult him at the time of the election. Beaton thus exercised a control which made an internal religious reformation in Glasgow almost impossible as long as his power lasted.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See I.B. Cowan and D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (2nd ed., London: Longman, 1976), pp. 118, 131-2, 207-8, 221-2. For the Dominican friary and the College church, see *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, ed. by J. Robertson (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1846); and for the Bishop's palace, see A.H. Millar, 'The Bishop's Castle', in *The Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, ed. by G. Eyre-Todd (Glasgow: Morison Brothers, 1898), pp. 324-357.

<sup>8</sup> D.W.B. Somerset, 'The *spirituali* movement in Scotland before the Reformation of 1560', *SRSJ*, 8 (2018), 1-43 (p. 37).

<sup>9</sup> This view has been challenged, however, in Amy Blakeway's *Regency in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), pp. 236-7.

<sup>10</sup> J.D. Marwick, *Early Glasgow: a history of the city of Glasgow from the earliest times to the year 1611* (Glasgow: Maclehose, 1911), pp. 83-4; *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Glasgow, A.D. 1175-1649*, ed. by J.D. Marwick (2 parts, Scottish Burgh Records Society, Edinburgh, 1894-1897),

## II. EARLY PROTESTANTISM IN GLASGOW

There is very little trace of Protestantism in Glasgow before 1559. John MacDowell attended Glasgow University in 1530 and was Subprior of the Dominicans there, before becoming Prior of the Wigtown house in 1533-4. He probably moved to England in 1534, but his conversion to Protestantism seems to have been later than this.<sup>11</sup> In 1539, a young man named Kennedy, from the archdiocese of Glasgow, was burnt in Glasgow (presumably at Glasgow Cross) along with the Cordelier (Franciscan) friar Jerome Russell from Dumfries.<sup>12</sup>

On 6th February 1557/8, Chatelherault granted a bond of maintenance to Archbishop Beaton and his chapter by which, in consideration of the favour he had to the St Mungo's, 'quhair diverse of our forbearis lyis quhilkis brukit the said office of bailzerie for thair tyme, and als havand consideratioune of this perillous and dangerous tyme quhair detestabil heresies ryses and increasis in the diocy,' and 'beand of gud mynde and purpos, God willing, to repress thaim eftir our power,' he undertook, by 'the faith and truth in our bodies,' to maintain and support the Archbishop, his successors, and the chapter, in all their good, honest, and lawful matters, and to defend them, the privileges of their kirk, their lands, servants, and tenants, against all persons in the realm save the queen and her royal successors.<sup>13</sup> However, the 'detestabil heresies' that the Duke had in mind may not have been in the town of Glasgow itself.

Passing on to 1559, the first Protestant event was the Beggars' Summons, affixed to the doors of the forty-odd friaries in Scotland on 1st January 1558/9 giving the friars notice to quit by Whitsun 1559 (or rather the Friday before, 12th May, called Flitting Friday). The Summons probably originated in Ayr, although it purported to be from the poor of Scotland, from whom the friars had been 'stealing' by begging when they were

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Part 2, pp. 119-121, 126-129; J.S. McGrath, 'The Administration of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1574-1586' (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986), pp. 18-21.

<sup>11</sup> J. Durkan, 'Some local heretics', *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 36 (1957-58), 67-77 (pp. 67-71).

<sup>12</sup> *John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. by W.C. Dickinson, 2 vols (London: Nelson, 1949), I, 27. Three Cluniac monks from Paisley Abbey were also accused of heresy at that time, but abjured and went abroad; see J. Durkan, 'Paisley Abbey in the sixteenth century', *Innes Review*, 27 (1976), 110-126 (p. 122).

<sup>13</sup> 'where divers of our forebears lie which enjoyed the said office of baillie for their time, and also having consideration of this perilous and dangerous time where detestable heresies rise and increase in the diocese', 'being of good mind and purpose, God willing, to repress them after our power'. Marwick, *Early Glasgow*, p. 93; *Glasgow Charters*, Part 2, pp. 125-126, no. 56.

perfectly able to work. In Ayr, the friars were evicted on the appointed day, and probably by coincidence, also in Perth on the day before Flitting Friday, but no attempt was made to enforce the Summons in Glasgow.

