

THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.


Volume One
TEXT
The
OFFICERS OF ARMS
and
HERALDIC ART
under
KING JAMES
Sixth & First
1567 - 1625
CHARLES JOHN BURNETT
Ross Herald
EX BIBL UNIV. EDINBURGEN
Thesis submitted for
the degree of M.Litt. in the
University of Edinburgh
October 1991

Volume One - Text

CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Notes and Abbreviations	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
Footnotes	
CHAPTER ONE - THE HERALDIC EXECUTIVE	7
Footnotes	41
CHAPTER TWO - PATRONS OF HERALDRY	46
Footnotes	95
CHAPTER THREE-THE HERALDIC CRAFTSMEN	99
Footnotes	132
CONCLUSION - THE USE OF HERALDRY	152
Footnotes	
Appendix One	154
Appendix Two	249
Appendix Three	260
Appendix Four	288
Bibliography	

This thesis,"The Officers of Arms and Heraldic Art under King James Sixth and First" is contained in two volumes comprising text and plates.
The chapters in volume one deal in turn with the composition of the heraldic executive, the duties undertaken by the Officers, the heraldic records kept by them, and the painters who were attached to the Office of Arms.The chapter is divided into three time-periods and for each a detailed account of the duties of the Lyon King of Arms is given, along with the activities of certain Officers. The existing Armorial Manuscripts for each of the three periods are also considered, along with a summation of the knowledge that Officers possessed of the science of heraldry during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. An appendix gives biographical details of all known Officers of Arms from the period 1567 to 1625.

The second chapter considers some of the individual and corporate patrons who commissioned heraldic art during the reign. A comprehensive list is not attempted, instead representative patrons from different social groups are featured along with representative corporate bodies. The influence of the Officers of Arms on the patronage is suggested, particularly with respect to royal and state heraldry. The legacy of the leading heraldic patron, the Earl of Dunfermline, is treated in detail. Additional biographical notes on certain patrons are provided in an appendix.

The next group to be considered are the craftsmen. These are looked at by specialities and include goldsmiths, painters, and masons. Examples of their work are featured and discussed in order to show the range of heraldic art being undertaken during the reign of King James VI and I. Individual information on known craftsmen is given in an appendix, and specific examples of heraldic art by unknown craftsmen are included in the general survey.

The final chapter summarises the reasons for using personal and corporate heraldry, looks at the distribution of the Officers of Arms, and shows the correlation between Officer location and the distribution of heraldic art in Scotland. The impact of religious training on a specific group of patrons is mentioned. The influence of patrons on craftsmen, coupled with consideration of continental art styles and their impact on the decorative vocabulary leads to recognition of a native decorative style.The characteristics of the style are listed with reference to extant examples. Finally a few comments are made on the many examples of heraldic art which have been lost since 1625. A distribution map and list constitutes the final appendix.

The second volume consists of Plates showing examples of heraldic art in the many forms created during the reign. The Plates are grouped to correspond to each chapter subject in volume one.

All dates are given with the new year commencing on 1 January.

T.A.	Treasurers Accounts, Scottish Record Office, 1580-1625, MS.E21/61-E21/92.
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland :
	Sir David Lindsay's Collectanea 31.3.20.
	Office of a Herald 31.7.22.
	Fife Families 34.6.24.
A.B.A.	Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624, Edinburgh, 1937.
A.P.S.	Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1567-1592, Volume 3, Edinburgh 1814.
B.G.B.G.	The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1573-1750, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1925.
E.B.R.	Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1589-1603, and 1604-1626, Edinburgh, 1927 and 1931.
E.R.S.	The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1557-1594 Volumes 19-22, Edinburgh.
R.B.S.	Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1510-1666, Glasgow, 1887.
R.E.B.	Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1406-1700, Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1929.
R.G.S.S.	Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1593-1608, Volume 5, Edinburgh, 1880.
R.P.C.S.	Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1627, Volumes 1-14, Second Series,Volume 1, Edinburgh.
R.P.S.S.	Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland,1556-1584, Volumes 5-8, Edinburgh.
T.A.Vol.	Accounts of the Treasurer of Scotland, 1566-1580, Volumes 12 and 13, Edinburgh.

This thesis is the result of an interest in heraldry which was introduced to the writer, many years ago, by the late Fenton Wyness of Aberdeen. The knowledge, and resulting personal ramifications, inspired by his enthusiasm warrants sincere personal gratitude. Other individuals have also willingly given of their time, and their assistance cannot be adequately recorded by a simple expression of thanks. I am particularly indebted to The Reverend Doctor H P R Mackay, to The Very Reverend Doctor Duncan Shaw, to Sir Malcolm R Innes of Edingight KCVO.The Right Honourable The Lord Lyon King of Arms, and to the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland who have allowed time for study and given financial help. For their advice,patience and expertise I wish to acknowledge my debt to Professor G W S Barrow and

Mr John Higgitt of the University of Edinburgh who acted as my supervisors for this thesis. Mr J E D Touche kindly allowed me to make notes from his unpublished manuscript, ***The Worthies & The Regalia, A Linked Chain of Plaster Ceilings, 1599–1665,*** and I am most grateful for his permission to do so. Mr R Poole assisted with details of the Collairnie Castle ceilings which are his special interest and I am also in his debt.

Finally to the one most personally involved, my wife Aileen, who has suffered neglect but provided constant support and encouragement, I express deep appreciation for her unselfish patience.

INTRODUCTION

"The Scots for some reason have proved themselves excellent heraldic designers.Their craftsmen not only in wood but in stone have entered into the spirit of this branch of art with zest,and many fine coats-of-arms set off otherwise simple and unadorned fittings and buildings"

(Ian Finlay, Scottish Crafts, 1948, p.53)

The decorative use of heraldry in Scotland during the reign of King James VI and I took place within a historical context subject to diverse conditions.The reign covers a period of great change in Scotland. It began with many medieval institutions still functioning, especially those of royal government and ecclesiastical authority. By the end of the reign royal control was exercised in absentia through a combination of Privy Council and Parliament. The church of Rome had been superseded by the Protestant faith with the wealth and property of the former mainly in the hands of a newly ennobled group.

The reign also began in civil war. It ended in peace after enjoying almost twenty-five years of comparative calm which allowed trade, agricultural production, and the number of people to flourish and increase. Although there were periods of financial crisis, money gradually became more available for architectural improvement and the purchase of goods. The latter were either manufactured under standards imposed by guilds of craftsmen, or imported. Traditional trading links with Scandinavia, the Low Countries and France were maintained and in their wake arrived artistic trends which had a profound effect on the native art of Scotland. Gradually after 1603 an English dimension entered Scottish life in a way which had never before been sought or encouraged.

Armorial ensigns were displayed in many forms throughout the reign. Certain armigers did so more than others, but there were no patrons wielding influence on a scale to compare with the Medici family in Florence or the family of de Gruuthuse in Bruges. These great families were in the forefront of encouraging developments in the field of fine, and decorative art. Their inspiration to do so was the Renaissance, the reconsideration of classical ideals which marked a break from medieval thought. The development of the Renaissance artistic style

had its effect on Scottish decorative art, and heraldry was not immune to its influence.

There were two particular effects. Initially in Italy, then in France, heraldic devices were superseded as decorative elements by classical motifs, especially in architecture, and armorials were relegated to a secondary role. Secondly, when employed, the style of rendering charges was quite different. The medieval artist before c 1550 emphasised the individual characteristics of say, a lion, by concentrating on the physical properties which make it fierce - teeth, claws, and aggressive posture. The body of the lion became minimal, a mere connection for the head, claws and swishing tail. The new realism of the Renaissance emphasised the noble aspect of the lion by filling out the body, making limbs, head, and tail in true proportion to nature, and by softening the exaggerated fierceness of expression. Realism in heraldic art led to loss of visual impact which was to have a long term effect on the use of heraldry throughout Italy and France.

Scotland did not receive the knowledge and understanding of the Italian Renaissance at first hand but a brief taste of the French development of the new style. By the reign of King James VI, Scotland was exposed to the Low Countries version of the Renaissance style and this was to prove a potent force.

To these trends in style were added religious and social change."So heavy were the losses sustained by the nobility at Flodden in 1513 that from that time the balance of power passed into the hands of the Church.This position of influence the Church made use of to encourage the previous sovereign, James V, in his adhesion to the French Alliance and the Catholic religion. As time went on, however, the popular revolt against the abuses and exactions of the Church was reinforced by a growing recognition of the fact that England, rather than France, was designed by nature to be Scotland's ally" [1]. Reform in religion took place with a subsequent re-allocation of wealth from the ecclesiastical authorities to both Crown and laity. A minimum of forty-two former Catholic foundations with their accumulated wealth and property were transferred to Lay Commendators between 1567 and 1587 [2]. Three important heraldic patrons were Commendators. George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, had a grant of the Abbey of Dunfermline on 26 May 1587, John Erskine, Earl of Mar and Regent of

Prior and then
Scotland, was Commendator of Inchmahome Priory, and Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, was granted the Priory of Pluscarden in 1587.

After 1587 the more stable conditions of the country led to a greater individual prosperity amongst a wider section of the population. This was particularly marked in towns where the burgesses rose to positions of civic authority through a combination of personal wealth and monopolist practices. The desire to improve living conditions by those who could afford to do so led to a dramatic increase in building work. Tower houses were constructed, older buildings were given comfortable extensions (often called "palaces"), and burgh councils provided themselves with a suitable structure to fulfil civic requirements. At least four hundred and thirteen castles were constructed or improved, eighteen tolbooths erected and three brand new churches built along with many substantial dwellings in the larger burghs.[3]. The owners of these buildings usually identified them with armorial bearings or initials, along with the date of construction. Often a combination of all three are present.

The distribution of patronage reflects the areas of wealth in Jacobean Scotland. Wealth was based on land ownership or commerce. The richest land is found on the East coast, the greatest commercial activity was to and from the East coast. Edinburgh was the wealthiest urban centre. It was the burgh which could sustain large numbers of craftsmen, though Aberdeen and its hinterland also provided many opportunities for creative output. Although the King's departure from Scotland in 1603 affected craftsmen in Edinburgh, it had little effect on the pace of building throughout other parts of the realm.

All the architectural activity gave employment to masons and carvers, but interiors also required to be finished. Furniture and panelling allowed woodworkers to exercise skill and imagination to varying degrees. Buildings with wooden ceilings had large surface areas which could be enhanced with tempera paint. The quantity of tempera painting alone makes it a striking feature of Scottish culture and seems also specific to Scotland.[4]. After 1600 decorative plasterwork became fashionable.

The bulk of heraldic art extant from the period was executed by now anonymous craftsmen. They could not have existed in large numbers. This is

confirmed by the number of craftsmen whose names are known. Apted and Hannabuss [5] identified fifty-four painters during the reign, of whom nineteen are known to have undertaken armorial work. Of the nineteen, one lived in Ayr, two in Glasgow, three in Aberdeen, and the remaining thirteen in Edinburgh. Similarly the seventeen goldsmiths who undertook work incorporating heraldry, were all based in Edinburgh [6]. The poor standing of Glasgow as a centre for craftsmanship in silver is shown by the fact that between 1573 and 1625 there were only two burgess goldsmiths [7].

The number of mason carvers capable of producing work of high quality was also small. Enough evidence remains to name three family groups and one individual - the Leipers and Bells in Aberdeenshire, the Mylnes originally from Angus, and William Wallace in Edinburgh.

The first-class craftspeople were well known in their lifetime.The calligrapher,Elspeth Inglis, was acknowledged as the finest writer in Scotland [8]. John Anderson, the Aberdeen decorative painter, was summoned south to Edinburgh in 1617 when a special need arose prior to the Royal Visit by the sovereign.[9]. John Mylne was called from Perth by the Edinburgh Town Council to complete work begun by another carver who had died suddenly.[10].

We will never discover the full extent of fine craftsmanship, particularly in precious metals, but sufficient examples remain to claim that James Gray was the foremost goldsmith of the period. The finest and most imaginative heraldic stone carving was executed in Aberdeenshire and the leading painter/draughtsman was Walter Binning of Edinburgh.

One basic point must be kept in mind. Unlike the Victorian era when craft specialisation was at its height,"the old artist in Scotland, as in many other countries, did not follow his art in the distinct form in which it came to be recognised at a later and in our present time. He might paint a portrait, coat of arms, or altar-piece, or decorate and gild a wall or ceiling." [11]. John Anderson was a house painter, marbeller and heraldic artist. James Gray was described as a goldsmith, but he was also an heraldic engraver and die sinker. John Mylne was a bridge builder, mason and sculptor. As a result of this variety the quality of Scottish heraldic art never developed the degree of sophistication found

elsewhere in northern Europe. It does however contain a direct boldness of form which suits the character of the people and the geographical location. When this boldness is coupled with imagination then the result can be striking and has resulted in a distinctive style peculiar to Scotland.

The political and social changes between 1567 and 1625 impinged on those responsible for conducting heraldic affairs within the kingdom. They experienced a downgrading of their status but conversely the changes enabled the production of heraldic art to increase. By creating a large number of peers the King also extended the need for newly acquired social position to be expressed in heraldic terms. The Officers of Arms provided the basic armorial devices which were then interpreted in a variety of materials by local craftsmen. It is no accident that those areas of Scotland which are richly endowed with examples of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century heraldry are known to have had resident heralds and pursuivants. The bulk of these were based on the east coast with their influence extending from east Lothian to the Orkneys. By contrast the Highlands and Islands are almost devoid of heraldic art from the period.

This thesis will commence with consideration of the duties undertaken by the Officers of Arms to ascertain their part in the decorative use of heraldry. A cross section of patronage will be featured to show which individuals and corporate bodies commissioned armorial work, and the craftsmen responsible for that work will be discussed. From a survey of heraldic art executed in a variety of media, a conclusion will be drawn to determine the purpose and use of heraldry under King James VI and I.

FOOTNOTES - Introduction

1. Warrack, 1920, p.64.
2. A comprehensive list of foundations and their lay commendators is found in The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, second series, Volume 1, 1889, pp.cxviii - cxlvii.
3. Figures based on lists drawn up by MacGibbon & Ross, 1892, Volume IV, pp.597 - 603.
4. MacMillan, 1990, p.56.
5. Painters in Scotland 1301 - 1700, Edinburgh, 1978.
6. Statement derived from study of Anderson, 1925, Watson, 1929, Pryde,1937, and James, 1981.
7. Anderson,1925.
8. Laing, 1866, p.288.
9. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.23.
10 Mylne, 1893, p.105.
11. Brydall, 1889, p.16.

CHAPTER ONE - THE HERALDIC EXECUTIVE

Numeral after individual name refers to Appendix One and Chart.

"this present act gevis and grantis full power and commissioun to lyoun king of armes and his brether herauldis To visite the haill armes of noblemen baronis and gentlemen borne and usit within this realme And to distinguische and discerne thame with congruent differences and thaireftir to matriculat thame in thair buikis and Registeris..."

(A.P.S.Volume III, p.554,555, 1592, c.29.)

The control of armory and the granting of armorial devices are basic requirements for the art and use of heraldry. This chapter will consider those who constituted the heraldic executive during the period. I shall investigate their duties by looking in detail at the careers of certain individual officers of arms and draw conclusions on the influence they had on armorial art.

During the sixteenth century directives from the Crown or Privy Council were addressed to "Lyon and his brethir herauldis", an indication of the collective nature of the Office of Arms. Lyon King of Arms was the principal officer who, in the place of, and in the name of, the sovereign, granted arms to individuals and controlled the management of heraldry in Scotland. His status ensured immediate knighthood on appointment and he was paid £40 per year from 1565 until 1617.[1] Lyon's title comes from the main charge of the Royal Arms of Scotland, a lion rampant.A Lyon was inaugurated with the rank of knight at Arbroath Abbey in 1318 but the first official record begins in 1399. Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie [1], the first Lyon of King James' reign, was the tenth person to hold the office.[2]

Lyon's six brother heralds were each paid £20 annually,[3] one acted as deputy to Lyon and another was responsible for keeping the heraldic books and records.[4] The latter is referred, in contemporary records, as the Clerk of the Office of Arms.[5] The heralds bore official titles taken from armorial subjects or Crown lands and are as follows:

ALBANY HERALD

Office instituted after the creation of Robert Stewart, son of King Robert II, as Duke of Albany on 28 April 1398. Albany is the ancient name for that part of Scotland north of the river Forth. The heraldic title is first mentioned in the account of a diplomatic mission from Scotland to England in 1401. Alexander Oliphant [14] was the fifth holder of the title.[6]

MARCHMONT HERALD

Title derived from the royal castle of Marchmont, near Roxburgh, and first recorded in 1438. Adam McCulloch [8] was the fourth person to bear the title.[7]

SNOWDOUN HERALD

Snowdoun was the name given to part of Stirling Castle. The word is derived from the Cymric, meaning a strong point at the bend of a river. The heraldic title came into use by 1448 and Alexander Guthrie [24] was the sixth to bear the title.[8]

ROSS HERALD

This title is derived from the ancient Earldom of Ross and is first used in 1476. The Earldom reverted to the Crown and was conferred on James Stewart, second son of King James III on 28 January 1481. He was later elevated to Duke of Ross in 1488. Sir William Stewart [15] was the sixth person to hold the title.[9]

ROTHESAY HERALD

First mentioned in 1479 this title is derived from the Dukedom of Rothesay conferred on the heir to the Scottish throne since 28 April 1398. John Forman [18] was fifth to bear the title.[10]

ISLAY HERALD

The office appears in 1493 but may be the same as Aliszai which was used in 1426. Islay was the stronghold of the Lord of the Isles whose influence diminished during the reign of King James III. Peter Thomson [9] was the fifth person to hold the title.[11]

Apart from these regular appointments there was also one extraordinary herald's title used during the reign:

ORKNEY HERALD EXTRAORDINARY

The Orkney and Shetland islands were incorporated with the realm of Scotland by King James III in lieu of an unpaid dowry for his wife, Margaret of Denmark. The heraldic title of Orkney was given to James Maxwell at an unknown date before being granted to Adam McCulloch [8] on his reinstatement as an officer of arms on 12 May 1581.[12]

The heralds had in turn assistants or followers, called pursuivants, also six in number who were paid a yearly fee of £10. At least one of the pursuivants was allocated to the Treasury for the purpose of ensuring payment of royal revenue.[13] The pursuivants also have official titles:

CARRICK PURSUIVANT

This is the oldest heraldic title in Scotland, first mentioned in 1364. Derived from the Earldom of Carrick, held by Robert the Bruce before his succession to the Crown. Alexander Forrester [10] was the sixth known holder of the title.[14]

UNICORN PURSUIVANT

Title created after 1381, the first record of a holder being 1426. It is derived from the mythological beast adopted as a Scottish Royal Badge and which is used to support the Royal Arms of Scotland. The first visual record of unicorn supporters in Scotland can be seen in a manuscript owned by Edinburgh University (Ms.195), ***The Works of Virgil,*** which was written before the third quarter of the 15th century.[15] William Hardy [5] was the eighth holder of the title.[16]

DINGWALL PURSUIVANT

Dingwall was the northern seat of the Earls of Ross and the name of the burgh was first used as a heraldic title in 1460. John Brown [20] was the fifth known person to hold the title.[17]

BUTE PURSUIVANT

Office first mentioned in 1488. The title is derived from the island of Bute where the royal castle of Rothesay is situated. John Calder [11] was the fourth holder of the title.[18]

KINTYRE PURSUIVANT

Another title associated with territory formerly controlled by the Lord of the Isles. It is mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1494 and James Purdy of Kinaldy [22] was the fifth person to hold the title.[19]

ORMONDE PURSUIVANT

This title was probably instituted after the creation of James Stewart, second son of King James III, as Duke of Ross and Marquess of Ormonde on 20 January 1488. The first recorded use is in 1501, Martin Uddart [6] was the third holder of the title.[20]

There were two extraordinary pursuivant titles used during the period:

ETTRICK PURSUIVANT EXTRAORDINARY

Thomas Barry [23] appears to have been using this title when he was deprived of office by Parliament on 28 August 1571. The title refers to the area in which Barry operated as an officer of arms.[21]

LINLITHGOW PURSUIVANT EXTRAORDINARY

Title derived from the royal palace in west Lothian. Gilbert Guthrie [27] was the first to be given the title in 1572.[22]

In addition to their annual fee, heralds and pursuivants were paid for each official duty. Depending on what this entailed, expenses were also given.[23]
The duties which involved the officers of arms can be listed as follows:

a.Attendance on the Sovereign at State occasions, including meetings of Parliament.
b.Granting arms to virtuous and well deserving persons.
c.Making official proclamations accompanied by a trumpeter in ordinary.
d.Undertaking diplomatic missions.

e.Serving writs of treason, and writs for criminal activity or debt.
f.Revenue collection.
g.Conveying official messages to and from Edinburgh.
h.Attendance at funerals of armigerous persons.

These activities will be considered in greater detail later in the chapter.The largest group attached to the Office of Arms were the messengers of arms whose total number fluctuated but never fell below seventy. They had no fixed annual salary but were paid separately for each duty.The messengers called the King's letters and orders, they also executed the process of the Supreme Courts.[24]

Two other groups closely involved with the Office of Arms, but not part of it, were the macers and trumpeters in ordinary.[See appendix one] In hierarchical descriptions of personnel the macers came between heralds and pursuivants with messengers and trumpeters following. The macers were four in number, each of whom was attached to a specific office - Royal Household, Privy Council, Parliament and the Court of Session. In each they preserved order and called witnesses to the last three.[25] In between ceremonial duties the macers undertook legal work, served writs and made minor proclamations.[26] There were four, and later five, trumpeters in ordinary who accompanied the officers of arms on duties which required public attention being drawn to their pronouncements. Heralds and pursuivants never carried or blew trumpets as part of their duties.

All these men could be instantly recognised when on duty by their distinctive dress or badges of office. Lyon, heralds and pursuivants wore a tabard of dalmatic form with attached sleeves. [Plate 1] Lyon bore on the front and back of his tabard a shield of the Royal Arms surmounted by an imperial crown. These were repeated on the sleeves. Heralds wore a similar coat but the shield of Arms on front and back was surmounted by the simple gold fillet of a duke as used at that time. The small shield was on the right sleeve only. Pursuivants wore a tabard with an unsurmounted shield of the Royal Arms on the left sleeve. After 1617 new tabards were issued bearing the quartered Arms of Great Britain, and rank was shown by materials of differing richness.[27] This was a practice adopted from south of the border. However as in so many things heraldic, Scotland was quite different from England and there is no

evidence that pursuivants wore their tabards in the sideways manner employed by the English. This fashion had the sleeves hanging over breast and back with the coat worn over the arms. When the tabard was inappropriate the officers wore an ***email*** or small metal shield of the Royal Arms on their person. This was the normal method of distinguishing a messenger of arms, their small badge being known at the time as a ***blasoun***. The messengers also carried a red painted staff while on duty.[28]

Macers, as their name indicates, were recognised by the ceremonial mace borne over their shoulder.They may have worn some form of official dress, decorated with a royal symbol, but the Treasurer's Accounts do not mention payments for providing suitable attire. However the trumpeters in ordinary did wear royal livery of red and yellow which was periodically renewed, along with their trumpet banners bearing the royal Arms.[29]

Lyon, heralds, pursuivants, and messengers were not all based in Edinburgh and not all were active on a daily basis. They lived in different parts of Scotland with the largest number situated in the central belt, including the borders, and along the east coast. One pursuivant was based in the south west around Ayr and there was another located in Orkney. To an extent their geographical location was echoed by the titles they bore, Carrick in the south west and Dingwall on Orkney, but this was not consistent practice. There was one herald in Moray, two in Aberdeenshire and several in Fife. Most officers of arms had to visit Edinburgh at some time each year and all did so when Parliament was in session. Parliament however did not always meet in Edinburgh.

Throughout the period there was a partisan quality to the appointments in the Office of Arms. With two exceptions the king of arms was drawn from the Fife family of Lindsay, and in Aberdeen the Guthries were heralds for four generations. Sons followed fathers, cousins, relations by marriage, and servants of influential men were duly admitted as officers. Several men began their career as a messenger of arms, then became an extraordinary pursuivant before promotion to pursuivant and finally herald.

All appointments were made by a royal warrant sealed either with the great or privy seal.[30] Officers of arms were originally constituted on some high religious festival, or at least on a Sunday, and this was the case with all the Lyon kings

during the reign of King James VI. Two of the Lyons were crowned with the imperial Crown of Scotland during a solemn ceremony which, if in accord with practice in France and England, involved knighthood, anointing on the head with wine from a golden goblet, the taking of an oath of office and being invested with tabard, baton and warrant of appointment. Heralds and pursuivants were also installed at a similar ceremony, conducted by Lyon, or his deputy, with wine again being used to baptise the individual with his new heraldic title.[31]

When the infant Prince James was crowned King of Scots on 29 July 1567 the current King of Arms was Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie. He had been appointed as a pursuivant sometime before 1540 as he was so described when promoted to Ross Herald on 15 November of that year. He became Lyon Depute in 1554 and was created Lyon in 1555 as successor to Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Sir Robert married Elizabeth Crichton (who died on 16 May 1549) and by her had a son John who became Rothesay Herald in 1568, and a daughter Margaret who married Harry Drummond.[32] He was an active officer who added to the corpus of heraldic records in Scotland by creating three rolls of arms and leaving a court book which contains the first recorded Scottish grant of Arms to a woman, Catherine Forbes, on 3 June 1561.[33]
He inherited the 1542 Armorial of his predeccessor and drew up his own roll of arms, consisting of 204 armorial bearings in 1565.[34] **Between 1563 and 1565 he produced a second roll containing 258 armorial bearings which is now in the National Library of Scotland.**[35] [Plate 2] Finally in 1566 he drew up a working armorial which remains in Lyon Office.[36] [Plate 3] The earliest surviving Letters Patent in Scotland were produced during his reign. On 6 February 1567 he granted Arms to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich [Plate 4] and three months later granted Arms to John, Lord Maxwell of Herries.[Plate 5] Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie was on duty at the Baptism of Prince James Charles in the Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle on 17 December 1566 where he proclaimed, "James by the grace of God, Lord of Renfrew and the Isles, Earle of Carricke, Ducke of Rothesay and Prince of Scotland" [37]

Seven months later he attended the Coronation of the Prince at Stirling on 29 July 1567.[38] During his reign two Royal Commissions were granted to

investigate the behaviour of heralds, macers, pursuivants, and messingers, an indication that his control over the officers was not as it should be.[39]
Sir Robert was probably on duty at the Parliament held in Edinburgh on 15 December 1567 but resigned later in the same month.[40]

The civil war at the beginning of the reign was a confusing time for the members of the Office of Arms. All had been appointed in the name of Mary Queen of Scots yet after her forced abdication, they received orders from her half brother the Regent Moray. The oath of office to the former Queen was not broken by three heralds, three pursuivants and a messenger who joined the Queen's supporters inside Edinburgh Castle. The officers concerned were, Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald,[8] Peter Thomson, Islay Herald,[9] John Forman, Rothesay Herald,[18] Alexander Forrester, Carrick Pursuivant,[10] Alexander McCulloch, Ormonde Pursuivant,[17] Thomas Barry,Pursuivant,[23] and William Barry, messenger. As a result they were all demitted from office by an act of Parliament.[41] Adam McCulloch and John Forman were later reinstated.

Sir Robert Forman's successor was also a victim of the uncertain loyalties of the time. William Stewart,[15] was Albany Herald in 1567 when he received £231 as expenses for a diplomatic mission to Norway, Denmark and Flanders.[42] This was possibly to arrange for the extradition of the Earl of Bothwell. He was abroad from October 1567 until January 1568 and on his return found that Lyon Sir Robert Forman had resigned. On 20 February Stewart was promoted to Lyon King of Arms.[43] He assumed the territorial designation "of Luthrie" in right of King James V's assigning to Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and his successors, four chalders and nine bolls of victuals from the land of Luthrie in Fife. Two days later he was inaugurated as Lyon in the Kirk of St.Giles, the Regent Moray being in the congregation.[44] On 9 June Sir William received additional expenses of £94 for his Scandinavian journey.[45] On 12 July Parliament met in Edinburgh and Sir William was probably present. There he may have been told of an intended conspiracy against the Regent Moray, but did not inform the Regent. The following month, on 20 August 1568, Sir William was put to the horn, arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.[46] David Lindsay of Rathillet was appointed Lyon in his place.[47] Sir William languished in prison for a year and wrote to the Regent on 5 August 1569 in an

attempt to prove his innocence.[48] If anything the letter reminded the Regent of his existence because later in the month he was conveyed to St Andrews and tried there "for certain crymes of witchecraft,negromancie and utheris crymes committit be him".[49] He was found guilty and burnt at the stake on 16 August 1569.[50]

Other officers of arms demonstrated the frailties of human nature by their behaviour. One murdered a brother officer after an argument, others attempted to defraud their brethren over fees, and at least two lost their temper with people whom they had to arrest. Their duties could also lead to physical injury and there are many instances of officers being deforced, even though the herald's person had been regarded as sacrosanct in former times.

As far as the heralds and pursuivants are concerned the reign of King James can be broken down to three phases ; 1567 to 1587 when the King took the government of Scotland into his own hands, 1587 until 1603, when King James travelled south to ascend the throne of England, and 1603 until 1625, the year of the King's death.

The realm was governed from Edinburgh in the south east of the country. There was no standing army or navy, no police force, no postal service and little communication between south east and north west. The country was divided into sheriffdoms, where each sheriff and local magnate were responsible for justice. Although the Reformation had taken place many former Catholic priests and diocesan officials were still administering the great estates and property which had accrued to the Church over the centuries. Urban centres were concentrated in the central belt and along the east coast. To rule such a country for the well being and good order of its lieges, information and civil discipline had to be provided. These were brought to the people through the agency of the officers of arms.

The first phase, 1567 to 1587, the period of Regents and caretaker administrations, kept the officers busy. Proclamations were made initially on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots asking the lieges to support her cause, then within days the same men were out informing the people that the infant heir had been crowned King in place of his mother. Proclamations always took place

at the mercat cross of a burgh [Plate 6], the officer in his tabard if a herald and wearing his *email* if a pursuivant. Each was accompanied by a trumpeter and a servant, both of whom would then sign the docket, as witnesses that the proclamation had been executed.[51]

Proof of official action was important in the Scottish legal system especially when treason was involved. Summons of treason were always served by a herald or pursuivant, again accompanied by a trumpeter with two messengers of arms as witnesses. This duty was frequent as each Regent consolidated his position. The first Regent, the Earl of Moray, felt particularly vulnerable as there was still considerable support for the deposed Queen. At meetings of Parliament the heralds, pursuivants and witnesses had to appear personally with their signed dockets to satisfy the Three Estates on the legality of the proceedings.[52]

Apart from treason, infringements of the law were treated in the following manner. Wrongful actions were brought to the notice of the Privy Council either by local sheriffs or messengers of arms. The individual was then put to the horn. This involved his name being proclaimed at the local mercat cross by a messenger who blew three blasts on a horn and then declared the individual to be a rebel. He, or she, was then liable for punishment, either imprisonment, confiscation of goods, or a fine. If the individual refused to appear before the Privy Council to answer the charges, their dwelling, goods, and possessions were poinded, the legal term for seizure and confiscation. Depending on the severity of the crime this final act was undertaken by an officer of arms. Armed with a warrant the officer would go to the individual's dwelling, knock six times, and fix a copy of the warrant on the front door. The warrant had a time limit and if the individual still refused to appear then seizure would take place. The system was open to abuse as the officer could then hold the goods until a fine had been paid and demand an additional personal payment before returning the property. As a result officers were not popular and were frequently attacked or deforced while on duty.[53] Heralds also had to demand the surrender of illegally held castles. This happened twice during the first phase. Dunbar Castle was held by supporters of the Earl of Bothwell and Dunbarton Castle was occupied by followers of the Queen. Heralds travelled to both on several occasions in an attempt to regain these strongholds. They also served papers on many

individuals who had to place themselves in ward at one of the two state prisons, Edinburgh Castle, or Blackness Castle on the river Forth.[54]

The lack of a postal service meant that the officers of arms, who moved about the country so frequently, often carried "clois letteris" or despatches for delivery to various magnates, sheriffs and ecclesiastics.[55]
They would then carry answers back to Edinburgh on their return journey. This was not the only service they provided. The main ports of Scotland were situated on the east coast with the bulk of the import and export trade passing through them. Harbour dues and custom duty were paid at each port and this money had to be delivered periodically to the Treasury in Edinburgh. The heralds and pursuivants acted as a security service by transporting the cash to Edinburgh.[56] This involved additional book keeping but they received additional fees. The pursuivants in waiting at the Treasury probably executed the bulk of the collection duties.

This kind of employment expanded when Parliament decided to tax a third of all annual revenue earned by the ecclesiastical authorities. Patrick Davidson [12] collected the tax in the north of Scotland, William Henderson [13] was the sub-collector for Orkney, James Purdy [22] collected in the Angus area, and Thomas Lindsay [25] was responsible for collection in Lothian.[57] In 1578 the coinage of the realm was revalued and this announcement was made by heralds wearing their tabards. Throughout the reign any proclamations concerning money were always executed by heralds in full panoply.

The foregoing legal and monetary duties were not mentioned in 1579 when Patrick Davidson and James Purdy listed their duties while submitting a tax exemption claim. They claimed exemption as special servants of the Crown and the Privy Council upheld their case.[58] As part of their argument they listed their duties as follows:

To be in attendance on the Sovereign at Parliaments and Conventions, formal entry of foreign ambassadors, dubbing or creation of knights, lords and earls, and to be at the sovereign's command to journey on diplomatic missions.

By 1579 the last duty had disappeared. Adam McCulloch [8] travelled to Berwick in March 1568 on a semi-diplomatic mission for the Regent Moray and this was to prove the last occasion a Scottish herald undertook such a journey. Davidson and Purdy made no mention of granting Arms or assisting the Lyon King in judicial cases concerning right to Arms. They presumably regarded both as so basic to their role that no mention was required.

However the surviving evidence indicates that the study and practice of armory figured largely in the life of the officers of arms. During the first phase four armorials and two documents were produced which are of interest from several points of view. They introduce us to the heraldic artists of the time, they indicate the interest taken in those who were entitled to bear Arms, and they demonstrate the activities of the officers.

ARMORIAL, pre 1580.[Plate 7] In possession of Mrs C M Kerr in 1891.
This contains 20 Arms of royal alliances, 22 Arms of earls, 22 Arms of lords, and 504 Arms of gentlemen.
ARMORIAL, c1565.[Plate 2] NLS Ms 31.4.2.
Associated with Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, this contains 19 royal effigies, 22 Arms of earls, 30 Arms of lords and 179 Arms of gentlemen.
HAMILTON ARMORIAL, c1565.[Plate 8] College of Arms,London.
The contents are 17 Arms of royal alliances, 6 Hamilton Arms, 22 Arms of earls, 30 Arms of lords, no other armigers.
FORMAN LYON OFFICE ARMORIAL, c1566.[Plate 3] Lyon Office Ms17.
The second of the armorials associated with Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie which contains the attributed Arms of the Nine Worthies,[59]
35 Arms of European rulers, 18 royal effigies, 5 Arms of royal princes,7 Arms of ancient earldoms, 11 Hamilton Arms, 21 Arms of earls with 5 later additions, 37 Arms of lords, 78 Arms of knights unpainted and added later, and approximately 500 Arms of gentlemen, many being later additions.
LETTERS PATENT, 6 February 1567.[Plate 4] In possession of B T R Balfour in 1891.
LETTERS PATENT, 2 April 1567.[Plate 5] In possession of H Maxwell Stuart in 1891.

Another armorial, of later date, must be included in this group on stylistic grounds:

HECTOR LE BRETON ARMORIAL, c1583.[Plate 9] College of Arms, London. This contains 17 royal effigies, 26 Arms of earls, 32 Arms of lords, and 358 Arms of gentlemen.

In the pre-1580 and Hamilton armorials with the Arms of royal alliances, these consist of the Royal Arms impaling the paternal Arms of the appropriate queen. They are shown on impaled lozenge shields,surmounted by a crown. The lozenge shape shield is the type reserved for women. The royal effigies in the other three armorials take the form of full length figures standing side by side on a green compartment.The king wears a tabard of the Royal Arms and holds a sword and sceptre. His consort holds a thistle and sceptre with the skirt of her dress emblazoned with her paternal Arms. The contents of the Forman Lyon Office Armorial have much in common with those of the 1542 Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount which was kept in turn by all the Lyon Kings.

The two Letters Patent consist of a block of text with a representation of the Arms shown below. As the first [Plate 4] is to a gentleman, not entitled to supporters, the painter has given the shield greater prominence by placing it within a garland of oak leaves, divided into four sections by three decorative elements. The garland was a typical motif of the Italian Renaissance style. The decorative elements however show the influence of

north European Renaissance style - two are based on strapwork, that at the bottom looks like a piece of jewellery. The painter could have seen garlands on contemporary furniture or on the ceiling of the King's Presence Chamber at Stirling Castle where a series of carved wooden heads contained within garlands had been in position since about 1541.[60] The second document [Plate 5] to a peer, has a full achievement of Arms with supporters standing on a compartment which also carries a motto ribbon.

Both documents have been executed by the same painter as the style of mantling and helmet are similar in both. These two features constitute the artistic hallmark of the painter concerned, and they also occur in the group of armorials. The mantling has a foliaceous quality with one smooth edge contrasting with a sinuous multicurved line. The helmet is either rendered as a bulbous pot or with eye slit protective bars given a snout-like appearance.

The style employed by the painter throughout the works has a fluid sketch-like quality. The drawing has been first executed with a pen, then coloured.[61] Without preliminary pencil drawing, the evident assurance of form, plus whimsical invention,[62] belie an initial impression of crudity.
The armorials and letters patent are the product of a skilled artist working with rapidity. Animal supporters are observed and stylised particularly well.
The finest examples which show the excellent drawing ability of the painter are two extant standards. Plates 10 and 11 feature the Cavers Standard, associated with Douglas of Cavers, hereditary sheriff of Roxburgh. Plate 12 shows the Marchmont Standard, associated with the Hume family. The two standards are identical in size and were originally about four metres long. The national symbol, the saltire, and the royal symbol, the lion, are the principal elements of the design in each case, with the personal identification of Douglas and Hume reduced to a minor role. This suggests each standard symbolises delegated royal authority related to control of the Borders area, which Douglas and Hume held on behalf of the Crown.

There were two heraldic painters at work in Edinburgh during this first phase. Both were members of the same family, the senior, Walter Binning, was the more prolific, the younger, Thomas Binning, also worked as a glazier.[Appendix Three, 1 and 6] I attribute all the foregoing work to Walter Binning. He is the only painter frequently mentioned in surviving documents,[63] and he was a supporter of the deposed Queen.[64] He must have known Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald and Lyon Clerk who, as mentioned, was demitted from office for supporting the Queen. McCulloch was responsible for issuing the two Letters Patent and Walter Binning was a suitable choice to execute the work. Lyon Sir Robert Forman had been an officer of arms since at least 1540, when Binning's name first appears in the records.He probably knew Binning's work well and commissioned the painter to produce his various armorials.

Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet [16] occupied the leonine office from the first phase of the reign into the second phase. He had been born about 1507 and was the youngest half-brother of Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. He was appointed Dingwall Pursuivant about 22 April 1545, promoted to Rothesay Herald in 1557 and further promoted to Lyon King on 13 September 1568.[65] Sir David's standing with the Regent and Privy Council is shown by a decision

made on 14 February 1569. That day the Privy Council appointed a committee to reason with the rebels in Edinburgh Castle with a view to pacification. One member of the committee was "Sir David Lindesay of Rathulet Knycht Lyon King of Armes and Provost of Cupar"[66] Two months later, Sir David drew up a list of all the officers of arms and messengers which he submitted to the Privy Council on 26 April. There were six heralds, six pursuivants, five macers, two pursuivants extraordinary, and seventy-six messengers of arms, a total of ninety-five men.[67] This was part of an attempt to reform the heraldic executive, ostensibly because the messengers of arms had been accused of "greit misordour and imperfectioun", but the list was probably also scrutinised to see who was loyal to the Regent.

Following the assassination of the Regent Moray in January 1570, and the appointment of the 4th Earl of Lennox as Regent, the relationship between the administration and certain members of the Office of Arms obviously changed. Seven officers sided with the supporters of the Queen inside Edinburgh Castle. Sir David would have been present at the Parliament held in Stirling which, on 28 August 1571, removed the seven men from office.
This was the Parliament which required the manufacture of alternative Honours of Scotland as the originals were within Edinburgh Castle.The goldsmith, Mungo Bradie, made a crown,sceptre and a handle for a sword of state. All were made of silver and then gilded.[68]

The attempted reform of the Office of Arms during 1569 could not have been successful as the Privy Council decreed on 20 January 1573 that Lyon hold an enquiry, on 1 April, into the malpractices by various officers. All of them, heralds, macers, pursuivants and messengers had to appear before Lyon bringing their warrants and protocol books for checking. If thought worthy, new credentials would be given to officers otherwise they would be deprived. A list of those selected would be fixed to the Tolbooth in Edinburgh for public information.[69] The malpractices of the messengers of arms were still prevalent in 1574 because the Treasurer instigated the holding of yet another enquiry. Privy Council decreed on 19 June that this would be held in Edinburgh on 1 October. Lyon and his brother heralds presumably conducted the enquiry as instructed.

However this did not improve matters in the long run because five years later Parliament passed an Act "For remedy of the fraud and disorder used by officers of arms in executing criminal letters"[71] After previous attempts to improve the actions of the officers the situation demanded parliamentary intervention. Lyon Sir David Lindsay and his brother heralds did not seem capable of controlling their officers.

In 1581 Lyon and his brother heralds were present in the Great Hall of Holyroodhouse during October for the creation of the Duke of Lennox and the Earls of Arran, Gowrie, Orkney and Morton. Various gentlemen were also knighted. Wooden stands were erected in the Great Hall for the occasion.[72] On the twenty-fourth of the same month Parliament opened in Edinburgh. During the course of business a Benefit of Pacification was given to John Forman [18] and Adam McCulloch [8] reinstating them both as officers of arms.[73]

The old problems with the messengers of arms surfaced again in 1585 by which time King James was taking an active part in the ruling of the realm. He and the Privy Council decreed on 10 February that Lyon and the Lyon Clerk, James Purdy, Islay Herald [21], had to deliver to the Treasurer within fifteen days, a list of all heralds, macers, pursuivants, extraordinaries and messengers; that all officials throughout the kingdom had to deliver to the Treasurer the names of all known to them who acted as messengers so that a check could be made; that proclamations be said in the chief burghs announcing that all calling themselves messengers had to hand in their names to the sheriff so that he could give the names to the Treasurer; and finally that proclamations be made informing the lieges with a complaint against any officer of arms to inform the Treasurer within fifteen days of the proclamation.[74] These detailed instructions were not apparently acted upon as a boy was paid in June 1586 to take "clois letteris" to Lyon and Lyon Clerk,[75] which resulted in messengers being sent out with instructions to sheriffs in the north east, central Lowlands and Perthshire to draw up a list of names of the officers of arms in their areas.[76]

These lists were submitted, and the findings caused the next Parliament held at Holyroodhouse on 8 July 1587 to pass an Act entitled "For reformatioun of the extraordinar nowmer and mony fauld abuses of officiaris of arms".[77] The Act mentions that the quality and number of messengers were detrimental, and that

in future there would be only two hundred officers of arms in the realm, including Lyon, his brother heralds, macers and pursuivants, who numbered seventeen.(This meant there would be one hundred and seventy three messengers, more than double the number listed by Lyon in April 1569). Lyon was instructed only to replace those found unsuitable by issuing documents to men whose names had been submitted by local sheriffs. Parliament also decreed that the one hundred and seventy three messengers
"have new blaissonis of silver in ane forme and qualitie in ane honest and cumlie forme". The same Parliament also strengthened the discipline of officers in attendance on the Three Estates in another Act, "Anent the Parliament", which listed penalties imposed on heralds, macers, pursuivants and trumpeters who absented themselves from meetings of parliament.[78]
The Act also mentions the Riding of Parliament for the first time by stating that all accompanying the King must do so "on horseback decently with foot mantles from His Highness' Palace to the Parliament House".

Sir David Lindsay was now very elderly and his last public duty took place on 8 June 1591 when he was present in Edinburgh at a meeting of the Privy Council attended by the King. He was there to hear complaints by five messengers of arms who claimed they had been wrongfully dismissed.[79]
By December of the same year Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet had died.[80]

The second phase of the reign, 1587 to 1603 was spent establishing regal authority by a process of tact and skilful politics. King James allowed the scars of civil war to heal and brought general peace to his subjects. No wars were fought with England, no combined martial schemes were undertaken with France. Indeed the reign of James saw the end of the old connections between Scotland and France as James positively wooed the English to ensure his eventual occupation of the throne of England. King James could not completely prevent all his nobles from continuing personal feuds, so summons of treason were still served and subjects were put to the horn by the officers of arms. It was the period of the King's marriage to a Danish princess which resulted in a succession of state occasions. The Queen's coronation in 1590, then the baptisms of Prince Henry in 1594, Princess Elizabeth in 1596, Prince Charles in 1600, and Prince Robert in 1601. The heralds and pursuivants were on duty on each

occasion, Lyon proclaimed the infant's titles and a herald threw largesse from the window of the Chapel Royal to the assembled lieges.[81]

The King also began to create more peers and knights. Through his reign James elevated two dukes, two marquesses, twenty seven earls, six viscounts and twenty nine lords, a total of sixty six Scottish peers. At their public elevation Lyon, heralds , and pursuivants were often in attendance. They received an appropiate fee from each candidate.

Another piece of state ceremonial which gained in prominence was the Riding of Parliament, a formal procession which marked the opening of a session of the Three Estates. The Riding was a deliberate public display so that all knew the legislative was meeting. There was nothing secretive about parliamentary business, once decisions had been made the heralds quickly proclaimed what they were, and later in the reign they distributed printed copies of the Acts of Parliament. The Honours of Scotland were always carried in the procession as their presence was a vital and necessary part of the ensu ing parliamentary procedure. Lyon and the heralds helped to marshal the procession and took their allotted places on the ride from the Palace of Holyroodhouse [Plate 13] up the Canongate, through the Netherbow Port, and along the High Street to the Tolbooth [Plate 6] where the meetings were held.

The Honours were carried into the meeting chamber before the sovereign and laid on a table covered with a cloth of gold. This stood before the throne occupied by the King until 1603 and thereafter by the King's Lord High Commissioner. Lyon was responsible for reading and checking the attendance role to ensure that all the parliamentary commissioners from each Estate were present. The heralds and pursuivants had their places in Parliament and as noted already could be fined or demitted from office for absence while the Three Estates were in session. An act of Parliament became law when the sovereign touched the relevant document with the Sceptre.[82]
Parliament met on seventeen occasions between 1567 and 1603, at various locations within and outwith Edinburgh.[83]

During the second phase a new Lyon was appointed. Once again he was a member of the Lindsay family. David Lindsay was the nephew of both Lyon Sir

David Lindsay of the Mount and Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet. He was Islay Herald in 1591 when, on the 25 December, he was promoted to Lyon and thus was to become Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount secundus. He was a conscientious officer of arms with a keen interest in the science of armory. He had written a manuscript of heraldic information, dated 1586, which is now in the National Library of Scotland. About 1598 he drew up, or commissioned, a very fine armorial.

Although appointed in December 1591, it was not until 27 May 1592 that he was knighted by the King. The following day, a Sunday, he was crowned with the Crown of Scotland by the King who also gave him a baton of office. The ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal at Stirling and afterwards Sir David, still wearing the Crown, dined at the same table as his sovereign.[84] The very next month, on 5 June, Parliament passed the highly significant, "Act Anent the Office of Lyon King of Arms and his Brether Heraulds".[85] At the same session a second act of importance was passed, entitled,"Act Anent deforceing and trubling of the King's Officiaris of Armes".[86] Later in the month heralds and pursuivants proclaimed all the Acts passed by the Parliament.[87] It is significant that these two Acts should have been passed so soon after the appointment of Lyon Sir David Lindsay. As a herald he saw his elderly uncle struggling to maintain control of his officers, particularly the messengers of arms, and he appreciated other failings in the office. He was probably instrumental in getting the two Acts passed in order to tighten the management of heraldry in Scotland and to protect his officers. The first Act gave the following powers:

1.To make visitations throughout the realm and to record the Arms of noblemen, barons, and gentlemen in Books and Registers.

2.To prevent unlawful use of Arms.

The power was backed by legal penalties, including confiscation of goods, fine and imprisonment. It also commanded all civil magistrates, when required by Lyon, to concur with him in carrying out the various obligations conferred on his office.

The second provision allowed the officers to control the use of heraldry by craftsmen. They could not oversee every heraldic manifestation across the country but on the east coast where they were most active the accuracy of heraldry produced by craftsmen is noticeable.

Following the birth of the King's first born child on Tuesday 19 February 1594, Lyon Sir David proclaimed his titles during the baptism on 30 August in the Chapel Royal, Stirling;" Lord of Renfrew and the Isles, Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothesay and Prince of Scotland".

On 1 September 1597 Sir David was in his home at the Mount where he signed the admission of his son-in-law, Jerome Lindsay, as a messenger of arms.[88] This was a significant appointment as in due course Jerome Lindsay would succeed as Lyon.

The officers of arms continued with their other duties, proclaiming, serving writs or summons, or being in attendance at peerage creations and elevations. In 1600 an attempt was made on the King's life while he was in Perth. The Earl of Gowrie was the main conspirator, but his supporters were pursued by the officers of arms who were active serving summons of treason and making proclamations connected with the event. The page in the Forman of Luthrie Lyon Office Armorial featuring the Arms of the Earl was scored through to show he had become a non-armigerous person. The culmination was a bizarre trial involving the Earl of Gowrie's corpse which was found guilty then hung, drawn, and quartered. Various parts of his body were distributed to different burghs in the realm and payments such as "item to ane boy that took the traitoris arme for display in Aberdene" feature in the Treasurer's Accounts.

The King and Privy Council issued explicit instructions during 1600 about the marshalling of the procession which constituted the Riding of Parliament. Commissioners of burghs led the procession, dressed in black gowns with footmantles on their horses. Next came the commissioners for shires similarly attired, followed by the officers of state who were not noblemen. Then the clergy, priors, abbots, and bishops, in silk gowns, with footmantles. The footmantles of the lords and earls who came next were to be made of velvet. The nobles were followed by the state trumpeters who had "comlie flaggis to thair trumpettis" and they in turn led the pursuivants and heralds who wore their tabards. Then Lyon King of Arms, in tabard, with a velvet footmantle on his horse. He preceded the Honours of Scotland, Sword, Sceptre, and Crown which were borne immediately in front of the King. The Sovereign had the Captain of the Guard on his right side and the Master of the Stables on his left.

Behind came the the Great Chamberlain and Lord High Chancellor who were followed by the Marquesses of Hamilton and Huntly. The end of the procession was made up of personal attendants and gentlemen of the Royal Household.[89]

Prince Charles was born during November of that year at Dunfermline and on 5 December he was baptised in the Chapel Royal at Stirling. Sir David Lindsay was Master of Ceremonies, the heralds and pursuivants wore tabards and after the baptism Lyon proclaimed the child's titles "My Lord Charles of Scotland, Duke of Albany, Marquess of Ormond, Earl of Ross, Lord Ardmarnoch." At the celebratory feast afterwards in the Great Hall, Lyon served guests wearing his tabard.[90]

On 18 February 1601, the King's third son was born in Dunfermline Palace. He was baptised on 2 May and Lyon proclaimed him as" Prince Robert, Lord of Annandale, Earl of Carrick, Marquess of Wigton, and Duke of Kintyre." Twenty five days later the infant prince died and was buried in the Abbey of Holyrood.[91] Lyon and the heralds were present at the elevation of Hugh Campbell, as Lord Campbell of Loudon, on 30 June of that same year.[92]

Lyon Sir David complained to the Privy Council on 13 January 1603 that he had been put to the horn for non-payment of taxes. He argued successfully that as Lyon he was exempt from payment.[93] Next month on 20 February Sir David was at the creation of Sir James Elphinstone of Innernochty as Lord Balmerino.[94]

Queen Elizabeth I of England died on 24 March and six days later Lyon and the heralds proclaimed at Edinburgh mercat cross that the sovereign was now King James VI, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.[95] On the same day Sir David was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament.[96] On the 5 April James Hamilton was created Lord Abercorn and thereafter the King left Edinburgh to travel south to claim his English heritage.[97] He was accompanied by various Scottish nobles and knights including the Lord Lyon King of Arms.[98] One of the first acts of the King on ascending the English throne was to nominate his eldest son, Henry Duke of Rothesay as a Knight of the Garter. He was installed at St George's Chapel, Windsor, on 9 July and Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay took part in the procession of English heralds at the service.[99]

Before passing on to the third phase of the reign consideration must be given to the work of the herald painters active to 1603. There are three extant items which show the quality of work.

SETON ARMORIAL, 1591.[Plate 14] NLS.Acc.9309. [but owned by descendant]
Contents consist of 15 royal effigies, 22 Arms of earls, 29 Arms of lords, and 233 Arms of gentlemen.

BIRTHBRIEF, 20 March 1598.[Plate 15] Innes,1934,Plate xxxii.
This formal document details the nobility of ancestral descent of David Kinloch and was authenticated under the Great Seal. 4 armorial achievements are shown.

LINDSAY SECUNDUS ARMORIAL, c1598.[Plate 16] Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.
Contains 4 royal Arms, 1 ducal achievement, 2 Arms of marquesses, 16 Arms of earls, 25 Arms of lords, and 111 Arms of gentlemen.

The artistic style in this group is quite different from that in the group of armorials by Walter Binning. There is a neater, more controlled approach. This may be the result of the painters' own methods or because they were commissioned by individuals as a record rather than as working tools. Both Armorials have been retained by descendants of the original owners, though the Seton Armorial appears, at one time, to have been in the possession of James Esplin, Marchmont Herald from 1630 to 1653. It is the more interesting of the two from the artistic point of view.

The tradition of royal effigies instituted by Walter Binning is continued, but an attempt has been made to make both kings and queens more lifelike. The portrait of King James III "is part of that remarkably long chain stretching from the likeness in the Trinity altarpiece and the groat of c1485 to Jamesone's painting of 1633".[100] The figures are shown in classical and contemporary costume with body movement attempted through different positioning of hands and feet. These characteristics can be described as "painterly" and constitute a new approach to heraldic painting which up to this time rendered subjects in a flat two-dimensional manner. Elements of this approach are also seen in the various armorial achievements featured in the armorial. The painter consistently uses a simple shield, often outlined quite heavily or shaded with a colour wash on the sinister side. Shading is also employed to give a three-dimensional effect to certain shield charges. Two types of helmet are featured; a helmet affronte, surmounted by a coronet of rank, is balanced precariously on the top edge of

shields bearing the arms of earls, and a helmet in profile sits more comfortably on the shield of lord's achievements. The mantling is not too dissimilar to that drawn by Binning, but is sufficiently characteristic to provide the link between the Seton Armorial and the Lindsay Secundus Armorial. The armiger's name is either placed in a sketch-like frame or written in the blank bottom quarter of the page.