When private Protestant worship started in Glasgow is unknown, but on 9th February 1558/9 the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, ordered that no one was to disturb the Roman Catholic services or to threaten the priests. Glasgow was one of the towns where this proclamation was to be made; the others being Linlithgow, Cupar, St Andrews, Dundee, Montrose, Aberdeen, Irvine, and Ayr.<sup>14</sup> This shows that there was active local Protestantism in these towns, and presumably these Protestants were assembling privately for worship as well. Who they were in Glasgow is not known.

### III. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FRIARIES IN JUNE 1559

The next event in Glasgow Protestantism was at the end of June 1559. Knox's *History* is silent on the reformation in Glasgow, but the account in the *Wodrow Miscellany* says that at the end of June 'my Lord of Glencairn, with the gentlemen of the West Country [...] purged the churches in Glasgow of idolatry'.<sup>15</sup> Glencairn was a long-term Protestant sympathiser and one of the principal lords of the Congregation.<sup>16</sup> His main residence was Finlaystone House, near Port Glasgow and now a country park. In 1556 this was one of the places where Knox administered communion, the communicants being Glencairn and his lady, their two sons, and some friends.<sup>17</sup> Glencairn was on his way with Lords Boyd and Ochiltree and the Sheriff of Ayr, Sir Matthew Campbell of Loudon to assemble with the Congregation in Edinburgh. The visit to Glasgow seems to have been in passing; Glasgow Bridge with its adjacent fords being the lowest crossing point of the Clyde on the way to Edinburgh. Glencairn and the others probably had a force of at least 1,000 men so they were not going to encounter any serious resistance in Glasgow.

<sup>14</sup> T. McCrie, *Life of John Knox* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1855), pp. 359-60.

<sup>15</sup> *Miscellany of the Wodrow Society* (Edinburgh, 1844), p. 62. This raid in June was not connected with Chatelherault's joining of the Congregation (contrary to the assertion in Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 231) because Chatelherault's change of allegiance did not occur until mid-September; see R.K. Hannay, 'The Earl of Arran and Queen Mary', *Scottish Historical Review*, 18 (1921), 258-276 (p. 266).

<sup>16</sup> For an account of Glencairn, see C. Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers* (Gramscian Club, London, 1876), pp. 1-15.

<sup>17</sup> Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 121.

Archbishop Beaton was absent from the town by this time. The Queen Regent had been staying with him at the Bishop's Palace in Glasgow at the beginning of May 1559, and Beaton travelled with her from there to Stirling to confront the Protestant preachers. He was with her in Dunbar in July, and in Edinburgh in November, and appears to have continued with her throughout the Reformation struggle, being one of her principal advisors.<sup>18</sup> Even in his absence from Glasgow, there was a formidable Roman Catholic entourage at the Cathedral, including Henry Sinclair, the Dean of Glasgow, and John Steinson (Stevenson), the Precentor.<sup>19</sup>

The date of Glencairn's visit comes from a deposition by John Davidson, former Principal of Glasgow College or University in 1578. In that year, Andrew Melville and others on behalf of the College of Glasgow were involved in a court case to annul a charter of 13th November 1560 in which the Glasgow Dominicans had granted some of their land to a Glasgow burgess.<sup>20</sup> The case was successful and one of the grounds of annulment was that the Dominican buildings had been destroyed long before the charter was drawn up. Witnesses were called to prove this, the most important being John Davidson, then minister of Hamilton, who in 1559 had been Principal of the College. Davidson said that he remembered seeing the Dominican friary pulled down on 29th June 1559.<sup>21</sup> Presum-

<sup>18</sup> *Wodrow Miscellany*, p. 57; John Lesley, *History of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1830), p. 273; Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 199; *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, ed. by J. Bain (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1898), Vol. 1 (1547-1563), p. 262 (hereafter Bain, CSP).