In a survey of English armorials, and foreign armorials containing Scottish material, R.W.Mitchell has listed none which contain royal effigies as featured in Scottish armorials from the second half of the sixteenth century.[101] This appears to be an unique Scottish contribution originating with Walter Binning.
The Lindsay Secundus Armorial is a very polished work, finished to a higher standard than the Seton Armorial. The calligraphy below each achievement is more decorative and the helmet and mantling form a better balanced mass in contrast to the shield. The painter responsible for these two armorials was, in the opinion of this writer, John Workman. [Appendix Three, 25] Workman was appointed herald painter to the King in 1592 and was an active painter until his death from plague in 1604. His main rival in the field of heraldic painting was John Sawers Elder.[Appendix Three, 27] Workman had argued before the Privy Council in 1599 that he held the monopoly of heraldic painting in Scotland and cited Sawers as usurper.[102] The Privy Council told him that healthy competition was in the best interests of potential customers and would not recognise his right. This indicates that Sawers was involved in enough heraldic painting for Workman to regard him as a threat. There is little surviving evidence at the end of the sixteenth century to show what kind of heraldic painting Sawers was doing, and because of this, plus the fact that John Workman was a painter by appointment, seems to confirm the latter's likely execution of the two armorials.
The Birthbrief of David Kinloch appears to be the product of a different hand, though Innes of Learney suggests it may have been executed by the same painter as the Lindsay Secundus Armorial.[103] The shields are unusual in being round-bottomed, not a common shape in Scotland, the mantling on two of the shields is less fussy than that in the armorials, and the motto ribands are painted, not left the natural colour of the vellum as in the armorials. The helmet style is also different. The birthbrief might be the work of John Sawers Elder.

The third phase of the reign showed the effect of having no royal presence in Scotland. This was very noticeable in Edinburgh. Tailors, goldsmiths, and merchants all suffered from loss of custom and the subjects took time to adjust. The absent monarch ruled his ancient kingdom through a Lord High Commissioner and the Privy Council. A constant flow of letters between England and Scotland kept the King informed of Scottish developments. Soon he was suggesting various changes in the light of what he saw in England. One of the first innovations was a mobile police force of forty horsemen which ensured the King's peace, particularly in the Borders where raiding and feuding were still common. This resulted in less legal work for the officers of arms such as putting people to the horn or poinding possessions. A rudimentary postal service was established so these duties became less for the officers. Peers were created by warrant, without public ceremonial, so that for a while fewer fees accrued to the heralds and pursuivants. They still made proclamations, but no longer throughout Scotland because Parliament decreed that an Act only be proclaimed in Edinburgh for the whole of Scotland,[n103a] and at the pier and shore of Leith for strangers and Scots overseas.[n103b]

The great wealth of England compared to the poverty of Scotland came as a revelation to the King and in retrospect he realised that public ceremonial in his northern kingdom lacked style. The Riding of Parliament was a case in point and within months of settling in England he instructed the Privy Council to issue a detailed directive concerning the dress of each Estate and the order in which the participants should be marshalled.[104] Lord Lyon and his brother heralds immediately preceded the Honours of Scotland, just as they had preceded the sovereign in any procession before 1603. In the King's absence, his representatives in Scotland became more important and their status was enhanced accordingly. Thus when they died their funerals had to reflect the deceased's position in life. The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed the elaboration of funeral rites which reached their apogee with the State Funeral of the Duke of Rothes in 1681.[105] A funeral with heraldic elements had been arranged for James, Earl of Moray after his murder in 1592, but the first of the more splendid funeral processions was that of Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland which took place on 9 July 1622. Two heralds and two pursuivants were on duty on that occasion. More

will be written of Alexander Seton and his influence on architecture and on the art of heraldry in later chapters.

The *linking* of Scotland and England required consideration of the heraldic representation of this new political grouping. The various seals of state had to be altered. In January 1606 the Treasury paid £300 to Thomas Peebles, goldsmith [Appendix Three, 35] for making in silver, and sinking, the new Great, Privy, Court and Session seal matrices.[106] No mention of involvement by Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay is made and it appears Peebles cut the seals incorrectly because two months later, in March,[107] the Privy Council gave instructions about the creation of new seals. These had to carry the quartered Arms of *Great Britain* presumably with Scotland shown in the first and fourth quarters, England quartering France in the second quarter, and Ireland in the third quarter. The Earl of Dunfermline, Lord High Chancellor, and John Arnot, Deputy Treasurer, were made responsible for instructing the replacement die-sinker, Thomas Foulis.[Appendix Three 15] Another indication of this seeming confusion about how the Arms of *Great Britain* should be used in Scotland can be seen in the sixty-shilling coin struck in the Scottish Mint during 1604. The Arms of England are given the principal heraldic position. The thirty-shilling version issued in 1609 reverses the situation and Scotland is given prominence. By then the Arms of *Great Britain* as used in Scotland had been fully considered.

In the same year of 1606 discussion took place about national symbolism used at sea. On 12 April the King decreed that all British ships should carry on the main mast a flag composed of the St George and St Andrew Crosses. Scottish vessels also had to fly a St Andrew's Cross at the stern and English vessels a St George's Cross. However in August the Privy Council wrote to the King saying that Scottish seafarers, and the general public, objected to the flag pattern sent from London because the St George Cross was superimposed on the St Andrew Cross. Suggested alternative designs were sent with the letter along with the request that King James make a "princelie determinatioun".[108]

Parliament met the following year in Edinburgh on 18 March 1607. King James must have received a report on the Riding as he wrote from Oatlands on 24 July to the Lord High Commissioner, the Duke of Lennox, with new

instructions where the clergy had to be placed in the procession.[109] On 31 July Lord Lyon Sir David was in Edinburgh to give his oath of allegiance which acknowledged the Royal Supremacy. This followed a Privy Council decision of 2 June which demanded such an oath from all in positions of authority.[110]

The 1612 Parliament was held in Edinburgh on 12 October and while in the burgh the Lord Lyon and his brother heralds, and pursuivants, submitted a supplication to the Privy Council on 10 November for redress of earnings.[111] The reason for the complaint lay in the many peerage creations which had occurred since the King travelled south. Many had been made by Letters Patent only, which did away with the public ceremony of creation. The officers of arms were not required and therefore lost the accustomed fees. The annual salaries had remained the same since 1565, namely £40 for Lord Lyon, £20 for the heralds, and £10 for the pursuivants. The Privy Council was sympathetic and decreed that the following fees would be paid upon preferment, by whatever method; For a marquess,400 merks, for an earl, 300 merks, for a lord, 200 merks, and for a knight £20. These fees had to be shared amongst the officers according to their degree. Furthermore all noblemen who had been preferred since 1603 had to present their patents to Lord Lyon and his brother heralds so that they could record the degrees of nobility in their books to avoid future arguments.

During 1616 there were four peerage creations, Viscount Lauderdale, Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, Earl of Roxburgh and Lord Ogilvy of Deskford. As a result 1,000 merks were shared by the officers of arms.

This did not satisfy the individuals concerned and the Lord Lyon and all the heralds and pursuivants got together to submit another petition on 16 April to the Privy Council for an increase of fees. The arguments show how life was changing for the officers of arms. In the past, fees, resources, and rents enabled them to support their families and to maintain their standing. Present remuneration was so small they could no longer maintain their standing and yet their duties required being in attendance at Council,Parliament and Conventions in Edinburgh and Perth. As their homes were far from Edinburgh this involved additional expense so that they could not sustain the rank held by their predecessors. They were also having difficulty in keeping up appearances at

Parliament as their tabards were very expensive to maintain. The Privy Council was again sympathetic and ordered the Treasurer to double their annual salaries. The Council went further on 30 April and issued a warrant to the Treasurer to give every herald and pursuivant 200 merks each to buy "cloathis to the parliament".[112]

June of 1617 was a month of great excitement because King James paid his one and only return visit to Scotland. Parliament had assembled on 27 May in Edinburgh. Heralds proclaimed at the beginning of June that the Parliament would continue until the 17 June. Then they proclaimed that the Three Estates should convene on the 28th of the month to accompany the King in person to Parliament House. They were at the mercat cross again proclaiming more explicit instructions which involved the Three Estates being at Holyroodhouse at 8am on the 28th to take part in the Riding to the tolbooth. One of the June proclamations may amuse the modern reader. Walter Ritchie, Kintyre Pursuivant,[63] announced that all who had removed any of the royal silver plate which had been in Holyroodhouse should return it to the Deputy Treasurer "under the pane of deid"![113]

Following his visit to Edinburgh the King made a royal progress to Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, Perth, Cupar, St Andrews, Dundee, Montrose, Paisley, and Glasgow. He returned to England via Dumfries and Carlisle.[114]

Money problems rose again amongst the heralds during September. On the 10th of the month, the Lord Lyon and his brother heralds, James Law,Snowdoun, William Craig,Ross, Gilbert Guthrie,Marchmont, and Thomas Drysdale,Islay, complained to the Privy Council that Robert Windram,Albany, and Thomas Williamson,Ross, had received the fees from those knighted by the King during his summer visit to Scotland and had refused to share them with their brother heralds.[115] Thomas Drysdale appeared for the pursuers, the defenders Windram and Williamson were also present. The Privy Council referred the matter to the Lord Lyon for a decision and ordered the defenders to render an account of the fees received.

The very next entry in the Register of the Privy Council deals with a complex complaint by Robert Windram,Albany Herald, against Thomas Drysdale,Islay Herald. Apparently they had made some financial agreement together

concerning fees to the officers of arms. Windram claimed Drysdale had not fulfilled his side of the bargain and now sought redress. The Lords of Privy Council also referred this matter to Lord Lyon and directed him to sort out the matter.

Peerage creations continued during the reign and fees were paid to the officers, though not always without difficulty. Robert, Lord Maxwell, complained to the Privy Council on 29 July 1619 that he had been unlawfully sued by Lyon King of Arms and his brother heralds for the fee of 200 merks on the occasion of his advancement as a Lord of Parliament. He claimed this was not a new creation but a restoration. The Council agreed and suspended the process against Lord Maxwell.[116]

The following year was the last Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount held office and he had the satisfaction of acquiring 300 merks from Robert, Lord Maxwell when he was created the Earl of Nithsdale. One other interesting creation took place on 10 November of that year. Sir Henry Carey, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was naturalised as a Scotsman at Newmarket by the King who thereafter created him Viscount of Falkland.[117]

Before the end of the year, Sir David resigned as Lord Lyon King of Arms in favour of his son-in-law Jerome Lindsay of Annatland.[118] Sir David died in 1622.

The last Lord Lyon of the reign was another Lindsay. He was the son of David Lindsay, first Protestant minister of Leith and later Bishop of Ross. His first wife was Agnes, daughter of Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount secundus. Although he had been admitted as a messenger of arms by his father-in-law during 1597 he never served as a pursuivant and herald before being installed as Lyon on Sunday 17 June 1621 at the Palace of Holyroodhouse. In 1622 he was told by the Privy Council to control his messengers of arms following an incident when a messenger actually broke into an individual's home in order to confiscate goods.[119] Lindsay was not present at the funeral of the Earl of Dunfermline on 9 July 1622 though several of his officers were present. The elaborate funeral proved to be a source of revenue for the officers of arms because of the heraldic elements present. The officers ensured heraldic

accuracy and also marshalled the procession so that participants and heraldy were placed in their correct order. This type of funeral was no doubt encouraged by the heralds who could appreciate the potential for additional income.

On the 30 November 1624, heralds, pursuivants and messengers proclaimed in Edinburgh the institution of the Order of the Baronets of Nova Scotia, part of a scheme to encourage the colonisation of North America.This proclamation was coupled with another stating that no meetings of Parliament, Privy Council. or judicial assemblies would take place until 7 January 1625 because there were cases of plague in Edinburgh.[120]

In 1625, James, Marquess of Hamilton KG, died at Whitehall on 2 March. His coffin was eventually sent to Scotland for interment, and a funeral took place seven months later. In the same month as the marquess died, King James VI of Scotland and I of England died at Theobalds on 27 March 1625. The news of the King's death reached the Privy Council in Edinburgh on 31 March. A hurried search had to be made for the State Trumpeters which involved hiring a horseman to look for them at Craigmillar and a postal messenger looking for them on foot. Having found three of the trumpeters, two heralds proclaimed the death of the sovereign at Edinburgh mercat cross after a fanfare had been sounded, with the words "the King his majesty had departed out of his mortal lyfe to his eternall joy in heavin".[121] With that duty the third phase of the reign ended on a subdued note.

Before drawing conclusions on the long-term trends affecting the Scottish officers of arms during the reign, and their influence on the art of heraldry, a last group of painted armorials produced during the third phase must be considered.

DUNVEGAN ARMORIAL, c1620.[Plate 17] The Macleod of Macleod.
Water-colour and ink on paper.
This contains the Arms of 2 marquesses, 21 earls, 1 viscount, 25 lords and 224 gentlemen. There are also 5 royal Arms,(Empire,France,Scotland, England,Spain) and the ducal Arms of Ventadour and Lorraine.

WORKMAN ARMORIAL, c1620.[Plate 18] NLS Ms.31.3.6.
Water-colour and ink on paper.
Contents are the Arms of 10 European monarchs,16 kings and queens of Scotland, 42 higher nobles,45 lords and 241 gentlemen.

FUNERAL ROLL, c1622.[Plate 19] Royal Museum of Scotland.
Water-colour and ink on paper.
Linear roll, over 5 metres long, consisting of 17 sheets of paper pasted together. 67 figures are featured plus 3 horses.

Another armorial, of later date, must be included as it is linked through the painter concerned;
SAWERS ARMORIAL, after 1625. [Plate 20] NLS.Ms.31.4.4.
Water-colour and ink on paper with some pre-printed sheets.
This contains 2 royal Arms, 1 Arms of a duke, 3 Arms of marquesses, 45 Arms of earls, including 3 by another hand, 6 Arms of viscounts, 46 Arms of lords, including 13 unfinished, and the Arms of a lady.

The Dunvegan Armorial is unlike any of the other Scottish armorials in the neatness of execution. Each page is outlined with a painted frame, an unique characteristic. Achievements consisting of shield, helmet, crest, and supporters are painted in a realistic manner with attention given to rendering texture. Animal fur and grass are particularly well observed.
Mantling sweeps out in layers on each side of the helmet with shading executed as a series of parallel lines. The folios bearing individual shields, have eight of each in two rows of four. They are rendered in the more traditional two-dimensional way, but still very neat in execution.

By 1620 there were two main heraldic painters active. John Sawers Elder, [Appendix Three, 27] and James Workman Elder. [Appendix Three, 20]
I have attributed the Birthbrief of 1598 to Sawers, and on the grounds of style also attribute the Dunvegan Armorial to him. Sawers had a son who produced the post 1625 armorial and as this has similarities of style with the Dunvegan Armorial the characteristics could have been handed on from father to son.

There is no doubt about the creator of the Workman Armorial. James Workman was made a painter burgess of Edinburgh in 1587. He was engaged, along with his younger brother, to assist with preparations for Queen Anne's official entry to Edinburgh in 1589. Four years later he was appointed herald painter to the Office of Arms, but was never made Marchmont Herald as stated by Grant,[122] and subsequently repeated by Apted & Hannabuss, Thomson and Macmillan. In 1604 Workman acquired property in Burntisland which is significant in terms of interior tempera painting found in Fife. From 1616 until 1633 Workman was paid for doing work at the royal properties of Edinburgh Castle, Holyroodhouse and Linlithgow Palace.[123] Workman's connection with the Office of Arms is of especial interest here. He was familiar with the 1542 Armorial of Lindsay of the Mount, he owned the Forman of Luthrie Lyon Office Armorial [Plate 3] in 1623,[124] at the same period when he produced his own Armorial.

There are several pages of criticism added to the Armorial at a later date when it was owned by Lord Lyon Sir James Balfour of Denmiln. On reflection some of the criticism is unfair. For example Workman is blamed for painting the Royal Arms of England before the Royal Arms of Scotland. However this is the order found in Forman's Lyon Office Armorial which obviously inspired Workman. From the Lindsay 1542 Armorial Workman copied the Arms of royal alliances with their lozenge shields surmounted by a crown. Workman dispensed with the heraldic compartment in his versions of individual achievements and made supporters stand on an elaborate architectural frame consisting of strapwork.The frame was intended for the armiger's name but remains blank in all cases. The lack of heraldic compartment shows the influence of English heraldic style. One channel for this, apart from printed books, was the work of itinerant English plasterers who had installed decorative heraldic plasterwork at Pinkie House and other residences along the east coast following the Union of the Crowns.

A full achievement in Workman's Armorial fills the page completely, quite unlike Sawers' work, and his space-filling sense could reflect experience in working with tempora paint for interior schemes of decoration. Coronets are placed on the shield of peers with the helmet above. This allows the crest to sit directly on top of the helmet, and the motto is integrated, (as opposed to floating in the air above the achievement) by placing it on a riband which

springs out from either side of the crest. Mantling for a peer is always given an ermine lining, the first time this occurs in a Scottish armorial. The overall effect is lively but lacks the calligraphic sureness of Binning's work.

An unusual surviving piece of heraldic painting is the so-called Huntly Funeral Roll.[Plate 19] This has been proved [125] not to relate to the 1st Marquess of Huntly. It was produced as a guide for marshalling those participants and heraldic elements which formed the funeral procession of a Scottish nobleman. As mentioned, the first of the elaborate funerals was that of the Earl of Dunfermline in 1622.[126] Because the officers of arms were involved with this event, it is more than likely that James Workman Elder was asked to produce the guide as a reference. Workman went on to supply heraldic elements for the funeral of Margaret Ross, Lady Keir, at Holyrood in March 1633.[127]

The Sawers Armorial is included because it completes the series commenced with Lindsay in 1542, through the armorials of Binning, Workman, Sawers, and Workman. It is the work of John Sawers Younger [Appendix Three, 53] who executed the manuscript during the reign of King Charles I. His interest in the science of heraldry was probably inspired by his father during the reign of King James and in due course he became herald painter at the Office of Arms in 1628.He was later promoted as an officer of arms.

The Armorial is unusual in several respects, Several of the folios have been pre-printed with an engraved architectural frame beneath the achievements along with a helmet and mantling. It is possible Sawers engraved the printing plates himself as the drawn frames, helmets and mantling are in the same style. If this is so then he was one of the pioneer print engravers in Scotland, preceding by many years the work of known Scottish artists in this field. The mantling shares characteristics with that in the Dunvegan Armorial, as already mentioned, also similar is the use of gold and silver leaf. The Dunvegan Armorial is noted for the fresh state of the gold and silver work on the achievements so Sawers Elder could have instructed his son in the necessary techniques. The young Sawers also had a keen eye, like his father, for texture. His Armorial contains marbelling and diapering to give added emphasis to surface pattern. The use of the latter is interesting because it was a favourite medieval heraldic fashion on stained glass and seal dies. For Sawers to use it during the seventeenth century is

either anachronistic or shows a revival of interest in medieval techniques. It is possible he had visited England and seen the pre-Reformation stained glass which, unlike Scotland, still survived in many churches.

The corpus of armorials and documents which survive from the reign of King James provide an indication of working practice, skill in heraldic draughtmanship, and knowledge of local and continental heraldry. They provide our most direct links to the officers of arms of the period. They also indicate the interests of the men involved.

Three of the five Lyon Kings commissioned armorials and two heraldic painters produced armorials. John Forman,[18] owned a manuscript on the French Order of St Michael, John Blinsele,[44] kept a diary which included genealogical notes, and Thomas Drysdale,[65] owned a printed book on the science of heraldry. Published books were available and any of the following publications might have been acquired by Scottish officers of arms :

A Very Proper Treatise, unknown author, London, 1573.
This deals with heraldic painting.
The Blazon of Gentrie, John Ferne, London, 1586.
This is the book which was owned by Thomas Drysdale.
The Book of Honor and Arms, attributed to William Segar, London, 1590.
The True Use of Armories, William Wyrley, London, 1592.
The Book of Armorie, Gerrard Leigh, London, 1595.
The Elements of Armories, Edmund Bolton, London, 1610.
The Display of Heraldrie, John Guillim, London, 1610.
The Accedence of Armorie, Gerrard Leigh, London, 1562 and 1612.
The Theatre of Honour and Knighthood, Andrew Favine, Paris. Translated into English by W.I. and published in London, 1623.

Apart from these printed sources there were other manuscripts in the Office of Arms which were passed down and eventually inherited by Lord Lyon Sir James Balfour of Denmiln. Among them was a sixteenth century copy of the earliest heraldic manuscript treatise, written by the Italian lawyer Bartolo di Sassoferrato, entitled *DE ARMIS ET INSIGNIS*. There was also a version of *DE STUDIO MILITARI*, by the Englishman Nicolas Upton. The former was written

during the fourteenth century and the latter at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount secundus possessed a manuscript entitled the *OFFICE OF A HERALD.* (NLS,Ms.31.3.20.) Another copy of this manuscript, (NLS,Ms.31.7.22.) was also owned at one time by Peter Thompson,Islay Herald.[9] Both manuscripts had been copied from the earliest Scottish heraldic work, now known as *ADAM LOUTFUT'S BOOK.*(Brit.Mus.Harleian Ms.6149) This compilation of heraldic material from French, Italian, and English sources was translated and written in 1494 under the direction of William Cumming of Inverallochy, Marchmont Herald and later Lyon King of Arms. The author, Adam Loutfut was Kintyre Pursuivant.[128]

Thus there is plenty of evidence that from 1494 the Scottish officers of arms were familiar with the science of heraldry. For the officers in the period 1565 to 1625 there were in addition printed sources of information. Both officers, and the painters associated with them, also interested themselves with the art of heraldry.

Their collective influence was greatest on those they met officially, those who assisted the King to administer the country, the nobles who had to record their newly granted status in the herald's books and registers,those whose funerals had to be marshalled, and those whom they visited during perambulations across the realm. Many of these individuals constituted the patrons of heraldic art and we shall now discover who they were.

FOOTNOTES - The Heraldic Executive

1. Exchequer Rolls, various
2. Grant, 1945, p.1.
3. Exchequer Rolls.
4 Grant, 1945, p.2.
5. Letters Patent to Balfour of Pittendreich, 6 February 1567.
6. Grant, 1945, p.3.
7 Grant, 1945, p.3.
8. Grant, 1945, p.4.
9. Grant, 1945, p.4.
10. Grant, 1945, p.3.
11. Grant, 1945, p.8.
12. Grant, 1945, p.8.
13. T.A., Volume 12-13.SRO.E21/61-65, E22/1/6.
14. Grant, 1945, p.5.
15. Burnett, 1977, p.11.
16. Grant, 1945, p.7.
17. Grant, 1945, p.6.
18. Grant, 1945, p.5.
19. Grant, 1945, p.6.
20. Grant, 1945, p.7.
21. Grant, 1945, p.7.
22. Grant, 1945, p.7.
23. T.A. various.
24. Burnett Ms., p.6.
25. Burnett Ms., p.6.
26. T.A. various.
27. NLS, Ms.34.3.22.,p.18, and R.P.C.S.,Volume III, pp.50-51.
28. Sanderson, 1987, p.137.
29. T.A.,E21/61, pp.30, 167-169, E21/65, p.65, E22/6, pp.83-84.
30. R.G.S.S. various.
31. Millington, 1858, pp.54-55.
32. Grant, 1945, p.17.
33. SRO, Ms.RH/1/1.
34. Balfour of Denmiln copy, NLS, Ms.34.4.16.

35. NLS, Ms.31.4.2.
36. Lyon Office Ms.17.
37. Balfour Annals, Volume 1.
38. T.A., Volume 12, p.67.
39. R.P.S.S., Volume 5, Part 1, No.817, pp.191-192, No.891, p.217.
40. Balfour Paul, 1900, p.84.
41. A.P.S., Volume 3, p.60.
42. T.A.,Volume 12, p.75.
43. R.P.S.S.,Volume V, No.158, pp.37-38.
44. Stewart, 1920, p.359.
45. T.A. Volume 12, p.129.
46. Stewart, 1920, p.362.
47. R.P.S.S.,Volume 5, No.489, pp.99-100.
48. Stewart, 1920, pp.99-100.
49. R.P.S.S., Volume 6, No.744, p.145.
50. Grant, 1945, p.30.
51. R.P.S.S.,various.
52. T.A., Volume 12, p.126.
53. R.P.C.S., Volume 4, p.198, T.A.E21/67, p.46, Fyfe, 1927, p.27.
54. R.P.C.S.,various.
55. T.A.,various.
56. E.R.,Volume 5.
57. Donaldson, 1949, p.x.
58. R.P.C.S.,Volume 3, pp.241-242.
59. Collective term for nine heroes, first listed in the early fourteenth century in a manuscript on chivalry, Les Voeux du Paeon, by Jacques de Longuyon, comprising three classical heroes;
    Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar,
    three biblical;
    King David, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus,
    and three Christian;
    King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey de Bouillon.
60. HMSO, 1960, p.8. Apart from the ceiling at Stirling, garlands could also be seen in Queen Mary's Audience Chamber, Holyroodhouse, where they surround the Arms of the Dauphin and the cipher of the Queen in an elaborate scheme of ceiling decoration. Laing, 1867, p.385.

61. The Forman Lyon Office Armorial has several unfinished armorial achievements which show the order in which the painter worked.
62. Skilful draughtsmanship is a feature of the Armorial in the National Library of Scotland [Plate 2]. Various decorative frames, carrying the name of the armiger, consist of grotesques, animals, and classical arrangements of fruit and flowers.
63. Apted and Hannabuss, 1978, pp.28-30.
64. Lynch, 1981, p.317.
65. Grant, 1945, p.22.
66. R.P.C.S., Volume 1, p.645.
67. R.P.C.S., Volume 1, pp.658-660.
68. T.A., Volume 12, p.279.
69. R.P.C.S., Volume 1, p.176.
70. R.P.C.S.,Volume 2, pp.365-367.
71. A.P.S.,Volume 3, p.143.
72. T.A., E21/62, p.167.
73. A.P.S., Volume 3, p.288.
74. R.P.C.S.,Volume 2, pp.720-721.
75. T.A., E21/65, p.18.
76. T.A., E21/65, pp.18,22,24.
77. A.P.S., Volume 3, p.449.
78. A.P.S., Volume 3, p.443.
79. R.P.C.S., Volume 4, pp.631-632.
80. Balfour Paul, 1900, p.85.
81. NLS, Ms.34.6.24.,pp.201-204.
82. Innes of Learney, 1932, p.120.
83. Terry, 1905, various.
84. NLS, Ms.34.6.24.,pp.201-204.
85. A.P.S., Volume 3, pp.554-555.
86. A.P.S., Volume 3, pp.577-578
87. T.A., E21/69, p.80.
88. SRO, GD/1/182/5.
89. R.P.C.S., Volume 6, pp.170-171.
90. NLS, Ms.34.6.24.,pp.201-204.
91. NLS, Ms.34.6.24.,p.199.
92. NLS, Ms.31.3.20.,p.99.

93. R.P.C.S.,Volume 6, p.520.
94. NLS, Ms.31.3.20.,p.99.
95. NLS, Ms.33.2.20.,p.76.
96. Balfour Paul, 1900, p.85.
97. NLS,Ms.34.6.24.,p.199.
98. Innes of Learney, 1932, p.207.
99. Noble, 1805, p.191.
100. Thomson, 1975, p.33.
101. Mitchell, various between 1982 and 1984.
102. R.P.C.S.,Volume 6, p.36.
103. Innes of Learney, 1934, p.140.
104. R.P.C.S.,Volume 7, p.533.

n103a. A.P.S. cap.37, p.192.

n103b. Stair. 1981, iv.38.10., p.951

105. Burnett, 1986, pp.477-481.
106. T.A., E21/78, p.46.
107. R.P.C.S.,Volume 7, pp.27 and 54.
108. R.P.C.S.,Volume 7, pp.488 and 499.
109. R.P.C.S.,Volume 7, p.533.
110. R.P.C.S.,Volume 7, pp. 422-423.
111. R.P.C.S.,Volume 9, p.485.
112. R.P.C.S.,Volume 11, pp.102-103.
113. T.A.,E21/84, pp.52, 65, 66.
114. NLS,Ms.34.6.24.
115. R.P.C.S.,Volume 12, pp.41-42.
116. R.P.C.S.,Volume 11, pp.232-233.
117. Balfour's Works.
118. Balfour Paul, 1900, p.85.
119. R.P.C.S.,Volume 13, p.4.
120. R.P.C.S.,Volume 13, pp.650 and 652.
121. T.A.,E21/92, pp.23-25.
122. Grant, 1945, p.33.
123. Apted and Hannabuss, 1978, pp.108-110.
124. According to inscriptions in the Armorial, it belonged to Workman in 1623, to Joseph Stacie,Ross Herald in 1654, and at his death passed in 1686 to Henry Fraser,Ross Herald. All these men were herald painters and could have made the additions at various times.

125. Innes of Learney, PSAS 1942, pp.154-173.

126. Stevenson, 1899, pp.160-168.

127. Fraser, 1858, pp.51-53, where it states that the funeral heraldry was "painted by James Workman without our directions."

128. O'Neill, 1957, p.308.

CHAPTER TWO - PATRONS OF HERALDRY

"Item it is statute ande ordanit apon the service of Inquest and of Retour agay to the kingis chapell that all frehalderis duelland within ony sheriffdoms appearing at the hede courtis in their propir personis with thar selis bot gif it happen that thay be absent in that case that he send for hym a sufficiande gentillman his attornay with the sele of his Armes.."

(A.P.S.,Volume II, p.19, c.21, 6 March 1429)

The extract from the above Act of the Scottish Parliament indicates that owners of freehold property were expected to be armigerous. By the reign of King James VI the number of armigerous Scots numbered over 3,000.[1] All were potential patrons. Not all were wealthy, not all were keen on using their Arms to identify property and possessions. Most howevever did employ seals and thus have left heraldic evidence of their existence. Sufficient evidence does remain to identify various individuals so that a cross section of patronage can be investigated. Various incorporated bodies also utilised heraldry and commissioned special works, some who did so will be featured.

KING AND STATE

Although King James had a son who became a great British royal patron of the arts, the King himself left little evidence of interest in the fine or decorative arts. However this did not mean that no royal heraldic art was commissioned. Much was created in the name of the sovereign, although not by his own instigation.

Compared to the reign of King James V there was a considerable reduction in royal building work in Scotland during the monarchy of King James VI. Repair and maintenance took place at Falkland, Linlithgow, Holyroodhouse, and Edinburgh Castle. A surviving door from Stirling Castle is shown in Plate 21. This consists of two panels, the upper bearing the royal Arms and the King's initials linked by an entwining cord. The lower panel carries the date 1578 on a ribbon, within a wreath, roses are used as corner space fillers. The date is significant as this was the year Morton ceased to be Regent and James began to

rule in person. The door might have been constructed for the King's apartment as a public indication of the change in administration. The carving is in shallow bas-relief, and if typical of work produced for the Court, demonstrates less sophistication than similar work found on the Continent. On 3 December 1580 an unknown painter was paid thirty shillings for a drawing of the "Kingis Majesties armis" which were reproduced in plaster for the Porter's Lodge at Holyroodhhouse.[2] The following year, in November, the goldsmith Mungo Brady was paid £5 for supplying twenty silver jesses to the King engraved with the royal Arms.3

As early as 7 May 1583 a recommendation was made,[4] for a new Chapel Royal within Stirling Castle but this was not constructed until 1594.[Plate 22]
The Chapel originally had a panel of the royal Arms over the main entrance and a series of royal Badges within each arch of the six windows along the principal facade.[5] Arms and badges were defaced by Cromwellian troops after 1650 as part of a deliberate policy to remove symbols of majesty in Scotland. Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace suffered the same indignity.

The royal Arms of Scotland reached their full development during the reign of King James. From the simple shield, charged with a lion rampant within a double tressure flory counter flory, first recorded in 1251, the symbols of majesty acquired various additaments; a crest and lion supporters by 1371, the lions were altered to unicorns by 1454, thistles were introduced below the shield by 1475, a motto, IN MY DEFENS GOD ME DEFEND, was adopted by 1477, a collar of thistles encircled the shield by 1503, banners bearing the royal Arms and the St Andrew's Cross held by the supporters by 1542, and finally a second motto by 1600, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSET.(Later the spelling became LACESSIT.) This slow process over a period of approximately three hundred years was the result of both heraldic fashion and the desire by succeeding sovereigns to give their ancient kingdom suitable heraldic status similar to other European monarchies.[6] A carved oak panel of the royal Arms, now at Blair Atholl Castle, shows all these elements.[Plate 23] The panel dates from c1600 and is rendered with a degree of realism not found before the influence of the Renaissance. The unicorns are rendered as horse-like animals and the crest lion has been given almost human features. Both mottoes are present, the spelling of the primary motto is: IN DEFENCE, and it is borne on a riband which sweeps

out and up on either side of the crest in a similar manner to crest ribands in the Workman Armorial. The shield shape is rectangular with a pointed base, another similarity with the Armorial, it is possible that the working drawing for the carving emanated from the Office of Arms in the hand of Workman.

The royal ensigns armorial symbolised the united partnership between monarch and kingdom, and as one could be substituted for the other so the royal Arms represented the State of Scotland as well as the status of the King. Crown property was identified by the Arms, as were certain royal officials, such as the officers of arms.[Plate 1] The Great, and other state seals, bore the Arms and all coins of the realm carried royal heraldry. The earliest impression of the Great Seal produced for the reign of King James VI is on a document dated 1572.[7] The troubled years following the birth and coronation of the King may have postponed the production of the Seal but a carved version of the royal Arms at Mar's Wark in Stirling, dated 1570,[Plate 45] has a similar combination of heraldic elements and could have been based on the Great Seal design. This would give an earlier date for the creation of the Seal.

The design of the Seal differs from the three Great Seals employed during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.[Plate 24] None of the latter showed the full version of the Arms with crest and motto and the first of the Queen's Seals bore the lion rampant and royal tressure on a shield shape with concave sides and a double concave top. This form is associated with French heraldic style contemporary with Mary Queen of Scots.[8] The Great Seal of James bears a crest and the motto has the spelling IN DEFENCE, the first occasion this occurs. Another design feature which originates in this Seal is the practice of placing the ends of the banner poles within a large link at the end of the chains attached to the unicorn supporters. The shield shape is simple with a fuller bottom section to allow more space for lion and royal tressure.

An undated medal, was produced c1590 to commemorate the marriage and coronation of Queen Anne.[Plate 25] The obverse carries the royal Arms which do not appear to have been designed by the same person responsible for the version on the Great Seal. The mantling is shown in greater relief, the unicorns are not so elongated and the collar of thistles is not contained within two parallel lines. The collar is similar to that featured on a jetton [10], dated 1588.

However the medal follows the Seal in having the unicorn chains terminating in a link round the banner poles. Both jetton and medal utilise the simple shield shape.

The simple shield shape to contain the royal Arms is used consistently on all coins of the realm struck during the reign.There were eight issues of coins to 1603 including gold, silver, billon and copper types, though each issue did not contain examples struck from all these metals. There were 23 different basic designs, with die variations, based on portraits of the King, heraldry, and symbolic objects.[Plates 25-33] Apart from the simple shield of Arms surmounted by the stylised Crown of Scotland, the lion sejant crest was used on the Gold Lion Noble of 1584,[Plate 28] the Honours of Scotland on the Gold Sword & Sceptre piece of 1601,[Plate 31] and the Thistle Badge, sometimes crowned, on 10 coins of various values. Unlike the reigns of King James III, IV, and V, no coins carried a unicorn. This was the one royal heraldic device omitted from the issues.[11]

There is no hard evidence available to show who designed Scottish coinage. The Treasury had officers of arms in waiting from 1566 until 1587 and again from 1622 until 1625.[12] Coins of the realm were struck at the Mint, located in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, where the Master of the Mint was responsible for production under the aegis of the Treasurer. The Treasurer, Lord High Chancellor and Privy Council were authorised to issue coinage by Acts of the Parliament. It is possible advice was sought from the Office of Arms regarding suitable devices. Relevant coinage Acts are very specific in their instructions to the Master of the Mint. The Thistle Dollar of 1579,[Plate 26] the Forty Shilling Piece of 1582,[Plate 28] the Hat Piece and Balance Merk of 1591,[Plate 29] the Saltire Plack of 1593, the gold Rider and silver Ten Shilling Piece of 1594,[Plate 30] the Turner of 1597,[Plate 32] the gold Sword & Sceptre Piece and the silver Thistle Merk of 1601 [Plate 31], were all minutely described in the Acts authorising their issue.[13] In April 1583 the Lyon King and his brother heralds received samples of the fourth issue of coinage.[14] It is possible this was done in gratitude for advice received from them.

After 1603 Scottish coinage design followed English practice which had fewer design variants. A new shape of royal shield was employed, still full bottomed,

but with curvilinear additions round the exterior edge.[Plate 33] Shields of this type, dated 1587, have been recorded in Germany.[15]

There is one surviving example of the royal Arms depicted on stained glass. [Plate 34] It is dated 1600 and is the only version of the reign to carry the original royal motto in full. The impaled Arms of James and his Danish Queen are featured, set within a decorated roundel, bearing grapes, fruit and flowers. Surviving Scottish stained glass is very rare and although there is no evidence that this piece was made for the King, it was for a long time at Woodhouselee,[16] an estate only 6 miles south of Edinburgh and close enough to consider Holyroodhouse as the orginal location for the glass.

The confusion over the marshalling of Scottish and English quarters on the post-1603 Great Seal of Scotland [Plate 35] has already been mentioned in Chapter One, and there is further evidence of this on a silver seal case made in 1604.[Plate 36] It was attached to the document appointing the 3rd Earl of Montrose as Great Commissioner of Scotland and is engraved with the Arms of Great Britain on one side and the Arms of the Earl on the other. The royal Arms are marshalled with England in the first and fourth quarters, Scotland in the second. The case was commissioned from a Scottish goldsmith and he must have received detailed instructions concerning the engraved armorial decoration from a royal official.

A wood carving at the Palace of Holyroodhouse must date from this period.[Plate 37] The carving is painted and gilded and shows the royal Arms of Great Britain as used in Scotland. The shield is quartered as follows: 1st Scotland, 2nd England, 3rd Ireland, 4th France. It is encircled with the Order of the Garter and surmounted by the crest lion of Scotland. The unicorn is in the dexter position and has a crown floating above, but not placed, on its head. The lion supporter of England, sinister, is crowned. Each supporter carries a banner with the appropriate national device. These national symbols are accompanied below on either side by the national royal plant Badges. The English royal motto is featured beneath the achievement. This is a delightful carving, probably executed in Scotland before the final marshalling of the Arms had been decided. It also indicates that the Scottish Officers had not made up their minds about

crowning the unicorn supporter. This had to wait until the production of the Great Seal.

The King's return visit to Scotland in 1617 acted as a spur to royal building work and the accompanying use of royal heraldry. The north east section of the Palace block at Edinburgh Castle was entirely refaced with ashlar between 1615 and 1617.[Plate 38] The opportunity was taken to remodel the original appearance by altering the fenestration which was made symmetrical. Two large decorative panels were introduced between the windows on the second floor on the east facade. Classical pediments were placed over the windows, and these contain bas-relief carvings by William Wallace.[Appendix Three,50] The decorative theme is the Union of the Crowns symbolised by Scottish and English royal Badges. These can be listed as follows,on the tympanum (A) and the accompanying finial which surmounts each (B):

East Facade,first floor,two windows,left to right,

A. An imperial crown over the cipher IR6 between two bunches of fruit.

B. Thistle.

A. An imperial crown between two bunches of fruit.

B. Fleur de lis.

Second floor,three windows,

A. An imperial crown between two bunches of fruit.

B. Thistle.

1. Panel housing the Honours of Scotland.[Plate 39]

A. An imperial crown over the date 1616 between a fleur de lis,thistle (now missing),a rose and a portcullis.

B. Fleur de lis.

2. Blank panel which once housed the royal Arms.

A. An imperial crown between two bunches of fruit.

B. Thistle.

North Facade,three vertical windows,top to bottom,[Plate 40],

A. A thistle between a rose and a harp.

B. No finial.

A. The Honours of Scotland, a crown over crossed sword and sceptre.

B. Rose.

A. An imperial crown between two bunches of fruit. B. Thistle.

UNIV. EDINBURGH EX BIBL

The carvings are straight forward and clear but have an applied appearance as though the carver was unsure of handling the elements within the style derived from the Italian Renaissance. Contemporary carving elsewhere in Scotland has a distinct boldness of form which will be considered in due course. The two panels on the east facade are set in housings composed of egg and dart mouldings, a detail probably derived from one of the many pattern books emanating from the Low Countries. The blank panel which contained the royal Arms is one of the victims of Cromwell's anti-royal policy.

Inside the Palace Block is the small room in which the King was born. As this was repainted for his visit, and the decoration exists on the ceiling and upper half of the walls, it remains the one surviving interior in Scotland associated with King James. Painted thistles plus the initials MR and IR occur on the ceiling, the walls have the date and year of the King's birth which flank a spirited painting of the royal Arms of Scotland.[Plate 38] This is a key version of the Arms because the unicorn supporters are fully crowned for the first time, their tails are shown raised and not between their legs, and the two royal mottoes appear together.

Apart from the Castle, renovative work was also executed in the Abbey Church at Holyroodhouse. The Privy Council hired a carver from London, Nicholas Stone,[17] to undertake repairs "in suche decent and comelie forme and maner as is aggreable to his Majesties princelie estaite." A fragment of woodcarving remains at Holyroodhouse showing the royal Arms.[Plate 41]This is made up with three planks which originally had an additional layer of oak on the crown and lion to allow greater relief. This unusual construction was not normal in Scotland at the time and may indicate that this is a piece prepared by Stone.

One piece of heraldic decoration, in the form of an embroidered panel of the royal Arms, was probably produced for the visit.[Plate 42] it has been suggested this could be the work of William Beaton, the King's Embroiderer in Scotland.[18] The embroidery is heavily padded and shows the royal Arms as used in Scotland on an elaborate shield, surrounded by a collar of thistles and the Garter.[19] Instead of the royal motto of Scotland, the motto BEATI SUNT PACIFICI is used, a favourite sentiment of the King. This appears on a riband beneath the arms which are flanked by a unicorn and lion supporter. These

have an old fashioned appearance resulting from the stiff posture with tails *coue* and a bulbous crown balanced precariously on the head of the unicorn. The Arms are also surmounted by a bulbous crown which is flanked by a thistle and rose, elements again repeated on either side of the supporters. The bulbous crowns and manner of depicting the English lion supporter are unusual in relation to contemporary Scottish practice and it is known that "a greyne velvott clayth with the Kings majesties ayrmis come fra Londoun" was provided in 1610 for the chamber in the Tolbooth where the Scottish Parliament normally met.[20] It is possible this London version of the royal Arms provided inspiration for William Beaton.

Another craftsman working specifically for the King was his bookbinder, John Gibson.[Appendix Three,17] He employed the royal Arms to identify the books belonging to the sovereign. He also used a device based on the figure of St Andrew. The various royal devices were stamped on the covers of books, often as part of an elaborate scheme of embossing.[Plate 43] *Super libros* had been in use since the beginning of the sixteenth century, and several Scottish armigers had books stamped with their Arms before the reign of King James.[21] The most sumptuous extant binding Gibson created for the King is now in the British Library. It binds the original manuscript of ***Basilicon Doron***, written by the monarch himself, and is of dark purple velvet. The corner pieces and clasps are of gold, in the form of thistles, and the gold centrepiece is engraved with the royal Arms surrounded by a collar of thistles. The Arms are supported by unicorns and are surmounted by the initials IR. Below on the riband is another example of the full royal motto, IN MY DEFENCE GOD ME DEFEND.[22] The King wrote the manuscript for the instruction of his heir, Prince Henry. It was privately printed in 1599 when Henry was five years old.

The 1583 recommendations by the Master of Works drew the King's attention to the insecure condition of the west range of Linlithgow Palace. The King was again warned in 1605 that the north side of the inner close was in imminent danger of collapse and this actually happened two years later on 6 September. This part of the Palace lay in ruins for eleven years,[23] until reconstruction began in 1618 with William Wallace as master mason.

Having just completed the facade of the Palace Block at Edinburgh Castle Wallace brought the same solution to Linlithgow. A plain wall of ashlar, punctured by symmetrical windows, relieved by classical tympani with finials. The long facade is divided equally by a five-sided staircase tower which originally carried a carving of the royal Arms, but this too was obliterated by Cromwell's troops.[Plate 44]

The larger wall area caused Wallace to increase his heraldic vocabulary. The Union symbolism is repeated with the addition of Badges associated with the title of Prince of Wales. The unexpected death of Prince Henry in 1612 had caused his younger brother, Charles, to become heir so that he was Duke of Rothesay and Prince of Wales. The positioning of the heraldic elements has a feeling of progression upwards as the crest lion of Scotland is over a crown surmounting the royal cipher. The crest in turn has a regal thistle above, and at the roofline there is a host of cherubs. However the progression is not nearly so skilful as found at Huntly Castle in Aberdeenshire. A list of the heraldic devices is useful in comparison to those at Edinburgh Castle. Again A represents the tympanum and B the finial;

First Floor,left to right,

A. An imperial crown over 1R6 between a three headed thistle and a rose.

B. Thistle.

A. An imperial crown over IR1 between a fleur de lis and a harp.

B. Rose.

A. The word ANNO.

B. Thistle.

A. The date 1618.

B. Fleur de lis.

A. The Prince of Wales feathers Badge flanked C.P. between a thistle and a rose.

B. Fleur de lis.

A. A fleur de lis within a scroll.

B. Rose.

Second Floor,

A. Crossed sword and sceptre between an imperial crown and IR6.

B. Fleur de lis.

A. The crest lion of Scotland flanked I.R.between a thistle and a rose.

B. Thistle.

A. A regal saltire,i.e. with a crown encircling the crossing of the arms.

B. Thistle.

A. A portcullis, one of the royal Badges of England.

B. Rose.

A. An imperial crown over IR6 between a thistle and a rose.

B. Rose.

A. The Prince of Wales Feathers between C. and P.

B. Thistle.

At this level there was a panel bearing the royal Arms which was destroyed.

Third Floor,

A. An imperial crown over IR6 supported by two angels.

B. Thistle.

A. Regal thistle framed by strap-work scrolls.

B. Thistle.

A. A cherub head.

B. Fleur de lis.

A. A cherub head.

B. Fleur de lis.

A. An imperial crown over IR1 supported by hands emerging from clouds.

B. Rose.

A. A crowned rose between bunches of fruit.

B. Fleur de lis.

Fourth Floor,

A. A cherub head flanked by spread wings.

A. A cherub head flanked by bunches of fruit.

A. A cherub head.

A. A cherub head.

A. A cherub head flanked by bunches of fruit.

A. A cherub head.

At this level there is stone with the date 1620, the year of completion.

Although William Wallace was the carver at Edinburgh and Linlithgow, another person was probably responsible for the building *brief*. The Overseer of the works at both palaces was Walter Murray who had been appointed on 21 December 1615 as "maister overseare and attendar".[24] Walter may have been the son of James Murray of Kilbaberton, the King's Master of Works from 1605 until 1615. James was in turn the son of James Murray, Overseer of the King's Works from 1601 until 1605.[25]

Paton suggests that the master masons at the time were architects in the modern sense insofar as they prepared drawings and sketches.[26] Therefore although the Murrays had considerable experience of arranging contracts, ensuring work was up to standard, and arranging payment, it appears that Wallace himself could have devised the schemes of heraldic decoration. If this was the case he would require expert advice as the royal symbolism of England could not have been widely known in Scotland.It is likely he sought that advice from the Office of Arms in Edinburgh.

The employment of the royal Arms in Scotland was not restricted to the sovereign or for official purposes. The realm is unlike any other European country in having numerous examples of the King's heraldry displayed on private residences. This arose because many individuals held Crown land, granted by royal charter, and it became the custom to display the royal Arms over personal Arms to demonstrate this fact. The bulk of these Crown land owners constituted the ancient, and newly ennobled, aristocracy of Scotland and they are the next group which will be considered.

ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE

This category will be considered in the broadest terms from earls to non-titled, but armigerous, individuals. A number after an individual name refers to Appendix Two.

Royal Arms are often placed in elaborate housings in order to provide a focal point on the elevation of a building, particularly over the main entrance. An example, dated 1570, can be seen on the highly ornamented front elevation of Mar's Wark in Stirling.[Plate 45] This was built by John Erskine, 1st Earl of

Mar[3]. Although now in a ruinous condition this urban structure retains sufficient features to indicate how splendid it must have appeared when first built. There are strong similarities with French architecture in the use of surface decoration, though the twin octagonal drum projections flanking the main entrance are modelled on native work at Linlithgow Palace Gateway and the West Port at St Andrews. French masons had been employed earlier in the century to remodel the Palace Block at Stirling Castle [27] but no documentary evidence remains to tell whether French masons were engaged by the Earl of Mar.

The drum projections carry the Arms of the Earl and his wife. The left hand projection (heraldic dexter) bears the Arms of the Earl within an elaborate housing formed with two *telamones* and a pair of half length nude females flanking a vase of flowers. A full achievement is shown with a quartered shield for Mar and Erskine.[Plate 46] The Arms of the Countess, Annabella Murray of Tullibardine, are set within a less elaborate housing carved with a running leaf pattern. An impaled shield of Mar and Murray, surmounted by the coronet of a countess, is encircled by a riband gathered at various points by a jewelled ring and alternate elaborate knots. The ends of the knots are allowed to trail into the corners of the panel as space-fillers. The visual result is most appropriate for a woman. This solution is not found in association with other examples of female heraldry during the period.

Mar's Wark is not the only surviving piece of heraldic patronage by John Erskine. In 1566 he commissioned silver mounts for a rock crystal container from an Edinburgh goldsmith.[Plate 47] The mounts turned the container into a ewer and the owner was identified by an engraved disc set into the lid. The impaled Arms of Erskine and Murray are shown, surmounted by an earl's coronet. The presence of the coronet indicates that the piece might have been ordered to celebrate John Erskine's restoration to the ancient title of Mar, an event which occurred in 1565. The engraver has used a simple shield for the Arms, I will eventually show this was an unusual choice for an engraver at that time.

The Scottish, even British, apogee of elaborate entrance heraldry is found at Huntly Castle in Aberdeenshire.[Plate 48] This formed the introduction to the remodelled castle of Strathbogie, stronghold of George Gordon, 6th Earl and 1st

Marquess of Huntly.[2] Apart from the visual impact of this great heraldic frontispiece, the arrangement of devices and religious imagery has been composed in a deliberate hierarchical progression which begins at the door lintel and ends with the figure of St Michael high above eye level. European parallels for such a scheme are not numerous. Great architectural displays of heraldry did exist such as the Armorial Tower in Innsbruck,[Plate 49] but on that tower there was no attempt to arrange the heraldry in order of importance. At Barlborough Hall in Derbyshire, the owner, Francis Rodes, a successful lawyer who had the Earl of Shrewsbury as his patron [28] placed his personal Arms over the main entrance with those of his patron above, and completed the scheme at a higher level with the royal Arms of his sovereign, Queen Elizabeth I of England. Such a progression upwards is the only English example found which predates the Huntly scheme. The Marquess of Huntly was exiled in France during 1594 and he may have seen the chateau of Ainay-le-Vieil in the Cher region, south west of Paris. A stair tower of late sixteenth century construction has a small scale scheme of progression above the entrance door. It begins with the achievement of the Bigny family, above are the royal Arms of France held by an angel supporter and is completed by a sculpted group of the Virgin and Child.[29] Whatever the inspirational source at Huntly the Marquess must have contributed to the creation of the scheme as it contains Catholic imagery, proof that his public adhesion to the Reformed faith was only nominal. The contents of the frontispiece are as follows:

On the lintel of the doorway are four small shields with animals between each, possibly the greyhound supporters of the Huntly Arms. The shields bear the quartered Arms of George Gordon, his initials and those of his wife, Henrietta Stewart, daughter of the Duke of Lennox. The other two shields carry the Lennox Arms and the date 1602. Immediately above, within a moulded frame, there are the impaled Arms of Huntly and Lennox, given prominence by flanking consoles which separate the shield from the supporters. Dexter is the greyhound of Gordon, sinister the wolf of Lennox. Above the shield are the combined crests of Gordon and Lennox, a stag head and a bull head issuing from an open coronet. There is then another elaborate frame containing the impaled royal Arms of James VI and Anne of Denmark with an oval badge of St Andrew suspended below.

The complex Arms of the Queen are quarterly:
1.Denmark, 2.Norway, 3.Sweden, 4.Gothland, in base Vandalia. Dividing the four quarters is the Cross of Dannebrog, and over all an inescutcheon, charged with an escutcheon en surtout. The two escutcheons are not carved and were originally painted to show quarterly:
1.Holstein, 2.Stammarn, 3.Ditmarken, 4.Lauenburg, and on the escutcheon en surtout the impaled Arms of Oldenburg and Delmanhorst.

Outwith the frame are the appropriate supporters, dexter the Scottish unicorn holding a banner of the royal Arms, sinister the wyvern of Denmark bearing a wyvern banner. Over the frame is the royal crest of Scotland, flanked dexter with the initials I.R.6. for Jacobus Rex Sextus, and sinister A.R.S. for Anne Regina Scotorum. Immediately over the crest is the royal motto IN DEFENS which forms the bottom section of another panel. This panel originally contained the Arma Christi and was flanked by the carved figures of St Peter and St James. Above was a carved inscription,
ABSIT.NOBIS.GLORIARI.NISI.IN.CRUCE.DOMINI.NOSTRI.JESU.CHRISTI.
(It is not fitting that we glory in anything but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ).

The major definitive moulding which contains all the above shields and panels ends with a pointed arch which encircles a roundel originally carved with the head of Christ surrounded by a sunburst, edged with clouds. Over the upper part of the roundel is the phrase, DIVINA.VIRTUTE.RESURGO.(By divine aid I will rise again). The major moulding is stepped in on either side of the roundel and at that point there is a lion sejant affronte on the dexter and an eagle displayed on the sinister, representing Scotland and the Holy Romanm Empire respectively. The complete ensemble is surmounted by the figure of St Michael the Archangel, not only as the symbol of Good triumphing over Evil, but also as the patron saint of the French Order of St Michael. George Gordon, when Earl of Huntly, received the Order from King Henry IV of France in 1594.

All the sacred imagery at Huntly was mutilated in 1650, being considered "popish emblems" by Cromwellian troops. If painted and gilded the Huntly Castle panel must have been a spectacular introduction to the residence of

George Gordon, a building which had been remodelled after the manner of the chateau at Blois.[30] Plate 50 shows a false dormer window decorating a chimney stack at Huntly Castle which typifies the quality of the architectural detailing. The pediment of the window carries the quartered Arms of George Gordon carved on an elaborately-shaped shield. The charges are carved in bold relief so that they are recognisable from ground level.