<sup>19</sup> For Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. John Stevenson, who died at the beginning of 1564, was an important man, being also Provost of Biggar, a former Rector of Glasgow University, and a Senator of the College of Justice; see McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 336; J. Durkan and A. Ross, *Early Scottish Libraries* (Glasgow: Burns, 1961), pp. 145-146; G. Brunton and D. Haig, *An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice* (Edinburgh: Thomas Clark, 1832), p. 96; D.E.R. Watt and A.L. Murray, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi Ad Annum 1638* (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 207, 445.

<sup>20</sup> Janet Foggie says that the correct date for the annulled charter is not 13<sup>th</sup> November (the date usually given) but 13<sup>th</sup> December 1559; see J.P. Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: the Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 291.

<sup>21</sup> Sanderson, *A Kindly Place?*, p. 187. See also Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 229. Cowan and Easson mention the charter of November 1560 under the Glasgow Dominicans, but then get confused and mention it again under the Glasgow Franciscans, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, pp. 118, 131.

ably the Franciscan friary was pulled down on the same day. Davidson himself joined the Congregation somewhat abruptly during the summer of 1559, but whether before or after June 29th is not known. A letter written from Paris at the end of September by his former friend, Giovanni Ferreri, bemoans his defection from Romanism as an established fact.<sup>22</sup>

Probably it was the interiors and windows of the friaries that were destroyed, so that the friars could no longer use them, while the buildings themselves were largely intact. The Reformers on their brief visit did not have time to effect the complete destruction of robust stone buildings. An excavation of the Franciscan site in 2003 found a well cut eighteen feet into the ground: the upper part of the well-lining had been removed but the lower half survived, and amongst the rubble thrown into the well were fragments of stained-glass windows and carved masonry from the friary buildings.<sup>23</sup> The Dominican buildings partly survived the Reformation,<sup>24</sup> and the chancel of the Dominican church continued to be used for Protestant worship into the seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> The Franciscan church was still in existence in 1589 when the burgh council gave directions for its repair.<sup>26</sup>

In November 1559, or sometime afterwards, a royal gift of two barrels of herring was made to the Glasgow Franciscans. This has been interpreted as showing that their convent was still functioning, but similar royal gifts were made at that time to the Stirling and Edinburgh Franciscans, whose buildings had undoubtedly been destroyed.<sup>27</sup> The main

<sup>22</sup> Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 217; McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, pp. 330-331. Davidson was the author of *Ane Answer to the Compendius Tractive set furth [...] by Maister Quintine Kennedy* (1563) in *Wodrow Miscellany*, pp. 175-258.

<sup>23</sup> *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*, 4 (2003), 79. A picture of the excavated well appears in Baxter, *Tale of Two Towns*, p. 60.

<sup>24</sup> In February 1561/2, the 'place' of the (Black) friars in Glasgow was said to be 'undemolissit'; and in 1563 their manse and 'kirkroom' were still intact, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, Vol. 1, A.D. 1545-1569*, ed. by J. Hill Burton (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1877), p. 202; *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. by C. Innes, 4 vols (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1854), I, 68.

<sup>25</sup> Robertson, *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine*, pp. lxxvii-lxix; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, I, 347; McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 436.

<sup>26</sup> *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573-1642*, ed. by J.D. Marwick (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1876), p. 127.

<sup>27</sup> *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, Vol. XIX, A.D. 1557-1567* ed. by G.P. M'Neill (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1898), pp. 140, 142; Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 230; Moir Bryce, *Scottish Grey Friars*, I, 372.



purpose of these gifts was probably to alleviate the now genuine poverty of these friars.

The Cathedral and the other churches and chapels were presumably also reformed during Glencairn's visit on 29th June, but only superficially, and their valuables would have been successfully hidden from the Reformers. Roman Catholic worship was probably restored immediately the Reformers had gone.<sup>28</sup>

#### IV. THE PROTESTANT VISIT IN AUGUST 1559

On 6th August, after the truce or 'Appointment' of Leith, two of the lords of the Congregation, Argyll and Lord James Stewart (later Regent Moray) arranged a 'convention' in Glasgow with Glencairn, Boyd, Ochiltree, and others of Kyle 'for some order to be taken, that the brethren should not be oppressed.'<sup>29</sup> Argyll and Lord James were on their way to Argyll's seat in Inverary. The appointment of this meeting probably implies that the Glasgow Protestants were endeavouring to hold public worship but were being harassed by the (presumably stronger) Roman Catholic party. The intention was to intimidate the Roman Catholics so that they would leave the Protestants alone. Knox does not list Glasgow among the burghs where the ministry was 'established' and the 'sacraments rightly ministered' in his letter to Mrs Lock of 2nd September.<sup>30</sup> At that stage, the worship in the Cathedral was still Roman Catholic.

Of the early Glasgow Protestants, the only one that we can name with certainty is John Davidson, Principal of the University, mentioned above.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps the University building was the place of assembly for Protestant worship. What the friars did after the sacking of their buildings in June is unclear. There is no evidence that they tried to repair them. Of the fifteen or so Dominican friars connected with the Glasgow house in the later 1550s, three held office in the Reformed Church after 1560, but whether these three joined the Congregation in the summer of 1559, we do not

<sup>28</sup> There were 'more than half a dozen chapels' in Glasgow at the time, Baxter, *Tale of Two Towns*, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 207; Bain, CSP, nos. 515, 516. Argyll and Lord James were in Glasgow on 13th August, *ibid.*, no. 525; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558-59*, ed. by J. Stevenson (London: Longman, 1865), no. 1186 (hereafter Stevenson, CSP). They were in Inverary on 26th August, see *Campbell Letters, 1559-1583*, ed. by J.E.A. Dawson (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 62-3.

<sup>30</sup> John Knox, *Works*, 6 vols (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1846-1864), VI, 78.

<sup>31</sup> For John Davidson, see Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 216.

know.<sup>32</sup> Another Glasgow man who held office after the Reformation, as reader at St Mungo's from 1561, was Mr James Hamilton who had been a prebend of the College church.

## V. THE REFORMATION OF WORSHIP

The Protestant forces in Scotland dispersed in August and re-assembled in Stirling on 15th October. In the meantime time, the French had been fortifying Leith, and the young Earl of Arran had returned from France to Scotland early in September, joining the Protestants with great enthusiasm and persuading his father, the Duke of Chatelherault to support them as well. This accession made the Protestants the strongest political group in Scotland.

With Chatelherault's main residence at Hamilton, the Bishop's Palace at Glasgow became an obvious target for Protestants. There was an expectation that it might contain considerable wealth. On 12th October, Randolph, the English ambassador, reported from Hamilton that 'no money was found in the Bishop of Glasgow's coffers'. This suggests that the Bishop's Palace had recently been seized; and Randolph also says that the castle of the Archbishop of St Andrews was due to be seized that very day.<sup>33</sup>

Bishop Lesley states, however, that it was the following spring that Chatelherault, Arran, and Argyll visited Glasgow 'and caused take down the images and altars and intromitted with the bishop's castle and rents and put in certain gentlemen to keep the same'.<sup>34</sup> This statement has put a number of historians wrong.<sup>35</sup> Lesley was certainly mistaken about the

<sup>32</sup> The fifteen Dominican friars were Robert Aitken, James Carruthers, Simon Cornwall, David Dawson, George Denewell, James Fodringham, John Fortune, Mark Hamilton, John Hunter, John Johnstone, John Law, Andrew Leitch, John Macknesthe, John Meek, and George Orwell; Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, Appendix 3, pp. 255-322. Of these, Carruthers became a reader at Eastwood; Fodringham (Fothrington) an exhorter at Covington; and Law a chaplain; see C.H. Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574* (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 259, 272.

<sup>33</sup> Stevenson, CSP, no. 76 (3), Randolph to Sadler and Croft.

<sup>34</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, p. 281.

<sup>35</sup> Durkan and Kirk (*The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, p. 231) place Chatelherault's arrival in Glasgow in January 1559/60 and McRoberts (*Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 436) and Hay Fleming in March; see D. Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), pp. 390-1. In his more detailed account of Reformation events, however, Hay Fleming shows that Glasgow was in the hands of the Reformers long before

dating because on 5th February 1559/60, about a month before Lesley's date, Archbishop Beaton complains in a deposition to de la Brosse and d'Oysel that his Palace had already been seized by Chatelherault and the fittings removed, and that he had not enjoyed the use of it since the previous Whitsun (14th May).<sup>36</sup> Different dates have been suggested for the seizing of the Palace, but the beginning of October is by far the most likely. An obvious occupation for the Protestant forces while they were assembling for the rendezvous at Stirling was to take possession of the Bishop's Palace in Glasgow.