The interiors at Huntly were equally rich in appearance with painted ceilings,[31] and carved stone fireplaces in two of the principal chambers. The most imposing fireplace [Plate 51] features the royal Arms of Great Britain as part of a design which echoes the hierarchical arrangement on the exterior of the Castle. The fireplace is dated 1606 and was thus carved after the heraldic frontispiece, its character is different however as north European classical elements have been employed in the composition. The jambs have atlantes dressed in armour which support a lintel, framed at the side with elongated triglyphs. These carry the eye up to stretched pyramids wrapped with inscribed ribbons. On the dexter side the ribbon bears the name and title of the Marquess and is surmounted by a crescent, one of the charges from his Arms. On the sinister side the pyramid ribbon carries similar information for the Marchioness with a fleur de lis from the Lennox Arms as a finial. In between these framing elements, on the lintel, are the full achievements of Huntly and his wife flanking an oval inscribed with the sentiment, SEN GOD DOE VS DEFEND, VE SAL PREVAIL VNTO YE END. Within the oval are the cipher of the couple surmounted by a coronet. The top moulding of the lintel carries the inscription, TO THAES THAT LOVE GOD AL THINGIS VIRKS TO THE BEST. Progressing upward the royal Arms occupy the central position, delineated by two fluted columns with Corinthian capitals. The latter, in turn, originally supported two carved figures, now defaced, which flank a trefoil-shaped arch containing a blank panel. Panel and figures were probably of religious significance and would have completed the three tier composition.

The second remaining fireplace at Huntly,[Plate 52] is less imposing but of more human interest because it carries two portrait roundels. As these flank the impaled achievement of the Marquess and Marchioness the roundels presumably represent the builder of the Castle and his lady. The imaginative decorative remains at Huntly indicate the quality of what has been lost. It is known the

Marquess employed the painter John Anderson [Appendix Three,32] at Huntly Castle in 1617,[32] and there are faint fragments of heraldic painting on portions of plaster left on internal walls.[33]

The Marquess of Huntly made full use of heraldry and religious symbolism on his residence. No other patron during the reign was quite so public in using this combination, all others concentrated on heraldry alone. The royal Arms were given prominence of place despite the troubled relationship between monarch and Marquess because their significance transcended any passing phase of human behaviour.

The Marquess of Huntly and the Earl of Mar were not the greatest heraldic patrons of the reign. This distinction must go collectively to the Seton family. The patriarch, George 5th Lord Seton, was Master of the Royal Household to Mary Queen of Scots, and one of his surviving commissions is a cast bronze bell which hung originally in Seton Collegiate Church.[Plate 53] This was cast in the Netherlands by the founder, Adriaen Steylaert, in 1577 and carries the quarterly Arms of Seton and Buchan,[34] along with the name LORD GEORGE SETON. Although bronze casting was undertaken in Scotland, the specialist craft of bell founding apparently had no native practitioners until the seventeenth century. George Seton had three sons who commissioned heraldic material. Robert, 6th Lord Seton,[4] later 1st Earl of Winton, ordered a painted family tree on vellum in 1585 [Plate 54] and then an armorial in 1591 [Plate 13]. The family tree is only 17½" high by 13½" wide, but contains eighteen miniature portraits, and seventy-two coats of arms. Four of the portraits look as though done from life and include the patron, his wife, and his parents. The portraits and heraldry are laid out literally like the spreading branches of a tree with flowers, leaves, a monkey and six birds, all used as space fillers between the shields and portraits. It is a tour de force of genealogical information in a small area and must have been executed in Scotland as the spelling of names and descriptions are in contemporary Scots. The Seton Armorial has already been featured but both items show the interest taken at the time in family history and in the armorial symbolism which succinctly demonstrates familial relationships.

Robert Seton's younger brother, George, [5] who succeeded to the Winton title in 1610, engaged William Wallace [Appendix Three,50] to remodel Wintoun House between 1620 and 1627.[35] Wallace included a panel with the royal Arms and the inscription JACOBUS PRIMUS BRITANNIAE MAGNAE ET FRANCIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX, this was later built into the east terrace surrounding the house.

However the most active heraldic patron proved to be the youngest brother, Alexander.[6] He had grown up in Seton Palace, "the most princely Scottish mansion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[36] There he was surrounded by heraldic display. On the ceiling of the Great Hall were the royal Arms of Scotland, the Arms of France, the Arms of Mary Queen of Scots impaling the Arms of the Dauphin, the Arms of Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault, and several other achievements of Scottish noblemen surrounded with the Collar of the French Order of St.Michael.[37] In due course Alexander was to be described as having "great skill in architecture and herauldrie".[38] These two interests are best seen in the two buildings most closely associated with him, Fyvie Castle in Aberdeenshire and Pinkie House near Musselburgh.

Alexander Seton, born a Catholic, was educated in Rome as he was destined for a career in the Church. Following the Reformation he altered his intention and studied civil law. He continued his studies in France before returning to Scotland where he was called to the Bar at the age of twenty two. These foreign experiences, plus his family background, provided Seton
with unique gifts which were to be fully utilised in service to Crown and State. In 1583 he accompanied his father in an embassy to King Henry IV of France. Three years later he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session with the judicial title of Prior of Pluscarden. He commissioned a brass seal matrix for use in his personal and business transactions which carried his Arms; Three crescents within a double tressure flory counter flory. These were flanked by the initials A.S., a crosier symbolising his title of Prior was placed behind the shield, and above, in three niches, were placed the figures of the Virgin and Child between St Andrew and St Margaret.[39] Seton's Catholic upbringing was never so publicly displayed but this was tempered by his choice of saints which demonstrated his patriotism. Two years later he became an Ordinary Lord of Session under the style of Lord Urquhart and a new seal matrix was produced

for him. It is possible he spoke to one of the heralds and discussed how his Arms could be marshalled to show his descent from Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar. The new matrix carried different ensigns armorial. These were; On a fess enhanced three cinquefoils (for Hamilton), as many crescents in base, all within the double tressure flory counter flory, for Seton. Above the shield a helmet with mantling, and for a crest, a crescent.[40] Although still the nominal Prior of Pluscarden, Seton chose to drop religious symbolism on his second seal. He married Lilias Drummond, a daughter of the third Lord Drummond, about 1592 and by her he had five daughters. As a result of his legal abilities he became President of the Court of Session in 1593. These abilities were further recognised by his appointment as one of the Octavians in 1595, the group authorised by the King to overhaul the financial management of the royal revenues. The following year Queen Anne chose him to be Constable of Dunfermline Palace, an honour augmented by the grant of the lands and barony of Fyvie. Within a year the barony was erected into a free lordship of Parliament, giving Alexander Seton the title of Lord Fyvie, with the provision that he should be "decorated with an addition of insignia and arms to the proper Arms of his house." [41] Surviving examples of his Arms from this period show that no additions were made despite this clause in the grant of title.

Between 1596 and 1603 he enlarged the existing castle of Fyvie by building a new symmetrical facade, the first of its kind in Scotland, and improved internal circulation by installing the widest main spiral staircase north of the border. Both improvements resulted from knowledge of architectural trends seen by Lord Fyvie on the Continent and both were enhanced with heraldic display. The central tower block of the facade has housings for three armorial panels above the main door, the block is flanked by windows with Seton crescent finials and at the roofline the dormer windows bear armorial shields in the pediments.[Plate 55] The internal spiral staircase features the impaled Arms of Alexander and his wife, Lilias Drummond, repeated at each turn as the visitor ascends the stair. The same combination decorates the retaining stair arches to confront anyone descending the steps.[Plate 57] In 1599 Alexander commissioned a stained glass heraldic roundel,[Plate 56] which may be from the same workshop as the roundel of 1600,[Plate 34] there are similarities in the manner of rendering the mantling. The concern with detail is also demonstrated in the door knocker which was made for the entrance to the castle.[Plate 59] The handle of the

knocker carries the shield of Arms with the motto engraved vertically above.The knocker plate extends the heraldic scheme by having an elaborate outline composed of crescents and fleurs de lis, charges from the Arms. As the new laird of Fyvie Alexander installed a pew in the local parish kirk which was identified in 1603 with his Arms carved on a wooden panel.[Plate 58] Fifteen years later he ordered a silver communion cup for Fyvie kirk from an Edinburgh goldsmith.It was engraved with the quartered shield which identified him after his elevation to the title of Earl of Dunfermline.[Plate 60] The engraved decoration, which includes an encircling inscription, has a different quality from that on other cups of the period. This could be the result of precise instructions given by the patron to the engraver. Apart from his various official duties and concern with the work at Fyvie, Alexander Seton was elected Provost of Edinburgh in 1598. He held the post for ten years.[42]

While the work at Fyvie was taking place Lilias Drummond died in 1601. Possibly conscious that he had no male heir, Lord Fyvie re-married quickly. His second wife was Grizel Leslie a daughter of the Master of Rothes. She bore him a son, who died young, and two daughters. After the King left Scotland in 1603 Lord Fyvie was appointed Vice Chancellor of Scotland early in 1604 but before the end of the year he was promoted to Chancellor. With the sovereign absent in England, Scotland was to be governed for the next eighteen years by a man of wisdom and educated taste. A serious study of his influence and example on the cultural life of the country has yet to be undertaken,[43] but there is no doubt that certain individuals mentioned in this thesis found inspiration for improvements to their properties through friendship with the Chancellor.

In March 1605 Lord Fyvie was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dunfermline. As he had been the Constable of Dunfermline Palace since 1596 the title was appropriate. Yet another new seal matrix was required with the legend, S' ALEX. COMITIS DE DVNFARM. and the Arms were now marshalled quarterly Hamilton and Seton.[44] The Chancellor also had a signet cut with his Badge, a crescent encircling a cinquefoil surmounted by an earl's coronet,[45] and this was also carved on a stone, dated 1607, mounted on the south exterior wall of Dunfermline Abbey.[46] This may have been an interim expedient until full consultation took place with the Lord Lyon and his brother heralds because a fourth and much more complex seal matrix was ordered by the Chancellor. A

surviving document, dated 1618, carries an impression of the seal. It bears quarterly 1st and 4th: Three crescents within a royal tressure for Seton. 2nd and 3rd: On a fess three cinquefoils for Hamilton of Sanquhar. Above the shield an Earl's coronet surmounted by a helmet with mantling and a crescent crest. The motto SEMPER is on an escroll passing behind the crest. The supporters are two horses at liberty. In the background of the lower part of the seal is a view of Dunfermline. The encircling legend is: SIGILLVM.ALEXANDRI.SETONII.FERMELINODVNI.COMITIS.[47] This was the final version of the full heraldic achievement of the Chancellor which positioned the Arms of Seton in its correct primary position on the shield. The Chancellor married for the third time in 1607, his second wife having died in 1606.[48] His third wife was Margaret Hay, sister of the 8th Lord Yester, and by her he had a son and two daughters.

The Chancellor had purchased the tower house of Pinkie near Musselburgh in 1597 but concentrated his money and efforts on the great improvements at Fyvie. After his third marriage he turned his attention to Pinkie and began a scheme of architectural remodelling to turn the tower into a gracious dwelling. It was not perhaps as gracious as his imagination would have wished when the sentiment in Latin over the original main entrance is translated,"Alexander Seton built this house not to the measure of his desire, but of his fortunes and estates." [49] The house contains architectural features inspired by English styles, such as the fenestration, and internally the new fashion of plasterwork was executed by itinerant plasterers from south of the border. The most striking interior is the Painted Gallery, a room about twenty three metres long by over six metres wide. The ceiling is an elliptical vault of smooth wooden planks divided with tempera paint into a series of bays on either side of a central square.[Plate 61] The Chancellor must have discussed with the painter how this large ceiling area would be treated as the decoration consists of mythical and allegorical subjects enhanced with moral apophthegms. A detailed description of the ceiling is not appropriate here, but is mentioned because the central square has been rendered, by trompe l'oeil, as a cupola open to the skies. The perspective is deliberately off-centre and has been taken from Plate 37 of a book on perspective published in Leiden during 1604.[50] The cupola is decorated with nine armorial achievements; the Arms of the Chancellor are central, flanked by those of his elder brother the Earl of Winton, and those of the Earl

of Angus.In side borders there are the Arms of the Earl of Bothwell between the coats of Lord Yester and Farquhar of Gilmilscroft, and lastly the Arms of the Earl of Cassillis between those of Lord Borthwick and the Marquess of Hamilton. [Plate 62] The display is a heraldic family tree giving the armorial descent of the Chancellor who caused it to be painted for all to see. However he disarms the criticism of pride by having as one of the accompanying inscriptions the following:
VIRUM.BONUM.NON.ORDO.SED.MORES.PRAESTANT.- Not rank, but demeanour, demonstrates the good man.

The combination of pictorial decoration and apophthegm appealed to Jacobean patrons who derived great pleasure from symbolism and its hidden meanings. Being capable of understanding was the mark of an educated mind, and symbolism pervaded all forms of art from playwriting to the creation of jewellery. The science of heraldry fitted very easily into this form of intellectual pursuit and was one of the reasons for its popularity during the period.

The Chancellor's patronage was not confined to Pinkie during this time. In 1610 he presented a silver gilt bell to the burgh of Dunfermline to be used as a racing trophy.[51] Although the bell no longer exists, other extant examples bear engraved heraldry and the Chancellor may have ordered his Arms to be shown on the bell. At about the same time the Chancellor spent money on building an aisle for his own use at St Bridget's Kirk near Dalgety Bay in Fife. This was close to another small residence he owned, Dalgety House, which has been described as his favourite home but no longer exists.[52] The Kirk is now a ruin but the roofless aisle still has moulded frames on the exterior walls which once held carved panels,[53] bearing the Arms of the Chancellor.

The building and decorative work at Pinkie was completed c1613 and as mentioned some smaller rooms were plastered. Plate 63 shows some of the heraldic devices reproduced in this new medium. The full achievement of the Chancellor was cast from a mould and fixed to a wall within a frame cast from the same mould as that used for the ceiling mouldings. The pattern of ceiling mouldings is such that there are blank areas and these contain individual cast

devices such as the Seton Badge. [Plate 64] A combined monogram of the Chancellor and his third wife, Margaret Hay, is also used as a decorative detail.

The Chancellor continued to govern the country on the King's behalf while commissioning the many personal works in Aberdeenshire, Lothian and Fife.

In 1621 he donated four communion cups to his local kirk at Inveresk, near Pinkie.[Plate 65] They are simple with a single band of stamped decoration on the foot. One cup is engraved inside the bowl with the final version of the Chancellor's Arms surmounted by coronet, crest, and motto. As on the Fyvie cup the Arms are encircled with an inscription, but consists of only one line.[54]

His official duties brought him into contact with the Officers of Arms at the meetings of Parliament, at the creations and elevations of noblemen, and especially on 17 June 1621 at Holyroodhouse. On that date he knighted Jerome Lindsay of Annatland and installed him as the new Lyon King of Arms. The Chancellor "delyverit to the said Lyoun his coat of armes, quhilk wes putt upon him, patt the croun on his heade, and delyverit him the battoun."[55] This was one of the last public duties undertaken by the Chancellor as the following year he died at Pinkie on 16 June 1622, aged 67. His body was embalmed and then taken by boat across the Forth to Dalgety in Fife. The corpse remained at Dalgety House until 9 July when it was conveyed with great solemnity to St Bridget's Kirk. The Officers of Arms were involved in marshalling the procession which included various heraldic elements plus 5 maces and the Great Seal of Scotland. Dingwall, Ormond and Bute Pursuivants were present along with Islay and Albany Heralds. There were over ninety official participants in the cortege which was followed by numerous barons, knights, esquires and gentlemen. The preacher at the funeral service was John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews. The Chancellor was interred in the Dunfermline Aisle at the Kirk where his first two wives were buried.[56] It was appropriate that the last act of a man who had commissioned so many pieces of heraldic art during his lifetime was conducted with full ceremonial panoply. The ceremonial was recorded in the Office of Arms and possibly involved the production of a painted guide, [Plate 19] indicates that it set the pattern for funerals of the nobility during the rest of the century.[57]

A close friend and kinsman [58] of the Chancellor, who lived thirty miles south of Fyvie, was Alexander Burnett of Leys who completed construction of his castle at Crathes, near Banchory, about the year 1596. The castle is smaller than Fyvie but no less interesting in the decorative use of heraldry. The internal decoration was undertaken at the same time as the Chancellor was busy remodelling Fyvie and Alexander Burnett may have been influenced by the activities of his friend.

Alexander Burnett and his wife, Katherine Gordon, commissioned in 1594 a magnificent carved bed [Plate 66] so constructed that they could lie in it and look up at a tester bearing their impaled Arms, combined monogram, and portraits. The Burnett Arms consist of a hunting horn and in chief three holly leaves, the Gordon Arms bear three boar heads. These are set amidst surrounding panels alternatively having a holly leaf from the Burnett Arms and a boar head from the Gordon Arms. The panels containing the charges are very similar in character to panels on a bench, dated 1607, now in St Nicholas West Kirk, Aberdeen.[Plate 67a] The panel type remained popular with woodcarvers in Aberdeen for many years as shown by another bench made in 1677.[Plate 67b] The carving on the bed is not sophisticated but has the same quality as printed woodcuts, bold clear patterns devoid of unnecessary detail. Some north European classical elements are present - grotesque masks, fan shapes derived from acanthus and a heavy variant of egg and dart moulding. Aberdeen, with its trade connections to the Low Countries, was the import point for continental influences which then spread out into the hinterland through the agency of itinerant woodcarvers.

Apart from the bed, the laird and his lady required chairs, and these by their varying height reflect the status of husband and wife.[Plate 68]
Alexander's chair, with its narrow back panel and splayed arms, is derived from the French *caqueteuse* type of the medieval period. His wife's chair shows the Scottish development to more squat proportions with S-shaped arms. Like the bed, each chair bears appropriate heraldry to denote ownership.

Decorative heraldry was also employed on structural woodwork within the castle. On the top floor there is a long gallery set into the roof space. The rafters are clad with oak planks which form a coved ceiling. The large expanse

of timber is broken up visually with applied mouldings to give a coffered effect. Ceilings of this type are found in the palaces of Holyroodhouse and Falkland, both constructed during the reign of King James V. They are derived from earlier barrel-vaulted or elliptical ceilings with applied carvings, such as the c1471 ceiling recently removed from Guthrie Castle in Angus. At Crathes the central moulding on the ceiling carries three fully carved armorial shields each at an intersection between cross mouldings. The heraldry is given further prominence by four curvilinear arms in saltire formation which emerge from behind the shields.[Plate 69]

The devices are ; the royal Arms, the Arms of the Marquess of Hamilton, and those of the Chancellor when he was Lord Fyvie. Alexander Burnett's great grandfather married Janet Hamilton whose dowry consisted of church lands, formerly possessed by the Abbey of Arbroath. These lifted the Burnetts to a new level of prosperity, hence the grateful display of Hamilton Arms. Lord Fyvie's Arms are there out of respect for the friendship between the laird of Leys and the Chancellor of Scotland.

At the same time the ceiling of the long gallery was being constructed, Alexander Burnett contracted a painter to decorate another ceiling in a small room on the second floor of the castle which was used by his wife.The painter,or Katherine Gordon, chose the nine Muses as the theme for the scheme of painted decoration which included her initials, along with the impaled Arms of the couple.[Plate 70] The Muse figures are set within foliaceous and figurative painting dictated by the plank and beam construction of the ceiling which forms the floor of the room above. The craftsman painted the ceiling once it was in position, working over his head. The procedure involved applying a base undercoat of mixed chalk and size upon which the the designs were drawn in black outline and then filled in with colour. Natural pigments were used such as red lead, green copper verdigris and blue azurite. Tempera paint does not fade as a result of action by ultra violet light but is susceptible to damp. The technique had been used in Scotland from the medieval period, initially in ecclesiastical buildings such as Dryburgh Abbey, St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall, and Torphichen Preceptory.[59] By the third quarter of the sixteenth century its use had spread to domestic interiors, no doubt hastened by the Reformation with its strictures on display within religious buildings.

The unknown painter's work at Crathes satisfied his patron as the same craftsman went on to execute a more masculine scheme, dated 1602, in another room. Here the theme is the Nine Worthies each of whom is accompanied by his attributed Arms,i.e. Arms composed after the invention of heraldry and used retrospectively. These devised Arms are featured in the Lindsay Armorial of 1542, used by successive Officers of Arms. The unknown painter either had access to the Armorial or he was briefed by an Officer of Arms. In 1602 the local herald was Gilbert Guthrie, Marchmont, who must have been a familiar figure throughout the north-east as he went about his business. That may have involved visits to Fyvie Castle where he would have seen all the work undertaken by Alexander Seton and may have given heraldic advice.

Each Worthy is shown in armour or in oriental dress, holding a sword, and each is identified by an inscribed scroll above his head.[Plate 71] The Arms appear below each figure. Foliaceous ornament is employed as space filling in a similar style to that in the first painted room. It is impossible to say, on the basis of the Crathes style, whether the same painter undertook other work elsewhere in Aberdeenshire. Extant tempera painting is found at Craigston Castle, near Turriff, some scanty remains at Huntly, and from a later period, at Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen.

The use of heraldry as decoration in a domestic setting was not an original concept at Crathes. Several years earlier, around 1581, James or John Wood had commissioned a complete heraldic scheme at Balbegno Castle in Angus.[Plate 72] The great hall in the Castle is covered with anachronistic sexpartite rib-vaults consisting of sixteen compartments. Each compartment carries the armorial achievement of an earl, with motto, crest, and supporters set within curvilinear decoration. Sutherland has shown that the selection of armorial devices represent the group of nobles who organised the downfall of the former Regent, Morton, on the last day of December 1580.[60] The Arms are those of;

1.Earl of Atholl
2.Earl of Arran
3.Earl of Bothwell
4.Earl of Argyll
5.Earl of Crawford
6.Earl of Erroll
7.Earl of Eglinton
8.Earl of Gowrie? (blank)
9.Earl of Lennox
10.Earl of Murray
11.Earl of Huntly
12.Earl of Orkney
13.Earl Marischal
14.Earl of Montrose
15.Earl of Cassillis
16.Earl of Rothes

Compartment number 8 has been deliberately erased but enough painted evidence remains to show it once carried an armorial device. Gowrie's forfeiture in 1584 was probably the reason. Balbegno is the sole example of the period where the decoration has been painted directly on to the plaster skin of the vault. All other surviving schemes of painted heraldic decoration are like those at Crathes - executed on the structural roof timbers.

Lothian has several surviving tempera painting ceilings though one heraldic scheme was lost in 1867. This was in a house at Linlithgow and had been painted between 1564 and 1581. The ceiling contained the Arms of fifteen lords and twenty two earls.[61] The decoration at Pinkie House has already been mentioned. As this was painted after Crathes, it is tempting to consider that the friendship between Alexander Burnett and the Chancellor caused the same painter to travel south to Pinkie in order to undertake the work there. The one good painted heraldic ceiling which survives in Lothian is located at Nunraw House, near Garvald, a remodelled residence incorporating the 16th century tower house of Patrick Hepburn and his wife Helen Cockburn.[62] Again there is a strong possibility of involvement by the Officers of Arms because the subject matter could have been drawn from two Armorials in the Office of Arms. The theme is the armorial ensigns of European kings. The Lindsay Armorial of 1542 lists thirty-four Arms of mythical rulers and contemporary kings, and the Forman Lyon Office Armorial of c1566 contains forty two regal achievements. It is unlikely that any other reference source for these examples of foreign heraldry existed elsewhere in Scotland. There are twenty coats of arms of monarchs supported by *putti* plus representations of birds, animals and angels.[Plate 73] The kings represented are:

1. The Emperour (Holy Roman)
2. King of France
3. King of Scotland
4. King of Ingland
5. King of Spane
6. King of Denmark
7. King of Polle (Poland)
8. King of Portingall (Portugal)
9. King of Castilye (Castille)
10. King of Arogone (Aragon)
11. King of Napilis
12. King of Nauer (Navarre)
13. King of Wuo... ?
14. King of Suadin (Sweden)
15. King of Hungary
16. King of Cicilia (Sicily)
17. King of Tole (Toledo)
18. King of Garnatye (Granada)
19. King of Sypir (Cyprus)
20. King of Freisland

The choice of Arms, and the spelling above each, have parallels in the Forman Lyon Office Armorial and I suggest this was the reference source.[63] The use of a crowned thistle with unicorn and lion supporters on one of the panels is proof that the painting was executed after the Union in 1603.

Fife is another locality with a concentration of tempera painting. The county was the home sheriffdom for seven Officers of Arms including two Lyon Kings, so it is not surprising that the finest heraldic painted ceilings are to be found in this part of Scotland. Collairnie Castle, Earlshall, The Palace at Culross, and Rossend Castle all have, or once had, schemes of painting. Collairnie Castle, now uninhabited, contains two heraldic ceilings on the second and third floors. Each ceiling has twenty eight armorial devices, displayed in an arrangement of four shields on each of the seven divisions created between the supporting cross joints. The shields were originally identified by a name on a scroll above, the intervening spaces between shields are filled with foliaceous ornament.
The Arms featured are:

1. Barclay of Collairnie
2. Barclay of Touch
3. Barclay of Towie
4. Barclay of Mather
5. Balfour of Grange
6. Balfour of Burleigh
7. Balfour of that Ilk
8. Balfour of Denmiln
9. Beaton of Creich
10. Beaton of Balfour
11. Beaton of Nether Tarvat
12. Boswell of Balmuto
13. Claphane of Carslogie
14. Colville of Cleish
15. Fernie of that Ilk
16. Forrester of Carden
17. Halkett of Pitfirrane
18. Henderson of Fordell
19. Inglis of Tarvet
20. Kinnaird of the Carse
21. Moncreiffe of that Ilk
22. Monypenny of Pitmillie
23. Melville of Carnbee
24. Learmont of Dairsie
25. Ramsay of Dalhousie
26. Wemyss of that Ilk
27. Sandilands of St Monance
28. Trail of Blebo

The sequence of armorials indicates a combination of kinship and local alliances of friendship on the part of of David Barclay of Collairnie who commissioned the ceilings c1607. The intervening joists carry various apophthegms on either side with the soffits decorated with arabesques and scrollwork. The painting style is loose with no shading to suggest three dimensional form. Round bottomed shields are employed which provide more space for charges but some of these do not fill the available space and look too small as a result. The effect

is however rich and colourful with the coats of arms providing the dominant elements.

The Arms on the second floor [Plate 74] have suffered damage due to water penetration but can be identified [64] :

1. The Lord Gray
2. The Lord Oliphant
3. The Lord Crichton
4. The Lord Innermeith
5. Douglas of Loch Leven
6. Pitblady of that Ilk
7. Stewart of Minto
8. Towers of Innerleith
9. The Lord Sinclair
10. Strang of Balcaskie
11. Aiton of that Ilk
12. Sibbald of Balgonie
13. Seton of Parbroath
14. Colville of Easter Wemyss
15. Lundy of that Ilk
16. Durie of that Ilk
17. Murray of Balvairde
18. Wardlaw of Torry
19. Melville
20. Kincraigie of that Ilk
21. Dishington of Ardross
22. Ramsay of Brackmont
23. Lundy of Balgonie
24. Scott of Balweary
25. Scott of Abbotshall
26. Melville of Rait
27. Stewart of Rosyth
28. Oliphant of Bachilton

The bulk of the Arms belong to families within reasonable distance of Collairnie, but the well known Fife families of Bruce and Lindsay do not appear. The Lord Sinclair held the Castle of Ravenscraig at Kircaldy,[65] and was presumably known to the owner of Collairnie. David Barclay has included the Arms of Ramsays and Oliphants. There were five Officers of Arms bearing these surnames during the reign and one of these may have provided David Barclay with heraldic advice before he commissioned the painter.

There is no heraldry on the painted ceiling at The Palace in Culross, nor on the ceiling from Rossend Castle which is now in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland. The latter does however bear the initials of the patron, Sir Robert Melville, within a shield shape surmounted by a helmet.(This feature also occurs in the Nunraw Ceiling where the shield contains the monogram of Patrick Hepburn and Helen Cockburn). Such an element suggests a heraldic painter was involved and Thomson,[66] tentatively attributes the ceiling to James

Workman.[Appendix Three,21] Apted has also shown,[67] that many of the decorative elements are taken from pattern books published abroad between 1551 and 1611.

The finest and most complex scheme of tempera decoration incorporating heraldry is at Earlshall.[Plate 75] It is a remarkable undertaking which must have involved many months of work. As at Pinkie a flat vaulted ceiling of wood provided the area for a design. This is basically an overall pattern of circles and rectangles linked by strapwork enclosing the ubiquitous foliaceous decoration. No colour has been used, the entire ceiling is painted in monochrome. Eighty four circles carry Arms and paintings of female virtues, the one hundred and five rectangles originally bore illustrations of real and fabulous animals. The seventy two armorial achievements are an unusual mixture. There are twenty eight kingdoms and duchies, nine Worthies, three Wise Men, and thirty three Scottish nobles and gentlemen, comprising a duke, fifteen earls, five lords, and twelve gentlemen. The eleven remaining circles carry the initials of the patrons, William Bruce and his wife Dame Agnes Lindsay, with the date 1620, the seven virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity, Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude and Justice, with two circles showing animals. Immediately below the ceiling is a painted section of arcading with apophthegms contained within the arches. Typical of these is; A NICE WYF AND A BACK DOORE OFT MAKETH A RICH MAN POORE. A strip of decoration acting as a visual link between vertical wall and horizontal ceiling is also found at Crathes Castle, Gladstone's Land,Edinburgh, and at Northfield House,Preston.

The inspiration and source for the heraldic display can be suggested from the clues in the ceiling itself. There is both native and foreign armorials plus the attributed heraldry of the Wise men and Worthies.

For a century the greatest heraldic ceiling in Scotland had existed in Aberdeen at St Machar's Cathedral. Erected about 1520,[68] the ceiling bears the Arms of European sovereigns, Scottish bishops, and Scottish nobles, all carefully arranged in three rows of sixteen shields to provide a total of forty eight armorial devices. The linear design is repeated at Earlshall but without the orderly arrangement of material. The Earlshall ceiling is roughly divided into two

groups, international and attributed Arms in one half, native Scottish heraldry in the other, intermingled with the seven virtues and two animal paintings. The sources for the international and attributed heraldry, as at Nunraw House, again appear to be the 1542 Lindsay Armorial and the Forman Lyon Office Armorial. It is useful to list the regal Arms at Earlshall in comparison with those at Nunraw;

1. King of Svaden (Sweden)
2. King of Ingland
3. King of Navern (Navarre)
4. King of Aragon
5. King of Cyprvs
6. King of Spain
7. Qve(en) of Loraine
8. Dvk of Loraine
9. King of Swadrik ?
10. King of Hungary
11. Prince of Oragnge (Orange)
12. King of Grie-land (Pomerania)
13. Dvk of .lave (Cleves)
14. King of Pole (Poland)
15. King of Freisland
16. Empriovr of Ivdea (Judea)
17. Dvk of Sprvssi (Prussia)
18. King of Portingal (Portugal)
19. King of Castile
20. King of Neapolis
21. King of Bewme (Bohemia)
22. Emperovr of Rome
23. Royal Arms of Scotland
24. King of France
25. King of Denmark
26. King of Yrland (Ireland)
27. Godefrey Dvke of Bovlogne
28. King of Iervsalem
29. King of Norway
30. King of Silitia (Silesia)

The Forman Armorial was owned by James Workman and he would have been familiar with the Lindsay Armorial from his connection with the Office of Arms. The style of painting at Nunraw differs from Earlshall but the unknown painter could have collaborated with Workman who then, in 1620, devised the larger and more ambitious scheme at Earlshall. The fact that the latter is in monochrome may indicate that either William Bruce was not willing to pay more, or there was limited time to undertake the work. James Workman lived in Fife, he had a house in Burntisland, and he would have been a logical choice for a Fife landowner who wished painted heraldic decoration. Workman was paid for work at Edinburgh Castle in 1617 and does not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts again until 1622.[69] The gap may have occured because he was busy at Earlshall.

The decoration of ceilings had an emphasis during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which was powerful enough to carry on through to the early twentieth century, even in the most modest domestic interior. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, through the influence of Flemish craftsmen, who were in turn continuing an Italian tradition, ceilings began to be finished in plaster. This new fashion occured in England first and then came to Scotland after 1603. The ceiling/floor constructional timbers, formerly decorated with tempera colour, were covered with strips of lathe to which various plaster skins were attached, each skin becoming finer in texture until the ultimate finish was achieved. The surface was then broken up with a pattern of plaster mouldings, either cast or modelled in situ. the surface modelling could provide a dramatic three-dimensional quality particularly if pendants were used. Pendants developed from the conical bosses which served to cover the mitring of intersecting ribs, a joint always difficult to the inexpert craftsman.[70] As already mentioned the Earl of Dunfermline was one of the first Scottish patrons to use this new development in interior decoration. The plasterers were itinerant English craftsmen who worked their way up the east coast of Scotland carrying their moulds with them. Evidence for this comes from use of the same moulds at different locations and from the accounts of the King's Master Mason such as appears on 17 February 1617;

"Item to Johne Johnstoun and his man ,plaisteris, in consideratioun
of his paynes in coming fra York to his work x lib."

Plasterers adjusted the shapes to fill the required space, making new moulds where necessary to suit individual client needs. Their geographical progress can be shown by the use of specific moulds in more than one house, such as Balcarres House, Fife, Glamis Castle, Angus, Muchalls Castle, Kincardineshire and Craigievar Castle, Aberdeenshire. In each case the ceilings feature some of the heads of the Nine Worthies modelled after engravings by the Fleming, Nicholas de Bruyn.[71] Plaster can be cast and modelled with ease compared to wood and stone, and heraldic devices were among the first to benefit from this advantage.

A good display of heraldic plasterwork occurs at Muchalls.[Plate 76] This was commissioned in 1624 by Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys who had been brought up

at Crathes Castle with its tempera ceilings. He carried on the heraldic tradition by utilising the new material and exploiting its plastic quality. The Burnett's friendship with the Chancellor may have allowed them to see the new fashion at Pinkie and influenced the decision by Sir Thomas when he was completing the building of Muchalls. In the Great Hall there is a fine royal Arms of the United Kingdom which forms an overmantel to the fireplace.It is the Scottish version of the Arms, but where thistles would normally be located below the shield the English modeller has given prominence to the collar of thistles and the Garter with St George Badge. The Arms are flanked by demi-human couples emerging from pilasters.This feature also occurs in the same position at Glamis Castle in Angus,
(installed 1620) and at Craigievar Castle, dating from 1626. As the flanking demi-humans are first used in English architectural decoration their appearance in Scotland gives further proof of imported English craftsmen.

On the ceiling of the Great Hall there are four achievements: the Marquess of Hamilton and the Earl of Dunfermline, as in the Long Gallery at Crathes, and they are accompanied by the Earl of Lauderdale and the owner, Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys. The achievements are set within strapwork with hanging pendants at chosen intersections. Also present are circular portraits of four of the Nine Worthies; King David, Joshua, Hector of Troy, and Alexander the Great. Below the ceiling there is a deep cornice which slopes in at four window openings. On each sloping surface there is a probative female coat of Arms:
Gordon of Lesmoir, Arbuthnott, Hamilton, and Forbes. The ceiling records genealogy and friendship with the former Chancellor, who had died two years previously, and his son-in-law, John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale and President of the Privy Council. The version of Lauderdale's Arms was first used at Thirlestane Castle in 1618, before his elevation to earl so the coronet above the shield at Muchalls has been altered to that of an earl.[72] The female probative shields, helmets and mantling have been cast from the same mould and then given individual charges and crests. Further economy of mould use is apparent by comparing another version of the royal Arms in the Dining Room with the Arms of the Marquess of Hamilton in the Great Hall.[Plate 76] Each is set on an identical cartouche, each has a shield encircled with the Garter, the differences being the charges and the headgear surmounting the shield.

One other patron from the north-east of Scotland must be considered. Sir Alexander Fraser 8th laird of Philorth received a charter from the King in 1592 allowing him to create Fraser's burgh from the former burgh and port of Faithlie. The charter also gave authority for the establishment of a university in Fraserburgh.[73] This lasted from 1597 until 1605 when it fell into abeyance. Fraser had erected a castle at Kinnaird Head in 1570 which overlooked his fledgling burgh. Near the castle he built a small square tower, a structure which puzzled MacGibbon and Ross,[74] partly because of its local name, the Wine Tower. Inside on the second floor there are the finest heraldic carvings of the period to be found in Scotland.[Plate 77]

The carvings are on seven hanging roof bosses within the principal chamber.Three occupy the centre of the roof vault, the remaining four being located in window alcoves.All are carved in the round, but the central three bosses are most original in concept. Each is a complete coat of Arms with all, or some of the usual elements-shield, helmet, crest, motto and supporters. They portray the Arma Christi,[75] the royal Arms, and the Arms of Fraser of Philorth.

ARMA CHRISTI

The shield occupies the bottom plane of the boss, the charges being a heart within a crown of thorns. From the top and sides of the crown emerge three nails, the remaining space at the bottom being charged with a scourge. In the four remaining quarters of the field are the Hands and Feet, each bearing the Stigmata. The vertical sides of the boss are filled by two angel supporters who hold the shield, their wings sweeping round under a terminating moulding at roof level.

ROYAL ARMS

The shield, bearing the lion rampant within its royal tressure,is again placed on the bottom plane. At right angles to the shield rises a helmet *affronte* bearing a crown on which sits the crest. On either side of the crown are the unicorn supporters, each carrying a banner, with their hooves resting on the sides of the shield. A riband above the supporters bears the IN DEFENS motto. On the remaining fourth side of the boss the space between the hind quarters of the unicorns is filled with a spray of thistles.

ARMS OF FRASER OF PHILORTH

The quartered shield of Fraser on the bottom plane is held in the claws of the

crest bird which carries a key in its beak. The shield hangs from a *guige* which disappears inside a helmet occupying the front vertical plane. The helmet is carved in profile with a wreath on top. Encircling the whole boss is a flowing riband which begins beneath the beak of the crest bird. This has the Fraser motto, THE GLORY OF THE HONORABLE IS TO FEIR GOD. A simple moulding connects the carving to the roof of the vault.

There is nothing like these three bosses in the rest of Scotland. Other bosses in ecclesiastical buildings, such as the Blackadder Aisle in Glasgow Cathedral, bear flat decoration even though the boss structure is raised. The Fraserburgh bosses are unique in their three-dimensional exploitation of what is normally a flat armorial composition. The remaining bosses in the Wine Tower are more conventional and bear a series of carved shields showing fifteen probative branches of the Fraser family.

Some time after 1603 Sir Alexander Fraser decided to provide his burgh with a mercat cross which befitted a Burgh of Regality.[76] [Plate 78] This is another imaginative creation, possibly carved by the same mason responsible for the Wine Tower bosses. The cross celebrates the birth of Great Britain by showing the royal Arms of Scotland on one side and the Arms of the two Kingdoms on the other. The unicorn and lion supporters link both coats of arms by supporting both. The supporters are *reguardant.* This position, where the animal's heads are turned to look over their backs, is peculiar to the north-east of Scotland. There are two earlier examples of royal supporters in this position at King's and Marischal Colleges in Aberdeen. The Fraserburgh cross carver may have seen the version on the tower of King's College Chapel. Beneath the cross finial are the burgh Arms of Fraserburgh on one side, echoed by an attributed shield of Arms for the former community of Faithlie on the other side. The Wine Tower bosses and the mercat cross finial at Fraserburgh constitute the most original examples of heraldic art created in Scotland during the reign of King James and part of the credit for both must go to the patron, Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth.

Not all patrons of heraldic art were based in the Lowlands of Scotland. An exception, from beyond the Highland line, was Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy. He lived throughout the reign of King James VI and was married twice. His first wife was Jean Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Atholl, by whom

he had seven sons and four daughters. His second wife was Elizabeth, a daughter of Henry, Lord Sinclair. She bore two sons and four daughters.
Glenorchy was well known at Court,[77] had travelled abroad to the courts of England and France, and visited Flanders in 1602. Like the Earls of Huntly and Dunfermline these experiences had their effect on the character of the man with the result that existing inventories of his possessions show an unusual breadth of patronage.[78] He erected Finlarig Castle in Perthshire before 1609 and placed the royal Arms of Great Britain over the main entrance,[79] and ornamented its chapel "with pavement and painterie". He also constructed the tower of Achalladour, now a ruin, repaired Kilchurn Castle, and erected houses at Lochdochart and Barcaldine. He repaired the kirk of Glenorchy and built a bridge over the Water of Lochy,"to the great contentment and weal of the country". He also undertook rural improvements and planted trees, introduced fallow deer to his estate and was interested in horse breeding.[80]

In an inventory of 1598 Glenorchy had at Balloch (now known as Taymouth Castle) two cushions embroidered with his Arms and those of his wife. The following year he purchased four guns from a gunmaker in Dundee.[81] Each weapon was decorated with his Arms and included "ane lang hagbute that wes maid in Dundie, gilt with the Lardis armis". This was the piece now called The Breadalbane Gun which is in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland.[Plate 79] This will be considered in the Chapter on craftsmen. 1598 was also the year his secretary, William Bowie, dedicated a manuscript to Glenorchy (now called the Black Book of Taymouth) which gives genealogical details of the Campbells and personal information about Glenorchy's achievements. Glenorchy commissioned a portrait in 1601 which bears his Arms in one corner.[Plate 80] These are not marshalled as other extant examples, instead of Campbell having priority, the galley of Lorne is shown in the first quarter. Two portaits of Glenorchy survive from 1619.
Plate 81 is taken from the Black Book of Taymouth and shows Sir Duncan at the age of 65 dressed in full armour and holding an artistic shield charged with a smaller shield of his Arms. The portrait is one of a series added to the Book by Glenorchy's heir, Colin, who had an intense interest in the genealogy of his family.[82] Thomson suggests the portrait series might be the work of a German painter and that the final portrait of Sir Colin Campbell might have been executed by the painter George Jamesone.[83] In looking at the styles involved it

seems more likely that the portraits are the work of a heraldic painter with the portrait of Sir Colin being in the style of John Sawers younger. The presence of fine linear shading, almost like engraved lines, is similar to techniques in the Sawers Armorial of post 1625. The other portrait of Glenorchy, [Plate 82] includes a full achievement of Arms and makes an interesting comparison with that on the Breadalbane Gun. Jewellery features in the Glenorchy inventories and one brooch, by the unknown maker A.S. is engraved with Campbell heraldry.[Plate 83] The initials M.C. on the brooch could stand for Margaret Campbell. the eldest daughter of Glenorchy by his first wife.

When Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy died in 1640 an inventory of items left at his death was drawn up. It is possible that several of the items which bore heraldry could have been handed down from his father.[84] Apart from the Breadalbane Gun there was "Ane uther great plaine silver cuppe with the Laird of Glenurquhyes airmes on the bottome of it," plus a large number of embroidered bed hangings. Two of these have survived, one bearing the heraldry of Colin Campbell,5th Laird and his wife Katherine Ruthven which is in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow. The Metropolitan Museum in New York has another piece with the Arms of Sir Colin, 2nd Baronet, and his wife Julian Campbell. These show that there was a Campbell tradition of embroidered heraldic bed hangings from at least 1550 until 1640.[85]

The patronage of exterior heraldry has already been mentioned, but other enlighted patrons provided opportunities for creative novelty in the application of heraldic display. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell was a younger son of David, 9th Earl of Crawford. He had commissioned a seal for his use before 1589 which bore; 1st and 4th, a fess checky, 2nd and 3rd, a lion rampant debruised by a ribbon. The initials D.L. flanked the shield which was surmounted by a helmet with mantling but no crest. It was circumbscribed with the legend; S.DAVIDIS.LINDESAY.DE.EDZELL.[86] Sir David was a kinsman of Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount Secundus and a discussion may have taken place between them before the former began construction of a walled garden adjacent to his tower house in Angus. This was completed in 1604 and consists of a rectangular enclosure, one side bounded by the castle, the other three sides delineated by walls approximately three metres high.[Plate 84] At the corners of the garden opposite the castle there is a summer house and a bath house. The

novelty of the pleasance lies in the decorative treatment of the inner face of the enclosing walls.

These are divided into bays, each bay delineated by a series of pilasters, each bay finished above with a heavy coping into which are set a series of round headed niches like miniature dormer windows. The exterior side of the niches bear the plant badges of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France - thistle, rose, shamrock, and fleur de lis. By this means Sir David compliments the Crown of the two Kingdoms and indicates to the onlooker the purpose of the wall as a garden enclosure. The inner bays are given alternative decoration, the most striking being a gigantic representation of the fess checky from the Lindsay Arms. This is formed by three rows of square recesses arranged in a chequer pattern. The recesses are dished to contain flower boxes and with a combination of paint and flowers the heraldic tincture of azure and the metal argent could be reproduced to form a colourful boundary round the garden. The alternative bay design consists of one large oblong recess, again for flowers, and above this is a sculpted panel. On the east wall the panels are of vesica form and show the Planetary Deities, the south wall carries arched panels devoted to the Liberal Arts, and on the west wall the panels are rectangular, having representations of the Cardinal Virtues. The mason carvers drew their inspiration from engravings, the Planetary Deities being copies from the work of the Nuremburg engraver I.B. who is identified as George Pencz (Iorg Bentz), a pupil of Durer,who published his engravings in 1528-1529.[87] The pleasance can be entered from the castle or through a doorway in the east wall. The doorway is surmounted by two identical heraldic panels, one on the exterior side, the other on the interior, which carry the impaled Arms of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell and his wife Dame Isobel Forbes with the date 1604.[Plate 85] The shields have *bouches* allowing the couples' initials to be placed on either side of the Arms. Above the shield is a helmet with feather-like mantling.

The walled garden at Edzell is the most original concept of its kind from the period but it is not unique. Walled enclosures in Scotland have their origin in barmkins, a defensible walled area in front of the main entrance to a tower house. Harthill and Craigievar Castles in Aberdeenshire have these features, as does Muchalls, Tolquhon and Pitsligo Castles. The last two have extensive walled areas in front of the main structure and these were probably laid out as

gardens. Edzell's patronage took the walled enclosure to a new height of artistry which has never been surpassed north of the border.

While the aristocracy and landed families were distributing patronage as shown, individual members of the rising merchant class in various burghs were also placing heraldic commissions in accordance with their means. One of these individuals was William Nisbet, the younger son of Henry Nisbet, provost of Edinburgh from July 1597 until October 1598. William had an elder brother, Henry who, along with William, served Edinburgh as a burgh councillor. William Nisbet was first elected in October 1600, combining duties to the town with success in business. He was married twice, firstly to Janet Williamson and then to Katherine Dick. He acquired the estate of Dean (then outwith the burgh of Edinburgh) around 1616 and enlarged the existing house to suit his own requirements. He succeeded the Earl of Dunfermline as provost of Edinburgh in 1616 and held office during the King's return visit to Scotland in 1617. During that visit he was knighted. He petitioned the Lord Lyon for personal Arms, although he was in right of Arms through his father. Lyon granted a crest which alluded to his office of provost of Edinburgh - a right hand supporting a triple towered castle. He also commissioned a seal matrix : a chevron between three boar heads erased, circumscribed, S.D.VILIELMI.NEISBIT.D.DEIN.[88] When he died in 1639 he left £1,000 Scots towards supporting a chair of divinity at Edinburgh University.[89]

Although his residence, Dean House, was demolished in 1845 to provide space for the Dean Cemetery, there are sufficient architectural fragments remaining to give an indication of rich heraldic decoration. At least one room in the house had an elaborate tempera painting ceiling, some panels of which are preserved in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland. One of the extant pieces of decoration is a stone carving, [Plate 86] bearing the impaled Arms of William Nisbet and his second wife set within a strapwork cartouche.

The decorative pattern, known as strapwork, has been mentioned already. The pattern is thought to have originated in Venice and was then developed by Flemish pattern book engravers.[90] The use of strapwork to form a frame for armorial devices is a feature at the top of the Dunbar Monument.[Plate 87] This impressive tomb was imported c1612 from one of the Flemish-influenced

monumental workshops which were concentrated in the Southwark area of London.[91] George Home,1st Earl of Dunbar, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, died in 1611 having spent a lifetime in the service of the King who rewarded him well for his labours. The tomb reflected the status and importance of the earl and was unlike any seen in Scotland before.

The mason carver at Dean House may have seen the tomb, or visited Pinkie House where the Earl of Dunfermline had erected a well head in the courtyard. This carries strapwork cresting decorated with the heraldry and monograms of the Earl and Countess. A foreign pattern book could have been another source because areas of the Dean carving are filled with intricate foliaceous ornament, previously such areas would have been left blank. An engraved pattern book was the product of a medium which allows complicated detailing to be achieved with comparative ease. The strapwork cartouche bears the motto of Sir William and provides projecting flourishes for the couple's initials. Earlier in the reign the initials would have been placed in *bouches*. An indication of the visual effect strapwork decoration must have given to Dean House can be seen in later work at Winton House, east Lothian, or George Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh. Sir William Nisbet was among the first Scottish patrons from the burgher class to employ the style, a factor which may have helped to make it popular on buildings within burghs, such as the Argyle Ludging in Stirling.

The Dunbar tomb inspired other aristocratic families to purchase appropriate monuments from distant London, all were however acquired after the death of the King. There are three similar in quality to the Dunbar tomb which incorporate displays of heraldry : to David Murray, Viscount of Stormont, died 1631, at Scone; to George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, died 1634, at Kinnoull; and to George Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, died 1654, at Haddington.[92] This has twenty one armorial devices incorporated in the design so that detailed instructions, possibly prepared by an Officer of Arms, must have been sent down to the tomb carvers in London.

Most patrons requiring a tomb were content to rely on native carvers. Their designs demonstrate how unwilling Scottish craftsmen were to abandon medieval tomb types, even though some details are found in the classical style. The

family of Sir Thomas MacLellan of Bombie commissioned a tomb after his death in 1597 which is typical.[Plate 88]

The tomb has an arched recess with dog tooth mouldings containing an armoured effigy in the medieval tradition. This is flanked by twin columns with Corinthian capitals which support elongated pyramids like those on the fireplace at Huntly Castle.[Plate 51] These pyramids are repeated at a higher level on either side of an armorial panel, their surface decoration echoing the chevrons on the MacLellan Arms. A crudely carved angel acts as a finial to the whole composition.

A more skilful use of classical elements is seen on the tomb to William Shaw in Dunfermline Abbey.[Plate 89] Shaw was the King's Master of Works and his monument was erected by command of Queen Anne before she left for London in 1603. Even royal patronage could not prevent the classical elements from being used in a heavy manner. Coupled Corinthian pilasters frame a rectangular inscription panel which is surmounted by a deep architrave having a central projecting key stone bearing Shaw's monogram. The architrave supports heavy scroll buttresses on either side of an aediculed secondary inscription panel. This has a pediment topped by a covered cup, the tympanum being filled with a shield of Shaw's Arms flanked by his initials. Shaw was appointed Master of Ceremonies at court sometime after 1591, an office which must have brought him into direct contact with Lyon and his brother Heralds. They may have granted him Arms about the time he acquired the barony of Sauchie.[93]

A final monument, c1624, suffices to show how the old tomb type continued right to the end of the reign. At Weem Old Kirk, Perthshire, there is a memorial to Sir Alexander Menzies who died in 1624.[Plate 90] The tomb is composed of a remarkable number of elements used indiscriminately. The arched recess may never have contained an effigy but does house an inscribed commemorative slab, bordered by six probative shields. Heraldry is also featured on two of the arch stones which project downwards like Gothic cusps while above there is a full achievement of Arms on a broken pediment. Two putti-like angels perch on the pediment blowing trumpets, and they face two kneeling figures with the appearance of medieval weepers. On each side of the arch recess are full length symbolic figures, one of whom may represent

Charity, and though they stand on classical plinths there are Gothic canopies over their heads.

CORPORATE PATRONAGE

Apart from individuals, corporate bodies in Scotland were also sources of patronage for heraldic commissions. Prominent among these were the various town councils of which Edinburgh was the most active. Their records show why and for what purpose heraldry was employed.

The royal Arms were displayed at prominent locations, and many mercat crosses bore the royal unicorn to mark the place where the Officers of Arms made their proclamations to the lieges of the realm. Burgh Arms were used on rallying banners and to authenticate public weights and measures. Heraldry fulfilled its primary function of indicating ownership and acting as the outward sign of civic dignity.

The Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh demonstrate the extent of heraldic patronage undertaken by the governing body of Edinburgh. As the leading civic authority in Scotland, closely involved with Crown, Court and Parliament, the Council provided accommodation and entertainment for all these when the need arose.The intimate connection was reinforced between 1598 and 1616 when the Lord Chancellor of Scotland himself was provost of the burgh. It is interesting to note the particular heraldic commissions granted by the Council during the period when the Earl of Dunfermline was provost. The Office of Arms was based in Edinburgh and many of the heralds and pursuivants either owned property in the burgh or were indwellers. One Officer, James Purdy Islay Herald, was paid by the Council in 1574 for delivering letters,[94] and others complained when the Council attempted to impose a household tax on them.[95] Some Officers were therefore personally known to councillors who thus knew where heraldic advice could be obtained.

During the reign Edinburgh became the established place for great royal occasions, the Entry and Coronation of Queen Anne, the Riding of Parliament, Proclamations, and the Royal Visit of 1617. These events entailed preparation, provision of gifts, special decorations and hospitality. Painters, masons, goldsmiths, tailors, flagmakers and merchants all supplied goods and services for the "good toun".

The arrival of Princess Anne from Denmark in April 1590 had been anticipated as soon as the King set off for Scandinavia to claim his bride in the autumn of 1589. The West Port, which stood at the west end of the present day Grassmarket, was rebuilt "with hewin and carvet work to put the king and quenis airmeis unto",i.e. with mouldings round the archway incorporating a carved stone frame above the arch to house the royal Arms.[96] Two coats of Arms were painted on board by James Workman, probably the Arms of Scotland and the Arms of Edinburgh, which were then fixed to the West Port.

The other main gateway to the town, the Netherbow, also received attention. John Mantroun repaired its large version of the royal Arms which were gilded by James Workman. His brother, John, painted duplicate Arms on boards as had been done for the West Port, and they were fixed to the Netherbow. He also painted fourteen royal Arms, fourteen crowns, and fourteen sceptres which were used as additional decorations on both gateways. The mercat cross was painted with colour after being fitted with a new unicorn finial, carved by David Williamson, a craftsman from the burgh of Canongate.[97] The painter, Thomas Binning, was paid for providing another version of the royal Arms, impaled, which was hung in the Scholars' Loft within the Kirk of St Giles.[98] The Council commissioned one goldsmith, David Gilbert, to make a jewel for presentation to the Queen, this cost fourteen hundred merks,[99] and from another, John Cunningham, two silver keys also for formal presentation to the Queen on her entry to the town. The keys were tied together with a silk ribbon decorated with the burgh Arms.[100]

As well as this special occasion, the town required other services from time to time. On 3 October 1589 it was decided to recast and reform the town's weights and measures. A goldsmith, John Barton, was paid for sinking the town's Arms which were then stamped on the weights as a mark of official accuracy.[101] In December 1605 the goldsmith George Foulis received £194.10.0. for supplying two silver gilt covered cups with engraved decoration to be used as gifts by Alexander Hay "resident at court in Ingland, for his furtherance in the tounis effayres."[102] Two years later an English musician named John Orley, with four others, were appointed as the resident burgh music ensemble and the burgh treasurer was directed to provide "fyve badges of sylver with the townis armis, ilk badge weyand twa unces" for wear by the musicians.[103]

One feature of life in the royal burghs at the time were the regular wappinschaws, ordered by Parliament. These were muster days on which inhabitants had to appear with their weapons and perform military exercises. The men rallied round the town's "ansenyie", or banner. In Edinburgh there were four of these banners, one for each quarter of the town. Four new banners were ordered on 10 July 1607 from George Owsteane, tailor, who used black and white taffeta for their manufacture.[104] the banners were then painted by William Ramsay who executed the royal Arms on one side and the town's Arms on the other. William Mayne, a bowmaker, supplied eight poles and four batons for the banners which suggests that they hung from a cross bar, supported by two poles, in the manner of present day trade union banners.[105] The new banners were eventually received on 11 May 1608.[106] The following month George Her iot, who was then deacon of goldsmiths, received £8.0.0. for repairing the town's mace and for making the mould which was used to cast the five badges for the town's musicians.[107]

During 1610 the Council had to pay for two Cloths of Estate for those rooms in the Tolbooth used by the Court of Session and the Parliament. These consisted of green cloth bearing the royal Arms, the cost for both being £294.15.4. The Court of Session appears to have had a painted version of the Arms, Parliament was provided with a "greyne velvott clayth with the Kings majesties ayrmis come fra Londoun".[108] What local craftsmen thought of the latter is not recorded, but the King may have wished an official version of the Arms of Great Britain on show in Edinburgh following the earlier confusion about marshalling the Arms, mentioned previously in this chapter.

The Council must have received advance notice of the intended 1617 Royal Visit towards the end of 1616 as preparations of various kinds were put in hand. The Netherbow Port was once again subject to attention. The old royal Arms, repaired in 1580, were to be replaced and a statue of the King added to the structure. Benjamin Lambert was hired to carve the work, but his sudden death forced the Council to find another craftsman and John Mylne completed the commission.[109] The mercat cross was taken down and rebuilt in a new position to prevent congestion, and a new mace was ordered from George Robertson.[110] The silver keys of the town, presented to Queen Anne in 1590, were retained by her as George Kirkwood, goldsmith, was paid £24.0.0. for

making another presentation pair. Kirkwood also supplied a silver gilt basin as a presentation piece which was filled with gold coins to the value of ten thousand merks.[111] The Council also arranged a lavish banquet for the King during his stay in Edinburgh.

Other burghs did not appear to have the same expenditure on heraldic items as Edinburgh. In Ayr, £18.13.4. was spent during 1574-75 on painting the Arms on the Tolbooth, along with the doors and windows. A further twelve shillings were incurred for painting "the coat of arms on the glass window" of the Tolbooth.[112] The Arms in each case were those of the burgh, a triple towered castle, flanked by the Paschal Lamb, and the head of St John the Baptist on a charger, with the sea shown below the castle.

George Smith, metalworker, was paid ten shillings during 1576-77 for making the town's stamp. This may have been in the form of a branding iron bearing the burgh Arms, employed to mark goods or property belonging to Ayr.[113] A local seamstress, Isobel Lundie, was employed in 1577-78 to sew the town's banner, probably flown at wappinschaws. At the same period James Scott repainted the Arms on the Tolbooth.[114] Fourteen years later the same craftsman painted the Arms of the King, the Queen, the burgh, and the Earl of Morton. Although Scott was paid during 1592-93 the Arms may have been executed to celebrate the Queen's coronation in 1590.[115] No other heraldic business is detailed in the Ayr Accounts during the rest of the reign.

Stirling Town Council noted that a general wappinschaw was to be held on 6 August 1599 throughout Scotland and it ordained the burgesses and inhabitants to be on duty.[116] No mention is made of a town's banner on that date, but at the next wappinschaw ordered on 14 June 1608, the Council appointed Duncan Paterson, the dean of guild, to carry the banner.[117] There are several entries in the Records regarding provision of clothes for the town's drummer, George Crawford, and these indicate that the burgh livery colours were red and white at the time.[118] The King visited Stirling during 1617, and like Edinburgh, the town made preparation. On 12 May 1617 the treasurer was directed to purchase several leaves of gold to gild the royal Arms, the mercat cross and the Tolbooth.[119]

The royal visit also involved expenditure for the burgh of Dundee. Plate 91 features the back of a chair, all that is now extant, which was made by John Black, wright,[120] at the behest of the council. The council desired a sufficiently regal chair for use of the sovereign when he attended a service in the burgh kirk of St Mary's. The chair was designed and originally painted by John Smith, a local craftsman who was known to John Scrymgeour, the Constable of Dundee.[121] Smith employs the Honours of Scotland as the main motif and incorporates the cipher I R 6 with a thistle. The decorative surrounding border is in the Mannerist style of the Low Countries. Fifteen years before the council commissioned a container for fines levied on councillors who were absent from meetings.[122] The Pirlie Pig of 1602 [Plate 92] is made of pewter, and is unusual for Scottish work in this metal by being decorated. Amidst overall surface pattern there are four panels, two bearing heraldry. One carries the royal Arms with the phrase: Fear God : And Obey The King 6 I R, the second has the burgh Arms and motto : Dei Donum. The other panels are engraved: Sir James/SCHRIMGEOUR/Provest/Anno 1602/14 May/Lord Blesse the/Provost Baillzies/and Counsell of Dundi, and PL RF/MI/IL WH/BALZEIS/ANN 1602/Payment for Not/Coming to the/Counsell of Dundie. The combination of royal and burgh heraldry on such a mundane object was employed to impart authority in order to discipline the councillors.

An example of a gift to a civic authority which is then engraved with associated heraldry is the Kircudbright Siller Gun.[Plate 93] This is one of the earliest extant shooting trophies in Scotland. It is a model in silver of a gun of the period, about eight inches long, presented to the burgh by the King c1587, "to be shot for occasionally in order to accustom the lieges in the use of firearms".[123] The King also presented a similar gun to the incorporated trades of Dumfries for the same purpose.At the point of balance a linked suspender has been added so that the winner of the trophy could wear it from a neck ribbon. The suspender incorporates an elaborate shield cut from a sheet of silver and this is engraved on the obverse with the chevron coat of Arms of Sir Thomas MacLellan of Bombie who was provost of the burgh in 1587. The gun also carries this date and the provost's initials T.M.C. The Siller Gun eventually passed into the possession of the Six Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright - the Clothiers, Hammermen, Shoemakers, Squaremen, Tailors and Weavers, an

important group in the life of the burgh, as was the case in other substantial burghs.

The various craft guilds in the main coastal burghs were also patrons of heraldic art through the activities of individual members. Before the Reformation many guilds were responsible for maintaining chapels in their local parish kirk. They processed on religious festivals with symbols of their patron saint and craft. Following the Reformation all this changed and instead of a side chapel the guild members were allocated a pew in the kirk for their own use and these were often painted with the Arms of each guild. Although no examples remain from the reign of King James, later pews indicate their appearance. These can be seen in the Magdalen Chapel, Edinburgh, St John's Kirk,Perth, St Nicholas East Kirk,Aberdeen, and in the former kirk at Tain. The Hammermens' Guild in Edinburgh had their own place of worship at the Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate. The Guild employed the herald painter John Sawer in 1615 for "drawing of ye crown upone ye stane" which surmounts the main entrance.[124]

Guild chairs of the period do survive in the Hall of the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen. These were gifted by guild officials who caused either their own Arms, or those of the guild, to be carved on the backrest. An early example is the Wrights' and Coopers' Chair of 1574 which is archaic in style.[Plate 94] It is of box form with high straight arms, the backrest terminating in an armorial display which provides the only decorative note.The donor's name is carved with black-letter characters beneath rudimentary cartouche projections which point forward to the strapwork style. Some thirty years later Lawrence Mercer gave a chair to the Hammermen, which has similarities to the chair of Alexander Burnett at Crathes [Plate 68]. The Hammermens' Chair [Plate 95] has both the Arms of the donor and the crowned hammer device of the craft carved on the backrest. The bench for members of the Baxters Guild, dated 1607, in St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen,has already been mentioned, [Plate 67] and although it carries no heraldry it does feature merchants' marks. These were originally devised for non-armigers, but are seen in conjunction with personal Arms. There is a large selection of these in Our Lady of Pity's Vault under St Nicholas Kirk. The last example from the Incorporated Trades in Aberdeen is the chair of the Tailors' Guild, dated 1621.[Plate 96] Again it is similar to the Crathes chair having carved cresting on top of the backrest. The donor's name appears

over the quartered shield of the Guild, charged with the tools of the craft. These surviving pieces of furniture, along with the examples in St Nicholas Kirk and at Crathes, provide sufficient evidence to believe there was a distinctive school or group of woodcarvers in the Aberdeen area.[125]

The six Scottish universities, St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen (2), Edinburgh and Fraserburgh, were also sources of commissions for craftsmen, though not all for heraldry. Commemorative archery medals, engraved with the Arms of the winner, were made for students at St Andrews.[Plate 97] These are engraved on shield shape plates and two bear the full armorial achievement of the winner. The practice of engraving their Arms on the medals may have been encouraged by the Fife group of Officers of Arms. The new University buildings at Glasgow commenced construction before the death of King James and decorative carving was undertaken as part of the building brief. Royal heraldry did not however appear until the reign of King Charles II. Edinburgh also began a building programme, after the University had been founded in 1582 under the aegis of the Town Council. Existing carved stones, now built into the wall of the vestibule to the Court Room in the Old College building show that the University initially made use of the Burgh Arms. A triangular door pediment survives carved with the Honours of Scotland accompanied by the initials I.R.6. and the date 1617. The University eventually acquired its own Arms in 1780. One heraldic survivor of the period is the bookstamp of Clement Littil, an Edinburgh advocate, who left his library to the University. His volumes are identified to this day by a contemporary stamp bearing his Arms, a saltire engrailed, between a mullet in chief and a crescent in base.

Aberdeen, with two universities, King's College,founded 1495, and Marischal College,founded 1593, used the personal heraldry of Bishop Elphinstone who obtained the founding charter of the former, and that of George, 5th Earl Marischal, the founder of the latter. A gateway to Marischal College was erected in 1623 and this was decorated with a carving of the Earl Marischal's Arms.[126] There is a solitary carving of the Ten Commandments extant from the former university at Fraserburgh built into a wall of the South Kirk in that burgh.

The 1617 Act of Parliament which required congregations to have suitable vessels for the administration of Holy Communion led to various individuals donating cups engraved with their Arms. The Fyvie cup from the Earl of Dunfermline is one of the best examples. Although the Reformed kirks commissioned no heraldic work, many graveyards under their care became rich sources of heraldic display through the efforts of monumental sculptors.[127] Individual lairds who were allocated elevated pews in many local kirks caused their Arms to be carved or painted on these lofts to indicate ownership. Some of these, and other ecclesiastical heraldic work, will be considered in Chapter Four of this thesis.

FOOTNOTES - Patrons of Heraldry

1. Figure derived from a study of Laing,1850 and 1866, MacDonald,1904, and Stevenson & Wood,1940.
2. Paton, 1957, p.309.
3. T.A. E21/62, pp.173-174.
4. Paton, 1957, pp.310,314.
5. Richardson, 1948,(Stirling) p.11.
6. Burnett, 1977, pp.9-19.
7. Birch, 1905, p.76.
8. Neubecker, 1976, p.77.
9. Cochran-Patrick, 1884, p.17.
10. Cochran-Patrick, 1884, pp.16-17.
11. Purvey, 1972, pp.67-81.
12. T.A. various.
13. A.P.S., Volume III, pp.92,150,215,526.
14. T.A. E21/63, p.111.
15. Neubecker, 1976, p.77.
16. As labelled in the Heraldic Exhibition,Edinburgh 1891, Exhibit number 1102.
17. R.P.C.S., Volume X, pp.593-594.
18. Swain, 1986, p.42.
19. Henshall & Maxwell, 1961, p.288.
20. E.B.R., 1931, p.62.
21. Mitchell, 1955, pp.27-51 discusses these armorial stamps and suggests all were produced in France.
22. Mitchell, 1955, p.58.
23. Richardson, 1948,(Stirling) p.11.
24. Paton, 1957, p.xxix.
25. Paton, 1957, p.xxix.
26. Paton, 1957, p.xxxii.
27. Cruden, 1981, pp.196-197.
28. Girouard, 1966, p.110.
29. Le duc de Castries, 1980, p.279.
30. Cruden, 1981, p.193.
31. Shaw, 1882, p.410.

32. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.23.
33. Innes of Learney, 1934, p.395
34. Seton, 1896, p.785.
35. McWilliam, 1980, p.472.
36. Seton, 1896, p.788.
37. Seton, 1896, p.789.
38. Seton, 1896, p.809.
39. MacDonald, 1904, p.308, number 2438.
40. MacDonald, 1904, p.308, number 2439.
41. Seton, 1896, pp.634-639.
42. Seton, 1896, p.645.
43. Seton's political career is considered by Lee, 1983, pp.170-182.
44. MacDonald, 1904, p.308, number 2440.
45. Laing, 1866, p.149, number 899. There is an accompanying illustration.
46. Gifford, 1988, p.178.
47. MacDonald, 1904, p.308, number 2441.
48. Seton, 1896, p.651.
49. McWilliam, 1980, p.336.
50 Perspective, by Jan Vriedeman de Vries, Leiden, 1604.
51. Seton, 1896, p.645.
52. Seton, 1896, p.650.
53. Gifford, 1988, p.171.
54. Burns, 1892, pp.212-213.
55. Seton, 1896. p.648.
56. Stevenson, 1899, pp.160-168.
57. Burnett, P.S.A.S.,1986, pp.471-481.
58. Burnett, 1901, p.37.
59. Apted, 1966, p.xiv.
60. Sutherland, 1975, pp.270-271.
61. Cooke, 1867, p.410.
62. McWilliam, 1980, p.370.
63. Each regal coat of arms in the Armorial is identified below the shield.
64. I am indebted to R.Poole for assistance with identification of the Arms.
65. Gifford, 1988, p.295.

66. Thomson, 1975, p.44.
67. Apted, 1966, pp.82-83.
68. Geddes & Duguid, 1886, p.16.
69. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.109.
70. Jourdain, 1950, p.24.
71. Jourdain, 1950, p.23.
72. I am indebted to J.E.D. Touch for this information from his unpublished manuscript: ***The Worthies & The Regalia, a Linked Chain of Plaster Ceilings, 1599-1665.***
73. Saltoun, 1879, Volume II, p.263.
74. MacGibbon & Ross, 1887, Volume II, pp.31,34.
75. The Arma Christi are attributed Arms devised for Our Lord, the charges being objects associated with His Passion. For a general discussion on the use of Arma Christi in Scotland see Carter,C.PSAS,Vol.XC,p.116.
76. This status granted in 1601. R.G.S.S.,Volume VI, number 1167.
77. The Inventory details the gift of a jewel to Glenorchy from Queen Anne, consort of King James VI.
78. Innes, 1855, pp.329-343 and 346-351.
79. MacGibbon & Ross, 1889, Volume III, Figure 533.
80. Innes, 1855, pp.iv-vi.
81. Innes, 1855, pp.329-343.
82. Thomson, 1975, p.58.
83. Thomson, 1975, p.58.
84. Innes, 1855, pp.346-351.
85. Swain, 1986, pp.22,27.
86. MacDonald, 1904, p.215, number 1690.
87. Simpson, 1930, p.162.
88. MacDonald, 1904, p.268, number 2122.
89. Wood, 1932, pp.32-34.
90. Jourdain, 1950, p.10.
91. Whinney, 1964, p.14.
92. Donaldson, 1987, pp.8,15.
93. Stevenson, 1988, pp.30,31.
94. Edinburgh Burgh Records, 1573-1589, p.20.
95. R.P.C.S., Volume III, pp.241-242.
96. E.B.R.,1927, p.6.

97. E.B.R.,1927, p.328.
98. E.B.R.,1927, p.329.
99. E.B.R.,1927, p.20.
100. E.B.R.,1927, p.332.
101. E.B.R.,1927, p.333.
102. E.B.R.,1931, p.17.
103. E.B.R.,1931, p.26.
104. E.B.R.,1931, p.32.
105. E.B.R.,1931, p.30
106. E.B.R.,1931, p.41.
107. E.B.R.,1931, p.41.
108. E.B.R.,1931, p.62.
109. E.B.R.,1931, p.147.
110. E.B.R.,1931, p.152.
111. E.B.R.,1931, pp.158-159.
112. A.B.A.,1937, pp.137-138.
113. A.B.A.,1937, p.142.
114. A.B.A.,1937, p.142.
115. A.B.A.,1937, p.173.
116. R.B.S.,1887, p.87.
117. R.B.S.,1887, p.119.
118. R.B.S.,1887, pp.118,128,136,156.
119. R.B.S.,1887, p.146.
120. I am indebted to Janice Murray of Dundee City Museums for this information.
121. Munro, 1980, p.59.
122. Munro, 1980, pp.55-57.
123. Clark, 1961, p.i.
124. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.81.
125. Learmont, 1978, p.1.
126. Anderson, 1888, p.166.
127. Donaldson, 1987, pp.1-7.

CHAPTER THREE - THE HERALDIC CRAFTSMEN

Numeral after individual name refers to an entry in Appendix Three

"And to put inhibitioun to all the comoun sort of people not worthie be the law of armes to beir ony signes armoriallis. That nane of thame presume or tak upoun hand to beare or use ony armes in tyme cuming upoun thair insicht or houshald geir under the pane of the escheating of the guidis and geir sa oft as thay salbe fund contravenand this present act wherever the same armes salbe found gravin and paintit."

(A.P.S.,Volume III, p.555, c.29, 1592.)

The patrons discussed in Chapter Two provided the opportunities for displaying heraldry but none appeared capable of physically creating the display. Individuals and corporations required others to fulfill their wishes and consideration will now be given to the men and women who produced heraldic art between 1567 and 1625.

The reproduction of armorial ensigns on domestic items and within architectural settings involved craftsmen with a variety of skills. By the reign of King James burgh craftsmen were organised into guilds which both preserved the craft monopoly and ensured adequate standards of material and workmanship. Because of the precious nature of the working material, the goldsmiths were the most highly organised group. The largest number of goldsmiths were found in the Edinburgh area where they served the Court, the aristocracy, and the wealthy merchant class. They not only designed and manufactured objects but were also responsible for their chasing and engraving. This included inscriptions and armorial bearings but as it was a secondary skill, the standards of engraving were acceptable though not outstanding.

GOLDSMITHS AND OTHER METALWORKERS

No examples of work by Mungo Brady [11] have survived to show his skills, but his reputation did lead to his fashioning substitute Honours of Scotland in 1571.[1] Typical of the items supplied by goldsmiths, which combined manufacture and engraving, were the silver jesses made by Brady for the King in 1581.[2]

When one considers the contribution of James Gray [9] a different picture emerges. His skill as an innovative craftsman is apparent in the sophistication of the mazers made by him. These were shallow wooden bowls, silver mounted, often set on a stem. The Watson and St Mary mazers show the heavy forms of other craftsmen.[Plates 98,99] The contrast between these and the Tulloch and Galloway mazers by Gray is obvious.[Plates 100,102] There is an elegance of shape and balance in the latter which takes the Scottish mazer form to an international standard of excellence. Gray's decoration utilises typical classical details - acanthus leaves, urns, and foliaceous ornament - which are used to enhance the form. His technique of an engraved hatched background highlights the decoration on the rim of each mazer, and on the print within the bowls.

This same technique is employed in two memorial brasses executed by Gray. [Plate 103] The earlier brass to Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston with Roman lettering contained within an Italianate frame. Judicious space filling is provided by curving leaf forms. The same elements are present in the Regent Moray brass of 1570 but are subservient to the dominant heraldic achievement flanked by figurative panels of Religion and Justice. The two panels indicate Gray's familiarity with continental artistic style. His skilful handling of the elements in the design of the brass may not be only based on printed sources. Although there is no evidence that Gray received training furth of Scotland, this could have taken place. In his engraved heraldic work Gray consistently used a specific shield shape. It is composed of convex and concave curves with enlarged *bouches*.This type of shield is found in French heraldry by 1520 and was popular for the rest of the century in the Low Countries. Hans Holbein the Younger brought the shape to England in 1526 and used it for a version of his own Arms.[3] Gray placed initials within the *bouches*, a practice which was copied by other Edinburgh goldsmith engravers.
The Ormiston brass contains two of these shields, that on the dexter side to Alexander Cockburn with A.C.in the *bouches*, on the sinister the Arms of his wife Alison Sandilands, flanked by her initials. There is no use of a graphic convention, such as the Petra Sancta system, for denoting metals and tinctures.[4]

The elaborate shield is more constrained in the Moray Memorial Brass where it is part of the finest armorial achievement engraved by Gray. The shield is *couche*, a common position in early medieval heraldry but not popular with

other contemporary goldsmiths. The size ratio of crest, helmet, shield, and supporters is in proportion. As the reign progressed shields became larger in proportion to helmets. One indication of artistic skill in heraldic art is how an artist arranges the mantling which spreads from either side of the helmet. Gray does so with skill. He echoes the foliaceous ornament used elsewhere on the brass but gives it a decorative flourish in the stylistic tradition of Albrecht Durer (1471-1528). Durer had executed several armorial designs during the 1520s, including a version of his own Arms, dated 1523. Many of Durer's woodcuts were published in book form which Gray might have seen.[5]

The third craft area where Gray demonstrated his skill was die-sinking. As Sinker to the Scottish Mint from 1568 until 1583,[6] Gray was responsible for creating the dies which struck the second and third issues of coinage during the reign of King James.[Plates 26,27] His die-cutting is more precise than that of the first silver coinage issue of 1567.[Plate 25] He also sunk the dies,[7] used for countermarking coins in 1575 and 1578. Gray produced the die for the gold £20 portrait coin of 1575 [8] which is the only native coin of the reign to bear a legend within an *exergue* on the obverse.[Plate 26] The reverse carries an elegant version of the Scottish crown, surmounting a simple shield of the royal Arms. Gray always used a simple shield for heraldry on his coin dies. The lion rampant is lively with good space-filling characteristics and is surrounded by a double tressure bearing twelve fleurs de lis. In the same year Gray executed the countermark which distinguish the coins of Regent Morton from those struck during the reign of Mary Queen of Scots.This is of heraldic interest because the mark - a mullet within a heart - combines elements previously exploited in a decorative manner the year before on the portcullis tower at Edinburgh Castle.[Plate 104] The heart and mullet are the principal charges from the personal Arms of James Douglas, 4th Earl of Morton who acted as Regent between 1572 and 1578. In 1578 the coinage was revalued, coins being struck with a crowned thistle mark to indicate the new value. The mark was probably the work of James Gray. Two years later Gray sank another portrait die of the King. This was for the gold ducat worth 80/-,[Plate 27] and Gray skilfully conveys the boyish features of the fourteen year old sovereign.

It is possible Gray was also responsible for sinking the dies of the Great Seal of Scotland.[Plate 24] The mantling on the Seal has space filling qualities similar in

character to the Moray Memorial Brass which was engraved at about the same time as the Seal. The simple shield on the Seal is the same as used by Gray on coins and it bears a royal tressure with twelve fleurs de lis, another characteristic feature of Gray's style. The men who followed Gray at the Mint did not employ the same deftness of artistic touch and he warrants more recognition as one of the finest of the goldsmiths and engravers working in the late sixteenth century.

The unknown maker I.H.[23] may have known James Gray, or been familiar with his work. He was a contemporary and although his silver mounted coconut cup [Plate 105] lacks the grace of Gray's work, his engraved heraldry employs the elaborate shield flanked by initials, the stylistic hallmark of Gray the engraver. The cup is dated 1588 and bears the Arms and initials of George Sinclair, 3rd son of the Earl of Caithness, and his wife Margaret Forbes, daughter of William, 7th Lord Forbes. Another goldsmith undoubtedly influenced by Gray was James Crawford [29] whose Craigievar mazer [Plate 106] is modelled on the Tulloch and Galloway mazers. Shape and proportion of the mazer are good but the engraved decoration is thin compared to Gray's work, lacking the bold contrasting ornament which is used to highlight the rim.

The other die-sinkers who were contemporaries of Gray produced various pieces of work which are still extant. Michael Gilbert [2] was a successful goldsmith in terms of accrued wealth, but there is only one item associated with him bearing a heraldic device. He supplied, but may not have sunk,[9] dies for the Seton Medal of 1562.[Plate 107] This was another example of Seton patronage,the clients being George,5th Lord Seton and his wife Isabella Hamilton, the parents of the Earl of Dunfermline. The design places their combined monograms on the obverse, the reverse incorporates three crescents from the Arms of Seton surrounding a thistle head. The crescents are arranged in a triangular interlocking design, unique in Scotland, but reminiscent of the triple crescent badge used by King Henry II of France (1547-1559).[10] Lord Seton probably saw this during one of his visits to France and adopted the design for his own use.

Much information is available on Thomas Foulis [16] particularly concerning his financial dealings with the King. Foulis executed the dies for the "new cunze"

of 1582,which included two portraits.[11] As James Gray was still official Sinker he may have provided guidance for Foulis, especially with the royal Arms on the reverse of the 40/- and 10/- pieces.[Plate 28] The gold Lion Noble of 1584 is probably also by Foulis, the crest lion lacks the finesse of modelling which marks Gray's work. Thomas Foulis became Sinker at the Mint in 1588 and held the post until 1605.[12] He was therefore responsible for sinking the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth issues of coinage.[Plates 28-31] Several low value billon and copper coins were also struck from dies executed during his period of office.[Plate 32] The issues include five portrait coins, the gold Hat Piece of 1591, the gold Rider and silver 10/- piece of 1593, the silver 12 pence piece of 1594, and the copper Turner of 1597. The portraits are competent, but uninspired in execution, a description which covers all the coin issues produced during Foulis' period of office.

Although there is room for doubt, it is likely Foulis manufactured the dies for the Great Seal of Scotland in 1605 after the erroneous attempt by Thomas Peebles. [36] One clue for considering Foulis to be the Great Seal die sinker is found in the rendering of the Scottish quarters. As already mentioned Gray was consistent in using twelve fleurs de lis on the royal tressure when he reproduced the royal Arms. Foulis being less skilled, only used eight fleurs de lis on his coins, apart from the issue of 1582 executed under Gray's aegis. There are only eight fleurs de lis in each Scottish quarter of the Arms on the Great Seal.[Plate 35]

Apart from Gray, Gilbert, Foulis, and Peebles, other unknown goldsmith/ die sinkers must have been kept busy between 1565 and 1625. A survey of personal seals [13] demonstrates that at least 470 seal dies were sunk during the reign. There is evidence that 82 peers, 31 bishops, 41 holders of ecclesiastical office, and 316 armigers commissioned die sinkers to execute heraldic seals. The new peers and many of the armigers had to record their Arms in the books at the Office of Arms in Edinburgh before arranging for these seals to be cut. The quality of the die cutting varies but this may have depended on the amount the client was prepared to spend on having a matrix prepared. Just as seal impressions give an insight to one form of heraldic display so the remaining examples of silver hollow ware can only reinforce awareness of what may have been lost or destroyed over the centuries.

James Cockie [4] was the goldsmith who provided the silver mounts for Lord Erskine's rock crystal container.[Plate 47] Cockie's engraving on the lid has a rough vigour with hatching to provide contrasting 'colour' on the impaled Arms of Lord Erskine and his wife Annabella Murray.
Rough vigour is again seen in the Ballochyle Brooch which has been already mentioned. It is stamped with the unidentified maker's mark A.S.and was made towards the end of the century.[Plate 83] Although the brooch is medieval in form, the engraver has a decorative band of classical egg and dart ornament encircling the central stone cut *en cabochon.* A quartered Campbell coat of arms is engraved twice, but the second and third quarters are blank which prevent a specific attribution. In each case the Arms are flanked by a foliaceous spray which is a crude forerunner of the feather-like flanking sprays popular with goldsmith engravers in the seventeenth century.

One goldsmith engraver who executed superior work with naive elan was George Cunningham Senior [35]. He was the maker and engraver of the 1604 seal case attached to the commission for the Earl of Montrose.[Plate 36] The silver case, with gilded exterior, is made in two halves with apertures at the side to take the cords which fastened the seal impression to the document. The obverse of the case carries the royal Arms with the early marshalling already discussed in Chapter Two. The reverse [Plate 109] bears the Arms of the Earl on an elaborate shield quartered Graham and Montrose. The Graham quarter have the escallop charges on a fess rather than on a chief, as presently borne. The *bouches* of the shield carry the initials I. and M. The helmet type engraved by Cunningham is similar to the peer's helms in the Seton Armorial [Plate 14] but this version of the Arms is not drawn from that source. The stork supporters are plump, each stands on an individual area of compartment. The mantling is rendered like blackwork embroidery. Around the Arms are two engraved inscriptions, the outer stating: JOHNE.ERIL.OF.MONTROIS.LORD GRAHAME & MVGDOK. The inner inscription is:
HEIGH.CHANCELLER.OF.SCOTLAND.ANNO DO 1604. Between the words, composed with hatched Roman capitals, there is a small five-pointed star. Unlike the three-dimensional effect found in Gray's work, the engraving on the seal case is linear and flat but has a fine feeling for the decorative quality of pattern. There are two pieces of silver by an unknown maker which carry similar linear engraving. These are the Paisley Bells of 1608 and 1620.[Plates

110,111] Although supplied as horse racing trophies to the burgh, twelve years apart, and of different size, they are both by the same maker. Each has a similar decorative finial beneath the suspension ring at the top and the same type of sound apertures on the rounded base. The bell shown in Plate 110 has an engraved shield of the Paisley Arms as used in 1608. The second bell is also engraved, it bears the date 1620 and the Arms of Hugh Crawford of Cloberhill, the first winner of the bell. The elaborate shields carry initials in the *bouches* which are engraved with hatched Roman letters like those on the Cunningham seal case. George Cunningham may have been the maker.

A more elegant bell was executed by Hugh Lindsay [20] around 1620 for the burgh of Lanark. This too was used as a racing trophy. Lindsay was a superior craftsman to the man who made the Paisley bells as the engraving is better and more inventive.[Plate 112] An elaborate shield bearing six charges is encircled by a victor's wreath - an original and appropriate decorative addition to the burgh Arms. All the charges do not fit the shield area in a comfortable manner,the lions flanking the double headed eagle touch the sides of the shield. Lindsay has attempted to portray the charge textures - feathers on the eagle, scales on the fish, and the smooth metal of the bell held in the eagle's talon.

A variant of the elaborate shield is found on a silver bowl by Thomas Clyghorne [40] c1615.[Plate 113] Although crude, the engraved shields show how a family continue to identify ownership through several generations. The container was presumably purchased by James Inglis and his wife Marion Stewart whose impaled Arms appear inside the bowl. Although indistinct, these are contained within a cartouche-like frame. The husband's initials are shown above the Arms with those of the wife located in the *bouches*. James Inglis was provost of Glasgow in 1609-13, 1619-21, and 1625-27. He must have gifted the bowl to his daughter, Margaret, and when she married Patrick Bell in 1618 their impaled Arms were engraved on the front of the bowl. Clyghorne, or some other engraver, repeated the style of rendering the first set of Arms. Margaret's husband was twice provost of Glasgow, in 1634-36. and 1638-39. In 1649 another engraver added the second cartouche, copying the earlier work. The Arms are those of Master Patrick Bell, second son of provost Bell, and his wife Mary Campbell who were married in that year. He was a burgess and baillie of Glasgow, she was the daughter of Robert Campbell of Silvercraigs.[14] The bowl

demonstrates the great advantage of heraldry in identifying owners, and providing dates which indicate how a precious object is handed down.

George Kirkwood, goldsmith, has already been mentioned in relation to commissions from Edinburgh Town Council. A relation of his, Gilbert Kirkwood [42], was the maker of the Fyvie communion cup.[Plate 60] I have stated that the quality and style of heraldic engraving on this cup is different from other contemporary pieces, and suggested that the patron, Alexander Seton, may have been involved. There could be another reason. Gilbert may have also been related to George Kirkwood, Albany Herald [Appendix One,59]. Although Albany Herald died in 1613 his knowledge and appreciation of heraldic representation could have influenced Kirkwood the goldsmith.

The general quality of Scottish heraldic engraving, with the exception of that by James Gray, does not always compare favourably with the work of foreign engravers. This is demonstrated on a watch by the Scottish maker David Ramsay [41] which bears elaborate decoration including the Arms of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, Knight of the Garter, and favourite of the King.[Plate 114] The drawing and space-filling qualities of the charges, plus the quality of the engraved lettering, are of the highest standard. The work was executed in London, possibly by the Flemish engraver Gerard de Heck, who co-operated with Ramsay on another two timepieces.[15]

Engraving on a small object, like the Ramsay watch, dictates fine quality and care in execution so that the engraver compliments the skill of the mechanism maker. When fine engraving is transferred to larger objects then the result can be less successful in visual terms. Plate 115 features the memorial brass engraved in 1622 by Gaspard Bruydegoms of Amsterdam.[16] The brass commemorates the Aberdonian Dr Duncan Liddell, a scholar and mathematician who died in 1613. It is located in St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen and bears a portrait of the doctor surrounded by books and scientific instruments. A shield of Arms and motto appear to the right of Liddel's head. The pictorial portion of the brass contrasts with an area of lettering, both sections being linked by a framing inscription which runs round the edges of the panel. The letter forms and spacing are far superior to anything executed in Scotland but the refinement militates against visual impact. Fifty two years earlier James Gray

had produced the Regent Moray Memorial Brass [Plate 103] with bold contrast of tonal colour which allows the onlooker to read the panel with greater ease. The lack of refinement in execution, coupled with contrast in tone and shape, created a distinctive Scottish style which is most recognisable during the reign of King James.

The last goldsmith to be featured provides examples of modelled, as opposed to engraved, heraldry. Edinburgh Town Council commissioned George Robertson [50] to "mak ane fair mase to be borne befoir the proveist, of ten punds wecht of silver, and to caus mak the same partiall gilt." [17] Robertson certainly produced a"fair mace", 965mm long, surmounted by an imperial crown formed of nine crosses and eight fleurs de lis.[Plate 116] Within the crown is a plate carrying one of the finest representations of the royal Arms produced in Scotland during the reign of King James. It consists of a simple shield surmounted by a crown, each cut from a single piece of metal. The shield bears the quartered Arms of Great Britain as borne in Scotland, which are carved out of the metal. There are sixteen fleurs de lis on each double tressure, an indication of the skill of the goldsmith in executing fine detail. The crowned supporters have been made separately, probably as castings. The shield is encircled with a collar of thistles which is of particular interest because it provides a clue to involvement by the Office of Arms. The thistle heads comprising the collar have their heads turned away from the shield so that they appear upside down. Each thistle is linked to the next by a Cavendish knot.[18] The only other example of a thistle collar having this form of link is to be seen in the Armorial of John Sawers Younger [54]. It is therefore possible that Robertson sought heraldic advice from Sawers during manufacture of the mace. The collar has been sawn from one piece of metal, pierced, and then modelled with an engraving tool. The plate on which the Arms are mounted was engraved first with the royal motto IN DEFENCE, divided in two and shown on two separate ribbons, the King's initials I R 6 on either side of the crown, and at the bottom of the plate the English royal motto DIEVET MON DROIT (sic) with the date 1617.The mounted Arms cover part of the engraved 6.

Along with the royal Arms, the head of the mace is decorated with the burgh Arms, a triple-towered castle of square form, again modelled in relief and applied. The Arms appear twice along with the regal thistle, flanked by IR. On a band, encircling the mace head, are a thistle, rose, fleur de lis and a harp. Each is again modelled and applied.

The shaft of the mace is composed of three sections, divided by two knops engraved with floral garlands and gadrooning. There are two sections of the shaft which taper from a swollen base covered with acanthus leaves. These may have been inspired by the hilt of the Sword of State, made over a century earlier by the Italian goldsmith Domenico da Sutri,[19] which was regularly seen on the High Street of Edinburgh each time there was a Riding of Parliament.

Another important group of metal workers were the brass and bronze founders who produced civic measuring containers, bells, and weapons of various calibres. By the end of the sixteenth century these craftsmen had over one hundred years experience in casting artillery pieces.[20] The four guns commissioned by William Forbes of Tolquhon in 1588 have an elegance of form which stands comprison with the work of continental gunfounders.[Plate 117] The motto and Arms of Forbes of Tolquhon provide an area of decoration, contained within bands of moulding, to contrast with the plain length of the barrel. Other bands of moulding are used to define changes in diameter and to terminate the barrel at each end. There are no surviving records to tell who might have cast these weapons but one founder still alive with a lifetime's experience was David Rowan of Edinburgh.[21]

The founders were unable to satisfy demand, or perhaps lacked specialist skill, to produce all the casting requirements for Scotland as imports from continental founders were reasonably common. Between 1565 and 1624 at least nineteen bronze bells, including the bell commissioned by Lord Seton [Plate 53], and a brass chandelier, were purchased from the Low Countries.[22] These are found as far apart as Crossmichael in Wigtonshire and Nigg on the Cromarty Firth, the bulk being restricted to the east coast. One piece of casting which could have been imported is a door knocker from Muness Castle in Shetland.[Plate 118] This has been conceived as a piece of three-dimensional design to be viewed from both front and side. It bears a shield of Arms, helmet with flowing mantling, and crest. The owner's name ANDRO BRVS, and motto OMNIA FINCIT AMOR (sic), are contained within the shield area without detracting from the armorial charges. The knocker, seen from the side, is in the form of a dolphin. The composition and execution are skilfully done and could have emanated from Scandinavia or the Low Countries. The shape of the shield -

round-bottomed - is continental, particularly associated with Germanic practice. The shape was seldom employed by Scottish heraldic artists.

Smaller weapons such as hand guns were extensively manufactured in Scotland. There were at least eighty-one gunmakers active during the reign. Dundee was the centre of gun production with thirty-three makers between 1587 and 1626. Next came the burgh of Canongate with twenty-five between 1580 and 1622, Edinburgh had sixteen makers between 1545 and 1621, Aberdeen supported five makers between 1591 and 1611, and Ayr and Glasgow had two gunmakers each at the end of the reign.[23] Quality and elaboration of decoration varied, depending on customer requirement and cost. Three of the guns purchased by Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in 1599 were gilded and at least one had a stock made of "brissell", brazil wood from South America.[24] The massive sporting gun [Plate 79] made for Glenorchy at Dundee demonstrates the quality which was achieved by Scottish gunmakers. The gun was manufactured by Patrick Ramsay, one time Deacon of the Hammermen in Dundee.[25] He was one of six gunmakers bearing the same surname who are recorded working in Dundee between 1587 and 1593.[26] The armorial achievement and other decoration on the gun were produced by acid etching the steel and then highlighting the pattern where necessary by line engraving, for example the motto, FOLLOW ME, has been engraved. The date is accompanied by a pot of lilies, the burgh Arms of Dundee, flanked by two flowers which act as space-fillers. Glenorchy's complete achievement is shown with supporters, crest and motto with additional emphasis provided by a band of decoration above and below the Arms. The lower band incorporates a grotesque head set in foliage, a motif probably taken from a pattern book. The achievement includes the client's initials, placed in an unusual position - above the crest and between the motto ribbons. This arrangement has helped to elongate the pattern as desired to fit the horizontal format of the weapon. Glenorchy's initials are repeated half way along the barrel, set within an elaborate foliaceous frame echoing the decoration around the achievement and the burgh Arms. Just like the Tolquhon gun barrels the decoration is skilfully placed to contrast with smooth areas of metal. This approach to design is typical of Scottish gunmakers of the period, unlike Continental makers who left few areas devoid of pattern. Ramsay has adjusted the heraldic elements to suit the long barrel in a style consistent with that found in contemporary tempera painting and stone carving.

PAINTERS

The largest number of known heraldic craftsmen are the painters, but because of the ephemeral nature of their work, particularly exterior painting, little has survived. Documentary evidence gives a good indication of their varied tasks, not all involving armorial bearings.

Some of the painting was deliberately ephemeral. Walter Binning [1], Thomas Binning [6], James Workman [21], and John Workman [26] all painted coats of arms used in the formal degradation of an armiger. This ceremony included tearing the painted Arms in half while the sentence of forfeiture was declared. The torn Arms were then displayed upside down at the mercat cross.[27] Other ephemeral painting was that for ceremonial spectaculars such as the Entry of Queen Anne to Edinburgh in 1590. The use of colour and gold leaf to enliven public display was a characteristic of the age and I have shown how various burgh councils employed painters to provide decoration in public places. These included James Scott [8] who painted heraldic panels on the tolbooth and bridge at Ayr. James Workman painted the Royal Arms in two places at Edinburgh Castle, including one carved on the Palace Block by William Wallace [50]. John Workman gilded two coats of arms at the Netherbow in Edinburgh, John Binning [43] decorated the carvings of the four Orders at Linlithgow Palace, and Robert Telfer [57] painted the Royal Arms over the main entrance of Parliament House. Finally Valentine Jenkin [58] was contracted to execute heraldic panels for the front of Falkland Palace, including the stone frames in which they were displayed. These had to be painted with the appearance of marble.

The work of two known painters has survived. John Anderson [31] was the man responsible for decorating the room in which King James had been born at Edinburgh Castle [Plate 38]. He had been working at Falkland Palace and was called from there on 3 June 1617 to execute the scheme at the Castle. The King was already in Scotland, having arrived during May. When the sovereign eventually visited the scene of his birth his lasting impression must have been the smell of fresh paint!

The work of Anderson's contemporary, Valentine Jenkin [58], can still be admired in the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle.[Plate 22] The decoration was executed after the death of the King but is worth mentioning here because it shows a difference in style from the earlier schemes of tempera decoration which had been superceded by the growing fashion of plastered ceilings. Jenkin includes some heraldic elements, the Royal Crest and the Honours of Scotland. The use of the latter is interesting because the reign of King James provides the largest number of pictorial examples of the Scottish symbols of kingship. They appeared on the gold Sword and Sceptre Piece of 1601 [Plate 31] and then with frequency after the King left for England in 1603. Edinburgh Castle,[Plate 39], Linlithgow Palace,[Plate 44] Edinburgh University, the chair back at Dundee,[Plate 91] at the Chapel Royal, Stirling [Plate 22] then later on a ceiling at Winton House, east Lothian, are all places where the Honours are represented. It appears that in the absence of a domiciled sovereign the symbols of majesty achieved prominence as a reminder to the lieges of the ruling monarch . At the Chapel Royal the Honours play their part within a painted architectural framework employing classical motifs such as egg and dart moulding. As he did in the Chapel at Falkland Palace Jenkin breaks up the mass of wall space by painting *trompe l'oeil* windows, a decorative trick which was also transferred to stone by masons on the exterior of Balbegno Castle and at Huntly Castle.[Plate 50] Although originally from England,28 Jenkin was carrying on a long tradition in Scotland of internal wall painting.[29]

Easel painters of the period employed heraldry as propaganda, as in the picture by Lieven de Vogeleer [3], or as identification of the sitter. Apart from the second portrait of Campbell of Glenorchy [Plate 82] the other paintings are the work of two Flemish artists whose training in accurate representation is reflected in the manner of executing armorial devices. Vogeleer in the *Memorial of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley,*[Plate 119] has placed heraldry on banners and on the side panel of the effigy tomb base. The heraldry has not been applied to the picture but takes its place within the architectural setting. This reinforces its importance as part of the intended political message. The message is clearly stated on a tablet hanging on the extreme right of the painting, headed OPERIS HVI(V)S CAVSA - "the reason for this work" - the painting was commissioned in London in January 1568 by the Earl and Countess of Lennox so that "if they, who are already old, should be deprived of this life before the majority of their

descendant, the King of Scots, (James VI) he may have a memorial from them, in order that he shut not out of his memory the recent atrocious murder of the king his father, until God should avenge it through him".[n29a]

The effigy of Darnley is flanked by royal unicorns holding a sovereign's crown, The tomb carries the crowned Arms of Scotland encircled by a collar of thistles, the prerogative of the Scottish sovereign, and on either side are two versions of Darnley's personal Arms encircled by the Collar of the French Order of St Michael. These have grand quarters to show implicitly Darnley's descent from the royal houses of Scotland and England, and his territorial possessions. Royal, national and personal heraldry are repeated on the banners hanging over the effigy to demonstrate the full monarchial majesty of the victim who died as the King of Scots. All these elements, plus various images of Darnley's murder, and the capture of the Queen at Carberry, make a clear political statement.

Because the picture was executed in London, the complex heraldry must have been devised and drawn in Scotland as part of the brief presented to Vogeleer when the Earl and Countess commissioned the painting. This could have involved both an Officer of Arms and a herald painter.

No attempt has been made to integrate armory with subject in any of the portrait paintings to be considered next. The portrait of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean [Plate 120] is attributed to Vanson [30] who did execute heraldic painting while in the King's service.[31] If the Kennedy armorial is typical of Vanson [14] then criticism can be made. Shield and helmet are well proportioned but the supporters are too small. There is a distinct similarity between the mantling in this picture and that on the first portrait of Glenorchy,[Plate 80] also attributed to Vanson by Thomson.[32] Although Glenorchy was entitled to supporters they are not shown, flanking initials are employed instead, though the simple shield without *bouches* does not allow a happy relationship between shield and initials. The artist has also ommitted the crest, not an error, but curious for the time. There is of course the possibility that the Arms in both paintings were added later by another unknown hand. The second oil portrait of Glenorchy [Plate 82] is blessed with a finer rendering of his complete armorial achievement. Initials are included but cleverly used as space-fillers on either side of the crest.Thomson has suggested this picture could be the work of John Anderson

[33] and the heraldry confirms that a knowledgeable practioner of the science was involved.

Painting on quite a different scale, using watercolours on vellum and paper, was executed by limners.[34] By far the greatest amount of heraldic painting from the reign is found in the Armorials featured in Chapter One. The outstanding limner was a woman of French descent, Esther Inglis.[11] She came to Scotland as a young girl of seven, but by the time she was twenty-four, when her portrait was painted in 1595, her reputation as a calligrapher had been established. Heraldry for her was a decorative adjunct to calligraphy but as the sole woman practitioner of note she provides an important alternative source of heraldic art. In her principal work devoted to heraldry, ***A Book of Armes of England doone by me Esther Inglis, Januar the First 1609***, she contains shield and crest, within separate circles, on a page only 38mm high by 63mm long. Each representation is therefore equivalent to the size of a modern postage stamp. Inglis prefers the simple shield shape which is not surprising considering the scale. Another continuation of medieval miniature practice is her use of borders incorporating botanical motifs. This can be seen on another small manuscript, dated 1615, dedicated to Prince Charles. The English version of his Arms, surrounded by the Garter, is differenced by a label of three points. This accuracy shows that Esther Inglis had a good working knowledge of heraldic practice. Although she drew some inspiration from the past, Inglis was familiar with contemporary artistic styles. Plate 121 shows the title page of a manuscript where she employs strapwork as the main decorative motif. It would be tempting to attribute the Seton Family Tree of 1585 [Plate 54] to Esther Inglis, but she was only fourteen years old in that year. It is possible she may have been involved in some of the work because one person who could have produced the Tree was her mother Marie Prisott, who schooled Esther in the art of calligraphy.[35]

MASONS

Although masons marked their work from the medieval period through to the late nineteenth century, little research has been undertaken in Scotland to link names with specific marks.[36] The marks were used to identify work in order to facilitate payment, not as a means to record the perpetual memory of an

individual. It is therefore unusual to find a mason wishing to be remembered as the one responsible for a certain piece of work.

This was done by Thomas Leiper [17] at Tolquhon Castle, Aberdeenshire, by placing his initials on a skewput.[Plate 122] This action, coupled with certain recurring architectural details, allows a degree of certainty in ascribing other buildings to him. The impressive entrance range at Tolquhon was part of an ambitious enlargement of the Castle begun by William Forbes of Tolquhon on 15 April 1584 and completed on 20 October 1589.[37] Above the entrance are two heraldic panels [Plate 123] accompanied by five small carved figures, originally there were six. The panels and figures are linked with a bold bolection string course which is echoed at the roof line with a carved rope-like moulding. The entrance is flanked by two drum towers, pierced at ground level by triple decorative gun loops - one of Leiper's mannerisms. The carved panels depict the royal Arms above the Arms of the owner, who held his land from the crown. The Forbes Arms are badly wasted but enough remains to show an elaborate shield in good proportion to the helmet, the latter flanked by mantling which spreads out to the sides of the panel. This may have originally been rendered as feathers similar to the mantling of the royal Arms above. Behind the crest is a straight ribbon to carry the motto. The supporters stand on small classical plinths with part of the intervening space filled with a rectangular panel bearing the date 1586. The rectangular date panel has a curved projection on the top, like a handle, making it similar in appearance to a child's horn book. The panel characteristics have parallels with two other pieces of heraldic carving and arouses speculation that they too may be the work of Leiper.

Plate 85 is the panel at Edzell Pleasance, dated 1604. The helmet has feather mantling on either side, the date appears in a rectangular panel below the Arms, and it has similar curved handles to that on the Tolquhon panel. The motto is placed on a ribbon at the top of the panel, again as at Tolquhon. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell's wife was a Forbes, presumably a kinswoman of Forbes of Tolquhon. She may have persuaded Leiper to work for her husband after seeing his work at Tolquhon.

Plate 78 shows the Mercat Cross at Fraserburgh. Its central feature is an elaborate shield contained within a circle. Returning to the Tolquhon panel, we can note how the curved bottom of the helmet and the off side limbs of the supporters form a natural half circle containing the shield. Did this solution

contain the germ of the design at Fraserburgh and if so was Leiper the imaginative mason responsible?

The royal Arms at Tolquhon are almost complete. A simple shield surmounted by a crowned helmet bears the lion sejant crest. Again the motto is carried on a ribbon hard up against the top of the panel. The mantling is in the form of four feather shapes emerging on each side of the helmet. This form first appeared in the Sir David Lindsay of the Mount Armorial of 1542 although the feathers were shown in front of conventional mantling. This novel form is not seen in any surviving versions of the royal Arms until Leiper employs the feathers at Tolquhon by dropping the usual mantling and enlarging the feathers to provide a more original design.

Had Leiper seen the Lindsay Armorial or did someone tell him about the version of the royal Arms it contained? A possible answer will be provided in a moment. One other point of interest lies in Leiper's version of the Arms. The banner poles held by the supporters terminate in a ring as on the Great Seal and on the panel at Mar's Wark, Stirling. Leiper was obviously familiar with current Scottish heraldic fashion.

Less than two miles from Tolquhon Castle lies the village of Tarves, the location of a monument erected by William Forbes. It was built in the same year as work at Tolquhon Castle came to an end according to the date 1589 which appears beneath the Arms of Forbes of Tolquhon. It seems more than likely that Thomas Leiper was the carver. The tomb design [Plate 124] is a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance elements. The overall impression is richly medieval but much of the detail is pseudo-classical in style. The spandrels on either side of the arch recess contain the Arms of Forbes of Tolquhon on an elaborate shield contrasting with the impaled Arms of Forbes and Gordon on a simple shield. Tolquhon was married to Elizabeth Gordon of Lesmoir.There is a ribbon moulding above the arcaded front of the tomb chest with the same character as the roof line moulding on the entrance range of the Castle. The Forbes Arms are repeated within the otherwise undecorated pediment above the tomb. This is a visually rich and well carved monument which links the traditions of the medieval period with the new styles carried from the Low Countries through the many published pattern books. For this to appear in the depths of Aberdeenshire seems remarkable but may be explained by the character of William Forbes whose library could have provided the sources of information.[38]

In the same kirkyard at Tarves where Tolquhon's tomb is situated there are two graves of interest. They commemorate Thomas Craig, Pursuivant, died 1584, and his son William Craig, Rothesay Herald in 1607, later changed to Ross Herald in 1617, who died in 1632. The proximity of these two Officers to Tolquhon assume great significance relative to Thomas Leiper the mason. They could have been the source of information about the 1542 Armorial and shown him impressions from the Great Seal with its banner poles terminating in rings. This possible personal contact indicates how information located in the capital could be carried out to seemingly remote areas by the Officers of Arms.

Another spectacular piece of heraldic display, by a known carver, is also to be found in Aberdeenshire at Castle Fraser. John Bell [51] signed and dated the carving with his initials, and his heart-shape mason's mark [Plate 125]. This great heraldic table bears the royal Arms of Great Britain as used in Scotland along with the Arms of the castle owner, Andrew, Lord Fraser. The panel is dated 1617, the year of the King's return visit to Scotland, an event which may have inspired the exuberance of its execution. Fraser's Arms have weathered away apart from the supporters and motto but the royal Arms remain intact. Bell's composition of the heraldic elements are different from those of Leiper. The crowned helmet is tiny in proportion to the shield and the mantling does not fill the available space. Nevertheless there is originality. The royal motto of Scotland is balanced by the royal motto of England on either side of the crest, each being borne on a neatly folded ribbon. The Arms are set within a massive housing made up with a variety of mouldings - plain, rope-like, classical, and running ribbon, interspersed with false cannon water spouts. The whole assemblage is completed with a dated dormer window, providing a stunning climax above the main door on the principal facade. Unfortunately at a later date the main entrance was moved to another elevation for the sake of internal convenience so that today the heraldic table is relegated to an inferior position.[39] No other signed carvings by Bell are known, but there are other heraldic panels, including the royal Arms of Scotland, decorating the exterior of Castle Fraser. One is a version of the Arma Christi. This is unusual in being described on a ribbon underneath the shield as follows: ARMA CHR. An elaborate shield is supported by an angel and it is charged with a Wounded Heart, encircled by a stylised Crown of Thorns, rendered as a rope, with the Hands in chief and the Feet in base. The angel has been given a wistful

expression so that the carver, possibly Bell, was capable of rendering emotion in his work.

Another mason, known from documentary evidence, is John Mylne [18] whose family became master masons to the sovereign through several generations. He erected the mercat cross at Dundee in 1586 which carries the burgh Arms of Dundee on the shaft - a pot bearing three lilies.[40] The shaft with its armorial decoration is the only section of Mylne's cross to have survived as a subsequent restoration in 1880 altered the original form. It now has a new finial and base.[Plate 126] Mylne's son, also John [42], is equally unfortunate in terms of surviving work.