The annual election of magistrates took place on the Tuesday after Michaelmas (29th September)<sup>37</sup> which in 1559 was the 3rd October, and this seems to have gone ahead much as normal except for the election of three baillies in place of the usual two. These were Master Adam Wallace (continuing from the previous year), John Mure, and James Fleming. John Mure had often been baillie, but this seems to have been the first time for James Fleming. For some reason, Adam Wallace is last mentioned as bailie on 13th December 1559, and James Law appears on 10th September 1560, so perhaps Wallace was taken ill.<sup>38</sup>

The Provost for 1559-60 was probably Andrew Hamilton of Cochnoct who had been Provost since 1551.<sup>39</sup> In February 1549/50 and February 1551/2, he was the Captain of Dumbarton Castle.<sup>40</sup> The other possibility is Robert Lindsay of Dunrod, who was Provost in 1560-61 and 1561-62.<sup>41</sup> Lindsay was present at the Reformation Parliament of August 1560, but the list of commissioners for the Parliament distinguishes him from the

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March; D. Hay Fleming, *The Scottish Reformation* (Edinburgh: Scottish Reformation Society, 1903), pp. 73, 81.

<sup>36</sup> 'Report by de la Brosse and d'Oysel on conditions in Scotland, 1559-1560', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society, Volume 9*, ed. by G. Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1958), pp. 85-125 (p. 102). We are presuming that the house ('maison') to which Beaton refers was his palace rather than his hunting lodge at Lochwood, Easterhouse. Both buildings had been seized by Chatelherault; see R. Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, 3 vols (Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1844-1850), I, 8.

<sup>37</sup> *Glasgow Charters*, Part 2, p. 119.

<sup>38</sup> *Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow*, ed. by R. Renwick, 11 vols (Glasgow: Carson & Nicol, 1894-1900), II, 71, 72, 74, 90.

<sup>39</sup> McGrath, 'The Administration of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1574-1586', Appendix 1.1.

<sup>40</sup> *Glasgow Protocols*, I, 9, 40.

<sup>41</sup> *Glasgow Charters*, Part 2, p. 127; *Glasgow Protocols*, III, 20.

(unnamed) 'Commissaries of Burrois' which suggests that he was present in his own right rather than as Provost of Glasgow.<sup>42</sup>

The seizing of the Bishop's Palace in October was probably accompanied by the reformation of worship in the Cathedral. What the view of the Glasgow magistrates was on this is unknown. In Ayr, Dundee, and Aberdeen it was the magistrates who introduced Protestant worship in the parish church, but the situation in Glasgow was complicated by the fact that St Mungo's was a cathedral. In any event, it is certain that Protestant worship was introduced by November 1559, when Chatelherault, Argyll, and Glencairn took up permanent residence in the burgh after their flight from Edinburgh on 6th November. It was agreed that they should go to Glasgow, and Arran and Lord James to St Andrews.<sup>43</sup> Glasgow became the centre of the rival Protestant administration set up by the lords of the Congregation of which Chatelherault was the head. Chatelherault was in Glasgow by the 29th November and Glencairn by 13th December.<sup>44</sup> By 24th December, Glasgow was listed by the Reformers as one of the twenty-two burghs which had declared support for the Congregation.<sup>45</sup> Presumably this decision had been made either by the magistrates or by the burgh council.

## VI. THOMAS RANDOLPH'S LETTERS

Further insight into the situation in Glasgow comes from letters from the English diplomat Thomas Randolph, who was based in Glasgow from 25th December 1559 through to the following March, probably staying in the Bishop's Palace. Chatelherault was usually in Glasgow, though he visited his residence at Hamilton from time to time. On 9th January an important French messenger named La Marque was apprehended just

<sup>42</sup> Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, I, 314-15; *The Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. by M.D. Young, 2 vols with continuous pagination (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992), II, 425. Gibson, who had access to records which have not survived, says that Lindsay of Dunrod was Provost in 1560, but which part of the year he is referring to is not clear; *Glasgow Charters*, Part 1, p. dcxxxiv; John Gibson, *History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Chapman & Duncan, 1777), p. 390; see also Renwick and others, *History of Glasgow*, I, 410.