The Netherbow Port and the West Port in Edinburgh have long been demolished along with the "new armis" and bust of King James on the former, and two carved heraldic panels on the latter. All were carved by John Mylne Younger. Even Mylne's work on the Edinburgh mercat cross was obliterated during the eighteenth century, though the restoration of 1885 was based on the appearance Mylne gave the cross in 1617. One piece of Mylne's work, carrying heraldic devices, which does survive, is the sundial he carved during the reign of King Charles I, now located in the north garden of the Palace of Holyroodhouse.[41]

Fortunately with the fourth known carver, William Wallace [50], there are several extant examples and these have been featured in Chapter Two. Following the death of King James, Wallace was employed on the construction of both Winton House, between 1620 and 1627, and George Heriot's Hospital between 1628 and his death in 1631.[42]

OTHER MASON WORK BY UNKNOWN CRAFTSMEN

I have suggested that the Officers of Arms played an important part in influencing the use of heraldry by craftsmen. However the consistency of where armory appeared on a building could have arisen as a result of the peripatetic employment practice of masons.[43] From the south to the north of Scotland heraldic usage in architecture was very similar - identification of ownership by means of carved panels near the principal entrance, and internally by positioning them round the hearth. Examples of each type of usage will given to show variation and style.

Most external heraldic panels consist of at least four elements, the Arms of the owner and his wife, their initials, a date and often a religious text or apopthegm. Plate 127, from the far north of Scotland, shows all the elements mentioned on a single rectangular stone, positioned above the main entrance gateway to Tankerness House in Kirkwall.

The central feature is a dated biblical text in Latin: NISI DOMINE.CVSTODI ERIT FRVSTRA SEMEN NOSTRVM.SEPV ET.IPSI ANNO.SALVTIS 1574 - "Without the Lord's protection our children will live in vain and ourselves be but slaves. In the year of grace 1574". [as paraphrased by MacGibbon and Ross,Vol.V,p.95.] The text is contained within an ansate panel first used by the Romans and made popular throughout western Europe by the propagation of the Renaissance decorative style. The panel is flanked by the Arms and initials of Magister Gilbert Funzie, an archdeacon of Kirkwall Cathedral, and those of his wife Elizabeth Kinnaird. The shield shapes have also been influenced by contemporary European taste and are of the cartouche type with sinuous curved sides and fold-over lugs at the top. There is also a fifth element, a motto: PATRIE.ET.POSTERIS.- "For Country and Posterity", which, with its echoes of ancient Rome, confirms the strong Renaissance influences apparent in the panel. Although at first glance it seems surprising to find such a classically-inspired panel so far north, the sea borne connections between Orkney and Scandinavia were centuries old.[44] Gilbert Funzie's brief to the stone carver may also have been influenced by his bishop, Adam Bothwell, a man who was well aware of current European intellectual interest in Renaissance ideas.[45]

In contrast to the Tankerness House panel, others are located in the Borders region which demonstrate that in areas of civil unrest,[46] outside influences took longer to penetrate. Plate 127 also features double panels from Branxholm Castle in Roxburghshire. These record that construction of the castle was begun by Sir Walter Scott on 24 March 1571. He died on 17 April 1574 and his widow, Margaret Douglas, finished construction in October 1576. The lettering of the inscription is not Roman capitals but is in the old Gothic style of "Blackletter", and the inscription does not read in a logical sequence. On the dexter panel at the top is:

"Sr.W.Scot,umql.of Branx/ heim knyt.soe.of.Sr William.S/cot.of.kircurd.

knyt.begane.ye"/ the inscription continues at right angles to the foregoing-" vork of yis hal upon.ye 24 of" the next section appears at the bottom of the panel-"

marche.1571 zeir quha/depairtid At Gods.plesour" the final part of the inscription is at right angles on the left hand side -" ye.17.of April.1574 to rest". The shield within the inscription, for Scott, combines Arms, crest, motto, and owner's initials all on the one area in a confused and crude manner. The Douglas panel on the sinister side repeats the design of a central shield framed by an inscription. The latter is laid out in a less confusing manner.It begins on the left vertical - "DAME.MARGRET.DOVGLAS", continues along the top of the panel,"HIS.SPOVS.COM / PLEITTIT.THE",then on the vertical right hand side,"FORSAID.VORK IN.",and ends on the bottom of the panel,"OCTOBER.1576". As on her husband's Arms, Margaret Douglas's initials are incorporated within a triple-line border on the shield. The stone carver responsible must have been a local craftsmen bereft of contact with heraldic expertise and not familiar with contemporary trends in artistic style.

In the middle of Galashiels, twelve miles north of Branxholm Castle, is the much-altered Gala House. It originally carried the panel of 1583 featured in Plate 132. Although less confused in terms of heraldry, it is medieval in concept, dogtooth mouldings terminate with human faces and the Arms of Andrew Pringle and his wife, Marion Borthwick, are supported by two angels - an interesting choice in post-Reformation Scotland, and a further example of lingering pre-Reformation tradition. The stonecarver was no heraldic purist as he kept his design tidy by placing the initials of husband and wife on each respective shield.

If stylistic trends did not reach the Borders, there was little chance of doing so beyond the Highland Line. Dunderave Castle at the north end of Loch Fyne was erected in 1596 by a member of the Macnaughton family. Still extant [Plate 128] is a panel containing the initials of the builder and his wife, I.M. and A.U.,coupled with a religious admonition,
BEHALD.THE.END.BE.NOCHT.VYSER..NOR.THE.HIESTES.,then the motto, I.HOIP.IN.GOD. These are over the entrance with the date 1596, and above there is a very elaborate housing for a carved panel of Arms. The mouldings of the housing are dogtooth, billet, and nail head which echo the enrichment round the entrance doorway. The effect is very rich visually and must have impressed Macnaughton's neighbours, but this type of decoration was very old fashioned by this late period.

The masons on the west of Scotland were not completely cut off from trends in architectural practice, and the Glasgow area has two buildings which carry details as fine as any found on the east coast. The entrance feature of Hagg's Castle [Plate 129] is in its own way, as impressive as the heraldic frontispiece of Huntly Castle, which it pre-dates by seventeen years. The master mason enriched the principal facade of the building at first floor level with a giant rope moulding, and repeated the motif at the roofline where it continues up and around two double-story dormer windows. At the main entrance the moulding is carried round the doorway, extends upwards to contain a date, quotation, and details of the owners, and finally defines three heraldic panels. The inscription is as follows :

1585 NE.DOMINS / AEDES.STRVXE / RIT.FRUSTRA.STRVIS. / Sr.JHON MAXWELL.OF.POLLOK.KNY / GHT.AND.D.MARGARET.CONYNGHM / HIS.WYF.BIGGET.

THIS.HOWS. The translation of the biblical phrase,"Unless the Lord builds, he who does so, does it in vain ", is particularly apt for a building and was a popular choice of the period.[47] The armorial panel housings are now filled with nineteenth century replacement Arms of Sir John and Dame Margaret with the third space holding a sculpted group of two figures. Originally the third housing would have contained a carving of the royal Arms. Although other Scottish buildings were decorated with continuous mouldings, for example the eaveline on the entrance facade at Tolquhon Castle of 1586, this inspired handling of the moulding to link the heraldic and other elements is an original design in Scotland. Composing a unified solution for a group of heraldic panels had been tried three years earlier at MacLellan's Castle in Kirkcudbright. This was built by the same Sir Thomas MacLellan who was provost of the town, had his Arms on the Siller Gun, and whose tomb has been mentioned in Chapter Two. The three sets of Arms on his castle, personal, wife's, and royal, are contained within a decorative, dormer-like frame, but no attempt was made to link frame to the doorway below.

This idea has been developed more fully at Newark Castle in Port Glasgow [Plate 130]. The builder, Patrick Maxwell, or his mason, were more skilful in handling the northern European late classical style and pre-dated the detailing of William Wallace at Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace. Maxwell erected a substantial addition between 1597 and 1599 to the keep he inherited at

Newark. The main entrance to the new addition and all the windows on the principal elevations are classical in style. He employed a monogram PM which is placed on many of the urn finials in the dormer pediments. However the most striking feature is the manner of incorporating a heraldic panel above the classical doorway. the pediment carries the date 1597, the monogram PM and the inscription, THE BLISSINGIS OF GOD BE HEREIN.[48] Immediately above is a stone frame running up to the full height of the elevation which encloses four windows, an armorial panel, another panel inscribed with two ansate frames which once held lettering, and terminates in a pointed dormer enclosing a broken pediment and urn. The detailing is superior to Wallace's work because the integration of heraldry at Newark has been fully considered.

Masons throughout Scotland found different solutions to this problem of integrating heraldry with the new style. Their various attempts to come to terms with the challenges of a style so different from medieval practice created a distinctly Scottish style in turn. This can be seen in the former original entrance to Cullen House , Banffshire, dating from soon after 1600 [Plate 130]. Here there is an applied classical beam lintel supported on engaged pillars divided in two by a knop. These are echoed beneath an acanthus-leafed capital by a square with circular facets. Each facet carries the quartered Arms of Ogilvie and Sinclair which are in turn repeated above the lintel by much larger roundels bearing the crests of the families. The heraldry is present at the entrance in the traditional manner but it is now forced to conform to an overall design. It is consigned to decorative areas in a secondary role.

This process reaches its logical conclusion in the flamboyant fountain sundial at Dundas Castle which was erected in 1623 [Plate 131]. The mason's clients were Sir Walter Dundas and his wife Dame Ann Menteith. It is highly ornamented, fully conceived in full-blown northern European classical style with mouldings, metopes, trusses, grotesque heads and strapwork, all taken from the decorative vocabulary of classicism. Amongst all these elements the Dundas crest, a lion head wreathed with oak, the Dundas rampant lion, and the quartered Arms of Dundas and Menteith take their place along with the salamander of the house of Dundas. The spectator has difficulty finding these armorial charges amidst the elaborate decoration. The end of the reign also saw the end of heraldry's prime position in Scotland's decorative priorities. This state of affairs remained until a

new awareness arose, after the middle of the nineteenth century, that heraldry had an important decorative and didactic role to play in architecture.

As previously mentioned the masons also contributed to the internal appearance of buildings, and this too succumbed to new ideas. The hearth, by this time an enclosed fireplace, acted as the focal point of all interiors, be it in Stirling Castle or the most humble dwelling. The area around this important social *locus* was a logical location for armorials and two examples will show how this was achieved. Plate 132 illustrates the impaled Arms, initials, and date, on a fireplace lintel at Stobhall which commemorates David, 2nd Lord Drummond and his second wife, Dame Lilias Ruthven. The details are cut into the stone and decorative lettering,[49] flanks a central shield with shallow *bouches*. The shield surmounts a long panel containing the date. The result has a dignified simplicity based on the artistic traditions of an earlier period.

A similar disregard for fashion is again apparent at Gala House, previously featured, where there is a fireplace lintel dated 1611 [Also Plate 132]. Here the design acknowledges the Union of the Crowns by including the emblems of England, France and Scotland but all are still within a Gothic decorative context, despite a band of decoration derived from egg and dart moulding above the armorial panels. This carries the small initials P M B, possibly those of the stone carver. The Arms of Sir James Pringle and his wife, Jean Kerr of Linton, are flanked by their initials, the shield of the wife having a charming addition at the top - a true lover's knot.

There are other examples of heraldic fireplaces of the reign,[50] but the change that occured by the end is best demonstrated by Plate 133. From a simple inscribed slab lintel the armorial display developed into a piece of decoration which overwhelms the onlooker. The mason's work was replaced by the exuberance of the plasterer's craft. In this instance the Royal House is honoured, not the owner, hence the scale of the piece. Gone are the initials and biblical texts, ommissions which say more about the change of attitude in a country now partnered with a wealthier, more powerful southern neighbour.

EMBROIDERERS

Not many examples of heraldic embroidery have survived from the period. The royal Arms featured on Plate 42 were attributed to William Beatoun, the King's Embroiderer, and there are various extant panels associated with Mary Queen of Scots [51] which carry heraldic devices. One panel carries her monogram balanced by a simple crowned shield of the royal Arms,(Victoria and Albert Museum, on loan to Oxburgh Hall) the second, more elaborate panel, also in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, on loan to Oxburgh Hall, is decorated with the crowned Arms of France, Spain, England, and Scotland, each encircled with a collar. Mrs M Swain,(1973) has shown these were embroidered by the captive Queen while imprisoned in England between 1568 and 1587.

The Arniston Panel of c1590 has an armorial device as its central motif [Plate 134]. This was embroidered by Katharine Oliphant who signed the work with her initials. It is a large piece, 213 x 91 cms, probably made as a table cover for a dining table, considering the choice of two figurative panels which flank the central Arms of Oliphant. The upper vessica-shape panel is encircled by a border bearing the words, PAVL SAYING TO TEMOTHE TAK A LYTL VYN TO COMFORT THY STOMORT. The lower similarly shaped panel has around it, THE LORD COMANDES THE TO BREAK YE BREAD AND GYE YT YE HOVNGRY. The Arms are placed on an elaborate shield with curvilinear top, flanked by the needlewomen's initials K O in floriated capitals, like those on the Stobhall fireplace lintel.[Plate 134] Beneath the shield is an elephant, one of the Oliphant armorial supporters. Shield and elephant are contained within a beribboned wreath which, apart from giving prominence to the Arms, links the two figurative panels. Flowers and foliaceous ornament are used to fill the intervening spaces. The surrounding border repeats the floral theme and contains birds, masks similar to that on the Breadalbane Gun,[Plate 79] and chimerical creatures which appear as winged mermaids. The panel has been cut in half, and reduced in length at one time, before being repaired. The border consists of eight obvious sections stitched together and two long inscriptions on either side of the border no longer make sense. It is an important survivor and shows how an embroideress from the landed class was aware of current decorative motifs. These have been combined with figurative drawing in an unsophisticated style to create yet another piece with affinities to decoration on

tempera painted ceilings and mason work. Katharine may have been a relation of Alexander Oliphant, Albany Herald,[Appendix One,14.] whom she may have consulted for artistic advice.

WOOD CARVING BY UNKNOWN CRAFTSMEN

Another group of craftsmen who were sometimes grouped with the masons, in terms of guilds, were the joiners and carpenters. The collective term was Squaremen because each group used that tool to ensure accuracy.[52] The quality of carved woodwork surviving from the reign of King James suggests that there were no specialist carvers in Scotland,[53] and the local "vricht" produced carved work as required. Surviving material falls into two groups, secular and ecclesiastic.

Muness Castle in Shetland provides another piece of heraldic decoration to match the cast door knocker,[Plate 118] though it is the product of a different hand.[Plate 135] The carved wooden fragment appears to be the dexter half of a larger panel, originally showing the combined Arms of husband and wife, both shields being placed *accole* under the husband's helmet, crest and motto. Only the word OMNIA of the latter is legible. The mantling is unusually rendered as ivy leaves. This plant has always been closely identified with death and immortality, but is also a symbol of attachment and undying affection.[54] Andrew Bruce of Cultmalundie used as his motto, OMNIA VINCIT AMOR, this combined with the ivy leaves, could indicate that he had great affection for his wife, but this must remain hypothetical until confirmation by other evidence. There is a precedent for foliaceous mantling to be found at King's College Chapel in Aberdeen where, on the exterior of the tower there is a panel, dated 1504, bearing the royal Arms with thistle mantling. The use of the royal Plant Badge in association with the royal Arms is entirely appropriate.

The builder of Muness Castle was Laurence Bruce of Cultmalundie, a half-brother of Lord Robert Stewart. They had the same mother, a mistress of King James V, who later married and had Laurence. Although associated with Shetland from 1571, Laurence Bruce did not start construction of his castle at Muness until 1598.[55] The knocker and carved panel therefore date from a later period when his second son Andrew was in residence. The castle is the most

northerly example of Scottish vernacular architecture and the two extant pieces of heraldry indicate that originally it was furnished in a similar manner to any mainland house of the period. The Bruce family connections with the royal house and court help to explain why a castle in this style and with such furnishings was built so far north.

Apart from individual carved panels carpenters had to provide basic domestic fittings such as internal floors, window frames, doors, panelling,and furniture. Consideration has been given to some of these items in previous chapters, including the door from Stirling Castle. I have also shown that a characteristic of the age was the expression of moral and religious sentiment through painted symbolism or apopthegms. Statements of a political nature as part of a permanent decorative scheme are seldom seen, because they could be dangerous. The Balbegno ceiling was 'altered' as a result of the forfeiture of the Earl of Gowrie. However symbolism of a nationalist nature was acceptable and two contemporary doors have survived which show that a domestic item could be used to convey a political idea.

Both doors were made in Dumfriesshire, both were made by the same unknown craftsman.[56] The door from Terregles Castle, now in Traquair House, carries no coat of arms but the decoration consists of heraldic beasts, an unicorn, a lion and an elephant. There is a central roundel with the initials L V H, for Lord William Herries, and the date 1601. A section of the door is missing resulting in the loss of the elephant's face. The animals are carved in a symbolic rather than a naturalistic manner, in the style of heraldic charges. The carver employed a metal X-shaped stamp to decorate certain parts of the carving, a device also used on the second door which allows attribution to the same man. X-shaped stamps appear on the unicorn crown and on the straps of the howdah carried by the elephant.[Plate 136]

The second door is in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland. [Plate 137] It was made for Amisfield Castle and carries the quartered shield of Charteris, again in a roundel, accompanied by two other roundels containing the initials of James or John Charteris and his wife Anne Maxwell. The door is dated 1600. It is constructed from five butting oak planks with the carving executed in low relief. At one time the door was painted as recorded by Grose

in his *Antiquities of Scotland*, Volume 1, page 158. As in the other door the carving is stylised rather than naturalistic. For as long as the door has been in the National Museum the scene it portrays has been described as Samson and the Lion. A bell-shaped object fills the space above the lion's head which may represent Samson's hat knocked off during the combat. This has a decorative band of impressed XX's, the same shape and size as on the Terregles door. Neither Watson, Graham, or Maxwell sought to explain the symbolism of the two doors and thought them purely decorative. However heraldry gives the clues.

TERREGLES DOOR

The carver, or his patron, has taken the theme of Scotland triumphing over England. When the door was carved Queen Elizabeth of England was in old age and not expected to live very much longer. James VI King of Scots was her chosen heir and was waiting patiently to inherit the English throne. The carver foresees the day when the Scottish unicorn overcomes the English lion while the elephant, representing Denmark,[57] lends support to both animals by ensuring the continuation of the Scottish royal house as rulers of the United Kingdom, through the person of Queen Anne, the Danish princess.

AMISFIELD DOOR

Carved one year before the Terregles door the carver has experimented with symbolism by choosing a biblical subject capable of two interpretations. The first, a straight forward representation of Samson overcoming the lion. However it could also explore the theme of the resolution of ancient struggles between Scotland and England by a Scottish sovereign ascending the throne of England. The carver likens King James to Samson who overcame the lion, which in this context could represent the heraldic lion of England.

Although the carving on the two doors is not sophisticated the intellectual activity which created the symbolism, be it carver or patron, is not unlike that behind some of the great schemes of tempera painting. Scotland did not lack creativity, it lacked sophistication of artistic skill. This is apparent in the five-bay section of panelling, known as the Killochan Panels.[Plate 138] These are dated 1606 at the base of the central panel which carries the impaled Arms of the owner and his wife. They are identified above the Arms by an inscription : IHONE.CATHCART.OF.CARLTOUNE.AND.HELEN.WALLACE.HIS.SPOUSE. John Cathcart erected Killochan Castle, near Dumfries, in 1586,[58] so that the

panels were part of later improvements to the internal furnishings of the house. Apart from the central heraldic panel, the remaining four bays include portrait male and female busts which emerge from a section of elaborate decoration in the Renaissance Grotesque style. This has been carved in shallow bas-relief, the torso of the figures above then appear in greater relief until the head is reached where the carving becomes three-dimensional. Around each figure swirls a decorative ribbon which is folded and intertwined in a manner similar to that found in Flemish paintings, or wood engravings by Durer and his followers. These four panels demonstrate a level of sophistication not found in Scottish work. They are a development of the earlier profile heads used as a common motif on furniture and panelling, such as the cabinet in the National Museums collection associated with Mary of Guise, or the Stirling Heads which once adorned the Audience Chamber in Stirling Castle.[59] The Killochan heads must have been imported from the Low Countries in the late sixteenth century before being incorporated by a local craftsmen to form a run of internal panelling. The local craftsmen added the central panel on the instructions of John Cathcart and attempted to match the spirit of the imports by carving a shield of elaborate shape with some space-filling foliaceous features in each bottom corner. The Arms used by Helen Wallace are within a bordure, counter-compony for difference, and although the bordure follows the exterior shape of the shield, the carver has simplified his task by omitting to follow the upper line of the shield shape. The Killochan Panels constitute the only example of combined foreign and native work involving heraldry which has survived from the reign of King James. Such a combination may have been quite common as an economic method of enriching an interior.

Surviving native furniture of the period, apart from chairs, is not plentiful, partly because homes of the period did not contain the amount of furniture prevalent at a later period,[60] so that the oak dresser of 1613 is a singular piece.[Plate 139] The only decoration is heraldic, accompanied by date and initials of the owner and his wife. Although the design of the dresser is symmetrical, the carver has not attempted to balance heraldry and lettering to suit, and an obvious place for the date, the central panel, has been left blank. The dresser design is not without elegance, the tall top section is balanced by the heavier fluted legs below which give visual stability, yet for the owner the desire to identify and date the piece transcends any desire for a balanced

appearance. Such a decision is perhaps the key to appreciating the utilisation of heraldry during the time span covered by this thesis. Almost to the end of the reign the quality of wood carving in Scotland showed no great improvement and the panel of 1621,[Plate 140] bearing the Arms of a Lindsay Earl of Crawford illustrates the point. The carver is aware of fashionable style - the shield shape is made up of contrasting curves, but is flanked by heavy debased leaf forms, and the 2nd and 3rd quarters, a lion rampant debruised of a bend, are completely mis-represented to show the lion walking up an angled line. Heraldic carving of a similar standard is also found throughout Scotland though there are some exceptions in church settings.

Ecclesiastical woodwork of the period had to be introduced as something new after the Reformation because the requirements were different. It can be argued that the Reformation in Scotland was not the only catalyst for sweeping away interiors associated with the catholic liturgy, or the main cause for the introduction of plain furnishings.[61] Secularisation of the catholic church, coupled with factors of economy and deliberate neglect, had allowed many ecclesiastical structures to either decay or be stripped of furnishings. The simple needs of reformed worship actually allowed pre-reformation buildings to be easily adapted and maintained, hence the lack of new church building during the period. Apart from the many adaptations of existing buildings, there were only three major new churches : Burntisland Kirk in Fife, 1592, the new Chapel Royal in Stirling Castle, 1594, and Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, opened in 1620.

Reformed worship concentrated on three liturgical requirements - facilities for the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and for the preaching of the Word, with architectural conditions in which people might see, hear, and participate. The preaching of the Word became the main element of a service which could last for several hours so that seating became an essential ingredient of the furnishings for worship. As the attendant number of worshippers increased after 1560 additional seating was initially provided by means of private lofts erected above ground floor pews. In the following centuries upper galleries became a standard feature in most Presbyterian churches. Many pews and lofts were installed for their own use by wealthy families or corporate bodies such as burgh councils and trade guilds. The seats

were usually "decored" with their Arms and although subsequent improvements and alterations have left few complete examples, a selection of fragments show the standard of heraldic design.

At Dunfermline Abbey there is preserved part of the royal loft front dated 1610. It formed part of the fittings which were installed after the renovation of the nave at the beginning of the seventeenth century and bears the royal Arms encircled with a collar of thistles flanked by the initials I.R. and A.R.[62]
A complete example of a private pew is located in Cullen Auld Kirk, Banffshire,[Plate 141] where Sir Walter Ogilvie, 1st Lord Ogilvie erected a loft in 1602 decorated with his Arms and those of his second wife, Lady Mary Douglas, daughter of the 8th Earl of Morton. In 1842 the pillars of the loft were decorated with pew ends, contemporary with the loft, which were removed prior to the installation of uniform pine seating.[63] Two of these carry the heraldry of Abercromby (three boar heads) and the Arms of an Innes, (three mullets differenced with a crescent and flanked by the initials I.I.). The remaining ten panels bear animals, foliaceous, and abstract patterns crudely carved in low relief. Another complete pew, with a canopied roof, is in Burntisland Kirk [Plate 142]. This is dated 1606 and is "decored" with the Arms of Sir Robert Melville of Rossend, the person who commissioned a tempera ceiling for his castle which is now in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland.

Also in Fife, at Crail Kirk, there is a selection of carved heraldry dating from 1595 until 1605.[Plate 143] The 1595 carving of the Arms of Lumsden of Airdrie is a spirited work executed in higher relief than the later work. The proportions of shield, helmet, and crest are in the best medieval tradition with the size of supporters in scale with the shield. The mantling has been stylised to the extent of a space-filling element but has fine directional flow which leads the eye to the crest. The quality of this panel is unlike other native work of the period because of its proportions, high relief, and considered use of the mantling to link shield and supporters to crest and motto. It is quite different from the series of shields associated with the family group of Cunningham/Myrton dating from 1598 to 1605. These have been executed with a chip-carving technique by a less skilled carver and lack the invention found in the Lumsden panel. The shield of Helen Myrton [Plate 143] has debased

acanthus leaf decoration at top and bottom, not unlike that on the Burnett bed at Crathes.[Plate 66] This suggests a common reference source available along the east coast of Scotland, which has yet to be identified. Helen Myrton's husband also has his Arms on display, accompanied by his initials, and above the inscription : SALVS PER CHRISTVM, while below is the date 1605. Finally there is the straight forward carving of the Arms of Katherine Lindsay, the mother of Helen Myrton, on an elaborate shield having initials in the concave sides with the date below, 1598. The flat technique of carving used for the Crail panels equates with lack of artistic skill in a Scottish context.

There are other examples such as the pew back from Midcalder Kirk in west Lothian [Plate 144]. Although the carver has considered the pew back as a whole unit, the largest area is covered with a series of vertical lines, which in the Low Countries or England, would have been rendered as linen-fold. A curiously shaped shield carries the Arms of Sandilands, quarterly Douglas and Sandilands. The shield is flanked by the initials I.S. and I.L. with a crudely designed arch beneath, enclosing a roundel. At the top of the pew is the inscription : THE.LORD.IS.MY SHEPHERD.I.SHALL NOT.WANT.PSAL XXIII.I LEVE.IN.CHRIST. Although the pew back is of poor artistic quality, the Arms have their place as a symbol of ownership.

Not all the personal heraldry used to identify pews was carved and Hay stresses the use of colour in post reformation churches.[64] A painted pew back of 1604, originally from Prestonpans, now in the Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh, [Plate 144] is enhanced with applied arcading of four bays. The Hamilton cinquefoil appears in two of the spandrels along with the initials of George Hamilton and his wife Barbara Cockburn. Their Arms are painted within garlands on the two right hand bays of the pew. On the left are the Arms of Sir John Hamilton, son of George and Barbara, with the armorial device of his second wife Dame Katherine Howieson.[65] It is interesting to note the use of a garland to contain the Arms, this was also employed by Katherine Oliphant on her table cover. [Plate 134] With Prestonpans being so close to Edinburgh the painter responsible for the work on the pew could have been either John Sawers Elder, or one of the Workmans. The painter of the Balfour of Pittendreich letters patent, executed in 1567,[Plate 4] had employed the device of Arms within a garland so

that painters associated with the Office of Arms could have copied the idea from that source.

Having considered the role of the Officers of Arms, the range of patronage, and some of the output of craftsmen during the reign of King James VI and I, various conclusions and observations can now be made.

FOOTNOTES - The Heraldic Craftsmen

1. T.A., Volume XII, p.279.
2. T.A., E21/62, pp.173-174.
3. Rowlands, 1988, exhibit numbers 208d-f, pp.242-243, bear the Arms of Holbein on elaborate shield shapes.
4. A system of dots and lines which represent heraldic colour, was encouraged by an Italian Jesuit father, Silvester Petra Sancta in his book, *Terrerae Gentilitia*, published in 1638. He is wrongly credited with inventing the system which came into use during the late sixteenth century. (Neubecker, 1976, pp.87,187.)
5. Barlow, 1948, pp 5-20, lists the books containing woodcuts by Durer, produced during the artist's lifetime.
6. Cochran-Patrick, 1876, p.xxxvi.
7. Cochran-Patrick, 1876, p.109.
8. The possibility that Vanson was responsible for the original drawing of the King, which was then used as a model by Gray is discussed by Thomson, 1975, p.31.
9. Franks & Greuber, 1885, p.103.
10. Palliser, 1870, p.117, states that the French King bore the crescent variously disposed, and had done so since being Dauphin.
11. T.A., E21/62, p.195.
12. Cochran-Patrick, 1876, p.xxvi.
13. Laing, 1850 and 1866, MacDonald, 1940, and Stevenson & Wood, 1940.
14. I am indebted to my colleague, George Dalgleish, for providing this genealogical information.
15. Edinburgh International Exhibition, 1975, exhibit number 230. There is a possibility that exhibit number 227, a table clock thought to be by Ramsay, was also engraved by de Heck.
16. Wyness, 1966, p.32.
17. Finlay, 1965, p.93.
18. Burnett, 1987, undertook a survey of thistle collar representations and found none, executed between 1502 and 1615, which featured a Cavendish knot link.The knot itself occurs in English heraldry as the Badge of the Dukes of Devonshire.

19. Burns, 1970, p.24, discusses the cost of the commission to da Sutri, who was goldsmith to Pope Julius II.
20. Caldwell, 1981, p.74.
21. Caldwell, 1981, p.78, and Whitelaw, 1977, p.138.
22. Hay, 1957, Appendix A, pp.243-277, and Clouston, 1947, p.138.
23. Whitelaw, 1977, pp.37-212.
24. Innes, 1855, p.337.
25. I am indebted to Dr D H Caldwell for this information.
26. Whitelaw, 1977, p.52.
27. Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, 1680, p.78.
28. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.52.
29. Apted, 1966, pp.1-2.
30. Thomson, 1975, p.27. ← n29a. Thomson, 1975, p.18.
31. Vanson painted banners for the trumpeters in ordinary with the impaled Arms of Scotland and Denmark during May 1590,T.A.E21/67,p.107.
32. Thomson, 1975, p.36.
33. Thomson, 1975, p.38.
34. The chracter and scope of the art of limning is fully described by Nicholas Hilliard in his, *A Treatise concerning the Arte of Limning,* composed c1600.
35. According to Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.49.
36. Masons' marks at Huntly Castle and Druminnor Castle, Aberdeenshire are featured by Simpson, 1921, p.147, and Slade, 1977, p.156.
37. These precise dates are recorded on an inscribed panel built into the wall of the entrance range.
38. The library at Tolquhon Castle is discussed by Simpson,1937,pp.252-256.
39. Slade, 1977, p.258.
40. Another example of a catholic symbol in use after the Reformation. The pot of lilies is associated with the Virgin Mary. The royal burgh of Banff retained its pre-reformation Arms - a shield charged with the Virgin and Child.
41. R.C.A.H.M.S., 1951, Inventory for the City of Edinburgh, p.152.
42. McWilliam, 1980, p.472, and Gifford, McWilliam & Walker,1984,p.180.
43. Stevenson, 1988, p.32.
44. Christensen, 1983, pp.60-74, discusses specific relations between Scotland and Denmark between 1469 and 1551.

45. Shaw, 1983, pp.141-169, derives much information on Bothwell's interests by examining an inventory of his library. The phrase, *Patriae et Posteris,* with the date 1591, appears on the Canongate Tolbooth, Edinburgh.
46. Not until 1605 was there an effective method of pacifying the area in the shape of the Border Commission.
47. Apart from being the chosen motto of the burgh of Edinburgh, examples of inscribed stones bearing the quotation are noted in the 1951 Inventory for Edinburgh, pp.119, 124. See also Plate 134.
48. This is another popular phrase. The 1951 Inventory for Edinburgh details variant examples on pp.72, 105, 108, 109, and 125.
49. Roman lettering with floriated serifs and leaf curves are found on English church tombs from 1532 onwards.(Rowlands, 1988,pp.245-246).
50. To be found at Earlshall, c1575, Kirkton Castle 1585, Huntly Castle 1603, then in plaster at Pinkie House c1613, Glamis Castle 1620 and The Binns 1623.
51. Swain, 1973, gives a very full account of these.
52. The Incorporated Trades of Kirkcudbright includes masons and carpenters under the title Squaremen.
53. The employment of the Englishman, Nicholas Stone, at the Chapel Royal, Holyroodhouse in 1617, would confirm this. See Appendix 3, no.55.
54. Ferguson, 1955, p.40.
55. Manson, 1988, p.211.
56. This is shown by Watson and Graham, 1941, p.7, and Maxwell, 1947,p.291.
57. The premier Order of Chivalry in Denmark is the Order of the Elephant, founded 1464. King James was created a Knight during 1591/92.
58. MacGibbon and Ross, 1887, Volume II, p.144.
59. H.M.S.O.,1960, illustrates all the heads from the ceiling of the Audience Chamber at Stirling Castle.
60. Warrack, 1920, pp.4,5,110.
61. Hay, 1957, pp.4-14.
62. Gifford, 1988, p.181.
63. Hay, 1957, p.192.
64. Hay. 1957, p.28.
65. MacGibbon and Ross, 1897, Volume III, p.603.

CHAPTER FOUR - THE USE OF HERALDRY

The employment of heraldry during the period was restricted to specific areas of Scotland. This reflects the dual nature of the realm, split between the celtic Highlands and the anglo-continental Lowlands. Each half had developed from distinct ethnic groups, each half had absorbed influences and traditions from different sources. The geography of the country created physical barriers which prevented the two cultures having close contact or interaction, though certain individuals from the Highland area, such as the Earl of Argyll and Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, were active at court and in politics.[1] Geography also made it difficult for one group to receive new ideas from the continent, and provided the other with an easy sea passage to the Low Countries and France. Land communication within the Highlands was not convenient, and the indented western coastline took time to traverse by sea. Fertile tracts of land were sparse and there was little production of cereal crops. By comparison the relevant flatness of the eastern Lowlands allowed horse traffic to operate with ease and the almost straight coastline provided speedy communication by sea between coastal burghs and other centres of population. Large areas of good ground allowed greater agricultural production.

The east coast was therefore more populous, more organised socially, and more prosperous as a result. The development of civic and rural social groups by birth, profession, trade, and labour, had encouraged the use of heraldry to distinguish individuals and corporate bodies. The organisation of heraldry, in the hands of the Officers of Arms, was centred on Edinburgh, but the influence of heralds and pursuivants covered the whole east coast, the central belt, and the south west. Their duties seldom took them into the Highlands, and it is significant there is a paucity of heraldic art in that area of Scotland.

By the end of the reign the Officers of Arms had a corpus of armorial manuscripts, including the 1542 Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, plus printed treatises on English and continental armory. To their heraldic expertise was added legislative power granted by Parliament.[2]

Official business kept the Officers of Arms constantly on the move along the east coast up to 1603, thereafter they did not travel so frequently. As they

moved about amongst the governing group in Edinburgh, or visited burghs and local lairds their expertise could be sought by those requiring heraldic information and advice. Thus the correlation between the location of heraldic art and the operational areas of the Officers of Arms is an important factor of distribution.[See Appendix Four]

Orkney had a resident pursuivant for nineteen years, the north east had nine different heralds and pursuivants throughout the reign, Fife had nine Officers of Arms, including three Lyon Kings, the central belt had two pursuivants, and there were three pursuivants based in Ayr. At least twenty-five heralds and pursuivants resided in Edinburgh between 1567 and 1625.

To gain an indication only of the most popular charges granted by the Officers during the reign, an analysis of a late Armorial has been made.[3] The Dunvegan Armorial was produced c1620, by which time there were in Scotland two marquesses, twenty-one earls, one viscount, and seventeen lords. As all bore Arms with supporters, the bulk granted to show peerage rank, the choice of supporters give an indication of popularity. The Armorial does include the Arms of three Highland chiefs who also bore supporters, although not peers. Herewith a list of supporters in numerical order:

WILD MAN 18, LION 18, DOG 14, GRIFFIN 11, BIRD 10, STAG 7, DRAGON 3,

ANTELOPE 2, ANGEL 2, BULL 2, GOAT 2, RABBIT 2, UNICORN 2, WYVERN 2, HORSE 1

The large number of wild men as supporters may be a direct result of studies undertaken during the Renaissance, which in turn had an effect on heraldry throughout northern Europe.[4] The mythological griffin, a beast with the head, wings and claws of an eagle, and the body and tail of a lion, was a popular heraldic choice in Tudor England at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The herald's use of this beast could have been influenced by printed heraldic books published in England. Reminders of field sports are the dogs, birds and stags, animals particularly associated with the hunting activities of a specific social class. These form the most popular group of charges and lead to the question of why Scots sought to use heraldry. The writer lists six reasons in order of priority, and does not include battlefield identification, by this period *cap-a-pied* armour protection had virtually disappeared from martial conflict and an individual could be recognised without any other mark of distinction.

1. TO SHOW STATUS

Ownership of a coat of arms set an individual apart because he, or she, possessed a set of symbols which were not only unique to them, but could be handed on to an appointed heir. This perpetuated the individual name and was the nearest thing to immortality devised by man. An armorial device became the prerogative of a particular group to which others aspired. As the science of armory developed to a convenient succinctness, marital status, kinship, ties of friendship, and territorial ownership could be demonstrated in a colourful and convenient manner. Although nineteenth century writers, such as A.C.Fox-Davies, explained the introduction of heraldry as the direct result of a battlefield requirement for personal identification, it is now felt that the human need to show noble status in a public way is a more likely reason.[5] Martial reasons are not precluded, but they are not given the same primacy. Surviving examples of battlefield heraldry from the reign of King James are very few,[See Plates 10,12.] an indication that they may not have existed in large numbers.

There are however many examples of heraldry used for the purpose of demonstrating status. The 6th Lord Seton commissioned a genealogical diagram in 1585 [Plate 54] showing descent from other noble families of Scotland and fully exploiting the heraldry brought into his line as a result. The social value of marriage with an heraldic heiress (apart from any monetary or land advantages such a union might bring) meant that children could bear quartered coats of arms, a greater status symbol than the simple shield of Arms. Seton also wished to demonstrate that he was descended from eight armigerous ancestors *on both paternal and maternal* sides of the family. *Seize quartiers* were regarded as the true indication of nobility throughout Europe by the end of the sixteenth century.

Status by association is demonstrated on the ceilings of both Crathes and Muchalls Castles where the Burnetts erected the Arms of the Marquess of Hamilton, and the Earls of Dunfermline and Maitland who held positions of high authority and were personal friends. At Collairnie Castle two complete ceilings are covered by the Arms of relations and local friends to demonstrate the width of social connections. Even the Sovereign was not immune to this aspect of heraldic usage. No sooner did he ascend the throne of England but his royal Arms were changed to demonstrate his new status as sovereign of three additional kingdoms, England, France and Ireland.

2. TO DEMONSTRATE RANK

Heraldry can indicate degree. Armigerous gentlemen do not normally bear supporters on either side of the shield, these are confined to members of the peerage. Visual evidence from the reign shows that certain Highland chiefs also bore supporters, although they were not peers. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, the Macleod and the Macdonell all used supporters. In the Seton Armorial of 1591, the Lindsay Secundus Armorial of c1595, and the Dunvegan Armorial of c1620, earls and lords are distinguished by different forms of helmet. A further distinction was a pre-Carolean system of coronet type - lords have a circlet with varying number of pearls mounted on top, earls have a circlet with five elongated triangles emerging from the top, and marquesses have the same with the addition of pearls between the triangles. The practice is not consistent throughout the reign but indicates that a difference between degree of peer was intended. In Chapter Two mention was made of seals being renewed to indicate changes in rank, the Earl of Dunfermline had three such changes during his lifetime.[6] The Marquess of Huntly (elevated from earl in 1599) ensured that his new rank was shown on the heraldic frontispiece and fireplace at Huntly Castle by means of a different coronet.[Plates 48,51] A similar exercise was undertaken for John, Lord Maitland. As Lord Maitland his Arms were reproduced in plaster at Thirlestane Castle c1618 having a circlet with pearls above the shield. In 1624 he was created Earl of Lauderdale so when Thomas Burnett of Leys reproduced Lauderdale's Arms at Muchalls the coronet was a circlet with elongated triangles surmounted by pearls, the appropriate version for an earl.[7] Men who were elevated to the peerage immediately sought a grant of Arms to show their new rank. Plate 5 shows the Letters Patent of John, Lord Maxwell, and although a rare survival must be typical of current practice throughout the reign. A royal connection was also an important indication of rank.Land owners who held their property directly from the crown displayed carved panels of the royal Arms outside their homes as we have seen at Tolquhon, Mar's Wark and Huntly Castle. Royal burghs also made their rank public by displaying the sovereign's Arms on mercat crosses and tolbooths, Edinburgh, Stirling and Ayr being only three examples which did so. Other corporate bodies like Trade Incorporations utilised heraldry to indicate their rank and standing within a community by using seals, or by placing their Arms

on the exterior of buildings where they met and on the pews they occupied in local burgh kirks.

3. TO PROVE LEGAL TRANSACTIONS

Impressions of Arms had been made on wax and attached to documents since the invention of heraldry.[8] In an age of general illiteracy the armorial symbols were more easily recognised than the written word and came to be regarded as the ultimate mark of authenticity. It did have two other functions. The seal immediately indicated the source of a document, and if used to close something up, that the contents had not been tampered with or exposed. Otherwise the seal would be broken. The practice of employing heraldic seals was restricted initially to select groups, but by 1567 a much wider spectrum of society had become armigerous. Parliament had recognised the value of seals as an alternative means of identification in 1429.[9] A new profession devoted to law had come into being, and at a local level notaries were on hand to draw up all kinds of agreements between individuals. These agreements were often witnessed and sealed, though not all seals were heraldic. Several Officers of Arms for example are known to have employed seal matrices bearing their initials only.[10]

At least 300 individuals ordered seal matrices during the reign and I have already shown how one matrix did not necessarily last for an individual's lifetime because of changes to his circumstances.

The Office of Arms did not receive a corporate coat of Arms until 1672 so up to that year Letters Patent were sealed with the personal Arms of the Lord Lyon or the Clerk of the Office. Plate 5 clearly shows the seal of Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie.

The personal seal must have served another purpose, particularly in rural areas. When a patron required heraldic work of some kind, the one convenient reference was the impression from a matrix. In later centuries armorial bookplates were sent to the Orient as a reference source for Chinese ceramic painters.[11] Heraldic bookplates were very rare in the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century so that the seal would have been an obvious aid. Heraldic panels do exist in Scotland with reversed heraldry, possibly the result of a

mason carver looking at a seal matrix and forgetting that it carried an image which was back to front.

4. TO MAKE A POLITICAL POINT

An armorial achievement symbolises an individual without necessarily stating the personal name, and depending on the context in which the Arms appear can be used to make a political or religious statement. The north east of Scotland was one area where the Reformation had little effect on certain landed families. George Gordon's carving of the Arma Christi on the front of his castle said more about his religious beliefs than any statement made to a local presbytery. Alexander Fraser of Philorth caused the attributed Arms of Christ to be carved in the Wine Tower at Fraserburgh. Andrew, Lord Fraser, also commissioned the Arma Christi at Castle Fraser, as did Peter Barclay at Towie Barclay Castle. They are also located in the entrance vestibule at Gight Castle. All these examples, executed after 1570, are not fortuitous, they indicate a conviction to the old faith.

The Memorial of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley [Plate 119.] is one of the most obvious political statements employing heraldry, as has been mentioned. The decorative scheme at Balbegno Castle, commemorating a particular power group, is less obvious but indicates the patron's sympathy with the group and their intentions. The Terregles Castle door [Plate 136.] is more subtle in its symbolism but would have been obvious at the time when imagery was an alternative to words.

The State, in the persons of sovereign and privy council, also appreciated the power of heraldic devices to convey political messages. On the reverse of the gold Hat Piece of 1591 [Plate 29.] a crowned lion points with a sceptre to the heavens where the word Jehovah appears in Hebrew. Thus the king symbolises his Divine Right to rule.

The silver Balance ½ Merk featured on the same Plate also conveys a message concerning the King's power over his people with regard to religious practice and civil obedience.

However the most potent political use of heraldry took place at the mercat cross of Edinburgh at a public degradation. This involved the Officers of Arms in full panoply with Trumpeters and witnesses in attendance. Any nobleman or

armigerous gentleman who had been declared traitor, and had either been executed or had fled the country, suffered the indignity of having his Arms torn in half and hung upside down on the cross. A particularly heinous crime, such as perpetrated by the Earl of Gowrie in 1600, resulted in the individual becoming a non-person in heraldic terms.
The Forman of Luthrie Armorial in Lyon Office contains a folio painted with the Arms of Gowrie. The shield of Arms has been crossed out in ink and a footnote added that from 6 August 1600 the title, and Arms of Gowrie, no longer existed.[12]

5. TO IDENTIFY PROPERTY

The rise in general prosperity caused the acquisition of domestic artefacts, many of precious materials. These were engraved or marked with Arms to indicate ownership. Many examples have been given in Chapters Two and Three but mention must be made again about the silver bowl shown on Plate 113. This bears three impaled shields of Arms indicating ownership by three couples, related through marriage, who regarded the object as precious enough to hand on to succeeding generations. The silver bells used as racing trophies by the burghs of Paisley and Lanark were engraved with the burgh Arms so that all knew who the owners were. In the same way the King had his Arms placed on the silver jesses made for him by Mungo Brady. Heraldry could also give the identity of a donor. The Earl of Dunfermline presented communion cups to Fyvie and Inveresk Kirks, both of which are engraved with his Arms. Really expensive possessions, such as the bronze guns, and the massive sporting gun, owned by Forbes of Tolquhon and Campbell of Glenorchy respectively, carry the Arms of the owners in order to prevent misappropriation by anyone else.

The use of carved heraldic panels on the exterior of a dwelling also told who owned the property as well as indicating rank and status. Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace were provided with carvings of the 'new' Arms of Great Britain [Plates 38,44.], though these no longer exist. The large amount of construction by private individuals during the reign has left numerous examples of heraldry which indicates ownership of the new work. Mar's Wark, Huntly Castle, Tolquhon Castle, Fyvie Castle, Newark Castle, Castle Fraser, and Dean House are but a few of the properties which were marked in this way.The Earl

of Dunfermline was particularly assiduous in marking buildings and property with his Arms. The private pew at Fyvie Kirk and his loft at St Bridget's Kirk at Delgaty Bay were identified heraldically. His Badge appears at Dunfermline Abbey and at Pinkie House. Other armigers marked personal kirk pews, and final resting places normally carried a carved heraldic panel to identify the deceased and in turn the family which owned the tomb or burial plot.

6. TO PROVIDE DECORATION

The inherent decorative qualities of armorial bearings were utilised for visual exploitation. How else can one explain the great scheme of decoration at Earlshall where half the total number of heraldic ensigns are either mythical or foreign? They have no significance in Scottish terms, and are present purely for the love of heraldic display. The tempera ceiling at Nunraw is another example. Royal arms of European sovereigns are an unusual choice for a private dwelling owned by someone with no obvious court connections. Apart from providing an attractive display, the scheme has educational value in an age when printed reference books on the subject of royal heraldry were not common. Education, which provided appreciation of history, may be the reason for the popularity of the Nine Worthies and their associated heraldry. Apart from the decorative painted scheme at Crathes Castle, the Worthies appear as plaster medallions at Balcarres Castle, Wemyss Castle, Thirlestane Castle, Glamis Castle, Muchalls Castle, House of the Binns and Craigievar Castle.[13] Although the itinerant plasterers carried moulds of the Worthies with them, owners had a choice concerning their use.[14]

The exuberant use of heraldry by specific individuals indicates that they were aware of the decorative qualities. The frontispiece at Huntly Castle, the great heraldic table at Castle Fraser, and the elaborate hanging pendants in the Wine Tower at Fraserburgh need not have been so elaborate. They were created to attract attention and add to the visual effect of the buildings concerned.

Tower houses were made more comfortable under King James and communal living in a Great Hall was supplanted by use of individual rooms having a specific purpose.[15] The roof space was used for bedrooms and light was introduced to these areas by means of dormer windows. These became a characteristic feature of Scottish architectural style. As the windows were often topped by a pediment, the triangular space became a popular place for dates,

initials, and armorial devices. Sometimes the principal charge from a coat of arms was repeated in the dormer pediment. From Fyvie Castle to the Palace at Culross, from Newark Castle to Castle Fraser, dormers are found containing armory, initials or dates.

One element, not seen so frequently now, which added to the decorative quality of Jacobean heraldry was colour. This was either heraldic tinctures combined with gold leaf, or the latter used alone to enhance carved detailing.[16] The partnership of polychrome heraldry set against plain plaster or colour-washed harling must have provided visual sparkle in both burgh and rural locations.[17]

The reasons for heraldic usage listed above, both human and practical, emanated from individuals who commissioned the craftsmen to produce the heraldic requirement. These patrons have been listed and discussed in Chapter Two, however in this concluding chapter one aspect concerning a specific group of patrons can be considered.

The Marquess of Huntly, the Earls of Mar and Dunfermline, Lord Fraser, Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, Peter Barclay of Towie and the Gordons of Gight, along with known friends such as Alexander Burnett of Leys, form an enlightened group who caused the creation of the finest examples of heraldic art during the reign. With the exception of Burnett of Leys the common link between them was either adherence to the Catholic faith, or a sympathetic attitude to the faith as a result of youthful instruction.[18] Apart from their beliefs several of the group had travelled abroad and received knowledge and experience beyond that normally found in a small country like Scotland. If other enlightened Scots,[19] who kept themselves informed through reading and communication with others, are typical, then these individuals possessed libraries and were in contact with each other. Perhaps the visual meanness of reformed worship, after the liturgical splendour of the Catholic faith, caused these men to find compensation through armorial decoration. The Earl of Dunfermline is a key figure because of his position in the government of Scotland after 1603. His official contacts with the Office of Arms, coupled with his own interest in heraldry, combined with the wealth to commission work, placed him in a position to influence others. He was a model for others to emulate, and although there is no documentary evidence to confirm this, at least one friend, Burnett of Leys, also commissioned many pieces of heraldic art.

Edinburgh Town Council was the outstanding corporate patron. As the controlling body of Scotland's leading burgh, its responsibilities went beyond the average royal burgh because it provided accommodation for certain State functions. Throughout the reign Parliament met in Edinburgh's tolbooth (except when called to Perth and Stirling), as did the Court of Session. The Council also financed national events, such as the Entry of Queen Anne, and leading members of the Council kept the sovereign solvent by lending him money.[20] The Council therefore had the financial base to commission armorial work. Heraldry was used to enhance the prestige of the "Good toun" by public display at the main entrances to the burgh [21], and to identify servants and services provided by the burgh.[22]

Information had to pass between patron and craftsman before work could take place, particularly with regard to the composition of the Arms concerned. I have mentioned that seal impressions may have been used for this purpose and they would show how the Arms were marshalled and the type of charge used on the shield. However the great drawback with seals is that they do not show the metals and tinctures of the shield. A blazon is required, that is, a verbal or written description of the Arms which includes the colours present. The Officers of Arms and the Herald Painters had the relevant information in their books and registers and must have provided the required details, possibly for a fee. No evidence remains for this practice, but today in both Scotland and England, the Officers of Arms augment their official salaries by charging for exactly this kind of information. John Sawer was paid by the Hammermen's Guild in 1615 for providing a drawing of a royal crown to be used as a guide by the stone carver at the Magdalen Chapel.[23] In Edinburgh with its resident Officers and Painters, this information was easily obtained. The rural craftsmen had greater dificulty in acquiring heraldic information and here the peripatetic Officers must have provided advice. Evidence for the close control of heraldic painting comes later in the century in the form of an authorisation, dated 10 October 1695, from Lord Lyon Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo to Charles Whyte, a painter in Aberdeen.[24] Such control had been confirmed in an earlier Act of Parliament,[25] and presumably echoed the practices found in the reign of King James. Thus the Office of Arms and its members probably acted as an interface between patron and craftsman - a position of considerable influence in the way the armorial device was used and represented. However they had little

control on any surrounding or accompanying decoration, here the individual craftsmen made his own contribution. What other influences led to the appearance of decorative work by Jacobean artists living in Scotland?

The style used to depict heraldic charges was not greatly different in the reign of James VI from that used during the lifetime of King James V. As shown this could be the result of control by the Office of Arms. What was different was the decorative context in which the shield of Arms was placed. One reason for this, apart from any influence dictated by a patron, was the absorption of foreign artistic styles.

The Renaissance can be defined as an intellectual re-appraisal of the philosophical and artistic values of the classical world. The re-appraisal first took place in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth century and led in art to the recognition of the artistic values of classical antiquity.[26] The primary phase of the Renaissance proper was over in Italy by c1520. The artistic products of the first phase profoundly affected the arts in France and the Low Countries but the interpretation and use of these products were different from their use and enjoyment in Italy. The secondary phase, as interpreted by northern Europe, made a brief appearance in Scotland during the reign of King James V.[27] The King imported French craftsmen to Scotland as a result of visiting France to seek suitable wives. These craftsmen brought their version of the Renaissance style with them. They created a courtyard facade at Falkland Palace between 1539 and 1542 with pilastered buttresses, large windows and roundels containing relief portraits of Roman emperors.[28] It is significant that heraldry played no part in the decorative scheme. This second phase of the Renaissance did not develop in Scotland after the death of King James V. The style eventually re-surfaced, once a native architect fully understood Italian Renaissance principles, in 1670 when Sir William Bruce of Kinross re-modelled the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

By the reign of King James VI a third phase of the Renaissance had appeared, now entitled Mannerism.[29] This art movement was one of exaggeration and novelty, a reaction to the simplicity and elegance of proportion in classical antiquity. Outside Italy, Mannerism was nearly always a court style, and everywhere it addressed the few rather than the many.[30] Flemish and German

designer-engravers invented their own style of Mannerism which had an immediate effect on architecture and the decorative arts. The style was highly decorative allowing visual splendour, an attribute which appealed to craftsmen producing work for monarchs and their court circle. It had as great an appeal to the engraver, the jeweller, the plasterer as it had to the mason. The new fashion in design flowed from the Low Countries, especially from Antwerp, in the form of books and engravings.

Symbola Heroica by Claude Paradin, Antwerp 1583; ***A Choice of Emblems and other Devises*** by Geffrey Whitney, Leiden 1586; ***Architectura*** by Wendel Dietterlin, Nuremberg 1598, and ***Perspective*** by Jan Vriedeman de Vries, Leiden 1604, are only a few of the publications which were used as references by Scottish craftsmen. Painters in particular relied on these, and earlier books, such as ***Historiae Animalium***, 1551, and ***Icones Animalium***, 1560, both by the Swiss, Conrad Gesner. We have evidence for the use of all these sources on the painted ceilings from Rossend Castle, Earlshall, Nunraw, and Culross Palace.[31] The painter who executed the ceiling at Pinkie House with its trompe l'oeil cupola, could have copied the idea from Plate 37 of de Vries's book on perspective.