<sup>43</sup> Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 276, 298.

<sup>44</sup> Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, I, 246-7; *Glasgow Protocols*, II, 74.

<sup>45</sup> Stevenson, *CSP*, no. 485.

north of Berwick and conveyed to Glasgow.<sup>46</sup> He was hoping to see the Queen Regent, but following an interview with Chatelherault, he was detained, presumably also in the Bishop's Palace. On Sabbath 14th January he was moved to Dumbarton Castle for safe-keeping. During his short time in Glasgow, La Marque had asked

to see the order of the common prayers which are the very same, or differ very little, from those in England. His devotion to them was so little, or his discretion so simple, that he stood whilst other men kneeled upon their knees, with his cap upon his head, looking upon the walls, which so much discontented the congregation that one came unto him and willed him to discover his head or return to his lodging.

La Marque, says Randolph, 'marvels that he finds neither altar nor image, candle nor surplice as he saw in the Queen of England's chapel'.<sup>47</sup> The place of worship was presumably St Mungo's, which had evidently been stripped of its Roman Catholic trappings. The worship was apparently daily, and perhaps conducted by John Davidson. The service-book may have been the 1552 Prayer-Book of Edward VI, somewhat modified along Genevan lines; or possibly copies of the 1556 Genevan Book of Common Order were available.

On 24th January, the lords of the Congregation in Glasgow sent a letter to the Earl of Erroll, stating their position and asking his support. This letter was soon afterwards included in the 'Inquiry' drawn up by de la Brosse and D'Oysel, assisted by Scottish lawyers, with a view to charging Chatelherault and Arran with treason.<sup>48</sup> The signatories of the Glasgow letter were Chatelherault, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Ruthven, Menteith, and Boyd.<sup>49</sup> The same day, they agreed to convene with their armed followers in Glasgow on the following Sabbath, proceeding to Stirling on the Monday to help their beleaguered companions in Fife.<sup>50</sup> Admiral Winter's English fleet had appeared in the Firth of Forth the previous day, however, and the French were in retreat, so their assistance was not needed. By

<sup>46</sup> 'Report by de la Brosse and D'Oysel on conditions in Scotland, 1559-1560', p. 95.

<sup>47</sup> Stevenson, *CSP*, no. 615; Bain, *CSP*, no. 616, p. 289.

<sup>48</sup> See T.M. Green, *Spiritual Jurisdiction in Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), pp. 17-21.

<sup>49</sup> 'Report by de la Brosse and D'Oysel on conditions in Scotland, 1559-1560', p. 97. Argyll has passed to his residence in Inverary on 12<sup>th</sup> January and was still there on 20<sup>th</sup> January, Stevenson, *CSP*, p. 301.

<sup>50</sup> Bain, *CSP*, pp. 298-299.

26th January, Chatelherault was in Linlithgow supervising the impounding of boats in the Firth of Forth to hinder the French withdrawal.<sup>51</sup>

During the French retreat from Fife, a number of prisoners were captured by the Protestants, one of whom was the important Andrew Oliphant, described as 'a faithful chaplain' to Archbishop Hamilton.<sup>52</sup> Oliphant had with him 'a bill of as many as the [Archbishop] had named to be saved from spoiling in Fife.'<sup>53</sup> He was sent to Glasgow for imprisonment. On 10th February, Chatelherault and Arran were at Hamilton and on 23rd February they visited Dumbarton with Argyll to inspect the castle there.<sup>54</sup>