Dietterlin's book with 209 plates of fantastic engravings, although based on the classical architectural Orders of Tuscan, Doric, Corinthian, and Composite, show an elaborate overlay of decoration which goes far beyond the Early Renaissance style.[Plate 145] We can now appreciate the effect on Scottish masons and explain why the decoration round the doorway at Cullen House [Plate 130] takes such an outlandish form. This is equally true of the elaborate fountain sundial at Dundas Castle,[Plate 131] which may have been inspired by Dietterlin. He includes plates in his book showing well-heads and fountains, giving a prominence to these outdoor garden features. Dietterlin also devotes 13 plates to heraldry in an elaborate architectural framework,[Plate 146] proof that the northern Mannerists were unwilling to abandon this decorative aspect of the earlier medieval practice.

The style which is characteristic of James VI's reign should not therefore be seen as a crude attempt to copy the Italian Renaissance style but a skilful adaptation of Mannerism refined to suit Scotland's own economic, political and

religious requirements. Our craftsmen took only those elements needed to provide emphasis or to extend the decorative vocabulary. As the resulting style is more frequently found in the eastern lowlands of Scotland, it might be described as the East Coast Decorative style.

SUMMATION

Craftsmen rely on knowledge and skill acquired in training. To this they add their own creativity plus inspiration gleaned from external sources.

At the beginning of the reign, craftsmen were taught by masters who were continuing a tradition founded in the medieval period. The decorative style was Gothic. Craftsmen in rural areas, distant from new ideas arriving in the main coastal burghs, carried on the medieval traditions well after 1600. Some craftsmen in the burghs were more willing to adapt new fashions, some were influenced by intelligent patrons who were familiar with continental trends, such as the Marquess of Huntly and the Earl of Dunfermline. These factors explain the variations in style. The variations range from the mazers of James Gray in a Renaissance style, to the combined Gothic/Mannerist Tolquhon Monument in Tarves kirkyard, and concluding with the full-blown Mannerist fountain sundial at Dundas Castle.

The method of rendering armorial devices associated with these stylistic variations does not alter dramatically, apart from a trend towards realism when portraying animals. Shield shapes differ depending on the craftsmen. Painters associated with the Office of Arms retain simple shields, based on the earlier heater shield, but having fuller bottoms to accommodate charges. These are found in the various Armorials and painted ceilings. The simple shield is consistently employed for all coins of the realm struck between 1572 and 1604, and on the two Great Seals produced during the reign. I have attempted to show this may be the result of influence by personnel of the Office of Arms.

Goldsmiths and masons on the other hand employ shield shapes composed of convex and concave curves, often having enlarged ***bouches***. This type of shield was being drawn by Hans Holbein the Younger when he came to England in 1526.[32] Before 1580 the curves at the top of the shield develop fold-over lugs

as found in the Tankerness House panel [Plate 127]. The elaborate shield shape is first seen on the Watson Mazer of c1550 [Plate 98] and was still being used by the unknown wood carver who produced the Lindsay Earl of Crawford Arms in 1621.[Plate 140] Charges on a shield usually have good space filling characteristics but animals, particularly lions rampant, are often crudely drawn. The exceptions are the lions on the Cavers and Marchmont Standards. In rural areas craftsmen were not always aware of how a shield of Arms is marshalled or of the disposition of charges on a shield.

A characteristic of the East Coast Decorative style is the combination of heraldry, lettering and numerals. Initials either flank the shield by being tucked into the ***bouches***, or appear above, with the date below. The combination occurs in architecture,[Plates 85,86,127,and 134] woodwork,[Plates 66,139,143,and 144] and silverware,[Plates 97,101,105,110,and 113]. A style of serifed capital letter is normally employed, and when carved in stone is in relief, seldom incised.

The proportions of shield, helmet, and crest were equal in the medieval period but by the 16th century the shield becomes the dominant element. Helmet and crest become smaller. On silverware, the full achievement is rarely found, only the shield and initials. By the end of the reign the full achievement was being engraved on the silver medals made for winners of the archery competition at St Andrews University.[Plate 97.]

In architecture the owner's heraldic panel over the main entrance of his residence was placed in a housing with a simple moulded frame. There is evidence that the arms may have originally been painted on a wooden board, but by 1567 a carving in stone, fully tinctured and gilded, was usual. The single panel developed into a multiple arrangement of shields and the housing became a complex of different mouldings. The classical egg and dart moulding is not one which appears on the mouldings complex. The royal Arms were featured as one of the multiple shields throughout the reign in sufficient numbers to make this a feature of East Coast Decorative. The occurence of the royal Arms is more common in Scotland than in any other part of the United Kingdom. In Scotland the panel changed from being a horizontal door lintel with heraldic decoration to a dominant vertical element which reached towards the roofline like those at Newark Castle and Huntly Castle. By 1617, at Castle Fraser, the

heraldic panel reached the roofline to become part of the turret, dormer window, gable mass which is synonomous with Scottish tower house architecture. From roughly 1590 onwards heraldry broke free from the housing and is found on dormer window pediments or incorporated within the general scheme of a symmetrical facade such as Fyvie Castle. Individual charges from armorial achievements were extracted and repeated as an external device. Although this had been common practice on the continent from the 14th century, it only became a common practice in Scotland from the middle of the 16th century. An early example are the hearts and mullets on the Regent Morton Gateway at Edinburgh Castle dating from 1574. Seton crescents were used at Fyvie Castle c1600, the Lindsay fess checky at Edzell, 1604, and royal plant badges at Edinburgh Castle in 1615 and at Linlithgow Palace in 1620.

Internally the style employed heraldry as a feature either on the fireplace or on the ceiling of the main room. On the fireplace it consisted of a stone carving whereas heraldry was normally painted on the ceiling. Both media were supplanted once fine plasterwork had been introduced from England after 1603. The great decorative ceiling scheme at Earlshall, painted as late as 1620, may have been executed in this way as a cheaper alternative to plasterwork. The extant examples of tempera painting demonstrate the popularity of the medium north of the border. There is little surviving domestic tempera decoration in England. France has one surviving painted plaster wall scheme, dating from 1570-80, in the château of Anjony in the Auvergne, approximately 130 miles due east of Bordeaux.[33] The scheme portrays the Nine Worthies, each on horseback accompanied by an inscription above. The style of painting and use of inscriptions have a very similar feel to the work at Earlshall. The use of tempera painting for decorative purposes was at its height during the reign of King James VI and was much influenced by source material emanating from the Office of Arms, and to a greater degree, from continental published sources, as has been demonstrated.

The practice of religion, along with church interiors, were completely different in 1625 from those of 1567. Episcopal and religious heraldry had been superceded by lay armory, and there was actually more heraldry to be seen in the great burgh kirks by the end of the reign.[34] The Arms of laymen and lay incorporations were featured on pews, lofts, tombs, and donated pewter and

silver plate used in the sacraments of baptism and communion. By the end of the century the East Coast Decorative style had also made its mark on the ecclesiastical life of Scotland.

Other characteristics of the Style are rudeness of execution, bold pattern making and a lack of three-dimensional effect, particularly in decorative painting. The latter may be due to the fact that the painters were accustomed to executing heraldry which is essentially flat in appearance. This flatness is carried through in woodcarving which is seldom more than 30mm high in relief. Stone carvers were more adventurous with many panels in full relief, but rarely going as far as under-cutting. However the bosses in the Wine Tower, Fraserburgh, and the mercat cross in the same burgh have been fully conceived in the round.

The survey undertaken for this thesis gives an indication of the breadth of heraldic usage in Scotland between 1567 and 1625. However there has been a considerable loss of contemporary material since that time.

No tabards, or badges of office, supplied to the Officers of Arms appear to have survived. Two Letters Patent issued before 1570 exist, but many must have been prepared granting Arms to new peers and those who were not previously armigerous. Some may still exist amongst family papers waiting to be discovered. No actual record survives of the number of new grants of Arms, a situation quite different from England where it is known that, between 1567 and 1623, approximately 1,750 Letters Patent were granted.[35] Although the names of some craftsmen are known there is still a large corpus of heraldic work created by now unknown craftsmen, including the heraldic frontispiece at Huntly Castle and the tempera painted ceilings at Crathes Castle.

The royal interiors at Dunfermline and Linlithgow Palaces no longer survive, although a fragment of wood carving, in the form of a unicorn holding a banner, [Plate 147] does remain from Linlithgow. The combined national flags of Scotland and England show that the paintwork was executed c1606 when discussion took place concerning a flag for Great Britain.[36] One fragment of this nature can only hint at the quality and quantity of wood carving originally contained within the Palace. Although Edinburgh Castle is still in use, occupation by the Army, and subsequent restorations of the Palace Block, have cleared all interiors inhabited by King James except for the small room in which he was born. Even this has been altered by the installation of

oak panelling,[37] below the 1617 paintwork by Anderson. Stirling Castle has suffered the same fate, the only piece of interior decoration left from the reign being the royal door shown in Plate 21. At the Palace of Holyroodhouse there exists an heraldic ceiling which was erected c1545 in the apartment called Mary Queen of Scots' Outer Chamber.[38] This would have been known to King James. Deliberate destruction, by the hand of Cromwell's men, has also diminished the legacy of exterior royal heraldry ; the Arms at Edinburgh Castle, Linlithgow Palace and on the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle.

Examples of aristocratic patronage have also diminished. Seton Palace with all its heraldic decoration has disappeared completely, as has Dean House. Mar's Wark, Huntly Castle, Tolquhon Castle and Edzell are roofless ruins, their interiors stripped, but having sufficient architectural fragments of quality to allow speculation about the richness of original internal fittings. Very little contemporary furniture bearing heraldry has survived, except for the Burnett Bed,[Plate 66] the dresser of 1613,[Plate 139] and five chairs. Many ruined castles remain with blank housings above the entrance to show the quantity of carved heraldic panels whch have been lost.
Civic structures which were subject to heraldic patronage by Edinburgh Town Council - the mercat cross, the tolbooth,[39] the West Port and the Netherbow Port, no longer exist. The loss of the two gateways is particularly acute as, apart from the West Port at St Andrews,erected in 1589,[40] no similar burgh entrances remain in Scotland.

The reign of King James VI of Scots and I of England was the last period when heraldry held a primary position in the decorative vocabulary available to individuals, corporations, and craftsmen. His reign forms a link between medieval and modern Scotland, a period when the Officers of Arms had to come to terms with a changing world. Although reduced in many ways to a purely ceremonial public function, they retained control of the science of heraldry in Scotland and ensured its adaptation to suit altered circumstances. In doing so they helped to create an invaluable legacy of decorative heraldry which is peculiar to Scotland in form and usage. This legacy is part of the native identity of the realm and its continuing survival enables us to maintain a connection with the time when Scotland had a resident sovereign.

FOOTNOTES - Conclusion

1. The 5th and 6th Earls of Argyll both held the office of Lord High Chancellor, the 7th Earl gained experience abroad in the army of King Philip III of Spain. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy spent time at court and received the gift of a jewel from Queen Anne.
2. Act concerning the office of lyoun king of armes and his brether herauldis. A.P.S.,Volume III, p.554-555, 1592, c.29.
3. An analysis of non-peerage armigers has not been undertaken.
4. Pottinger, 1981, pp.58-59, argues that the wild man is based on classical statues of Hercules holding his club.
5. Woodcock & Robinson, 1988, p.3.
6. Macdonald, 1904, p.308, numbers 2438-2441.
7. Touche's unpublished Ms.,p.39.
8. The Ragman Rolls of c.1296 containing the names of Scottish individuals and burghs who gave homage to Edward I of England still have over 100 seal impressions attached.
9. A.P.S.,Volume II, p.19, c.21, 6 March 1429, in which for certain appearances at legal proceedings a gentleman could send a substitute to act in his name, as long as the substitute carried his seal of Arms.
10. John Yellowlees, Dingwall Pursuivant, used a seal bearing J.Y. which he used on 18 June 1606. R.P.C.S.,Volume XIV, p.430.
11. Howard, 1974, pp.917-926, demonstrates that 12½% of extant armorial porcelain made in China used armorial bookplates as a reference source.
12. Foreman of Luthrie Armorial, Lyon Office Ms.17, folio 164.
13. Touche's unpublished Ms.,pp.34-42.
14. Otherwise all houses of the period with decorative plaster would have had some of the Nine Worthy medallions. This is not the case though other use of common moulds show that the same group of plasterers were working in all the houses mentioned.
15. Warrack, 1920, pp.103-107.
16. See previous chapters for detailed accounts of payments for painting exterior heraldry.
17. The mercat cross in Aberdeen, though erected later in the 17th century was originally enhanced with gold leaf. Certain shields on the Huntly Castle frontispiece are not carved. This is proof they were painted.

18. Statement based on the occurence of Arma Christi in the residences of north-east lairds. At Edzell Castle there remains two carved oak panels one of the Crcifixion, the other showing the Virgin and Child. They were part of the furnishings installed by Sir David Lindsay of Edzell.
19. Shaw, 1983, pp.141-169.
20. See Appendix Three, number 15.
21. The West Port at the end of the Grassmarket and the Netherbow at the east end of the High Street.
22. Silver badges for the town's musicians and use of the Arms on public measures.
23. Apted & Hannabuss, 1978, p.81.
24. Burnett, 1986, pp.489-490.
25. A.P.S. Volume VII, p.404, c.53, 1662.
26. Summerson, 1970, p.555.
27. The Italian Renaissance made its appearance in England under King Henry VIII,c1511, Starkey, 1991, p.26.
28. Caldwell, 1990, pp.54-55.
29. Shearman, 1967, pp.15-22.
30. Lucie-Smith, 1988, p.116.
31. Apted, 1966, pp.35-36, 82-83.
32. Rowlands, 1988, pp.242-243.
33. Duc de Castries, 1980, p.272.
34. By 1645 there were so many heraldic memorials in Scottish kirks that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed an Act prohibiting "Honours of Arms or any such like monuments" being affixed to the walls of churches. Burnett, 1986, pp.481-483.
35. Woodcock & Robinson, 1988, p.35.
36. R.P.C.S.,Volume VII, pp.488 and 499.
37. Gifford, McWilliam & Walker, 1984, p.94.
38. Gifford, McWilliam & Walker, 1984, p.146.
39. The tolbooth contained two embroidered versions of the royal Arms purchased in 1610.
40. The contract to the mason, specified that Edinburgh's Netherbow Port was to be the model for St Andrews Port. Gifford, 1988, p.389.

Appendix One

OFFICERS OF ARMS 1565-1625

Number beside name refers to chart

Name	Title	Location
41. BANNATYNE, Patrick	Islay Herald	Unknown
23. BARRY, Thomas	Pursuivant	The Borders
44. BLINSELE, John	Islay Herald	Edinburgh
48. BORTHWICK, James	Rothesay Herald	Edinburgh
69. BORTHWICK, John	Unicorn Pursuivant	Unknown
20. BROWN, John	Pursuivant	Ayr
11. CALDER, John	Bute Pursuivant	Edinburgh
21. CAMPBELL, Robert	Carrick Pursuivant	Ayr
37. CRAIG, Thomas	Pursuivant	Aberdeenshire
57. CRAIG, William	Rothesay Herald	Aberdeenshire
39. CRICHTON, James	Pursuivant	Unknown
66. CUNNINGHAM, James	Carrick Pursuivant	Unknown
68. CURRIE, James	Ormonde Pursuivant	Edinburgh
36. DAVIDSON, James	Pursuivant	Aberdeen
12. DAVIDSON, Patrick	Ross Herald	Aberdeen
31. DOUGLAS, Florens	Rothesay Herald	Edinburgh
65. DRYSDALE, Thomas	Islay Herald	Leith
35. FALCONER, George	Pursuivant	Dundee
1. FORMAN of Luthrie, Sir Robert	Lyon King of Arms	Edinburgh?
18. FORMAN, John	Rothesay Herald	Edinburgh?
10. FORRESTER, Alexander	Carrick Pursuivant	Ayr
29. FORRET, Nicol	Pursuivant	Unknown
3. FORSYTH, John	Falkland Pursuivant	Aberdeenshire

38. FRASER, Robert	Unicorn Pursuivant	Edinburgh?
64. FUIRDE, James	Unicorn Pursuivant	Cupar
52. GARDNER, David	Ormonde Pursuivant	Cupar
32. GLEDSTANES, John	Ormonde Pursuivant	Thankerton
46. GRAHAM, Daniel	Dingwall Pursuivant	Edinburgh?
24. GUTHRIE, Alexander	Snowdoun Herald	Aberdeen?
27. GUTHRIE, Gilbert	Marchmont Herald	Aberdeen
34. GUTHRIE, Gilbert	Marchmont Herald	Aberdeen
5. HARDY, William	Unicorn Pursuivant	Aberdeenshire
13. HENDERSON, William	Dingwall Pursuivant	Orkney
67. HUNTER, Gilbert	Dingwall Pursuivant	Leith
59. KIRKWOOD, George	Albany Herald	Edinburgh
56. LAW, James	Snowdoun Herald	Elgin
16. LINDSAY of Rathillet, Sir David	Lyon King of Arms	Cupar
45. LINDSAY of The Mount, Sir David	Lyon King of Arms	Fife
70. LINDSAY of Annatland, Sir Jerome	Lyon King of Arms	Edinburgh
25. LINDSAY, Thomas	Snowdoun Herald	Leith
47. LITTLEJOHN, Andrew	Ross Herald	Edinburgh
49. MACKIESOUN, William	Bute Pursuivant	Edinburgh?
60. MACKIESOUN, Eleazer	Bute Pursuivant	Edinburgh
8. McCULLOCH, Adam	Marchmont Herald	Edinburgh
17. McCULLOCH, Alexander	Ormonde Pursuivant	Edinburgh?
50. MATHESON, Adam	Ross Herald	Edinburgh?
33. MAXWELL, James	Orkney Herald Extraordinary	?
28. MUDY, Robert	Pursuivant	Fife
43. MUNRO, Thomas	Pursuivant	Unknown
71. NEILSON, Alexander	Carrick Pursuivant	Unknown
14. OLIPHANT, Alexander	Albany Herald	Unknown
55. OLIPHANT, Thomas	Albany Herald	Unknown

7.	PATERSON, John	Snowdoun Herald	Edinburgh
22.	PURDY, James	Islay Herald	Fife
40.	PURDY, John	Ross Herald	Edinburgh
25.	RA, Robert	Pursuivant	Hamilton
19.	RAMSAY, Patrick	Unicorn Pursuivant	St Andrews
30.	RAMSAY, Thomas	Pursuivant	Edinburgh
51.	RAMSAY, John	Unicorn Pursuivant	Unknown
42.	RANKEILLOUR, William	Kintyre Pursuivant	Cupar
63.	RITCHIE, Walter	Kintyre Pursuivant	Edinburgh
2.	ROSS, Alexander	Ross Herald	Edinburgh
62.	ROSS, Patrick	Pursuivant	Unknown
4.	SETON, William	Pursuivant	Unknown
15.	STEWART of Luthrie, Sir William	Lyon King of Arms	Edinburgh
9.	THOMSON, Peter	Islay Herald	Edinburgh
6.	UDDART, Martin	Ormonde Pursuivant	Edinburgh
53.	WILLIAMSON, Thomas	Ross Herald	Cupar
58.	WINDRAM, James	Lyon Clerk	Edinburgh
61.	WINDRAM, Robert	Albany Herald	Edinburgh
54.	YELLOWLEES, John	Dingwall Pursuivant	Edinburgh?

1. SIR ROBERT FORMAN of LUTHRIE fl.1540-1567

Pursuivant in 1540, promoted to Ross Herald on 15 November 1540. Became Lyon Depute in 1554 and created Lyon in 1555 as successor to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Appears in the subscription list of the "faithful brethren" of Edinburgh in November 1562. [Lynch, 1981, p.266.]
Married Elizabeth Crichton (who died on 16 May 1594) and by her had a son John who became Rothesay Herald in 1568, and a daughter Margaret who married Harry Drummond. [Grant, 1945, p.17.]
Sir Robert inherited the 1542 Armorial of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount and drew up a roll of Arms consisting of 204 armorial bearings in 1562.
[Balfour of Denmiln copy, NLS Adv.Ms.34.4.16.] Between 1563 and 1565 he drew up a second roll of Arms consisting of 258 armorial bearings which is also in the National Library of Scotland [Adv.Ms.31.4.2.] Finally in 1566 he created a working armorial which remains in Lyon Office.[Ms.17.]
On 6 February 1566 he granted Arms to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich and the following year on 2 April granted Arms to John, Lord Maxwell of Herries. [Stevenson, 1914, Vol.2, p.121.]

During his reign two Royal Commissions were granted to investigate the behaviour of heralds, macers, pursuivants and messingers. [RPSS, Vol.V, Part 1, pp.191,192, no.817, p.2171, no.891.] Sir Robert Forman was on duty at the Baptism of Prince James in the Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle on 17 December 1566 [Balfour Annals, Vol.1.] and at the Coronation of Prince James at Stirling on 29 July 1567.[T.A.Vol.XII,p.67.] Probably on duty at the Parliament held in Edinburgh on 15 December 1567 and resigned later in the same month. [Balfour Paul 1900, p.84.] Received his annual salary of £40 Scots in 1565, 1566, and 1567.

Arms ; Quarterly 1st and 4th, Sable three camel heads erased each with a bell Argent attached to a collar Gules about the neck.
2nd and 3rd, Argent a chevron between three salmon hauriant Azure.

2. ALEXANDER ROSS fl.1548-1567

Appointed Ross Herald in 1548, and became Lyon Depute in 1555. Enrolled as a burgess of Edinburgh on 13 November 1556.[Grant, 1945, p.28.]
On 11 August 1559 received the gift of the unlaw of £40 being a surety imposed on Alexander Abercromby of Pitmedden.[RPSS,Vol V,Part 1,p.140,no.647.] Succeeded by Patrick Davidson as Ross Herald in 1567.

3. JOHN FORSYTH fl.1548-1566

Falkland Pursuivant, probably based in Aberdeenshire, succeeded Sir John Pettigrew as Kintyre Pursuivant on 4 April 1548.[Grant,1945,p.17.]
Was deforced by John Lyon of Culmalegy on 30 October 1566 while on duty at the instruction of the Commissioner of Aberdeen.[RPSS,Vol.V,Part 2,pp.224-225, no.3105.]

4. WILLIAM SETON fl.1554-c1565

Pursuivant in the reign of Mary Queen of Scots who also served the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise. Granted a yearly pension of £100 for life because of his infirmity and sickness caused by continual service and travel in his office of "pursevandrie".[RPSS,Vol.V,Part 1,p.642,no.2236.]

5. WILLIAM HARDY fl.1548-1567

Previously a messenger of arms, appointed Unicorn Pursuivant in 1548. Probably based in Aberdeenshire. Deforced in 1560,[RPSS,Vol.V,Part 1,p.174,no.775.] arrested Jasper Walls in Inverness-shire in 1566 [RPSS,Vol.V,Part 2,nos.2751,8990.] and sequestered corn in Pencaitland, along with five other Officers in September of the same year.[RPCS,Vol.I,p.480.] Was on duty at the Baptism of Prince James in Stirling on 17 December 1566. Paid

for delivering letters to the sheriffs of Stirling and Clackmannan on 28 February 1567,[TA,Vol.XII,p.45.] and died or demitted office before June 1567.

6. MARTIN UDDART fl.1565-1568

Appointed Ormonde Pursuivant in 1565, having been a burgess of Edinburgh since the 30 October 1561. He had two daughters, Marion and Rebecca, and may have been related to the Edinburgh family of wealthy merchants. Died during July 1568.[Grant,1945,p.32.]

In September 1566 he accompanied William Hardy, Unicorn, and four other Officers to sequester corn in Pencaitland.[RPCS,Vol.I,p.480.] Probably on duty at the Baptism of Prince James in 1566 and his Coronation in 1567.

7. JOHN PATERSON fl.1537-1571

Appointed Carrick Pursuivant in 1537 and promoted to Snowdoun Herald in 1543. Lived in the burgh of Canongate and was married to Agnes Ayton. She was a practising catholic who attended mass at Holyrood in August 1563. [Lynch,1981,p.287.] The couple had three daughters, Isobel, Margaret, and Agnes. Paterson held the post of Chamberlain of Fife. [Grant,1945,p.26.] Although appointed Herald in Queen Mary's reign and had made a legal agreement with William Kircaldy of Grange,[RPSS,Vol.V,Part 2.p.45,no.2624.] he was apparently a trusted Officer under the Regent Moray. Died in January 1571.

On duty at the Baptism of Prince James in December 1566 and undertook postal and proclamation duties in February, March, May, and June 1567.[TA,Vol.XII,pp.45,47,55,57.] Present at the Coronation in July and proclaimed the Regent Murray at Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunblane, Clackmannan, Kinross, Perth, Cupar, St Andrews, Crail, Dysart, and Kinghorn during August.[ibid.p.71.] In September was in Hamilton, Dunblane, East Lothian,Perthshire, Fife, Stirling, and Dundee on business for the Regent,[TA,Vol.XII.] and attended the meeting of Parliament in Edinburgh during December. Probably shared the Regent's New Year gift of £40 in January 1568.[ibid.p.93] During May and June of 1568 served summons of

arrest and treason on various noblemen and lairds who were supporters of Mary Queen of Scots, being present at the Parliament held in Edinburgh during July and August to give proof that he had served the summons.[APS,Vol III,p.48.] Listed as Snowdoun Herald by Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet in April 1569.[RPCS,Vol.I,pp.658-660.]

8. ADAM McCULLOCH fl.1547-1571, then 1581-?

Appointed Bute Pursuivant in 1547 and became Lyon Clerk in 1554. Promoted to Marchmont Herald in August 1561 and was still Lyon Clerk in 1567.[Grant,1945,p.23.] Was a burgess of Edinburgh. Deprived of office, while in Edinburgh Castle with the Queen's supporters, by Parliament in August 1571, [APS,Vol.III,p.60.] but then re-appointed as Orkney Herald Extraordinary in May 1581, [APS,Vol.III,p.288.] and received a Benefit of Pacification on the 24 October 1581. Probably related to Alexander McCulloch, Unicorn Pursuivant.[No.17.] On 6 February 1566, as Lyon Clerk, signed the Letters Patent granting Arms to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich. [Stevenson,1914,Vol.I,p.121.] His career reflects the troubled period in Scotland at the end of Mary's reign and the initial stage of the Regent Moray's administration.

On duty at the Baptism of Prince James in December 1566. In January 1567 he sailed from Leith to Burntisland to impound a cargo of wine. The following month he travelled first to Fife on the Queen's business and then to Dumfries and Wigton in the company of Peter Thomson, Islay Herald, with letters from the Queen to the sheriffs.[TA,Vol.XII,pp.40,43,48.] He remained in the south-west for part of March before returning to Edinburgh by 2 April to sign the Letters Patent granting Arms to John, Lord Maxwell.[Stevenson,1914,Vol.I,p.121.]

He travelled to Perthshire in May to charge Murray of Tullibardine and Lord Ruthven which was coupled with proclamation duties in Perth, Kinross and Clackmannan.[TA,Vol.XII,pp.54,55.]

By the end of July 1567 the Queen had abdicated and McCulloch proclaimed in Linlithgow the Coronation of Prince James, probably while travelling to Stirling for the Coronation on the 29 July. On the 31st of the month he left Stirling to

proclaim the new monarch at Haddington, Duns, North Berwick, Dunbar, Jedburgh, Selkirk and Peebles.[ibid.pp.68,69.]

By the time of his return to Edinburgh the Earl of Moray had accepted the Regency. He left Edinburgh on the 25 August to proclaim the Regent at Lanark, Glasgow, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, Ayr, Irvine, Dunbarton, and Renfrew.[ibid.p.78.] This duty was completed by the 12 September as on that date, accompanied by Alexander McCulloch, Unicorn Pursuivant, and a trumpeter, James Savoy, he rode to Dunbar to charge the Earl of Bothwell to surrender Dunbar Castle.[ibid.p.78.]

McCulloch was kept on the move for the rest of the month travelling first to the west with letters to prominent lairds informing them of the Coronation and appointment of Moray as Regent.[ibid.p.79.] On the last day of September, accompanied by Thomas Donaldson, messinger, who acted as a witness to McCulloch's duties, he set off to travel up the east coast to Inverness serving summons to attend Parliament on the way to nobles, bishops, commendators and burgh commissioners.[ibid.p.82.]

McCulloch returned to Edinburgh by the 10 October when he served a summons of treason on the Earl of Bothwell at Dunbar Castle and appeared before the Parliament in Edinburgh on the 15 December to give proof that he had done so.[APS,Vol.III,p.5.]

McCulloch shared in the Regent's New Year gift of £40,[TA,Vol.XII,p.93.] and on the 17 January set off from Edinburgh with James Weddell, trumpeter to charge Lord Fleming to surrender Dumbarton Castle.[ibid.p.96.] How long he stayed in the west is unknown but he left Edinburgh on the 5 March 1568 with "ane mas of clois writtingis" from the Regent to the English Governor of Berwick, William Drowrie, who was also Warden of the East Marches in England.[ibid.p.114.] By May McCulloch was back in Edinburgh where he may have been one of the heralds who proclaimed at the mercat cross on the 8th of the month that none of the lieges should assist the Queen who had just escaped from Lochleven Castle.[ibid.p.124.] He may also have proclaimed on the 18 May in Edinburgh that all earls, lords, barons and freeholders should join the Regent at Biggar on the 10 June with fifteen days supplies.[ibid.p.125.] By then the Battle of Langside had been fought and the Queen had crossed into England. Accompanied by two messengers, William Straton and Thomas Ramsay, McCulloch had to summon, within Edinburgh on the 21 May, various members

of the Hamilton family, and their accomplices, to appear in court to answer criminal charges.[ibid.p.126.] Leaving Edinburgh on the 11 June McCulloch travelled to the Black Isle via Aberdeenshire where he delivered letters from the Regent to the Irvine laird of Drum before serving a summons of treason on John Lesley, Bishop of Ross, who had to appear before Parliament on the 16 August to answer the charges. [ibid.p.132.] He had returned to Edinburgh by the 15 July as he set off on that day with Peter Thomson, Islay Herald, to impound goods belonging to various East Lothian lairds, including property of the Archbishop of St Andrews.[ibid.p.136.] At the parliamentary meeting in Edinburgh he appeared on the 8 August to hand in his proofs of serving the various summons of treason since the last Parliament.[APS,Vol.III,p.48.]

Adam McCulloch is confirmed as Marchmont Herald on the Lyon's list of officers dated the 26 April 1569, [RPCS,Vol.I,pp.658-660.] but he was not used for any other official duties during the year. His sympathies lay with the Queen's supporters and he may already have gone into Edinburgh Castle. In the words of an official account,"haveing wilfullie and rebelliouslie castin of his debtfull obedience, displayit his cote of armes, and utherwyise fortefit, satisfeit and tuke plane part with the declarit tratouris, rebellis and conspiratouris aganis oure soverane lordis auctoritie, being within the castell and burgh of Edinburgh, in thair tressonabill, pretendit and arrogant preceding to the deprivatioun of oure soverane lord from his royall croun and authoritie," and "continuand in his rebellioun and contempt is of new enterit within the castell of Edinburgh in cumpany of the tressonabill and rebellious subjectis withhalderis of the same aganis oure said soverane lordis authoritie." [RPSS,Vol.VI,p.356,no.1828.] As a result, on the 28 August 1571, he was deprived of his office of Marchmont Herald by Parliament, meeting in Stirling.[APS,Vol.III,p.60.]

Ten years later he was pardoned and given the courtesy title of Orkney Herald Extraordinary on the 12 May 1581.[RPSS,Vol.VIII,pp.45-46,no.268.] Later the same year on the 24 October, a Benefit of Pacification was given to "Adam McCulloch, sometime Marchment Herauld, burgess of Edinburgh, now Orknay Herauld." [APS,Vol.III,p.288.]

9. PETER THOMSON fl.1535-1571

Appointed Bute Pursuivant in 1535, received the title of Unicorn Pursuivant in 1546, and promoted to Islay Herald in 1547. Had a natural son Walter who was made legitimate on the 15 November 1551. Owned a manuscript entitled the *Office of a Herald.*[NLS,Ms.31.7.22.] Became a burgess of Edinburgh on the 14 March 1559, "gratis, under conditions contained in acts of council of 30 March viz: that he sall in all tymes cuming be ready to serve in the towyns effars quhen it sal happin thame till have ado gyf he be not occupeit in the causes of our soveranys undertaking watching, warding,etc. without reclamatioun to Lyoun herald or uthris his juges ordinar, under loss of freedom and privileges."[REB,1929,p. .] Was married to Bessie Hill, a catholic who was one of those who attended mass at Holyrood in August 1563.[Lynch,1981,p.289.] Thomson was deprived of office in August 1571.[Grant,1945,p.31.]

Thomson was paid in 1561 for distributing letters about the proposed tax of a Third of Benifices throughout the central belt of Scotland. [Donaldson,1949,p.106.] Like Adam McCulloch he was one of the officers deeply involved in official business from 1567 until 1570. He was instructed by the Privy Council to sequester corn throughout Pencaitland on the 21 September 1566, accompanied by William Hardy, Unicorn Pursuivant, Martin Uddart, Ormonde Pursuivant, and Archibald Heriot, William Lawson, and William Logan, messingers.[RPCS,Vol.I,p.480.] Thomson was probably present at the Baptism of Prince James in Stirling.

On the 10 February 1567, Henry Darnley the King Consort, was murdered and three days later Thomson proclaimed a reward of £2,000 at Edinburgh mercat cross for information leading to the arrest of the murderers.

[TA,Vol.XII,p.43.] At the end of the month Thomson accompanied Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald, to Dumfries and Wigton with letters for the sheriffs instructing them to put various people to the horn.

[ibid.p.43.] Thomson remained in the west for most of the following month of March as additional instructions were sent to him there on the 28th.[ibid.p.47.] In May the Queen and Bothwell were married and rallied their supporters. On the 2 June Thomson, accompanied by a trumpeter, proclaimed at Edinburgh mercat cross that the lieges be ready at six hours notice to help the Queen or her husband.[ibid.p.57.]

Following the Queen's abdication Thomson was on duty at the Coronation of her son in Stirling on the 29 July, and the next day he left Stirling to proclaim the new sovereign at Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Lanark, Glasgow, Dunbarton, Renfrew, Irvine, Ayr, Wigton, Kirkcudbright and Dumfries.[ibid.p.69.] He had returned to Edinburgh by the 28 August when, with three witnesses, he summoned two Scots and a Dutchman to attend a criminal court.[ibid.p.73.]
On the 2 September he left Edinburgh to proclaim at Haddington and Duns that the lieges should be ready for war at four days notice, and then from Duns he went to charge the Constable of Dunbar and ten other East Lothian notables to ward themselves in Falkland, Edinburgh and Doune Castles.[ibid.p.76.] Having performed this duty, he set off from Edinburgh on the 12th of the month to charge another seven East Lothian lairds to appear before the Regent and Privy Council within three days, and then proclaimed at Haddington and Dunbar that none should assist Patrick Whitelaw of that Ilk.[ibid.p.78.] After Thomson had left Edinburgh a boy was sent to find him in order to hand over letters of arrest served on the laird of Wauchton.[ibid.] This duty done Thomson returned to Edinburgh only to leave again on the 23rd to proclaim at Edinburgh, Duns, and Lauder that all able bodied men between sixteen and sixty should meet the Regent at Haddington on the 27 September, each carrying provisions for twenty days.[ibid.p.80.] Finally on the last day of the month he set off again, with two witnesses, to deliver notices of a meeting of Parliament on the 19 December. These he delivered to five earls, one bishop, eleven lords, ten sheriffs, sixteen commendators and twelve burghs throughout the borders and south west of Scotland. As well as the notices he served twelve individual summons for appearance in Edinburgh on the 26 November and thirty-two summons of treason on individuals who had to appear before Parliament.
[ibid.p.81.] Thomson completed these tasks by the 20 October when he left Edinburgh to charge four individuals to hand over Captain James Cullen, (a distinguished and respected soldier who was later executed at Leith on the 17 July 1571) within eight days.[ibid.p.86.]

Thomson shared in the Regent's New Year gift to the heralds, trumpeters, and other officers [ibid.p.93.] but was not allocated specific duties for the first four months of 1568. On the 27 May Thomson left Edinburgh to summon the Earl of Crawford before the Privy Council for leaving Edinburgh where he had been held in ward,[ibid.p.127.] and then on the 15 June he was once again off on the

Regent's business to serve summons of treason on the Archbishop of St Andrews, and various supporters of the Duke of Hamilton, who had to appear before Parliament on the 18 August, to charge John Fleming of Boghall to surrender Dunbarton Castle within twenty-four hours, and to charge the Bishop of Glasgow and the Commendator of Kilwinning to appear before the Privy Council on the 16 August.[ibid.p.132.]
Parliament met in July and Thomson appeared on the 12 July to give proof he had served the various summons of treason.[APS,Vol.III,p.48.] Three days later Thomson left Edinburgh with Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald, to impound the goods of certain East Lothian lairds, and property south of the river Forth which belonged to the Archbishop of St Andrews.
[TA,Vol.XII,p.136.] On the 27 July he left Edinburgh and travelled to Arbroath to charge the inhabitants to pay their taxes and to poind the lairds of Fintry and Ochill for the sum of £5,000 which they had promised as surety for the Earl of Crawford.[ibid.p.137.]

The following year, 1569, Thomson is confirmed in the April list of Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet as Islay Herald but does not have the same number of official duties. It is not until the 19 September that he is given a duty which involved proclaiming at Irvine, Dumfries, Wigton, and Kirkcudbright that the lieges meet the Regent in Hawick on the 18 October with provisions for twenty days.[ibid.p.170.] Thomson also had to poind two west coast lairds and uplift the goods of the sheriff of Ayr who was at the horn.[ibid.p.170.] He returned to Edinburgh, and left there again on the 28 November with letters authorising him to confiscate rents belonging to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and with similar letters to do the same with rents payable to George, Lord Seton.[ibid.p.180.]

In January 1570 he received fees owing to him since 1568 for duties undertaken on behalf of the Treasurer against John Hamilton of Stonehouse, and nine other kinsmen, plus the Earls of Eglinton and Cassilis.
[ibid.p.183.] It was not until August that he was given another duty. On the 12th of the month he travelled to the west coast with precepts of Parliament to ecclesiastics, lay nobility, and burgh commissioners, called to deal with accusations against the Regent Moray made by the Earl of Huntly.[ibid.p.211.]

During 1570 Thomson may have been declining duties due to sympathy with those holding Edinburgh Castle on behalf of the Queen, and he undertook no duties in 1571 because by that time he had entered the Castle along with his fellow Officers, Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald, John Forman, Rothesay Herald, Alexander Forrester, Carrick Pursuivant, Alexander McCulloch, Ormonde Pursuivant, Thomas Barry, Pursuivant, and William Barry, messinger at arms. As a result he, and all the others, were removed from office by the Parliament during August 1571.[APS,Vol.III,p.60.] Two years later, on the 9 February 1573, he was convicted, along with eight others, of being involved in the Crags action in Edinburgh during June 1572. At the same time he was convicted of "ryving of the nobill menis armes", ie tearing in half a representation of their armorial ensigns - a form of public insult. [Lynch,1981,p.357.]

10. ALEXANDER FORRESTER fl.1557-1571

Appointed Carrick Pursuivant in 1557, lived in Ayr where he was sheriff in 1570,[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.160,no.862.] and was deprived of office in 1571. [Grant,1945,p.17.]

It is not known if Forrester was present at the Baptism and then the Coronation of Prince James. If he had been present he could then have proclaimed the events on his return to Ayr, but there is no evidence he did so. He undertook one tour of duty on the 26 June 1568 when he left Edinburgh with Alexander Strang, macer, to go into Fife with summons of treason for Andrew, Earl of Rothes, John Blacader of Tulliallan, Henry Wardlaw of Torry, and his son Andrew. All had to appear before Parliament on the 24 August next. From Fife the two officers moved on to Brechin where they inhibited the tenants of the Bishopric from paying any rents due to the Earl of Argyle.[TA,Vol.XII,p.134.] Forrester was present on the 8 August in Parliament to give proof that he had served the various summons of treason.[APS,Vol.III,p.48.]

Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet listed Alexander Forrester as Carrick Pursuivant on the 26 April 1569, and on the 10 September Forrester discharged two people of their obligation concerning corn at Saughtonhall.

[RPCS,Vol.II,p.32.] This was his last official duty before being deprived of office in August 1571 because of his support for those holding Edinburgh Castle.

11. JOHN CALDER fl.1561-1590

Appointed Bute Pursuivant on the 17 September 1561 in succession to Adam McCulloch who had been promoted to Marchmont Herald. Demitted office on the 4 March 1590.[Grant,1945,p.13.]

Calder was employed by the Treasury from December 1566 until April 1587 at a monthly salary of £7.15/-. He also received his annual salary of £10 as a Pursuivant.[TA,Vols.XII,XIII,SRO E21/61,62,63,64,65,and E22/1/6.] In addition to Calder the Treasury also employed a messenger of arms, Gavin Ramsay, until he was replaced by another messenger, John Brown, in March 1579. From January 1581 various macers took over the monthly duty to accompany Calder as witness for his official duties.

The Treasurer's Accounts only give an indication of the duties Calder had to undertake. During 1567 he was out of Edinburgh in May, at an unknown location, as a boy was paid to take letters to him.[TA,Vol.XII,p.55.] During November he was in Melrose, and at Jedburgh in the beginning of December.[TA,Vol.XII,pp.89,92.] No special duties are mentioned in 1568 except probable attendance at the Parliament held in Edinburgh during August. Only one duty is mentioned in 1569 when he left Edinburgh on the 17 November to poind the goods and gear of John, Lord Fleming, and John Fleming of Boghall, and to instruct their tenants to pay any rents to the Treasurer. The same action was taken against Alexander and Patrick Hepburn. [ibid.p.180.]

1570 was a more active year for Calder. He was listed as Bute Pursuivant in the April list of Officers drawn up by Lyon Lindsay of Rathillet. On the 7 June he left Edinburgh and travelled to Fife, Aberdeen, and Moray charging three individuals to attend the Session meeting in Edinburgh on the 20 June, or else lose their places.[ibid.p.209.] The following month he made a proclamation in Dundee,
[ibid.p.209.] returned to Edinburgh, and left there on the 12 August to go to Fife and Perthshire with precepts of Parliament.[ibid.p.211.] He had returned to Edinburgh by the 31st of the month because he left on that date to charge Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Drummond, Lord Ogilvie, and five others to appear before the Privy Council on the 13 September.[ibid.p.215.] For twenty-two days in September Calder and Gavin Ramsay were engaged in finding the confiscated property of three members of the Hepburn family.[ibid.p.233.] On the 14 October Calder and two messengers spent the morning distributing messages within Edinburgh to lords, barons and burgh commissioners to meet in the tolbooth before mid-day.[ibid.p.225.] Finally on the 20 October he left Edinburgh to summon various individuals in East Lothian to answer charges of not joining the Regent's army at Linlithgow on the 2 August past.[ibid.p.226.]

Following the Regent Moray's assassination in January 1571, the administration under Regent Lennox moved to Leith. From there Calder left on the 13 May to proclaim at Musselburgh, Dalkeith, Newbattle, and Lasswade that the lieges appointed to the army should meet the new Regent in Leith without

delay.[TA.Vol.XII.p.242.] On the 15 May Calder left Leith again with letters to the lairds of Elphinstone, Fauside, Herdmanston, Preston, and the bailies of Tranent asking them to provide masons and quarriers to assist in seige preparations.[ibid.p.242.] In May or June Calder paid £703.1.9. to the Treasurer, confiscated from the estate of Sir William Kircaldy of Grange who was holding Edinburgh Castle for the Queen.
[ibid.p.271.] During August Calder may have been on duty at the Parliament in Stirling, and in August a boat was hired to take him from Leith to Burntisland to quarantine a vessel, under the command of a William Wallange, suspected of carrying the plague. Skipper and vessel had to remain at Inchcolm Island in the Forth.[ibid.p.282.]

Calder had another shipping duty to do on the 13 November 1572 when he and William Forsyth, messinger, searched the ship, the "Black Lyon", at Burntisland for contraband.[RPCS,Vol.II,p.190.]

During 1573 he was out of Edinburgh in February as a boy was paid to take a letter to him from the Treasurer.[TA,Vol.XII,p.338.] In April he was probably back in Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament and may have sat on Lyon's enquirey into the behaviour of Officers on the 1 April.

He had two recorded duties in 1574. On the 19 February he left Edinburgh to proclaim, at Forfar and Kincardine, a summons against the Earl and Countess of Argyll, Robert, Commendator of Deer, and Robert, Commendator of St Andrews, to appear before the Privy Council on the 15 March.[ibid.p.379.] Calder poinded a horse belonging to David Guthrie of Kincaldrum in July which was to cause legal problems for Calder the following year.
[RPCS,Vol.II,pp.485,486.]

1575 saw Calder in Aberdeenshire on poinding duties during January, and he received £10 to cover "extraordiner expensis" incurred as a result.
[TA,Vol.XIII,p.53.] However he was in trouble on the 8 February when he attended the Privy Council to explain his actions regarding David Guthrie's horse poinded the previous July. The case concerned Calder being in possession of a £20 surplus, and the Council judged that a degree of negligence had been shown by Calder.[RPCS,Vol.II,pp.485,486.] The rebuke did not damage his

career as he was then sent to Orkney to serve letters on Lord Robert Stewart, Feuar of Orkney and Shetland, to deliver up the Castle of Westray.[ibid.p.340.]

There were no special duties involving extra payments during 1576 and 1577, but on the 5 July 1578, while on official duty in the company of four messengers, he was deforced by followers of William, Lord Hay of Yester. [RPCS,Vol.III,p.19.] This was a common hazard of the office. In September he proclaimed at Stirling, Dumbarton, Glasgow, Renfrew, Irvine, Ayr, and Lanark about calling in certain coins to be overstamped with a new value. [TA,Vol.XIII,p.219.]

The following year he left Edinburgh on the 3 April, with a messenger and a trumpeter, to charge William, Lord Hay of Yester, to ward himself in the state prison, Blackness Castle, and to surrender his house and fortalices of Yester, Bothans, and Neidpath.[ibid,p.259.] Calder was probably on duty at the meeting of Parliament in Edinburgh in October.
In 1580 Calder was probably again on duty at the Parliament held in Stirling during July. In September Calder and two messengers, plus their servants, were moving through the sheriffdom of Lothian collecting confiscated property of those who had been declared rebels for non payment of fines.[TA,E21/61,p.65.]

1581 was a quiet year but 1582 saw him present at the Justice Court in Perth during July,[TA,E21/62,p.38.] and at another Justice Court held in Stirling in August.[ibid,p.47.] Later in the year Calder, and the messenger, John Brown, took letters directing the Earls of Morton and Angus, Lord Herries, Walter Scot of Gowdelands, and the lairds of Johnston, Drumlanrig, and Cessford, to meet the King and Privy Council to give advice about the situation on the Borders.[ibid,p.75.]

Calder had three recorded duties in 1583. During March he collected fines in Forfar.[TA,E21/63,p.98.] He left Falkland in September (where King and court were in residence) with letters to charge Adam, Commendator of Cambuskenneth Abbey, to ward himself in Dumbarton Castle within twenty four hours. However the Commendator refused to comply so Calder travelled on to Stirling and proclaimed him a rebel at the mercat cross.[TA,E22/6,p.27.] Calder probably spent the summer in Edinburgh but returned to Stirling in

October from where he set out to charge the Livingston and Menteith families to subscribe assurances to each other to keep the peace between them.[ibid,p.351.] He may have travelled back to Edinburgh later in the month to be in attendance at the meeting of Parliament.

No duties are noted in 1584, but Parliament did meet in Edinburgh during August. The following year he may have shared attendance money with Lyon for being at the Parliament in Linlithgow during December 1585.[ibid,p.47.]

He received the usual monthly payments throughout 1586, and in 1587 he was finally given his last monthly salary at the end of April. He had been in continuous Treasury employment for almost twenty years. He may have attended the Parliament in Edinburgh during July, but his last official duty took place in wintertime when he left Edinburgh in December with letters to charge the lairds of Dundas, Airth, Keir, Tullibardine, and Clackmannan to convene on the 24 January, and with letters for searching out Jesuits to be posted on the mercat crosses of the chief burghs of the shires where the above lairds had their residence.[TA,E21/66,p.31.]
Presumably old age, or illness, caused John Calder to demit office in 1590.

12. PATRICK DAVIDSON fl.1557-1590

Burgess of Aberdeen, appointed Kintyre Pursuivant in 1557, promoted to Ross Herald in 1567.[Grant,1945,pp.14,15.] Collector of Thirds for Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, and Strathnaver from 1561 until 1572.
[Donaldson,1949,p.xl.] Had a dwelling in Edinburgh.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.241-2.] Married with four sons, William, James, Thomas, and Patrick.
[Grant,1945,p.15.] Thomas was his heir and received the gift of one of the three chaplainries of Alness on the 15 October 1574.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.488, no.2707.] This gift was reconfirmed on the 14 October 1580.[RPSS,Vol.VII, p.420,no.2565.] In 1591 Thomas married a daughter of Thomas Burnett of Cluny. [Grant,1945,p.15.] Davidson's other three sons were natural children.

Patrick Davidson was based in Aberdeen but as his official duties often took him to Edinburgh, he also had a residence in the capital. He received a gift of escheat on the 10 September 1558 for loyal service to the Queen and Queen

Regent.[RPSS,Vol.V,part I,pp.103,104,no.484.] He may have been in attendance at the Baptism of Prince James, but was present at the Coronation in Stirling as he left the burgh next day, the 31 July 1567, to proclaim the new sovereign at Dundee, Brechin, Montrose, Aberdeen, Banff, Cullen, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, and Tain.[TA,Vol.XII,p.69.]

At the end of 1569 Davidson was in Edinburgh which he left on the 9 November to journey west in order to charge John, Lord Fleming, and John Fleming of Boghall, to surrender Dumbarton Castle within six hours.
[TA,Vol.XII,p.178.] Having performed this duty he returned to Edinburgh only to leave on the 15th of the month to charge George, Lord Seton to ward himself in Blackness Castle.[ibid,p.179.]
Sometime before January 1571 Davidson had executed letters against Mungo Monypenny, Dean of Ross, for non payment of the Third in 1567.[RPSS,Vol.VI, p.273,no.1415.] He took similar action against Hercules Barclay, parson of Cannisby, for non payment of the Third between 1568 and 1571.[ibid,p.298, no.1553.] In August 1571 Davidson was forfeited for treason by the parliament of the Queen's lords at Edinburgh.[Lynch,1981,p.298.]

Davidson was back in the south of Scotland early in 1573 as he left Edinburgh on the 27 January to charge those holding Blackness Castle to surrender it to the Regent Morton.[TA,Vol.XII,p.336.] The following month he travelled again to Blackness Castle with a message from the Regent.
[ibid,p.338.] Lyon held his enquiry on the malpractices of officers on the 1 April in Edinburgh and Davidson should have been present. Another enquiry was held the following year on the 1 October 1574, this time into the behaviour of messengers of arms, and Davidson was probably present. On the 25 May 1575, Davidson was in the Chanonry of Ross at Fortrose where he acted as witness to the signing of a legal document.[RPCS,Vol.II,p.452.]

Davidson must have spent time on his tax collecting duties as sometime before the 16 October 1576 he put Thomas Ross to the horn for non payment.
[RPSS,Vol.VII,p.108,no.731.] Later in the same month (on the 25th) he arranged for his natural son James to be legitimated.[ibid,p.108,no.739.]

Two years later, during September 1578, Patrick Davidson travelled from Edinburgh to Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, and Inverness to proclaim that certain coins were to be called in for overstamping with a new value.[TA,Vol.XIII,p.219.] Two months later he received the sum of £126.2.3. from the Master of the Mint but there is no indication why he was paid this sum. It may be he had handed in old coins for overstamping and was paid the new difference in value.[ibid,p.385.] In January 1579 the Mint paid him the further sum of £51.16.3.[ibid,p.385.] During March Davidson proclaimed at Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, Banff, Elgin, and Inverness.
[ibid,p.257.] He may have returned to Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in October. On the 28 November James Purdy, Islay Herald, complained to the Privy Council on behalf of himself and Patrick Davidson about a new house tax imposed by Edinburgh town council. In their argument against paying the tax the heralds stated that they had "to await continewallie upoun his Hienes service at all parliamentis,conventionis of the nobilitie, entres of ambassadouris,makand of knychtis, lordis and erllis,and utheris ordouris",that since the beginnings of kings within Scotland heralds were "specialie reknit his Hienes domesticall servandis" and were therefore exempt from paying taxes. As the provost and four baillies had been charged to appear and did not, and James Purdy had appeared on behalf of Ross Herald and himself, the complaint was recognised and they were not to be troubled for payment of tax or any other impost in time coming.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.241,242.]

In February 1580, Davidson left Edinburgh to charge Alexander Dunbar of Cumnock, sheriff of Moray, and Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, plus others of the Dunbar family, along with Alexander Innes of that Ilk, Robert Innes of Innermarkie, and others of the Innes family, to appear before the Privy Council on the 15 April, and to keep the peace in the meantime. [TA,
Vol.XIII,p.310.] Davidson, along with his brother heralds, received samples of new gold coins from the Mint in July and September 1580.
[ibid,pp.409,411.]
In June 1583 Davidson was assessed at £5 in the Edinburgh Tax Roll of that date.[Lynch,1981,p.379.] Sometime before 1590 Patrick Davidson, Ross Herald, died.[RPCS,Vol.IV,p.540.]

13. WILLIAM HENDERSON fl.1557-1582

Appointed Dingwall Pursuivant in 1557,[Grant,1945,p.20.] Henderson moved to Orkney about 1563 as factor of the lands belonging to Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoull.[Anderson,1982,p.176.] Sub-Collector of Thirds in Orkney 1567-69. [Donaldson,1949,p.xl.] Was Commissioner for Musters in 1574.[Grant, 1945,p.20.] Appointed Vicar of North Ronaldsay in 1578 and granted tack of land on the island by Robert, Earl of Orkney. Was married to Margaret Bonar and had a son, Robert. William Henderson died in 1582, and was buried in St Magnus Cathedral, Kirkwall.[Anderson,1982,p.176.]

John Graham, servant of Sir John Bellenden, the Lord Justice Clerk, was sent to Henderson in Orkney on the 7 October 1567 with a summons of treason which Henderson had to serve on Magnus Halcro, William Moodie, John Mowat, Thomas Tulloch of Fluris, Robert Sinclair, and others, charging them to appear in court on the 26 November in Edinburgh.[TA,Vol.XII,p.85.]
Henderson visited Shetland in June 1568 and wrote to Patrick Bellenden, brother of the Lord Justice Clerk, from Scalloway.[Anderson,1982,p.176.]
On the 28 July 1572 a confirmation was made of the life pension of 40 merks per annum, which had been granted to Henderson in Kirkwall on the 10 May 1571.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.323,no.1684.]

On the 9 November 1576 Henderson and William Moodie were appointed Commissioners of Enquiry by the Privy Council, to visit Shetland to investigate injustices suffered by the inhabitants in February at the hands of Laurence Bruce of Cultmalindie. Following the investigation Henderson travelled south to Edinburgh and gave the report, entitled "Complaints of Zetland", to the Privy Council on the 24 April 1577.[RPCS,Vol.II,pp.618-9.]

A precept was sealed at Stirling on the 22 November 1578 for a charter of confirmation to William Henderson, Dingwall Pursuivant, and his spouse. [RPSS,Vol.VII,p.277,no.1727.] The following month Henderson was presented to the parsonage of Stronsay after settling a temporary dispute regarding presentation.[RPCS,Vol.III,p.53.] The land which he received from the Earl of Orkney was left in his will to his family.[SRO GD.1/212/27.]

14. ALEXANDER OLIPHANT fl.1557-1604

Third son of William Oliphant of Newton, he was appointed Ormonde Pursuivant in 1557, and promoted to Albany Herald in 1565. He married Janet Oliphant and had four sons, Laurence Oliphant of Condie, John, Colin, and Thomas. The latter succeeded his father as Albany Herald in 1604.
[Grant,1945,p.26.]

Although he may have attended the Baptism and Coronation of Prince James, Oliphant is not mentioned in documents until the April 1570 list of Officers drawn up by Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet.

He may have been one of the heralds who proclaimed in June the meeting of Parliament to be held in August 1581,[TA,E21/62,p.147.] and who proclaimed an extension of the Parliament in October.[ibid,p.155.] He may also have been present at the creations of the Duke of Lennox and other peers in the Palace of Holyroodhouse in October of the same year.

Again it is not possible to confirm if he was on duty at the Coronation of Queen Anne in Holyrood Abbey on the 17 May 1590. However in December of the same year he left Edinburgh with John Drummond, a deputy usher, to travel to Aberdeen , Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness to proclaim letters of instruction which commanded George, Earl of Huntly, to ward himself in St Andrews; James, Earl of Moray, to ward himself in Stirling, and John, Earl of Atholl, to do the same in Perth, all within six days of the herald reading the command. James Gordon, uncle of Huntly had to ward himself in Seton Palace, and David Graham of Fintry had to do the same within the Palace of Holyroodhouse. [TA,E21/68-69,p.6.]

The following February Oliphant and Drummond travelled to St Andrews to check that the Earl of Huntly was obeying the charge.[ibid,p.13.] During November of the same year, 1591, Oliphant and John Forman, Rothesay Herald, went to the mercat cross in Edinburgh with trumpeters to proclaim the prorogation of Parliament on the 3 April 1592.[ibid,p.54.]

Oliphant and Forman proclaimed together again in February 1592 at Edinburgh cross (accompanied by only one trumpeter) informing the lieges about the newly minted half, and quarter, merk coins which had the design of a balance on the reverse.[ibid.p.63.] Oliphant was probably on duty at the Parliament held in Edinburgh during April.

Parliament met again in Edinburgh the following year, also in April, and Oliphant was probably present. In February 1594 Oliphant left Edinburgh and travelled to Douglas and Lanark to charge William, Earl of Douglas to ward himself in Edinburgh Castle within ten days.[TA,E21/70,p.93.] Two months later Parliament met in Edinburgh and Oliphant would have been on duty.

Oliphant's name disappears from the documents as he was not paid for any further duties. He may have become elderly and died, or demitted office in favour of his son Thomas who succeeded him on the 31 August 1604.

15. SIR WILLIAM STEWART of LUTHRIE fl.1565-1568

Appointed Ross Herald in 1565 and exchanged that title for Albany by 1567. He was paid in 1566 and 1567 for the translation of religious works by the Collector-General of the Thirds.[Stewart,1920,p.357.] Stewart was married to Dorothy Trunsie who received escheat of his goods on 13 September 1569.[RPSS,Vol.VI,pp.144,145,no.744.] He was employed on diplomatic missions to England in 1562 and 1565 on behalf of the Queen. On the 20 February 1568 he was appointed Lyon King of Arms,[RPSS,Vol.V, pp.37,38,no.158.] and executed the following year on 16 August 1569.[Grant, 1945,p.30.]

On the 29 September 1567, William Stewart, Albany Herald, received £231 as expenses for a diplomatic mission to Norway, Denmark, and Flanders. This may have been undertaken in an attempt to arrange the extradition of the Earl of Bothwell.[TA,Vol.XII,p.75.] He was abroad from October 1567 until January

1568 and on his return found that Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie had resigned. Stewart was appointed Lyon King and he assumed the territorial designation 'of Luthrie' in right of King James V's assigning to Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and his successors, four chalders and nine bolls of victual from the land of Luthrie in Fife. Two days later he was inaugurated as Lyon in the High Kirk of St Giles, the Regent Moray being in the congregation.[Stewart,1920,p.359.] On the 9 June, Sir William received additional expenses of £94 for his Scandinavian journey.
[TA,Vol.XII,p.129.] The following month Parliament met on the 12 July and Sir William was probably present. During the Parliament he may have been told of an intended conspiracy against the Regent Moray, but he did not inform the Regent.[Letter from Sir William to the Regent, dated the
5 August 1569.]

Next month, on the 20 August 1568, Sir William was put to the horn, arrested, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle.[Stewart,1920,p.362.] David Lindsay of Rathillet was appointed Lyon King in his place.[RPSS,Vol.V,
pp.99,100,no.489.] Sir William languished in prison for a year and wrote to the Regent from Edinburgh Castle on the 5 August 1569 in an attempt to prove his innocence. If anything this reminded the Regent of his existence because later in the month he was conveyed to St Andrews and tried there
"for certain crymes of witchecraft, negromancie and utheris crymes committit be him." [RPSS,Vol.VI,p.145,no.744.] He was found guilty and burnt at the stake on the 16 August.

Arms: Or, a fess checky, Argent and Azure within a bordure engrailed Gules.

16. SIR DAVID LINDSAY of RATHILLET fl.1545-1591

Born about 1507, he was the youngest half-brother of Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Appointed Dingwall Pursuivant about the 22 April 1545, promoted to Rothesay Herald in 1557 and further promoted to Lyon King of Arms on the 13 September 1568.[Grant,1945,p.22.] Lived near Cupar, Fife, where he acted as Receiver of Custom.[ERS,Vol.XIX,p.208.] He was also a town councillor of the burgh, and provost in 1569.[RPCS,Vol.I,pp.583,645.] Lindsay died at the approximate age of 84 in December 1591.[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.]

On the 27 March 1567 Lindsay received the gift of the annual rent from the lands of Fingask in Fife, amounting to eight merks.[RPSS,Vol.V,p.322, no.3357.] He was probably present at the Coronation of Prince James on the 29 July. Following allegations of corruption in the burgh council of Cupar, the Privy council nominated new council members on the 19 October and these included David Lindsay. He may have been present at the Edinburgh Parliaments of December 1567 and July 1568. He became Lyon in September 1568 to fill the vacancy created by the arrest of Lyon Sir William Stewart of Luthrie.[RPSS,Vol.VI,pp.99,100,no.489.]

On the 24 January 1569 a boy left Edinburgh with "clois writtingis" from the Regent Moray to Sir David in Cupar who had in turn to deliver them to certain barons in Fife. There were also letters of proclamation which had to be read out at the mercat cross in Cupar and St Andrews.[TA,Vol.XII, p.149.] Sir David's standing with the Regent and Privy Council is shown by a decision made the following month on the 14 February. That day the Privy Council appointed a committee to reason with the rebels in Edinburgh Castle with a view to pacification. One member of the committee was "Sir David Lindesay of Rathulet Knycht Lyon King of Armes and Provost of Cupar". [RPCS,Vol.I,p.645.]

Sir David drew up a list of all the officers of arms and messengers which he submitted to the Privy Council on the 26 April. There were six heralds, six pursuivants, five macers, two pursuivants extraordinary, and seventy-six messengers of arms, a total of ninety-five men.[RPCS,Vol.I,pp.658-660.] This was part of an attempt to reform the heraldic executive, particularly the messengers of arms, who had been accused of "greit misordour and imperfectioun". A letter was sent to Lyon, signed by the Regent on behalf of the King, complimenting him on reforming the Office of Arms.[ibid,p.660] On the 5 July Sir David was deforced by followers of Lord Gray in a dispute over fishings on the river Tay.[ibid,p.645.] Sir David received another letter from the Regent on the 12 November which was delivered to him in Cupar.[TA,Vol.XII,p.179.]

Following the assassination of the Regent Moray in January 1570, and the appointment of the 4th Earl of Lennox as Regent the relationship between the

administration and certain members of the Office of Arms obviously changed. Three heralds, two pursuivants, and a messenger sided with the supporters of the Queen inside Edinburgh Castle. Sir David was probably present at the Parliament held in Stirling which, on the 28 August 1571, removed these seven men from office. They were Peter Thomson,Islay Herald, Adam McCulloch,Marchmont Herald, John Forman,Rothesay Herald, Alexander Forrester,Carrick Pursuivant, Thomas Barry,Pursuivant, and William Barry,messenger of arms.[APS,Vol.III,p.60.] This was the Parliament which required the manufacture of alternative Honours of Scotland as the originals were within Edinburgh Castle. The goldsmith, Mungo Bradie, made a crown, sceptre, and a handle for a sword of state. All were made of silver and gilded.[TA,Vol.XII,p.279.] Sir David was probably also on duty at the Parliament held in Edinburgh the following year.

The attempted reform of the Office of Arms during 1569 could not have been successful as the Privy Council decreed on the 20 January 1573 that Lyon hold an enquiry into malpractices by the various officers. All of them, heralds, macers, pursuivants, and messengers had to appear before Lyon bringing their warrants and protocol books for checking. If thought worthy, new credentials would be given to officers, otherwise they would be deprived. A list of those selected would be fixed to the tolbooth in Edinburgh for public information.[RPCS,Vol.II,p.176.] On the 1 April Lyon was in Edinburgh to meet the officers,[ibid.] and on the 23rd of the month the King instructed him and his brother heralds to summon Sir William Kircaldy of Grange to surrender the Castle of Edinburgh.[State Papers,Vol.I
p.374.] On the last day of the month a session of Parliament opened in Edinburgh and Lyon was probably on duty.

The following year, in May, Sir David received the gift of the non-entry of the lands of the Mount in Fife.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.459,no.2496.] The malpractices of the messengers of arms were still prevalent, much to the concern of the Treasurer who instigated the holding of yet another enquiry,[RPCS,Vol.II,pp.365-367.] and the Privy Council decreed on the 19 June that this should be held on the 1 October. Lyon and his brother heralds presumably held the enquiry as instructed.

Parliament did not meet in 1575, 1576, or 1577, and although individual heralds and pursuivants fulfilled various duties, Lyon Sir David Lindsay is not mentioned in the records. He was presumably in Cupar. In 1578 Parliament met in Stirling and opened on the 25 July. Lyon Sir David must have been present undertaking his Parliamentary duties. This was the year Scotland's coinage was revalued. Cash in hand was worth more, so the following year during August Sir David took thirty-three ryals, a one-third ryal and a Queen Mary testoon to the Mint in Edinburgh where they were overstamped with a crowned thistle. He then received £7.2.6., being the additional value of the coins.[TA,Vol.XIII,p.400.] Two months later Parliament met in Edinburgh and continued into the following month. On the 20 November 1579 Parliament passed an Act,"For remedy of the fraud and disorder used by officers of arms in executing criminal letters."
[APS,Vol.III,p.143.] After three previous attempts to improve the quality of service given by the officers of arms the situation demanded Parliamentary intervention. Lyon Sir David Lindsay and his brother heralds did not seem capable of controlling their officers.

In 1580, on the 14 October there was a confirmation of the life gift by Sir David Lindsay, with consent of his brother heralds as patrons, to Robert Lindsay, student, son of Thomas Lindsay,Snowdoun Herald, of the chaplainry of St Michael in the parish church of Falkirk. Robert, through his grandfather, David Lindsay minister of Leith, and later Bishop of Ross, was a kinsman of Lyon.[Lindsay,1849,p.428.]

The next year, 1581, Lyon and his brother heralds were present in the great hall of Holyroodhouse in October for the creation of the Duke of Lennox and the Earls of Arran, Gowrie, Orkney, and Morton. Various gentlemen were also knighted. Wooden stands for spectators were erected in the great hall for the occasion.[TA,E21/62,p.167.] On the 24th of the same month Parliament opened in Edinburgh. During the course of business a Benefit of Pacification was given to John Forman,Rothesay Herald, and Adam McCulloch,
Orkney Herald Extraordinary, reinstating them both as officers of arms.
[APS,Vol.III,p.288.]

Lyon Sir David disciplined two messengers on the 27 March 1582 at a hearing in the Cupar tolbooth. The men, John Moncur and William Greg, had been accused of malpractice,[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.512,513.]

In April 1583 Lyon received samples of the fourth issue of silver coinage, comprising a 40/-,30/-,20/-, and a 10/- coin.[TA,E21/63,p.111.] He may have been present at the meeting of Parliament held in Edinburgh on the 24 October of that year. There were two meetings of Parliament in May and August of the following year, 1584, at which Lyon's presence would be expected.

The old problems with the messengers of arms surfaced again in 1585, by which time King James was taking an active part in ruling the country. He and the Privy Council decreed on the 10 February that Lyon, and Lyon Clerk, James Purdy,Islay Herald, had to deliver to the Treasurer within fifteen days, a list of all heralds, macers, pursuivants, extraordinaries, and messengers; that all officials in the realm had to deliver to the Treasurer the names of all known to them who acted as messengers so that a check could be made; that proclamations be made in the chief burghs announcing that all calling themselves messengers had to hand their names to the Treasurer; and finally that proclamations be made informing the lieges with a complaint against any officer of arms to inform the Treasurer within fifteen days of the proclamation.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.720,721.] Parliament met in Linlithgow during December and Lyon Sir David Lindsay and his brother heralds received expenses for being in attendance "as they quha hes bein in use to have their expensis and charges borne of befoir be his majesties maist noble predecessouris".[TA,E21/64,p.47.]

The King's instruction of February 1585, regarding malpractices of officers, was apparently not acted upon as directed because a boy was paid in June 1586 to take "clois letteris" to Lyon and Lyon Clerk,[TA,E21/65,
p.18.] which resulted in messengers being sent out with instructions to sheriffs in the north-east of Scotland, central Lowlands, and Perthshire to draw up a list of names of the officers of arms in their areas.[ibid,pp.18,
22,24.] These lists were submitted, and the findings caused the next Parliament, held at Holyroodhouse on the 8 July 1587, to pass an Act entitled "For reformatioun of the extraordinar nowmer and mony fauld abuses of officiaris of

arms".[APS,Vol.III,p.449.] The Act mentions that the quality and number of messengers were detrimental, and that in future, there would be only two hundred officers of arms in the realm, including Lyon, his brother heralds, macers, and pursuivants, who numbered seventeen. (This meant there would be one hundred and seventy-three messengers, more than double the number listed by Lyon in 1569.) Lyon was instructed only to replace those found unsuitable by issuing documents to men whose names had been submitted by local sheriffs. Parliament also decreed that the one hundred and seventy-three messengers "have new blaissonis of silver in ane forme and qualitie in ane honest and cumlie forme".(These were the badges of office worn to distinguish the messengers of arms.) The same Parliament also strengthened the discipline of officers in attendance on the Three Estates in another Act,"Anent the Parliament", which listed penalties for heralds, macers, pursuivants, and trumpeters who absented themselves from meetings of parliament.[ibid,p.443.] The Act also mentions the Riding of Parliament by stating that all accompanying the King must do so "on horse-back decently with foot mantles."

The next occasion attended by Lyon Sir David was the Coronation of Queen Anne in the Abbey Church of Holyrood on the 17 May 1590. On the same day Sir John Maitland, Secretary of State, was created Lord Maitland of Thirlestane.

Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet was now very elderly, and his last public duty took place on the 8 June 1591 when he was present in Edinburgh, at a meeting of the Privy Council attended by the King. Along with his brother heralds, James Purdy,Lyon Clerk, Thomas Lindsay,Snowdoun Herald, David Lindsay of the Mount,Islay Herald, and John Forman,Rothesay Herald, he heard the complaints of five messengers of arms who claimed they had been wrongfully dismissed by Lyon. The King and Council remitted the complaint to the Commissioners appointed to discipline the officers of arms.
[RPCS,Vol.IV,pp.631,632.] By December of the same year Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet had died.[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.]

Arms: Gules, a fess checky Argent and Azure between three mullets in chief and a man's heart in base Argent, with a crescent of the Last in dexter chief for difference.

17. ALEXANDER McCULLOCH fl.1567-1571

Appointed Unicorn Pursuivant before June 1567.[TA,Vol.XII,p.57.] Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet altered his title to Ormonde Pursuivant in April 1569.[RPCS,Vol.I,pp.658-660.] Probably related to Adam McCulloch,Marchmont Herald. Alexander McCulloch was deprived of office by Parliament in August 1571.[APS,Vol.III,p.60.]

As Unicorn Pursuivant, McCulloch left Edinburgh, accompanied by Andrew Ballantyne, on the 11 June 1567 to proclaim at Haddington and Lanark that the lieges should be ready at six hours warning to assist the Queen or Her Lieutenant.[TA,Vol.XII,p.57.] He was probably present at the Coronation of Prince James in Stirling on the 29 July. On the 25 August he left Edinburgh to proclaim James,Earl of Moray, as Regent, at Forfar,
Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, and Cromarty.
[ibid,p.71.] He had returned to Edinburgh by the 12 September as he left the capital on that date, with Adam McCulloch,Marchmont Herald, and James Savoy,trumpeter, to charge the Earl of Bothwell and his accomplices to surrender the castle of Dunbar within twenty-four hours.[ibid,p.78.] On the twentieth of the month he delivered summons to a trial, along with another unknown officer, to suspected followers of the Earl of Bothwell within the burgh of Edinburgh.[ibid,p.80.] Four days later he left Edinburgh to charge two members of the Hepburn family, and three members of the Carkettle family to ward themselves in Edinburgh Castle within thirty-eight hours. McCulloch also had to arrange with the laird of Riccarton to supply oxen for the Regent's army.[ibid,p.80.] On the last day of the month he set off once again, this time with decrees of Parliament for the Earl of Argyll, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Bishop of Argyll, various west coast lairds, and the sheriffs and burghs of Lanark, Rutherglen, Glasgow, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Rothesay, and Tarbert. Along with these deliveries he also served summons on five individuals to appear before the Justice Clerk in the tolbooth of Edinburgh on the 26 November to answer for certain crimes.[ibid,p.82.]

On the 3 November he left Edinburgh to proclaim at Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles that lieges should not enter these burghs in case they be taken as being part of an unlawful group.[TA,Vol.XII,p.88.] He returned from that duty to

leave Edinburgh on the 17 November to travel to Linlithgow to charge the sheriff and his son to appear before the Regent and Privy Council on the third day following the charge.[ibid,p.89.] McCulloch's final duty before the New Year was to leave Edinburgh on the 12 December to charge Alexander McDougal of Stodrig and others to appear before the Privy Council within thirty-eight hours.[ibid,p.92.]

McCulloch probably shared the Regent's New Year gift of £40 to the heralds, trumpeters and other officers,[ibid,p.93.] before going through Edinburgh on the 2 and 3 of January with William Lawson, messinger, to deliver trial summons on John Hay, John Hepburn, George Dalgleish, and (blank) Powrie, accused of treason.[ibid,p.96.] The four men were executed by the 8 January and their dismembered bodies distributed to various burghs throughout the realm.[ibid,p.96.] Later in the month, on the 22nd, he travelled to Fife with another messenger, William Logan, to summon five members of the Bruce family to appear in court on the 20 February next.[ibid,p.96.] On the 25 May he left Edinburgh with letters to arrest the lairds of Corstorphine, Dundas, Riccarton, Pardovane, and others for taking up arms against the King's authority.[ibid,p.126.] Next month on the 6 June he departed from Edinburgh to firstly proclaim at the mercat cross of Lanark that nobility and others within the sheriffdom should meet the Regent at Biggar on the 10 June. He went on to charge the Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord Somerville, and others within Lanark and Renfrew to find surety by the 6 July for the penalties imposed for crimes committed by them, and finally travelled to the sheriffdom of Linlithgow with similar charges imposed on three members of the Hamilton family.[ibid,p.132.] He may have been in attendance at the Edinburgh meeting of Parliament in August.

On the 26 April 1569 his title of Unicorn was given to Patrick Ramsay and McCulloch became Ormonde Pursuivant. He was not used for an official duty until the 30 November when he left Edinburgh to proclaim that the lieges should keep the peace, at the mercat cross of Duns, Lauder, Kelso, Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Hawick. He also carried letters from the Regent to the lairds of Ferniehurst, Cessford and Hadden.[ibid,p.180.] He returned to the Borders on the 18 December and proclaimed at Lauder and Jedburgh that all lieges between the ages of sixty and sixteen should meet the Regent at Peebles on the 20

December. Again he carried despatches from the Regent to the laird of Ferniehurst and several other local lairds.[ibid,p.183.]

On the 21 June 1570 McCulloch and a messenger, Richard Binning, were paid for having left Edinburgh on several occasions, by command of the Privy Council, to go to Leith to arrest broken pieces of artillery which had been packed in barrels for export to Flanders.[ibid,p.203.]

The following year during July an incident took place in Jedburgh which involved an unknown pursuivant. It is possible this may have been Alexander McCulloch as the officer concerned was sympathetic to the Queen's party.
He proclaimed at the mercat cross that certain lords, assembled in Edinburgh, had found the proceedings against the Queen null and void, and that in future all men should obey the Queen only. When this statement was made the provost of Jedburgh pulled the pursuivant down from the cross, forced him to eat the letters of proclamation, pulled down his hose and thrashed his bare buttocks with a bridle! The pursuivant's life was threatened if he ever returned to Jedburgh.[Fyfe,1927,p.27.]

About this time Alexander McCulloch decided to join the Queen's supporters holding Edinburgh Castle. He accompanied his kinsman, Adam McCulloch, Marchmont Herald, and four other officers who made the same decision, and was deprived of office by the Parliament in August 1571.
[APS,Vol.III,p.60.] McCulloch is mentioned in a gift of escheat, made on the 21 May 1572, as having made "ane fals execution and indorsation" while "Ormond pursevent for the tyme." [RPSS,Vol.VI,p.307,no.1618.]

18. JOHN FORMAN fl.1568-1571 and 1581-1594

Son of Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie. Appointed Rothesay Herald in 1568, deprived of office 1571, restored with same title in 1581, died before 1594. Had an illegitimate daughter, Margaret, who received legitimation on 13 April 1587.[Grant,1945,p.17.] Owned a manuscript on the French Order of St Michael.[NLS,Adv.Ms.31.7.15.]

On the 13 June 1567 Mary Queen of Scots confirmed the right of ownership by John Forman of the Friarton lands, Perthshire. The lands had belonged to the Charterhouse beside Perth, the Dean being Adam Forman.[RPSS,Vol.V,Part 2,pp.398.399,no.3572.] Forman appears in the officer list of April 1569 but was deprived of office two years later by Parliament.[APS,Vol.III,p.60.]
Parliament granted Forman a Benefit of Pacification on the 24 October 1581 and restored him to his former title of Rothesay Herald.[APS,Vol.III, p.288.]

During April 1584 Forman left Edinburgh to charge Alexander Home of Huttonhall to produce Margaret Turnbull, niece of the laird of Bedrule, before the Privy Council on the third day after the charge. Home had kidnapped the girl.[TA,E22/6,p.73.] On the 20 April the Privy Council directed all engaged in the King's service within Edinburgh, including heralds, macers, and pursuivants, to accompany the King to Stirling, to assist him against the rebels.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.654,655.] Forman was in this group as he and John Gledstanes,Ormonde Pursuivant, proclaimed together at Stirling mercat cross during May. They ordered all who had accompanied the King to remain in Stirling until further notice.[TA,E22/6,pp.86,87.]

On the 8 June 1591, Forman was in Edinburgh at the Privy Council meeting to hear complaints by five messengers that they had been wrongfully dismissed by Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet. Forman, accompanied by Alexander Oliphant,Albany Herald, proclaimed at the mercat cross in Edinburgh during November concerning the prorogation of Parliament on the 3 April 1592.
[TA,E21 68/69,p.54.]

During February 1592 Forman and Oliphant again proclaimed together, along with a trumpeter, in Edinburgh, to announce the circulation of new coins, a half and a quarter merk bearing a sword and balance on the reverse. [ibid,p.63.] A very full turn out of two heralds, Forman and John Purdy,Ross Herald, with two pursuivants, Robert Fraser,Unicorn, and Daniel Graham,Dingwall, accompanied by various messengers and three trumpeters, proclaimed at Edinburgh cross in October 1592 that Parliament would meet in Edinburgh on the 10 January next and continue for several days.[TA,E21/68,

p.120.] Forman's name does not appear in the records after this date and he presumably died sometime before 1597 when James Borthwick was appointed as Rothesay Herald.

19. PATRICK RAMSAY fl.1569-1579

Appointed as Unicorn Pursuivant on the 26 April 1569. Married to Margaret Balone.[Grant,1945,p.27.] Possibly lived in, or near, St Andrews.

During July 1579, Ramsay served letters which charged the Rector, Principal, and Masters of St Andrews University to appear personally before the King and Privy Council on the 10 August next for reasons contained in the letters.[TA,Vol.XIII,p.280.] Ramsay does not appear to have been an active officer of arms and he was succeeded in 1585 by Robert Fraser.

20. JOHN BROWN fl.1569-1581

Brown was a messenger of arms in Ayr and appointed a Pursuivant Extraordinary in April 1569. In 1581 he received a letter of appointment, dated the 6 June, which stated he would receive the first vacant post of pursuivant (in ordinary).[RPSS,Vol.VIII,pp.53,54,no.325.] Brown never appears to have received such an appointment.

21. ROBERT CAMPBELL fl.1569-1615

Campbell was a notary public and a messenger of arms in Ayr. He delivered letters intimating collection of the Thirds during 1561.[Donaldson,1949, p.106.] Appointed a Pursuivant Extraordinary in April 1569 and promoted to Carrick Pursuivant in 1582.[Grant,1945,p.13.]

On the 14 May 1575 Campbell was paid for executing letters, proclamations, and other extraordinary duties within the sheriffdom of Ayr.[TA,Vol.XIII, p.13.] He may have been one of three extraordinary officers who received payment during December for executing letters and charges, summons for trial, and other duties.[ibid,p.88.]

Early in August 1578, Campbell left Stirling to proclaim at the mercat cross of Glasgow, Irvine and Ayr.[ibid,p.216.]

Campbell, now Carrick Pursuivant, proclaimed in April 1584 that the lieges should not provision or help Stirling. This was done at Glasgow, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, and all remaining towns and harbours as far as Lochryan.[TA,E22/6,p.152.]

Three years later Campbell was attacked while on duty at Maybole. He was struck on the back of the head with a musket and the injury caused him to be in bed for a month.[RPCS,Vol.IV,p.198.]

The following year, 1588, Campbell was paid for being in attendance on the Privy Council during May to await any instructions.[TA,E21/67,p.3.] He was paid later the same month for leaving Edinburgh to proclaim at Dumfries that John, Lord Maxwell, had been declared a rebel for not appearing before the Privy Council as ordered.[ibid,p.6.] June was a busy month for Campbell. He made proclamations on five occasions. Accompanied by a trumpeter he proclaimed at Dumfries that all lieges should remain in the town until the eighteenth of the month.[TA,E21/67,p.12.] Then he proclaimed that all gathered in the town as soldiers in the King's army should muster next day as directed.[ibid,pp.13,14.] Next he proclaimed that no one should leave the army without licence to do so.[ibid,p.14.] He passed yet again to the mercat cross with a trumpeter to charge all bearing the surnames Armstrong, Bateson, and Johnston, to appear before court within six days to be cautioned for good behaviour. In the same proclamation he denounced the tenant of Cowhill, and again stated that no-one leave the army until the King and Privy Council had made a decision.[ibid,p.15.] Finally he travelled from Dumfries to Kirkcudbright and Wigton to proclaim a muster of the lieges at Peebles on the 1 October.[ibid,p.15.]

During 1600 Campbell served letters of treason in April,[TA,E21/72,p.130.] left Edinburgh to deliver various letters in July, returned to Edinburgh, and travelled, with other letters to be posted on the mercat cross in Dumfries.[TA,E21/74-75,pp.43,45.] He was one of several witnesses to a band signed at Garthland in the Rhinns of Galloway on the 1 October.[RPCS,

Vol.VI,p.665.]

In June 1601 he was back in Edinburgh to collect, and then deliver, letters charging John McDougal and certain of his kinsmen to appear before the Lords of Session, and to charge various members of the Boyd family.[TA, E21/74-75,p.134.]

Campbell was twice in Edinburgh during 1602. In January he had to deliver letters, [TA,E21/76,p.104.] and in February he performed the same duty, this time charging William McCullough to surrender his house.[ibid,p.112.]

Campbell left Edinburgh in June 1603 with letters to charge Andrew Stewart and twelve other people to appear before the Privy Council.[ibid,p.298.]

He proclaimed at Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, and Ayr during June 1604 that a Parliament would be held in Perth the following month.[TA,E21/77, p.54.]

During July 1606 Campbell made proclamations in Edinburgh, Stirling, Glasgow, Irvine, and Ayr that the General Assembly would continue to the last day of May the following year.[TA,E21/78,p.58.]

On the 15 March 1609 an act of caution was certified in Edinburgh which prevented Robert Campbell,Carrick Pursuivant, and James Campbell in Bridgend, giving shelter or assistance to David Campbell of Skeldon and Robert Campbell in Potterstown, both of whom had been denounced rebel for wrongdoing.[RPCS,Vol.VIII,p.690.]

22. JAMES PURDY of KINALDY fl.1569-1588

Purdy was appointed Kintyre Pursuivant in April 1569. He was promoted to Islay Herald on the 23 November 1572.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.337,no.1775.] In 1579 he was described as under receiver of Robert,Lord Boyd, Collector General of the Thirds.[RPCS,Vol.III,p.142.] Purdy was assessed at £10 in the Edinburgh Tax Roll of June 1583.[Lynch,1981,p.379.] Appointed Lyon Clerk in 1584. He was

married to Margaret Hay and had six children, Alexander, James,(who may have been an Usher in the Treasury,[Donaldson,1949,p.203.]), Margaret, Marion, Elizabeth, and Janet.[Grant,1945,p.27.] The estate of Kinaldy is in Fife, four miles south of St Andrews, and Purdy also had a dwelling in Edinburgh.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.241,242.] Purdy died on the 5 August 1588.

In January 1570 Purdy was provided with a tabard and a badge of office at the cost of £20.0.0.[TA,Vol.XII,p.188.] He was probably in Edinburgh on the 1 April 1573 sitting with Lyon at the enquiry into malpractices by the officers of arms. On the 4 August 1574 the Edinburgh Town Council requested the Treasurer to give Purdy letters, concerning tax collection, for delivery in various burghs along the east coast.[EBR,1573-89,p.20.] Two months later Purdy would have been back in Edinburgh for Lyon's second enquiry into the behaviour of officers. On the 5 December 1578 Purdy, acting on behalf of Lyon and his brother heralds, granted the chaplaincy of St Augustine in Trinity College Kirk to Andrew Cunningham.[SRO,NP.1/10, p.109.] The chaplaincy had been founded by William Brown of Balmangan, Albany Herald in 1516, who died before 1540.[Grant,1945,p.13.]

During 1579, Purdy was cited in a complaint to the Privy Council, made on the 24 April, concerning collection of the Thirds.[RPCS,Vol.III,p.142.] At the beginning of May he left Stirling with expenses of £25.10.0.,[TA,Vol. XIII,p.273.] and travelled to Arbroath with three assistants. This was on the instruction of the Privy Council who directed him to take and hold the house and fortalice of Arbroath. This he achieved on the 5 May.[RPCS,Vol. III,p.1883.] On the 5 June a boy was sent to Arbroath with letters for Purdy.[TA,Vol.XIII,p.273.] Later in the month, on the 23rd, Purdy complained to the Privy Council that he had received no more expenses. The Council ordered that he should be paid 40 merks for the period the 5 May to the 23 June, and 20/- daily from the 23 until the 28 June, when he would be relieved of his charge.[RPCS,Vol.III,p.188.] The following month he was paid these expenses after rendering his account to the Treasurer. These show that he held the fortalice of Arbroath until the 3 July.[TA,Vol.XIII, p.276.] On the 28 November he went before the Privy Council in Edinburgh to argue a case successfully on behalf of Patrick Davidson,Ross Herald, and himself, that heralds should not pay local burgh taxes in Edinburgh.

[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.241,242.]

The following year, during July and September 1580, Purdy received samples of several newly-struck coins from the Master of the Mint.[TA,Vol.XIII, pp.409,411.] He probably accompanied the King to Stirling in 1584 to act against the rebels.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.655,656.] Purdy was instructed by the Privy Council on the 10 February 1585 to draw up a list of lawful officers of arms. He had to submit the list to the Treasurer, or his deputy Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairney.[ibid,pp.720,721.] In 1586 he received a letter from the King presumably demanding to know what had happened to the list of officers.[TA,E21/65,p.18.] He may have been present at the Parliamentary meeting in Edinburgh during August 1587 when an Act was passed reforming the number and behaviour of the officers of arms.[APS,Vol. III,p.449.] James Purdy of Kinaldy died the following year.

23. THOMAS BARRY fl.1564-1571

Barry was a messenger of arms in the Borders, and appointed Pursuivant by Queen Mary and the King Consort in letters sealed on the 25 April and 25 September 1564. The letters also promised Barry the first vacant place as a herald.He was the son of William Barry, messenger of arms and Chamberlain of Ettrick Forest, and the younger brother of William Barry, also a messenger of arms.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.49,no.204.] Thomas was threatened with excommunication by the Canongate Session in February 1566 for attending the mass, and then actually excommunicated for marrying by catholic rite. [Lynch,1981,p.287.] On the 11 May 1569 Barry received a ratification of the promise made by Queen Mary and her husband that he would receive the first vacant office of herald "to beir his majesties small armes and coit armour concerning thair to."[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.124,no.612.] Described as Unicorn Pursuivant in 1570, but according to Grant,[1945,p.11.] demitted office on 6 February 1570 for forging the Regent Moray's signature, and suffered the fate of being banished after having his right hand cut off. In the list of five officers deprived on 28 August 1571 at the Parliament held in Stirling are,"Thomas and William Barry pretendit Ettrick pursevantis or messengeris."[APS,Vol.III,p.60.]

This is at odds with Lynch,[1981,p.315.] who states that Barry became the keeper of the Netherbow Port in Edinburgh and foiled the attempt of the King's lords to breach the Port in August 1571. Lynch states that he was reconciled on the 3 March 1575 for acting as keeper of the Port and for accepting the office of messenger.[ibid.]

24. ALEXANDER GUTHRIE fl.1528-1539, then 1571-1572

Guthrie was appointed Pursuivant to the King on the 12 December 1528 and granted the title of Falkland Pursuivant between 1532 and 1539. After a gap of thirty-two years he was appointed Snowdoun Herald in 1571 and died soon after, before the 26 January 1572. He had a son Gilbert who was appointed Marchmont Herald on the 26 January 1572.[Grant,1945,p.19.]

25. THOMAS LINDSAY fl.1571-1605

Appointed Snowdoun Herald in 1571, Lindsay was collector of the Thirds in Lothian during 1571 and 1572.[Donaldson,1949,p.xl.] He held the post of Searcher General in Leith and became Lyon Depute in 1591.[Grant,1945,p.23.] Lindsay was married to Barbara Donaldson,[RPSS,Vol.VIII,p.129,no.818.] and had three sons, Robert, Bernard, and Thomas. Robert received the chaplaincy of St Michael in the parish kirk of Falkirk on the 14 October 1580, from Sir David Lindsay of Luthrie,Lyon, with consent of "his brethren herauldis."[RPSS,Vol.VII,p.419,no.2561.] Robert later settled in Tyrone as part of the Ulster Plantation Scheme.[Grant,1945,p.23.] Bernard became a groom of the Chamber.[ibid.] Thomas received a yearly pension of £19.10/- from the 6 July 1576 for seven years to help pay the cost of his education.
[RPSS,Vol.VIII,p.222,no.1358.] Thomas Lindsay died or demitted office in 1605.[TA,E21/78,p.48.]

On the 3 May 1578 the Privy Council ordered Lindsay to taste recently imported French wine on the King's behalf, and set aside one tun in every ten for the Royal Household.[RPCS,Vol.II,p.693.] In February 1580 he received samples of new coins from the Mint.[TA,Vol.XIII,p.311.] He may have been the herald, accompanied by a trumpeter and two witnesses, who went on two occasions to Tantallon Castle and demanded its surrender within twenty-four

hours.[TA,E21/62,pp.137,146.] In July and September he received further samples of new coins from the Mint.[TA,Vol.XIII,pp.409,411.] Although the Treasurer's Accounts mention various proclamations over the next few years the heralds are not specifically named. Lindsay may have been present.[TA,E21/63,p.17,E22/26,pp.24,70.] Lindsay was present at the Privy Council meeting on the 8 June 1591 with Lyon and his brother heralds to hear messengers' complaints of wrong dismissal.[RPCS,Vol.IV,pp.631,632.]

26. ROBERT RA fl.1572

A Pursuivant based in Hamilton who was charged by the Privy Council on the 27 June 1572 for intercommuning with the rebels.[RPCS,Vol.II,p.732.]

27. GILBERT GUTHRIE fl.1573-1602

Guthrie was a burgess of Aberdeen and the son of Alexander Guthrie,Snowdoun Herald. He was a messenger of arms in 1570,[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.189,no.1011.] before his appointment to Linlithgow Pursuivant in 1572.[Grant,1945,p.20.] Promoted to Marchmont Herald on the 26 January 1573.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.346, no.1828.] Demitted office c1602 in favour of his son, also Gilbert Guthrie, who succeeded him as Marchmont Herald.

Guthrie left Edinburgh on the 19 June 1574 to proclaim at Dundee, Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and Inverness.[TA,Vol.13,p.20.] He may have returned to Edinburgh to be present at the messenger of arms' enquiry on the 1 October as he left the capital on the 9 November to travel to Aberdeen to charge Patrick Rutherford and collect the confiscated goods of Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels.[ibid.p.42.]

He was next paid on the 25 March 1576 in Edinburgh for executing letters and summons on various persons in the north east who had to appear before the Lord Justice General in Edinburgh tolbooth on the 15 April in a trial concerning Fraser of Philorth.[ibid,p.100.] At the beginning of the following month, the 2 April, he left Edinburgh for Aberdeenshire to charge Duncan Forbes of Monymusk [ibid,p.102.] He returned to Edinburgh during April or early May because he left the capital on the 18 May to travel north on further

business connected with the charges against Sir Alexander Fraser, laird of Philorth. He was also paid at the same time for other unspecified business undertaken on behalf of the Treasurer.[ibid,p.126.]

On the 14 January 1577 he departed from Edinburgh to Kincardineshire to charge William Keith to appear before the Privy Council to answer various questions.[ibid,p.152.]

Guthrie was in Aberdeen after the 16 August 1578 because he had fixed letters of decree on a stake, stuck in disputed lands in New Aberdeen, after that date.[RPCS,Vol.III,pp.131,132.] He returned to Edinburgh because in early November Guthrie left the capital for Aberdeenshire to charge eleven prominent north east lairds, and Alexander,Lord Saltoun (formerly Alexander Fraser of Philorth), to appear before the King and Privy Council on the 28 November in Edinburgh.[ibid,p.228.]

A charter of new infeftment was granted to Guthrie in January 1579, [TA,Vol.XIII,p.239.] and on the 24 November a precept for a charter to Gilbert Guthrie,Marchmont Herald, was sealed at Holyroodhouse.[RPSS, Vol.VII,p.346,no.2101.] Guthrie was probably in Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in November as he left immediately after the New Year to proclaim the new Acts of Parliament in Cupar, Perth, Kincardine, Aberdeen,Banff, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness. He also carried printed copies of the Acts which he handed to each sheriff of the burghs visited.[TA,Vol. XIII,p.308.] Like the other heralds he received samples of new coins from the Mint in July and September 1580.

Guthrie was instructed to proclaim in February 1581 that all should be ready "in feir of weir" and join the King's Lieutenant within six days. He proclaimed at Aberdeen,Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness.[TA, E21/62,p.119.] In April 1583 he received more samples of new coins from the Mint.[TA,E21/63,p.112.]

1589 was a more active year for Guthrie. Accompanied by a trumpeter he proclaimed at Aberdeen mercat cross in April that the inhabitants of Kintore,

Inverurie, Newburgh, Bervie, and Towie had to bring in supplies for the King's armed force.[TA,E21/63,p.45.] Later in the month he left Aberdeen to charge the holders of Huntly, Auchindoun, Fetternear, Balquhain, and Gartly Castles to surrender them to the chosen official within six hours.[ibid.] Next month he travelled to Inverness to charge the provost and baillies to appear before the King and Privy Council.[ibid,
p.53.] In July he proclaimed summons of treason at Aberdeen mercat cross, and then left the burgh with two witnesses to serve the summons on the individuals concerned.[ibid,p.63.] During August Guthrie was paid £25.0.0. for "his panes and tavellis tane" in summoning witnesses to a justice court held in Aberdeen.[ibid,pp.67,68.]

Guthrie was back in Edinburgh the following year because he left the Palace of Holyroodhouse in November 1590 to charge John Grant of Freuchie to appear before the Privy Council, along with John Grant,Tutor of Ballindalloch, and others, to stand trial for certain crimes. He then travelled on to Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Nairn, and Inverness proclaiming in each that the lieges could stand down from martial readiness.[TA,E21,68/69,pp.4,5.]

During March 1593 he left Aberdeen to demand the surrender of various stone-built dwellings, within three hours, belonging to those involved in the murder of the Earl of Moray.[TA,E21/69.pp.20,21.] The last official entry for Guthrie was in October 1594 when, accompanied by a trumpeter, he made a proclamation.[TA,E21/70,p.132.]

28. ROBERT MUDY fl.1573

Listed as one of the messengers of arms for Fife, Clackmannan,and Kinross in the April 1569 list of officers. Described as pursuivant and sheriff for the Auchtermuchty area of Fife in the precept for a charter, sealed on the 14 April 1573 in Edinburgh.[RPSS,Vol.VI,p.363,no.1930.]

29. NICOL FORRET fl.1574

Included in a printed list as a pursuivant.[Grant,1945,p.17.]

30. THOMAS RAMSAY fl.1574

Appears in the April 1569 List of Officers as a messenger of arms in Edinburgh. Described as a pursuivant in 1574.[Grant,1945,p.27.]

31. FLORENS DOUGLAS fl.1575-1581

Servitor to George Douglas of Parkhead, Captain of Edinburgh Castle. Appointed Rothesay Herald on the 16 February 1575 to fill the vacancy caused by the forfeiture of John Forman.[RPSS,Vol.VII,p.8,no.43.] On the 16 May 1576 he received a gift of escheat of the goods of James Bruce.[ibid, p.88,no.599.] John Forman was reinstated as Rothesay Herald in October 1581 so Douglas had resigned or died by that date.

32. JOHN GLEDSTANES of QUOTHQUHAN fl.1577-1595

Appointed Ormonde Pursuivant in 1577, Gledstanes lived near Thankerton, Lanarkshire, and was married to Janet Kirkpatrick. They had two sons, George who was apprenticed to James Somerville, pewterer, on the 24 April 1599, and Adam, apprenticed to John Cunningham, goldsmith, on the 11 September 1599. These apprenticeships were arranged after Gledstane's execution on the 25 November 1595.[Grant,1945,p.18.]

On the 8 March 1577 confirmation was made of a gift, dated the 6 February 1567, from Patrick,Archbishop of St Andrews, to John Gledstanes, of an annual pension of £50.0.0. for life from the revenue of the diocese.[RPSS, Vol.VII,p.137,no.941.] Gledstanes received two further gifts from the Archbishop of St Andrews in 1578 and 1579. The first was an annual pension of £100.0.0., and the second, eight bolls of oatmeal yearly. These gifts were to Gledstanes and his wife, the survivor of the marriage to enjoy the gifts for life. Both gifts were confirmed on the 5 January 1580.[ibid,p.359,no.2182.] The Archbishop granted yet another gift, confirmed on the 8 February 1584, of an annual pension of £114.0.0., plus one chalder, four bolls of "ferme aittis" from the diocese.[RPSS,Vol.VIII, p.305,no.1823.] No explanation is given for these gifts.

In April 1584 Gledstanes left Edinburgh with a trumpeter and travelled to Stirling to charge Archibald,Earl of Angus, John,Earl of Mar, and their followers, to surrender the Castle and burgh, and leave both places. He also charged the inhabitants not to help Angus and Mar.[TA,E22/6,p.72.] The following month, accompanied by John Forman,Rothesay Herald, and a trumpeter, he returned to Stirling and proclaimed at the mercat cross that all nobles and lieges present in the burgh by the King's command should remain and wait for further instructions.[ibid,pp.86,87.]

Between the 18 March and the 1 April 1590, Gledstanes was in Ayr with Alexander Stobo, messenger, collecting certain moneys from the burgh. [RPCS,Vol.IV,p.485.] In August he was the subject of a caution by the Privy Council which involved his sister.[ibid,p.529.]

During 1591 and 1592 Gledstanes was the subject of four cautions. On the 27 June 1591 Stephen Alexander was cautioned against harming Gledstanes,[ibid, p.645.] on the 31 July David Edmestoun of Wowmat was told not to harm him, [ibid,p.662.] and on the 17 August Robert and James Chancellor in Quothquhan were cautioned against harming him.[ibid,p.672.] William Melrose was told the same thing on the 28 April 1592.[ibid,p.743.]

Gledstanes may have had a quarrelsome nature which led to a tragic conclusion on the 22 November 1595. "Four heraldis sitting drinking, tua of yame fell in words, viz Johne Purdie and Johne Gladstanis. The said Johne Gladstanis stikit Johne Purdie at the table, and the said Johne Gladstanis being apprehendit, he was beheidit upone the 25 day of the same monethe of Novr." [Fyfe,1927,p.621.] John Purdy,Ross Herald died of the stab wound.

Four years later on the 14 November 1599 Gledstanes was described as the late John Gledstanes,Ormonde Pursuivant, in an act of caution involving his eldest son George.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.630.]

33. JAMES MAXWELL, unknown date

Described as a former Orkney Herald Extraordinary before 1581. [RPSS,Vol. VIII, p.45,no.268.]

34. GILBERT GUTHRIE fl.1602-1623

Son of Gilbert Guthrie, Marchmont Herald, whom he succeeded as Marchmont Herald sometime during 1602. He was the grandson of Alexander Guthrie, Snowdoun Herald. He was a burgess of Aberdeen, and had a charter of subjects in Aberdeen on the 19 June 1606,[Grant,1945,p.20.] and was Receiver of Customs for Aberdeen in 1619.[TA,E21/86,p.29.] From 1580 until 1602 Gilbert Guthrie was a messenger of arms, and his duties during the period show how similar the tasks of messengers were to those of the heralds and pursuivants.

On the 6 May 1580 Guthrie was paid to leave Edinburgh and travel north to arrest goods belonging to Robert Innes of Innermarkie.[TA,E21/61,p.37.] During September he charged Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, and his brother Patrick, to give an assurance in writing to the King and his Council that they would keep the peace with Lord Forbes and the Master of Forbes. The latter had also to do the same.[TA,E21/63,p.68.]

In March 1581 Guthrie had proclaimed at the mercat cross in Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, Inverness, and other necessary places in the north that all men between sixteen and sixty had to be ready and armed for war at six hours notice.[TA,E21/62,p.128.] Guthrie was back in Edinburgh by June because he left the capital that month with letters charging the sheriffs, their deputies, and clerks, to make returns to the Treasurer, of all the current hornings recorded in their registers in Fife, Forfar, Kincardine, Banff, Elgin, Forres, and Inverness.[ibid,p.146.] At the same time he carried notices of the August meeting of Parliament to the Earls of Erroll and Caithness, Lords Forbes, Elphinstone, and Saltoun, the Bishops of Moray and Aberdeen, the Abbots of Deer and Kinloss, the sheriffs of Aberdeen, Banff, Inverness, Nairn, Elgin, and Forres, and the provosts and baillies of Kintore, Cullen, Inverness, Banff, and Aberdeen. As well as these he carried letters from the King concerning kirk affairs to ministers within Caithness, Ross, Duffus, Banchory, Trinity, Inverness, Nigg, the Treasurer of Ross, the parson of Rathven(Banffshire), the presbyteries of Forres, Tyrie, and Tough, the Chancellor of Moray, the Treasurer of Aberdeen, and the Principal of Aberdeen University.[TA,E21/62,p.148.] Having done all that he returned to Edinburgh, only to set off the next month to spend twenty-one days, accompanied by two

witnesses, proclaiming in all the east coast burghs that the Earl of Angus, and his accomplices, had been forfeited, and that the August Parliament would meet over a specific length of time.[ibid,pp155,156.]

It is not until 1589 that Gilbert Guthrie, messenger, is mentioned again in the Treasurer's Accounts. During April, accompanied by a trumpeter, he proclaimed at Aberdeen mercat cross an Act of Parliament which placed a responsibility on the lieges of Kincardine and Peterhead, and the kirks of Ellon, Deer, Torry, Tarves, and others, to supply provisions for the use of the King's forces in Aberdeen.[TA,E21/67,p.45.] Guthrie travelled to Edinburgh to receive further instructions, and returned in June to proclaim in Aberdeen that all in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire who had joined the Earl of Huntly should present themselves to the Privy Council arbiters and seek formal pardons.[ibid,pp.60,61.] The following month he proclaimed again at Aberdeen mercat cross, with a trumpeter, reminding the lieges to present themselves to the arbiters before the second of August coming.[ibid,p.63.]

During February 1593 Guthrie proclaimed in Aberdeen that all bearing the name of Gordon, who had not been involved with the murder of the Earl of Moray, should be present at the justice court which would be held in Aberdeen.[TA,E21/69,p.14.] Guthrie made another proclamation at the mercat cross during the same month charging all barons, gathered in Aberdeen, to meet the King on the 26 February in the afternoon for a purpose which would be explained at the meeting.[ibid,p.14.] Guthrie and a trumpeter proclaimed again in Aberdeen that all gathered as part of the king's force should remain in the burgh and be ready to muster on the 1 March.[ibid,p.19.] The following month Guthrie had to deliver letters to Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater, Grant of Freuchie, and Patrick Cheyne of Esslemont, charging them, as cautioners for George Earl of Huntly, to see that he appeared at the justice court. Their failure to do so would result in a fine of twenty thousand merks.[ibid,p.21.] In April a boy was sent from Edinburgh to Aberdeen with letters of denounciation for Guthrie which he had to serve on four members of the Gordon family.[ibid,p.28.] During October Guthrie performed three proclamations at the mercat cross of Aberdeen.[TA,E21/70,
p.131.]

In February 1598, letters charging the Earl of Huntly to appear before the Privy Council, were placed by Guthrie on the mercat cross of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Forres, and Nairn.[TA,E21/72,p.46.]

Sometime before the 4 November 1602 Gilbert Guthrie was promoted to Marchmont Herald in place of his father. In a case before the Privy Council on that date, involving Margaret Moncur, she stated in her defence that she had paid certain sums of money to Gilbert Guthrie,younger,Marchmont Herald. [RPCS,Vol.VI,pp.476,477.]

In August 1603 Guthrie was paid for leaving Edinburgh with letters to charge two members of the Fraser family.[TA,E21/76,p.303.]

The Privy Council heard an action by Marchmont Herald against John Fraser of Clinterty on the 18 April 1605.[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.38.]

During November 1612 Guthrie left Edinburgh to charge George,Marquess of Huntly, to appear personally before the Privy Council on the 19 January coming.[TA,E21/80,p.84.]

Guthrie was paid in August 1616, along with the trumpeter who accompanied him, for going several times to Aberdeen mercat cross to publish the names of certain people who had been put to the horn and declared rebels. [TA,E21/84,p.35.]

In May and June 1619 payments were made to "ane post" for taking letters from Edinburgh to Aberdeen for delivery to Gilbert Guthrie, the first in his capacity as a Herald, and the second to him as Receiver of Customs. [TA,E21/86,pp.27,29.]

Guthrie proclaimed at Aberdeen against the export of gold and silver coins in March 1620.[RPCS,Vol.XII,p.765.]

During July 1621 Guthrie was probably in Edinburgh on duty at the Parliament and took part in proclaiming details about the Fencing and Riding of Parliament.[TA,E21/88,p.32.] In August he left Edinburgh with printed copies

of the Acts of Parliament which he proclaimed at Stonehaven, Aberdeen, Banff, Inverness, and Caithness. He delivered a copy of the Acts to the sheriffs of Aberdeen and Banff, and to the provost and baillies of each of the four burghs.[ibid,p.35.] He returned to Edinburgh sometime before December as he left the burgh that month to charge John,Earl of Montrose to appear before the Privy Council to inform Council members about the settling of the difference of opinion between Lord Ogilvie and his mother-in-law, Lady Forbes.[ibid.p.43.]

A mail carrier was paid in January 1623 for taking a despatch to the provost and baillies of Aberdeen and a similar despatch to Gilbert Guthrie. [TA,E21/89,p.39.] As a result Guthrie then went to the harbour of Aberdeen and, "eftir displaying his coit of armes", he charged two Dutch captains to surrender the sails of their vessels to one of the Aberdeen baillies.[ibid, p.41.] In February more correspondence was sent to Guthrie, and the provost and baillies of Aberdeen, from the Privy Council.[ibid,p.41.] The instructions contained in the letters caused Guthrie to return to Aberdeen harbour, and charge the Dutch captains again, this time ordering them to appear before the Privy Council in Edinburgh on the 28 February to receive orders about keeping the King's peace.[ibid.]

By this year Gilbert Guthrie had been in royal service as messenger and then Herald for forty-three years. This was the longest period of service by an officer of arms in Scotland during the reign of King James.

35. GEORGE FALCONER fl.1581

Was a burgess of Dundee who had an eldest son named James. Falconer is described as a Pursuivant by Grant.[Grant,1945,p.17.]

36. JAMES DAVIDSON fl.1584

He was the illegitimate son of Patrick Davidson,Ross Herald, who was legitimated on the 25 October 1576. He served as a messenger of arms and on the 24 July 1584 he was appointed as a Pursuivant with the promise of promotion to Ross Herald when his father died.[RPSS,Vol.VIII,p.385, no.2232.] This never took place as John Purdy was appointed Ross Herald in 1593. James Davidson was described as a messenger of arms in 1590 and 1595. [RPCS,Vol.IV,p.486, and Vol.V,p.65.]