## VII. THE FRENCH RAID OF MARCH 1559/60

On 18th March 1559/60 there was a bloody raid by the French soldiers on Glasgow, mainly with the aim of repossessing the Bishop's Palace.<sup>55</sup> According to Lesley, Archbishop Beaton accompanied the raid.<sup>56</sup> The Reformers were taken by surprise, and left Glasgow abruptly, with a small party to defend the Palace and to hold the bridge. The defenders were overrun, however, and those that would not renounce the Congregation were put to death, among them a son of the Earl of Glencairn. The brutal behaviour of the French during this raid did much to alienate support from the Queen Regent. On the departure of the French, the Reformers immediately returned to Glasgow, summoning the neutral lords to join them there on 26th March or at Linlithgow on 30th March.<sup>57</sup>

On 14th April 1560, the Prior of the Glasgow Dominicans, Andrew Leitch, celebrated Easter mass in Leith for the French soldiers during the

<sup>51</sup> Bain, *CSP*, p. 302 (Croft to Norfolk).

<sup>52</sup> Bain, *CSP*, p. 310.

<sup>53</sup> i.e., a list of the people whose estates were not to be plundered by the French. For Andrew Oliphant, see Knox, *Works*, I, 64; M.H.B. Sanderson, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c. 1494-1546* (Edinburgh: Donald, 2001), p. 105.

<sup>54</sup> Bain, *CSP*, pp. 313, 320.

<sup>55</sup> *Two Missions of Jacques De La Brosse*, ed. by G. Dickinson (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1942), pp. 83-7; Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland*, 3 vols (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1899-1911), II, 168; *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, ed. by T. Thomson (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1833), p. 56; *Wodrow Miscellany*, pp. 80-1; Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 311.

<sup>56</sup> Lesley, *History of Scotland*, p. 281.

<sup>57</sup> *State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, ed. by A. Clifford, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Constable, 1809), I, 713-714; Bain, *CSP*, pp. 340-341.

siege. By this time he was in the pay of Archbishop Beaton.<sup>58</sup> On 18th July 1560, after the death of the Queen Regent, Beaton left Scotland for Paris, where he lived until 1603.<sup>59</sup> At his departure, he took with him a number of important items from Glasgow, including the university mace, the valuables of the Cathedral with a silver statue of St Mungo, and a large number of charters which remained in the trunks in which they had been transported until the 1690s.<sup>60</sup>

It is a puzzle to know how Beaton had these items in his possession. Some writers think that he took them with him when he left Glasgow at the beginning of May 1559; but there was little indication of the violence to come at that stage, and he would have needed remarkable foresight (unless he took them everywhere with him which hardly seems likely).<sup>61</sup> Perhaps he went to Glasgow during the truce in September, but his deposition in February 1559/60 (referred to above) would suggest otherwise;<sup>62</sup> or perhaps the items were smuggled through to him in Dunbar or Leith.<sup>63</sup> The other possibility – and the one that seems most likely – is that these items were well hidden, probably shortly before Glencairn's raid in June, and remained undiscovered in spite of extensive Protestant searches. The Archbishop's deposition speaks of houses neighbouring his Palace being searched for his goods, which shows that the Protestants had not found

<sup>58</sup> John Lesley, *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem* ([Rotterdam: H. Goddaeus], 1675), p. 524; *Historie of Scotland [...] by Jhone Leslie [...] translated in Scottish by Father James Dalrymple*, ed. by E.G. Cody, 2 vols (Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh, 1888-1895), II, 436-7; McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 228; Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland*, p. 291.

<sup>59</sup> Bain, CSP, no. 876.

<sup>60</sup> *Munimenta*, III, 517, 523; J. Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 3 vols (Spottiswoode Society, Edinburgh, 1847-1851), III, 139; M. Dilworth, 'Archbishop James Beaton II: a career in Scotland and France', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 23 (1989), 301-316 (see pp. 311-3); *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, ed. by J. Stuart, 5 vols (Aberdeen, 1841-1852), II, 369, 370, 374.

<sup>61</sup> D. McRoberts, 'The Scottish Catholic Archives, 1560-1978', *Innes Review*, 28:2 (1977), p. 62; M. Dilworth, 'Archbishop James Beaton II: a career in Scotland and France', p. 303.

<sup>62</sup> John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who had also been with the Queen Regent in Dunbar, visited Hamilton and Paisley at the end of September 1559; Dickinson, *John Knox's History*, I, 199; *The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine*, ed. by A.I. Cameron (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1927), pp. 424, 426.

<sup>63</sup> Renwick *et al.* suggest that the transmission of these items to Leith or Dunbar was via Blackness castle, *History of Glasgow*, I, 408.

everything in the Palace that they were expecting.<sup>64</sup> If this supposition is correct then the Archbishop's purpose in accompanying the French raid in March was to recover these items from their hiding-place in order to take them to Leith.<sup>65</sup>

The mace was returned to the University in 1590, but the valuables and the charters continued in France until the Revolution of 1790 when most of them disappeared, although some of the charters had been copied by then.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the Glasgow friaries were reformed on 29th June 1559, and that Protestant worship was permanently introduced in the Cathedral probably in October, and certainly by November, 1559. The first of these changes required external force, but the second one may have been a regular decision of the magistrates or may have been imposed on the burgh by the lords of the Congregation. By December 1559, however, the burgh had at least acquiesced in the adoption of Protestantism. In July 1560, the Commission of Burghs appointed John Willock as Superintendent for Glasgow, and by 10th October 1560, he was living in the Dean's Manse to the south-east of the Cathedral.<sup>66</sup> He presumably acted as minister in Glasgow at first, and it is likely that John Davidson did the same. Both are recorded in that capacity in February 1561/2.<sup>67</sup> In 1561, the reader in the Cathedral was James Hamilton, mentioned above,<sup>68</sup> and David Wemyss was also appointed minister, probably in 1562.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> 'Report by de la Brosse and d'Oysel on conditions in Scotland, 1559-1560', p. 102.

<sup>65</sup> For the subsequent history of the archives, see G.G. Simpson and B. Webster, 'The archives of the medieval church of Glasgow: an introductory survey', *The Bibliotheca*, 3 (1962), 195-201. One of the items has entries as late as 1570 and must have remained in Scotland for a time after the Reformation, presumably with Beaton's Chamberlain, Thomas Archibald (p. 197).

<sup>66</sup> See letters from Thomas Archibald to Beaton, Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, III, 7n, 10; Duncan Shaw, 'John Willock', in *Reformation and Revolution*, ed. by D. Shaw (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1967), pp. 42-69 (p. 61). For a conjectural plan of the pre-Reformation precinct of the Cathedral, see Baxter, *Tale of Two Towns*, p. 61.

<sup>67</sup> *Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles, A.D. 1165-1710*, ed. by W. Chambers (Scottish Burgh Record Society, Edinburgh, 1872), p. 275; J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), p. 103.

<sup>68</sup> *Accounts of Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572*, ed. by G. Donaldson (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1949), p. 92.

<sup>69</sup> Durkan and Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577*, pp. 231-2.



Apart from their intrinsic interest, one of the motives behind 'local studies' of the Reformation is to determine the popularity or otherwise of Protestantism in lowland Scotland. The evidence of this paper would be consistent with a popular Protestantism in Glasgow, held in check by the Roman Catholic strength at the Cathedral; but it would also be consistent with a general lukewarmness in Glasgow requiring the presence of the Congregation to goad it into active support for Protestantism. One Roman Catholic historian asserts that the majority were 'still Catholic' in Glasgow in August 1560 but we have seen nothing to confirm this claim.<sup>70</sup>

The Reformation was a highly significant event for Glasgow. The destruction of the friaries, the reforming of the churches, the permanent exile of the Archbishop, the banishing of the priests,<sup>71</sup> and the establishment of Protestant worship changed the whole face of a town of 4,500 people.

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<sup>70</sup> McRoberts, *Essays on the Scottish Reformation*, p. 436. For Gordon Donaldson's response to McRoberts' claim that the vicars choral of St Mungo's repaired the altar of the Name of Jesus in August 1560 (*ibid.*, p. 437), see J. Kirk, *Her Majesty's Historiographer Gordon Donaldson, 1913-1993* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1996), pp. 102-3. McRoberts' claim certainly looks implausible in the light of what we have presented above.

<sup>71</sup> 'All the poor priests that will not recant are banished the town'; Keith, *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, III, 7n.