37. THOMAS CRAIG died 1584

Craig was a Pursuivant when he died on the 19 May 1584. His wife, Marjorie Riddell, predeceased him on the 15 April 1583. They are both buried in the kirkyard at Tarves, Aberdeenshire. Thomas and Marjorie were probably the parents of William Craig,Rothesay Herald.

Arms : Ermine, on a fess a boar's head couped between two crescents.

38. ROBERT FRASER fl.1585-1594

Fraser was Unicorn Pursuivant in 1585. He was married to Katherine Rynde who became a widow in October 1594 when Fraser was murdered by William Wood of Bantlaw.[Grant,1945,p.18.]

Robert Fraser left Edinburgh during May 1588 to proclaim at the mercat cross of Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, Renfrew, Dunbarton, Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, Irvine, and Ayr, that the lieges should meet the King in Dumfries, ready to move, on a war footing, from the burgh as ordered.[TA,E21/67,p.8.]

During 1592 Fraser was paid in February for a duty on which he was accompanied by William Forsyth, Andrew Home, and James Lowrie,messengers, as witnesses. They served court appearance summons on an unspecified Hepburn in Caithness, and Alexander Simpson in Haddington. Both were accused of succouring Francis,Earl of Bothwell.[TA,E21 68/69,p.63.] Fraser, and two of the

messengers, Andrew Home and James Lowrie, were paid the same month for serving a trial summons on Richard Grahame.[ibid,p.67.] In July Fraser went to Fast Castle on the Berwickshire coast to charge Robert Logan of Restalrig, and others, to surrender the Castle within twenty-four hours or be declared traitors.[ibid,p.89.]

The same month Fraser travelled to Dundee with Andrew Home and James Lowrie to summon a jury of gentlemen to try the provost and baillies of the burgh who were held responsible for allowing a prisoner to escape from the tolbooth.[ibid,pp.90,91.] He was back in Edinburgh by August as he proclaimed at the mercat cross, with a trumpeter assisting, that no nobility or lieges should seek audience with the King at Holyroodhouse from the 29 August because a treason trial would be held that day, the accused being Alexander,Lord Spynie.[ibid,p.94.] During September he served jury
summons for two trials, the second involving the burgh of Perth and the laird of Clackmannan, which was to be held in the Edinburgh tolbooth on the 11 September.[TA,E21 68/69,p.98.] Next month Fraser accompanied John Forman,Rothesay Herald, John Purdy,Ross Herald, Daniel Graham,Dingwall Pursuivant, several messengers, and three trumpeters, to the mercat cross in Edinburgh to proclaim the next sitting of Parliament.[ibid,p.120.]

In June 1593 Robert Fraser left Edinburgh to charge James Johnstone of that Ilk to appear personally before the King and Privy Council to give his reasons for breaking ward in Edinburgh Castle. Fraser also charged Johnstone to surrender his tower at Lochwood to John,Lord Maxwell.[TA,
E21/69,p.42.]

The following year Fraser undertook a duty outwith Edinburgh during February,[TA,E21/70,p.93.] and the next month he fixed summons of treason to the mercat cross of Jedburgh, Haddington, and the castles of Tantallon and Hunthill with the name of William,Earl of Angus, and another, who had to appear before the Three Estates on the 21 May coming.[ibid,p.98.]

Fraser undertook his last duty in October during which Wood of Bantlaw, and others, murdered him at Glenrinnes.[Calender of Scottish Papers,Vol.XI,
p.460.]

39. JAMES CRICHTON fl.1585

Grant states that he was a Pursuivant in 1585.[Grant,1945,p.14.]

40. JOHN PURDY fl.1587-1595

Purdy was appointed Lyon Clerk on the 4 January 1587 but did not become an officer of arms until 1590 when he received the title of Dingwall Pursuivant. He was promoted to Ross Herald in 1592. Purdy was married to Margaret Hay and had a daughter, Marion, who married William Marjoribanks, burgess of Edinburgh.[Grant,1945,p.27.] John Purdy was probably related to James Purdy of Kinaldy. On the 22 November 1595 John Purdy was stabbed to death by his fellow officer, John Gledstanes,Ormonde Pursuivant.

On the 2 October 1590 Purdy was the subject of an act of caution against personal harm served on James Davidson, son of the late Patrick Davidson,Ross Herald.[RPCS,Vol.IV,p.540.] Purdy was in Edinburgh on the 8 June 1591 at a Privy Council meeting with Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet.[ibid,pp.631,632.] During the summer of 1592 he was in Montrose as he collected the customs duties gathered at the harbour between October 1590 and August 1592. This amounted to £81.3.0.[ERS,Vol.XXII,p.247.] He was part of the group of two heralds, two pursuivants, several messengers, and three trumpeters who proclaimed in October the sitting of Parliament in Edinburgh during January 1593.[TA,E21,68/69,p.120.]

During March 1593 Purdy, and two witnesses, left Edinburgh with summons of treason against William,Earl of Angus which were fixed to the mercat cross of Haddington and at Tantallon Castle.[TA,E21/69,p.22.]

John Purdy,Ross Herald, met his death in an Edinburgh tavern during November 1595.[Fyfe,1927,p.62.]

41. PATRICK BANNATYNE fl.1588

Succeeded James Purdy of Kinaldy as Islay Herald, and was so described on the 15 August 1588.[Grant,1945,p.11.] He may have held the office until 1595 when the title of Islay was granted to John Blinsele.

42. WILLIAM RANKEILLOUR fl.1589-1616

He was a burgess of Cupar and also had a son named William. Rankeillour was appointed Kintyre Pursuivant before April 1589 and was probably personally known to Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet. He had financial problems in 1605 but was not succeeded until 1616 and presumably held office until that year.

In April 1589 Rankeillour left Edinburgh to charge the Earls of Huntly and Erroll to surrender Huntly and Slains Castles within six hours of the charge.[TA,E21/67,p.44.] Huntly took Rankeillour captive and held him in Aberdeen. When he was released he was paid expenses for the period of captivity.[ibid,p.46.]
In January 1605 Kintyre Pursuivant was ordered to be arrested for non-payment of debt to John Alexander, merchant in Edinburgh.[RPCS,Vol.VII, p.131.] On the 17th of the same month another arrest warrant was issued for him, and his son William, for non-payment of another debt, this time to James Pitcairne, the minister of Falkland. William Rankeillour was not paid for any further heraldic duties thereafter.

43. THOMAS MUNRO fl.1589

Mentioned by Grant as a Pursuivant.[Grant.1945,p.25.]

44. JOHN BLINSELE fl.1590-1612

Appointed Bute Pursuivant on the 4 March 1590 and promoted to Islay Herald in 1596. He was married and had two daughters, Euphemia, wife of Thomas Traquair, apothecary, and Margaret.[Grant,1945,p.11.] Blinsele kept a diary

which is now in the National Library of Scotland.[Adv.Ms.24.6.24.] He died before 1612.

On the 29 March 1592, in a case before the Privy Council, it was stated that John Blinsele,Bute Pursuivant, had confiscated the house of Romannos in the name of the King.[RPCS,Vol.IV,p.737.]

During February 1594 Blinsele travelled from Edinburgh to Aberdeenshire where he charged George,Earl of Huntly, at Huntly Castle and at Aberdeen mercat cross, to ward himself in Stirling Castle. The same charge was placed upon Alexander,Earl of Erroll, at Slains Castle and at Aberdeen cross. The third person to be charged was Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun who had to ward himself in Blackness Castle.[TA,E21/70,p.93.] Blinsele returned to Edinburgh only to leave the following month to proclaim summons of treason at Cupar, Perth, Forfar, Montrose, Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin, and at the fortalices of Huntly, "Bog of Yengie",Slains, Auchindoun, Cluny, and "Abredone". Those charged were the Earls of Huntly and Erroll, Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, Alexander Lindsay,Lord Spynie, Robert Crichton of Cluny, and William Stewart.[ibid,p.96.] As was the usual practice when serving summons of treason, Blinsele was accompanied by at least two witnesses.

Blinsele served unspecified letters of summons during August 1600 and was accompanied by a trumpeter and witnesses.[TA,E21/74-75,p.55.] Two months later he left Edinburgh to serve another batch of summons.[ibid,p.72.] On the 25 December Blinsele was present at the baptism of Prince Charles in the Chapel Royal at Stirling where he threw a hundred merks of silver out of the west window of the Chapel as largesse to the lieges, after the baptism had taken place. Blinsele wrote an account of the ceremony which was later copied in January 1710.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.,pp.201-204.] Lyon, three heralds, and three pursuivants were also present.

Blinsele was ordered by the Privy Council on the 1 November 1603 not to execute a second letter of summons against John Lindsay of Covington.
[RPCS,Vol.XIV,p.411.]

In November 1604 John Blinsele and William Mackiesoun,Bute Pursuivant, travelled to Haddington, and after to Edinburgh cross, and at each place, dressed in their tabards, they proclaimed that King James would be styled thereafter King of Great Britain.[TA,E21/77,p.62.]

Blinsele left Edinburgh in March 1605 with letters to charge various persons in the Borders, including members of the Johnstone and Maxwell families.[ibid,p.68.] During November, accompanied by two witnesses, he left Edinburgh, after proclaiming a summons of treason upon Richard Graham at the mercat cross, and travelled to Dumfries and Lochmaben to repeat the proclamation. He wore his tabard when doing so. He also announced that Graham had to present himself at the meeting of Parliament on the 12 January next.[TA,E21/78,p.43.]

During the following year, in June, he proclaimed in his tabard at Edinburgh cross, after a trumpeter's fanfare, that the meeting of Parliament would continue until the 1 July at Perth.[ibid,p.57.] He made a second proclamation at the mercat cross later in the month concerning the Perth meeting of Parliament. [ibid.,p.57.]

On the 26 June 1607 Blinsele witnessed a proclamation by Ninian Ramsay, messenger, at Edinburgh cross when David Lindsay of Edzell was put to the horn.[RPCS,Vol.XIV,p.480.]

The following year the Privy Council instructed Blinsele and George Kirkwood,Albany Herald, accompanied by Thomas Lamb,messenger, to proclaim letters of summons upon the Earl of Orkney. The two heralds delegated the proclamation to Lamb, which he did the following day "with concurrence of Blinsele and Kirkwood".[RPCS,Vol.XIV,pp.548,549.]

The next occasion Blinsele is mentioned was in June 1610 when he proclaimed at Edinburgh cross,(wearing tabard and after a trumpeter's fanfare) that Patrick,Earl of Orkney had to provide bail money to ensure his appearance before the Privy Council in Edinburgh tolbooth during August.[TA,E21/79,

p.36.] Later in the year, during November, Blinsele left Edinburgh to charge David,Earl of Crawford to surrender the Castle of Auchmull within twenty-four hours.[ibid,p.45.]

In November 1611, Blinsele, George Kirkwood,Albany Herald, and Robert Bald, messenger, proclaimed at Edinburgh mercat cross concerning gold bullion. [TA,E21/80,p.49.] Two months later, in January 1612, Blinsele again took part in a proclamation about gold and silver bullion. On that occasion Kirkwood and Bald accompanied him, along with John Yellowlees,Dingwall Pursuivant.[ibid,p.61.] Blinsele proclaimed at Stirling mercat cross in June 1612 [ibid,p.71.] and returned to Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in October. He was probably one of the seven heralds, five trumpeters, and two messengers who proclaimed at the end of October the new Acts passed by the recent Parliament.[ibid,p.80.] This was his last duty as he died before the end of the year.[Grant,1945,p.11.]

45. SIR DAVID LINDSAY of THE MOUNT, Secundus, fl.1591-1620

David Lindsay was the son of Alexander Lindsay of The Mount, an estate near Cupar in Fife. He was the nephew of both Lyon Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and Lyon Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet. He was Islay Herald in 1591 and became Lyon King of Arms on the 25 December 1591.[RGSS,Vol.V,no.1990.] There is a volume of his collected works, dated 1586, in the National Library of Scotland.[Ms.31.3.20.] He drew up, or commissioned, a very fine roll of Arms between 1603 and 1605 which is now in the collection of the Earl of Crawford at Balcarres House. The creation of the roll may have been inspired by that of 1542 drawn up by his uncle. He made use of the Lindsay of the Mount Armorial of 1542 as it is so inscribed.
Lindsay was married to Griselda Meldrum and had three daughters, Agnes who was the first wife of Lord Lyon Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland, Euphemia, and Catherine who married George Arth.[Grant,1945,p.22.] Sir David Lindsay of The Mount died in 1622.[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.]

Along with James Beaton of Westhall, David Lindsay acted as cautioner on the 2 October 1590 for the provost and baillies of Forfar that they would build and maintain a burgh jail.[RPCS,Vol.IV,p.538.] Lindsay, now Islay Herald, was

present at the meeting of the King and Privy Council on the 8 June 1591 which heard the complaint of wrong dismissal by five messengers of arms.[ibid,pp.631,632.] Six months later Lindsay was appointed Lyon King of Arms.

On the 3 April 1592 Parliament met in Edinburgh and Lindsay was probably on duty to ensure the Fencing and calling of the Parliamentary roll. Next month, on the 27 May, he was knighted by the King, and the following day, which was a Sunday, he was crowned with the Crown of Scotland as King of Arms by the sovereign who also gave him a baton of office. The ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and afterwards Sir David, wearing the Crown, dined at the same table as the King.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.] On the 29 May Lyon was probably present with his brother heralds when Robert Melville of Burntisland,younger, was knighted by the King.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.
p.198.]
The very next month, on the 5 June, the Parliament passed the highly significant Act,"Anent the Office of Lyon King of Arms and his Brether Heraulds."[APS,Vol.III,pp.554,555.] At the same session a second Act of importance was passed, entitled an Act "Anent deforcing and trubling of the King's Officiaris of Armes."[ibid,pp.577,578.] Later in the month heralds and pursuivants proclaimed all the Acts passed by the Parliament.[TA,E21
68/69,p.80.]

A meeting of Parliament was held in Edinburgh on the 3 April 1593, and probably a Riding took place with Lyon and the heralds in their appropriate places in the procession of horsemen. In June the officers of arms who had served summons of treason during the year verified their duties before Parliament.[TA,E21/69,p.40.] On the 10 June Sir David, along with his brother, Andrew Lindsay, acted as witnesses to a discharge by James,Lord Lindsay.[Laing Charters,p.309,no.1261.] The following month three heralds, a messenger and trumpeter proclaimed at the Edinburgh cross and the Canongate cross that the lieges "contene thame selfis in quyet and peciable behaviour" while Parliament was sitting.[TA,E21/69,p.48.] At the end of the month three heralds and four messengers proclaimed at Edinburgh cross the new Acts passed by the Parliament.[ibid,p.49.]

The following year, 1594, Lyon and the heralds were probably at the meeting of Parliament on the 22 April in Edinburgh. Sir David remained in Edinburgh where he received a new charter of his lands in Fife.[RGSS,Vol.V,p.38, no.102.] Following his birth on Tuesday 19 February in Stirling Castle, Prince Henry, the first born child of the King, was baptised on the 30 August in the Chapel Royal Stirling. Lyon Sir David proclaimed the child's titles," Lord of Renfrew and the Isles,Earl of Carrick, Duke of Rothesay, and Prince of Scotland."

1595 was a quiet year apart from financial problems for the country which the King addressed by appointing an advisory financial committee of eight people who became known as the Octavians. In January 1596 the heralds proclaimed the appointment and purpose of the Committee. On the 25 March Lyon was present at the creation of John Stewart,6th Lord Innermeath as the Earl of Atholl.[NLS, 31.3.20. p.99.]

The King's daughter, Elizabeth, later Queen of Bohemia, was born in Dunfermline Palace on the 19 August 1596, and was baptised by Mr David Lindsay,minister of Leith, on the 2 November. Lyon and the heralds were probably present for the ceremony.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.p.198.]

On the 1 September 1597 Sir David was in his home at The Mount where he signed the admission of his son-in-law, Jerome Lindsay, as a messenger of arms.[SRO,GD/1/182/5.] Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 1 November and Sir David would have been present.

Lyon was on duty with his brother heralds and pursuivants on Tuesday 17 April 1599 at the Palace of Holyroodhouse where they took part in the creations of the Marquess of Hamilton and the Marquess of Huntly.
[Mackenzie,1680,Vol.II,p.535.]

Another peerage creation took place the following year on the 31 March 1600 when Patrick Lindsay was elevated and became Lord Lindsay. Lyon Sir David was present with his officers.[NLS,31.3.20.p.99.] On the 5 August the Gowrie conspiracy took place and Lyon was at the meeting of Parliament on the 1 November which witnessed on the 15th of the month, the remarkable sight of

the Earl of Gowrie's corpse, and that of his brother, being solemnly found guilty of treason at the bar of Parliament in the Edinburgh tolbooth. The corpses were later hung, drawn, and quartered, before dispersal to Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Stirling.[NLS,34.6.24.p.199.] The following day Lyon officiated at the elevation of Robert Seton as the Earl of Winton, and Alexander,Lord Livingstone as the Earl of Linlithgow.[NLS,31.3.20.p.99.] Earlier in the month, on the 4th, the King and Privy Council had issued explicit instructions about the marshalling of the procession which constituted the Riding of Parliament. Commissioners of burghs led the procession, dressed in black gowns with footmantles on their horses. Next came the commissioners for shires, similarly attired, followed by the officers of state who were not noblemen. Then came the clergy, priors, abbots, and bishops, in silk gowns, with footmantles. The footmantles of the lords and earls who came next were to be made of velvet. The nobles were followed by the state trumpeters who had "comlie flaggis to thair trumpettis" and they in turn led the pursuivants and heralds who wore their tabards. Lyon King of Arms came next wearing his tabard, with a velvet footmantle on his horse. He preceded the Honours of Scotland, Sword, Sceptre, and Crown which were borne immediately in front of the King. The Sovereign had the Captain of the Guard on his right side and the Master of the Stables on his left. Behind, came the Great Chamberlain and Lord High Chancellor who were followed by the Marquesses of Hamilton and Huntly. The end of the procession was made up of personal attendants and gentlemen of the Royal Household.[RPCS,Vol.VI,pp.170,171.]

Prince Charles was born during November at Dunfermline and on the 5 December was baptised in the Chapel Royal at Stirling. Sir David Lindsay was Master of Ceremonies, the heralds and pursuivants wore tabards and after the baptism Lyon proclaimed the child's titles, "My Lord Charles of Scotland, Duke of Albany, Marquess of Ormonde, Earl of Ross,Lord Ardmarnoch." At the celebratory feast after the ceremony in the Great Hall of Stirling Castle, Lyon served the guests wearing his tabard.[NLS,
Ms.34.6.24.p.201-204.]

On the 18 February 1601, the King's third son was born in Dunfermline Palace. He was baptised on the 2 May and once again Lyon proclaimed his titles- "Prince Robert, Lord of Annandale, Earl of Carrick, Marquess of Wigton, and

Duke of Kintyre." Twenty-five days later the infant prince died and was buried in the Abbey of Holyrood.[ibid,p.199.] Lyon and the heralds were present at the elevation of Hugh Campbell as Lord Campbell of Loudon, on the 30 June.[NLS,Ms,31.3.20.p.99.]

Sir David and the heralds were probably on duty at Holyroodhouse on the 16 March 1602 when David Lindsay of Balcarres was dubbed a knight.[NLS, Ms,34.6.24.p.199.]

Lyon Sir David complained to the Privy Council on the 13 January 1603 that he had been put to the horn for non-payment of taxes. He argued successfully that as Lyon he was exempt from payment.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.520.] Next month on the 20 February Sir David was at the creation of Sir James Elphinstone of Innernochty as Lord Balmerino.[NLS,Ms,31.3.20.p.99.]
Queen Elizabeth of England died on the 24 March and six days later Lyon and the heralds proclaimed at Edinburgh cross that the sovereign was now King James VI, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.[NLS,Balfour Ms,33.2.20.] On the same day Sir David was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament.[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.] On the 5 April James Hamilton was created Lord Abercorn and thereafter the King left Edinburgh to travel south to claim his English inheritance.[NLS,Ms,34.6.24.
p.199.] He was accompanied by various Scottish nobles and knights including the Lord Lyon King of Arms.[Innes,1932,p.203.] One of the first acts of King James on ascending the English throne was to nominate his eldest son, Henry Duke of Rothesay, as a Knight of the English Order of the Garter. He was installed at St George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 9 July and Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay took part in the procession of English heralds at the service.[Noble,1805,p.191.] The Lord Lyon was probably also present at the King's English coronation on the 25 July in Westminster Abbey.

The following year during February 1602, the heralds proclaimed in Edinburgh that the Parliament would meet in the burgh on the 10 April.
[TA,E21/77,p.45.] The next month they proclaimed that the Parliament would complete its business by the 29 April.[ibid,p.48.] The Parliament duly opened, Lord Lyon, heralds and pursuivants being present as instructed by the Act of 1587.[APS,Vol.III,p.443.] The Lord Lyon and his brother heralds were on duty

on the 25 April when Sir James Colville was elevated to Lord Colville of Culross, and Sir James Murray became Lord Murray of Tullibardine. Finally on the 7 July Sir David also witnessed the elevation of Sir James Murray to the title of Lord Scone.[NLS,Ms,31.3.20.p.99.]

The Lord Lyon was present in March and June 1606 for the elevations of the Earl of Wigton and the Viscount of Haddington. In July the heralds and trumpeters went to Perth mercat cross and proclaimed the order of the Riding of Parliament and this took place in Perth on the 9 July.[TA,E21/78 p.46.] Heralds and trumpeters went several times to Perth cross during the session to proclaim that the inhabitants should keep the peace while Parliament was sitting.[ibid,p.58.] On the 10 July James,Lord Abercorn was elevated to the Earl of Abercorn, Lord Glamis became the Earl of Strathmore, Mark,Lord Newbottle was created Earl of Lothian, and the Prior of Blantyre became Lord Blantyre.[NLS,Ms,31.3.20.p.99.] The following month three more peerage creations took place. On the 7 August Sir Michael Balfour became Lord Balfour of Burleigh, Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm became Lord Scott of Buccleuch, and Frederick Stewart was made Lord Pittenweem.[ibid.] All these creations added earnings to the officers of arms as they received fees from the participants for being on duty during the creation ceremony.[RPCS,Vol,IX,p.485.]

Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 18 March 1607. King James must have received a report on the Riding which preceded the meeting of the Three Estates as he wrote from Oatlands in England on the 24 July to the Lord High Commissioner, the Duke of Lennox, with new instructions where the clergy were to be placed in the procession.[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.533.] On the 31 July Lord Lyon Sir David was in Edinburgh to give his oath of allegiance which acknowledged the Royal Supremacy. This followed a Privy Council decision of the 2 June which demanded such an oath from all in positions of authority.[ibid,pp.422,423.]

In 1608 Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 10 May with the now usual Riding preceding the sitting. Lord Lyon, heralds, and pursuivants would be on hand to fulfil their Parliamentary duties. Parliament met again in Edinburgh the

following year on the 12 April 1609 and during the session James Drummond was created Lord Maderty and Sir James Douglas became Lord Carlyle. [NLS,Ms,34.6.24.p.174.] In November Kenneth Mackenzie was elevated to Lord Mackenzie of Kintail.[ibid.]

On the 12 April 1610 the Privy Council directed Sir John Arnot, the Deputy Treasurer, to send a herald to Orkney to demand the surrender of houses belonging to the Earl of Orkney. The herald had to remain in Kirkwall Castle, retaining the keys of the Earl's other houses till the King's pleasure be known.[RPCS,Vol.VIII,p.451.] It is possible John Blinsele,Islay Herald undertook the duty but no payments occur in the Accounts. Another peerage creation took place on the 10 June when John Erskine became Lord Cardross.[NLS,Ms,34.6.24.p.174.] Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay was appointed a Commissioner of the Peace in Fife on the 6 November.[RPCS,Vol.IX,p.78.]

One peer was created in 1611 when Henry Stewart became Lord St Colme on the 7 March. Lord Lyon and the heralds were probably present at that ceremony and may also have attended the funeral obsequies of George Home,Earl of Dunbar KG, Treasurer of Scotland. He had died on the 30 January at Whitehall, London, and after embalming and being confined in lead, his corpse had been transported to Scotland following an April funeral service in Westminster Abbey. The corpse was borne to Dunbar and interred beneath the marble monument which still exists.[Maidment,1837,pp.85-92.]

The 1612 Parliament was held in Edinburgh on the 12 October and while in the burgh Lord Lyon Sir David and his brother heralds and pursuivants submitted a supplication to the Privy Council on the 10 November for redress of earnings.[RPCS,Vol.IX,p.485.] The reason for the complaint lay in the many peerage creations which had occurred since the King travelled south. Many had been made by Letters Patent only, which did away with the public ceremony of creation. The officers of arms were not required and therefore lost the accustomed fees. Their annual salaries had remained the same since 1565, namely £40 for Lord Lyon, £20 for the heralds, and £10 for the pursuivants. The Privy Council was sympathetic and decreed that the following fees would be paid on preferment, by whatever method : For a marquess, 400 merks, for an earl, 300 merks,for a lord, 200 merks, and for a knight £20.0.0. These fees to

be shared amongst the officers of arms. Furthermore all noblemen who had been preferred since 1603 had to present their Patents to Lord Lyon and his brother heralds so that they could record the degrees of nobility concerned in their record books to avoid future arguments.[RPCS,ibid.]

Next year Sir Thomas Hamilton was created Lord Binning on the 19 November and had paid his 200 merks to the officers. The previous month Lord Lyon had been re-appointed a Commissioner of the Peace for Fife on the 6 October.[RPCS,Vol.X,p.156.] This appointment was re-confirmed the following year on the 24 August 1614.[ibid,p.265.]

During 1616 there were four peerage creations. On the 2 April John,2nd Lord Maitland became Viscount Lauderdale, on the 14 April Sir David Carnegie was created Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, on the 19 September Robert,Lord Cessford became the Earl of Roxburgh, and finally on the 4 October Sir Walter Ogilvy was created Lord Ogilvie of Deskford. As a result almost 1,000 merks had been shared by the officers of arms.

However this did not satisfy the individuals concerned and Lord Lyon and all the heralds and pursuivants got together to submit another petition for an increase of fees on the 16 April 1617. Their arguments show how life was changing for the heralds and pursuivants. In the past, fees, resources, and rents enabled them to support their families and to maintain their standing. Present remuneration was so small they could not maintain their standing and yet their duties involved being in attendance at Council, Parliament, and Convention, in Edinburgh or Perth. As their homes were far from Edinburgh this involved additional expense so that they could not sustain the rank which had been held by their predecessors. They were also having difficulty in keeping up appearances at Parliament as their tabards were very expensive to maintain. The Privy Council was again sympathetic and ordered the Treasurer to double their annual salaries.[RPCS,Vol.XI,
pp.102,103.] The Council went further on the 30 April and issued a warrant to the Treasurer to give every herald and pursuivant 200 merks each to buy "cloathis to the parliament."[ibid,p.112.]

June was a month of great excitement because King James paid his one and only return visit to Scotland. Parliament had assembled on the 27 May in Edinburgh.[TA,E21/84,p.52.] Heralds proclaimed at the beginning of June that the Parliament would continue until the 17 June.[ibid,p.65.] Then they proclaimed that the Three Estates should convene on the 28th of the month to accompany the King to the Parliament house.[ibid.] They were at the mercat cross again proclaiming more explicit instructions which involved the Estates being at the Palace of Holyroodhouse at 8 am on the 28th to take part in the Riding to the tolbooth where Parliament would sit.[ibid.] One of the June proclamations may appear humourous to the modern reader. Walter Ritchie,Kintyre Pursuivant, announced that all who had any of the royal silver plate from Holyroodhouse should return it to the Deputy Treasurer "under the pane of deid." ! [ibid,p.66.] Following his visit to Edinburgh the King made a royal progress to Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, Perth, Cupar, St Andrews, Dundee, Montrose, Paisley, and Glasgow. He returned to England via Dumfries and Carlisle.[NLS,
Ms.34.6.24.] During July the heralds proclaimed the recently created Acts of Parliament.[TA,E21/84,p.67.]

Money problems rose again among the heralds in September. On the 10th of the month, Lord Lyon and his brother heralds, James Law,Snowdoun, William Craig,Rothesay, Gibert Guthrie,Marchmont, and Thomas Drysdale,Islay, complained to the Privy Council that Robert Windram,Albany, and Thomas Williamson,Ross, had received the fees from those knighted by the King during his summer visit to Scotland and refused to share them with their brother heralds![RPCS,Vol.XI,pp.232,233.] Thomas Drysdale appeared for the pursuers, Windram and Williamson the defenders, were also present. The Privy Council referred the matter to the Lord Lyon for a decision and ordered the defenders to render an account of the fees received.[ibid.]

The very next entry in the Register of the Privy Council deals with a complex complaint by Robert Windram,Albany who had made a financial agreement with Thomas Drysdale,Islay. Windram claimed Drysdale had not fulfilled his side of the agreement,(which concerned fees to the officers of arms) and now wished redress. The Lords of Privy Council again referred this to the Lord Lyon and directed him to sort out the matter.[ibid, pp.233,234.]

One peerage creation took place in 1618, that of Sir George Ramsay as Lord Ramsay of Melrose on the 25 August.

There were three creations in March 1619. On the 12th, Sir Thomas Erskine became the Earl of Kellie, on the 16th, Walter,Lord Scott of Buccleuch was elevated to Earl of Buccleuch, and Lord Binning was advanced to the Earldom of Melrose on the 20th. Robert,Lord Maxwell, complained to the Privy Council on the 29 July that he had been unlawfully sued by Lord Lyon and his brother heralds for the fee of 200 merks on the occasion of his advancement as a Lord of Parliament. He claimed this was not a new creation but a restoration. The Privy Council agreed and suspended the process against Lord Maxwell.[RPCS,Vol.XII,pp.41,42.] On the 7 November Andrew Stewart was created Lord Castle Stewart.

In the last year Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay of The Mount held office, 1620, he had the satisfaction of acquiring 300 merks from Robert,Lord Maxwell when he was created the Earl of Nithsdale. One other interesting creation took place on the 10 November. Sir Henry Carey, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was naturalised a Scotsman at Newmarket by the King and created Viscount of Falkland. Before the end of the year, Sir David resigned as Lord Lyon in favour of his son-in-law, Jerome Lindsay of Annatland.
[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.] Sir David Lindsay died in 1622.

46. DANIEL GRAHAM fl.1592-1601

Graham was Dingwall Pursuivant in 1592.[TA,E21 68/69,p.83.]

In the summer of 1592 Graham left Edinburgh and journeyed to Aberdeenshire to demand the surrender of Huntly Castle within six hours of the charge. The Castle was being held by Patrick,Master of Gray, and Dame Mary Stewart his wife. Having executed this duty Graham returned to Edinburgh by way of Dundee where he charged the provost, James Forrester, and baillies Patrick Lyon, Alexander Ramsay, William Duncan, and James Carmichael for allowing Henry Ramsay of Ardony to escape from imprisonment in the burgh tolbooth.

[TA,E21 68/69.p.83.] In October Graham was one of the group of heralds, messengers and trumpeters, who proclaimed the next sitting of Parliament in April 1593.[ibid,p.120.]

February 1593 saw Graham returning to the north-east of Scotland to denounce the Earls of Huntly and Erroll, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun at the mercat cross of Aberdeen and Banff. He also carried authority to confiscate their property and corn, and for the surrender of their dwelling places. Graham handed over documents to the sheriffs and coroners of Aberdeen and Banff authorising the sitting of a justice court during the month.[ibid,p.13.] Graham was also paid for proclaiming at Aberdeen that all bearing the name Gordon, who had not been involved in the murder of the Earl of Moray, should be present at the same justice court without fear of prosecution as the King had given an assurance.[ibid,p.14.] Gilbert Guthrie [34.] was also paid for making a similar proclamation. When Graham returned to Edinburgh in March, he and his companion, Alexander Crawford,messenger, were paid extra expenses to cover the cost of travel through Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in order to confiscate the houses of Slains, Huntly, Gartlie, Auchindoun, and Bogengight.[ibid,p.19.] Graham would have been on duty at Parliament in April.

On the 27 November 1599 Daniel Graham acted as a witness in a charge against Barnald Lindsay, inhabitant of Leith.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.847.] The following year Graham was the officer of arms at the baptism of Prince Charles on the 25 December who proclaimed the titles of the Prince from the west window of the Chapel Royal. He concluded the proclamation by shouting,"Largess!Largess!Largess!"[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.pp.201-204.] Sometime before 1602 Daniel Graham ceased being Dingwall Pursuivant through death or retirement and was succeeded by John Yellowlees.

47. ANDREW LITTLEJOHN fl.1596-1599

Burgess of Edinburgh who was Ross Herald in 1596.[Grant,1945,p.23.] He was succeeded by Adam Matheson in 1599.

48. JAMES BORTHWICK fl.1597-1605

Borthwick was a Writer to the Signet before 1586 and a Commissioner of Signet in 1594.He became Rothesay Herald and Lyon Clerk in 1597. He was married to Marion Somerville and had a son, William. Borthwick died in 1605.[Grant,1945,p.11.]

Borthwick was one of the heralds on duty at the baptism of Prince Charles in December 1600.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.] During October 1605, dressed in his tabard, he proclaimed at Edinburgh, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose that James Wishart. heir of Pittourie, had to place himself in ward inside Edinburgh Castle within four days of the charge being proclaimed.[TA,E21/78 p.41.] In the same month Borthwick, accompanied by three witnesses, charged Patrick,Earl of Orkney to appear before the King's Lord High Commissioner and the Three Estates when Parliament met on the 12 January 1606.[ibid.]

49. WILLIAM MACKIESOUN fl.1598-1610

Mackiesoun was Bute Pursuivant in 1598. He was married to Bessie Robesone on the 2 May 1599.[Grant,1945,p.24.] He may have been related to Eleazer Mackiesoun who succeeded him in 1610.

Mackiesoun was on duty at the baptism of Prince Charles in 1601.[NLS, Ms.34.6.24.] The following year he travelled to the mercat cross at Ayr during December to make a proclamation.[TA,E21/76,p.94.] On the 9 August 1603 he served letters charging Patrick Chirnside not to trouble Duncan Wallace, a tailor in the Canongate. He duly signed the letters, as evidence of execution, with his signature and sealed them with his signet which bore a simple WM.[RPCS,Vol.XIV,p.408.] During November 1604 he accompanied John Blinsele,Islay Herald to Haddington and back to Edinburgh to proclaim the King's new style as King of Great Britain.[TA,E21/77,p.62.] In December 1605 he proclaimed at Edinburgh mercat cross wearing his tabard.[TA, E21/78,p.45.] The following year in January he travelled to the "personal place" of Patrick,Earl of Orkney in full heraldic panoply to charge the Earl to appear before Parliament on the 20 March. As Mackiesoun was paid additional

expenses of £3.0.0. in July for undertaking this duty he may have had to travel to Orkney to do so.

50. ADAM MATHIESON fl.1599-1600

He succeeded Andrew Littlejohn as Ross Herald in 1599,[Grant,1945,p.24.] and only held office for a year before being succeeded by Thomas Williamson of Mylnehall.

He was mentioned in an act of caution, dated the 24 December 1599, whereby he acted on the King's warrant to deliver the place and fortalice of Dunboy, now called Collairnie Castle, Fife.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.333.]

51. JOHN RAMSAY fl.1599-1616

Unicorn Pursuivant in 1599.[Grant,1945,p.27.] He was quoted in a Privy Council minute on 14 December 1599 as having received a copy of letters of horning from Adam Weir,messinger.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.847.] He was one of the Under Receivers of Taxes and had received taxes from Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh on the 18 December 1606 for his lands in Fife.[RPCS,Vol.VII, p.285.]

52. DAVID GARDNER fl.1600-1618

Gardner was a burgess of Cupar and servitor to Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay of The Mount. He was appointed Ormonde Pursuivant by December 1600. Gardner had six children, John, Robert, Janet, Agnes, Grissel, and Helen. He died on the 30 April 1620, having been succeeded by James Currie sometime during 1618/19.[Grant,1945,p.18.]

Gardner was present at the baptism of Prince Charles in 1600.[NLS,Ms. 34.6.24.p.199.] On the 30 May 1605 he charged Andrew Wood of Largo and his son not to harm John,Lord Lindsay of the Byres.[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.600.] Two months later he had to charge the Woods again for harming Lord Lindsay.

[ibid,p.606.] In November Gardner left Edinburgh with two witnesses to serve summons of treason on James Wishart of Pittourie,younger, who had to appear before Parliament in January 1607. The summons were proclaimed at Edinburgh, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose.[TA,E21/78,p.44.]

In June 1615 Gardner and the trumpeter, William Muir, were paid for a duty outwith Edinburgh.[TA,E21/83,p.4.]

53. THOMAS WILLIAMSON of MYLNEHALL fl.1600-1622

Williamson was a burgess of Cupar who was married to Alison Lindsay. He was appointed Ross Herald by 1600, and had a grant of the lands of Baltully and Kingarrah in Ceres on the 30 July 1618.[Grant,1945,p.32.] He died in Cupar during June 1622.[NLS,Ms.34.6.24.p.199.]

Williamson was one of the heralds on duty at the baptism of Prince Charles. [ibid.] During September 1617 he was accused, along with Robert Windram, of not sharing the knights' fees with his brother heralds.[RPCS,Vol.XI,pp.232, 233.] He may have been present at the proclamation in February 1619, which the Privy Council ordered, to announce the Earl of Argyll had been declared a traitor.[ibid,pp.507,508.]
He was present at the meeting of Parliament held in Edinburgh during July 1621 as he left Edinburgh the following month to proclaim two new Acts.

These Acts, dealing with taxation, were proclaimed at Cupar, Dundee, Forfar, Perth, and St Andrews. He also had to deliver printed copies of the Acts to the sheriffs, provosts and baillies in each of the burghs.
[TA,E21/88,p.36.] In October Williamson was paid extra expenses for his trouble in delivering the two Acts of Parliament.[ibid,p.39.]

54. JOHN YELLOWLEES fl.1602-1617

He was appointed Dingwall Pursuivant c1602. He married Marion Reid on the 25 August 1602.[Grant,1945,p.33.] Yellowlees was deprived of office on the 21 July 1603 for wrongfully denouncing the Lady Bargeny but was reinstated soon afterwards on the 18 August.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.583.]

John Yellowlees travelled to the south west of Scotland in February 1602. On his way he proclaimed at Biggar,[TA,E21/76,p.114.] and then spent a month in Dumfries. He proclaimed at the mercat cross there on six occasions,[ibid,pp.115,118.] announcing various decisions by the Privy Council, including the holding of justice courts in Dumfries, Lanark,
Peebles, Jedburgh, and Haddington during the coming months of October and November. In March he moved on to Peebles to announce the sitting of the justice courts.[ibid,p.119.] He had returned to Edinburgh by May as he left the capital to charge Sir Andrew Kerr of Ferniehurst, and others, with treason.[ibid,p.147.] During September he left Edinburgh to deliver "clois letteris" from the Privy Council.[ibid,p.185.] The following year, in June, before his deprivation of office he charged unspecified individuals to surrender their dwelling places, and this may have included the Lady Bargeny.[ibid,p.296.]

During November 1605 Yellowlees was in Inverness with summons of treason and, as usual, he had two witnesses with him.[TA,E21/78,p.43.] Yellowlees travelled with summons of treason in January 1606 from Edinburgh to Dumfries, Lochmaben, and the dwelling place of Richard Graham to charge him to appear before Parliament on the 20 March.[ibid,p.48.] On the 18 June he served summons against Sir James Johnstone of Dunskellie for non-payment of seventy-six pigs. He endorsed the summons as having been executed by signing them,"J.Yallowleyis D.poursevant" and applying his signet which bore the letters J.Y.[RPCS,Vol.XIV,p.430.]

Two entries in the Register of the Privy Council reveal details of how an officer served summons. The first, dated the 30 April 1608, states that John Yellowlees had gone to Edinburgh mercat cross, following receipt of the instructing letters, dated the 18 April. Yellowlees wore his tabard and was accompanied by his servant, James Chapman, and a state trumpeter, George Ferguson, who blew three blasts before Yellowlees proclaimed, in the King's name, that Lord Maxwell had to find surety for various crimes including murder, fire, and spulzie, and escaping from ward in Edinburgh Castle.[RPCS,Vol.VIII,p.768.] On the 5 May Yellowlees reported to the Privy Council that he had gone to Lord Maxwell's castle at Caerlaverock, and to his residence in Dumfries, because Maxwell could not be apprehended personally. Wearing his tabard, Yellowlees knocked six times at the door of each place, and

receiving no answer, fixed a just copy of the charges on each door. He next went to Dumfries cross and by public proclamation repeated the charges against Lord Maxwell before fixing another copy of the charges to the cross. For each action, at Edinburgh, Caerlaverock, and Dumfries, he listed the number and names of the witnesses so that they could confirm his executions.[RPCS,Vol.VIII,p.769.]

On the 6 September 1610 Yellowlees and his wife complained to the Privy Council that David Anderson of Arbroath had not been arrested for non-payment of £77.6.2. owed to them.[RPCS,Vol.IX,p.61.] During the same month he proclaimed at Edinburgh cross charges against Samuel Wilson, two John Hunters, and twenty-six other people, to appear before the Privy Council to answer for certain crimes, and then to be tried and punished.[TA,E21/79, p.41.]

Yellowlees made a proclamation at Edinburgh cross during July 1611,[TA, E21/80,p.36.] and then left the burgh in November to charge the Marquess of Huntly , and several others, to appear before the Privy Council on the 14 January next.[ibid,p.83.]
He was again in the north of Scotland in May 1613 to charge individuals to appear before the Privy Council on the 9 June.[TA,E21/82,p.46.]
Yellowlees is mentioned in the Minute Book of Processes, dated April 1614, where he had an action against John Carmichael.[RPCS,Vol.X,p.234.]

55. THOMAS OLIPHANT fl.1604-1610

Oliphant was the second son of Alexander Oliphant,Albany Herald. He succeeded his father as Albany Herald on the 31 August 1604.[Grant,1945, p.26.] He does not appear to have undertaken individual duties but should have been present at the Parliaments of June 1605, July 1606, March 1607, May 1608, and April 1609.

56. JAMES LAW fl.1606-1643

Law lived in Elgin and was appointed Snowdoun Herald by 1606. He had three children, James, who was Keeper of the Signet in 1627, Thomas, minister of

Elgin, and Jean, whose marriage to David Ross of Inverness was ratified on the 20 January 1616. A messenger of arms in Elgin, Archibald Law, who proclaimed at Inverness cross in May 1625, may have been a relation of James Law.[TA,E21/92,p.26.] James Law died in 1643.[Grant,1945,p.22.]

Law was in Edinburgh in January 1606 as he proclaimed a summons of treason at the mercat cross before travelling to Inverness to repeat the proclamation which charged MacLeod of Dunvegan and the MacNeil of Barra to appear before Parliament in Edinburgh on the 20 March.[TA,E21/78,p.48.] Law returned to Edinburgh on the 27 June, accompanied by two witnesses, to give proof that the summons had been served on MacLeod and MacNeil. The three men stayed in Edinburgh for seventeen days and were given expenses for doing so.[ibid,p.59.]

The following year James Law was witness to the signing of a legal agreement in Elgin.[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.679.]

During February 1618 Law travelled to Cammachmore to charge George,Lord Gordon to appear before the Privy Council on the 26 March otherwise he would forfeit a fine of £100.0.0.[TA,E21/84,p.84.]

Two postal deliveries of letters to James Law in Elgin were made during April 1619. The first consisted of warrants which Law used to charge thirteen people in the north who had not appeared before the Privy Council on the 30 March as ordered.[TA,E21/86,pp.24,25.] The second delivery was another batch of warrants for Law to charge thirty-six people for non-appearance before the Privy Council on the 21 April as ordered.[ibid,p.25.]
The following month Law sent back a list of names to Edinburgh of those he had charged to appear before the Privy Council.[ibid,p,27.] Later in May more warrants were sent to Law in Elgin for the arrest of one hundred and two people for non-appearance before the Council on the 12 May.[ibid,p.28.]
Because of the number of arrests, Law could not undertake them all personally and he had to use messengers of arms as assistants. In June the Treasury sent £26.13.4. to Law so that he could pay these messengers within the sheriffdoms of Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, and Caithness.
[TA,E21/86,p.29.]

Law was in Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in June 1621 as he was paid for taking two printed Acts of Parliament back to the north for proclamation at the mercat cross of Elgin, Forres, Nairn, Inverness, Cromartie, Tain, and at the chief town of Caithness and Sutherland.[TA,E21/88,p.35.]

57. WILLIAM CRAIG fl.1607-1632

Craig was probably the son of Thomas Craig,Pursuivant. He was Rothesay Herald in 1607, and still held that title in April 1617.[RPCS,Vol.XI, pp.102,103.] He married Marjory Keith, who died in 1617. On her tombstone in Tarves kirkyard William Craig is described as Ross Herald. In 1628 William Craig was described as Ross Herald,[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.257.] so he had changed titles sometime during 1617. William Craig died on the 17 July 1632 and is also buried at Tarves.

On the 8 September 1607 he witnessed the signing of a legal document at Kelty in Aberdeenshire,[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.693.] and in 1617 petitioned the Privy Council, along with his brother heralds, for an increase in salary. [RPCS,Vol.XI,p.102.]

58. JAMES WINDRAM fl.1607-1625

Windram was appointed agent for the burgh of Edinburgh on 11 December 1605. [EBR,1604-26,p.17.] He was then admitted as a burgess on the 4 June 1606. He became Lyon Clerk before 1607,[Grant,1945,p.32.] but was never an officer of arms with a heraldic title. Windram acted as agent for Edinburgh until at least 1613. [EBR,1604-26,p.95.] On the 10 September the Edinburgh Records notes a dispute concerning access to the mercat cross, and mention is made that there were two keys to the cross. One was normally kept for the convenience of heralds and messengers "in James Wynrahame his writter buith foiranent the croce." Windram became Keeper of the Signet in 1624. [RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.438.] He was probably related to Robert Windram,Albany Herald.

59. GEORGE KIRKWOOD fl.1610-1636

Kirkwood was a messenger of arms who was married to Isabella Scott on the 29 August 1599. He was admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh on the 21 October 1600. Kirkwood had two natural sons, Adam and Nathaniel. His daughter Maria married Walter Stirling, a merchant in Edinburgh.[Grant,1945,p.21.] Kirkwood was appointed Albany Herald during 1608 and died on the 4 November 1613.

On the 27 December 1608 Kirkwood was instructed by the Privy Council to proclaim, along with John Blinsele, a summons against the Earl of Orkney. Kirkwood and Blinsele delegated the task of proclaiming to Thomas Lamb,messenger.[RPCS,Vol.XIV,pp.548,549.] Blinsele and Kirkwood proclaimed at Edinburgh cross together during November 1611.[TA,E21/80,p.49.]

Alexander Douglas,macer, acted for Kirkwood in an action before the Privy Council on the 9 January 1612, against John Fairlie of Colmestoun and his son Thomas who owed Albany Herald one thousand merks, and £100.0.0. for expenses. Kirkwood won his case.[RPCS,Vol.IX,p.310.] In the same month Blinsele and Kirkwood proclaimed together at Edinburgh mercat cross.[TA, E21/80,p.61.] During October of the same year Kirkwood was probably one of the group of heralds who proclaimed in Edinburgh on three occasions relating to the meeting of Parliament being held at the time.[ibid, pp.80,81.]

60. ELEAZER MACKIESOUN fl. 1610-1636

He succeeded William Mackiesoun as Bute Pursuivant by 1610 and was probably a relation. Mackiesoun was a member of the Chapel Royal and married Giles Hamilton on the 11 July 1622. She was the daughter of an Edinburgh merchant. He was admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh on the 11 July 1632.
Mackiesoun had a daughter Janet who married Gibert Hunter,Dingwall Pursuivant. Mackiesoun's grand-daughter by that marriage, Bessie Hunter, married Thomas Drysdale,Islay Herald.[Grant,1945,p.24.] Eleazer Mackiesoun died in 1636.

During 1610 Mackiesoun had to charge Sir John Peebles and George Home concerning a charter for land which they had to surrender to the Earl of Dunbar.[TA,E21/79,p.38.] The following year he made a proclamation at Edinburgh cross during November.[TA,E21/80,p.49.]
He accompanied Robert Windram,Albany, and Thomas Drysdale,Islay, on the 8 March 1620,"all with displayit coittis of armes" to proclaim at Edinburgh cross and the shore head of Leith, against the export of gold and silver coins from Scotland.[RPCS,Vol.XII,pp.764,765.]

Mackiesoun is mentioned in a Note of Caution, recorded by the Privy Council on the 4 February 1622, whereby certain letters of treason had been delivered to him.[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.162.] On the 9 July Mackiesoun was in the company of Gilbert Hunter,Dingwall, James Currie,Ormonde, Robert Windram,Albany, and Thomas Drysdale,Islay, who all took part in the funeral procession of Alexander,Earl of Dunfermline,Chancellor of Scotland. The heralds were paid £100.0.0. each and the pursuivants £50.0.0. each for being on duty.[Stevenson,1899,pp.162,163.]

Mackiesoun was accused, on the 10 December, of harassing James Robinson in Leith and spitting in his face during the serving of a legal process. [RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.144.]
The following month, January 1623, the Minute Book of Processes records a counter claim by Mackiesoun that James Robinson, after being arrested, struck him on the face with his fist while at Leith tolbooth.[ibid,p.164.] Mackiesoun left Edinburgh later in the month to travel to Aberdeen to charge the captains of a Spanish and a Dutch man of war, which were lying in the harbour, to appear before the Privy Council in Edinburgh on the 11 February.[TA,E21/89,p.40.] The two vessels sailed from Aberdeen and arrived at Leith Roads by the beginning of February. Mackiesoun went from Edinburgh to Leith to serve a second summons on the captains to appear before the Council on the 11 February.[ibid,p.41.] The Scots were anxious to prevent the two vessels being in action against each other while in Scottish waters.
Later in the year the Privy Council ordered on the 20 August that the House of Eccles be surrendered to Eleazer Mackiesoun.[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.335.] In October Mackiesoun accompanied Robert Windram,Albany, to proclaim at Edinburgh cross that the inhabitants of the burgh should attend a service in the High Kirk

of St Giles to give thanks for the safe return of Prince Charles from Spain.[TA,E21/90,p.42.]

Mackiesoun made a journey to the north west of Scotland in October 1624 to charge Sir Rory MacLeod of the Isles and John Macdonald,Captain of Clanranald, to appear before the Privy Council.[TA,E21/91,p.22.]

Mackiesoun may have been one of two officers of arms, accompanied by three trumpeters, who proclaimed during March 1625 that "the King his majestie had departed out of his mortal lyfe to his eternall joy in heavin."
[TA,E21/92,p.23.] Next month, in April, Mackiesoun and Windram proclaimed that legal documents would be valid even though not sealed, but that they should be handed in for sealing within fifteen days after the new sovereign's seals had been declared ready.[ibid,p.24.] Towards the end of April Mackiesoun proclaimed that the new seals were ready and valid.
[ibid,p.25.]

61. ROBERT WINDRAM fl.1613-1633

Windram succeeded George Kirkwood as Albany Herald in 1613. He also succeeded James Windram,Lyon Clerk, as factor to the burgh of Edinburgh on the 7 December 1614 and still held that post on the 22 July 1625. [EBR, 1604-26,pp.123,131.] He was appointed one of the muysicians in the Chapel Royal on the 7 July 1624,[Grant,1945,p.32.] and became Lyon Clerk the following year in place of James Windram. He held the office until 1630.
[Grant,1945,p.2.] His career follows James Windram so closely that he must have been related.

The Privy Council decreed on the 11 August 1614 that Robert Windram,herald, and John Johnstone,trumpeter, should have a monthly wage of £60.0.0. and £20.0.0. respectively while on duty with Robert Menteith of Egilsay who had been ordered to suppress rebellion on Orkney. "The said Robert sall haif ane hundreth men under his majesteis pay with a trumpett and herauld to assist him in this service."[RPCS,Vol.X,p.700.] Windram had returned to Edinburgh by the spring of the following year because he made a
proclamation in the burgh during May,1615.[TA,E21/88,p.40.]

In February 1617 there was a full turn out of officers of arms including Lord Lyon, Windram, his brother heralds, and the pursuivants to proclaim the beginning of a meeting of Parliament on the 27 May.[TA,E21/82,p.54.] Windram may have been one of the heralds who proclaimed on four occasions during June concerning the Parliament while it was in session.[ibid,pp.65, 66.] In September Windram was involved in the disagreement among the heralds concerning the allocation of knights' fees and was also in dispute with his brother herald Thomas Drysdale, over a financial agreement they had made together.[RPCS,Vol.XI,pp.232,233,234.]

Windram and Walter Ritchie,Kintyre Pursuivant, proclaimed together on the 18 November 1618 at Edinburgh cross and on the pier and shore head of Leith that the benefit of the King's peace on the Earl of Argyll had been withdrawn and that he should appear before the Privy Council on the 1st February 1619. Windram then travelled to Stirling with Ritchie and made the same proclamation on the 22 November. Next day they did the same at Dumbarton and on the 25 November they were in Inverary proclaiming at the mercat cross there.[ibid,pp.233,234,507,508.]

The letters against the Earl of Argyll were proclaimed again at Edinburgh cross by Windram and Ritchie during February 1619.[TA,E21/85,p.46.] Windram may have been one of the group of officers who proclaimed in March at Edinburgh that no gold or silver should be exported from Scotland, and that no one should trade in foreign gold and silver which might result in its leaving Scotland.[TA,E21/86,pp.21,22.] Later in the same month a qualifying proclamation had to be made excluding Scottish and English gold coins, popularly known as "Rose Nobles" from the earlier proclamation.[ibid,p.22.] Another currency proclamation was made later in the year during November, by un-named heralds, which listed the particular gold coins which were to be regarded as common currency in Scotland.[ibid,p.43.]

The following year, in March 1620, Windram, Thomas Drysdale, and Mackiesoun accompanied by three trumpeters, proclaimed in Edinburgh and Leith that no skippers or sailors should take any gold or silver out of Scotland.[TA,E21/

87,p.23.] In November Windram and Ritchie, with two trumpeters, proclaimed at Edinburgh cross a list of foreign coinage which was acceptable tender in Scotland.[ibid,p.43.]

During 1621 Robert Windram is described in the Treasurer's Accounts as Islay Herald, yet Thomas Drysdale was still in office. Drysdale may have been ill and his title temporarily transferred to Windram, or else the Treasury clerk responsible for the account confused who had which title.
Robert Windram,'Islay herauld', accompanied by five trumpeters and other officers, proclaimed at Edinburgh during February 1621 that Parliament would meet in Edinburgh on the 1 June next.[TA,E21/86,p.51.] In May Windram, 'Islay herauld', along with four other heralds and pursuivants, proclaimed Parliament would be discontinued until the 23 July.[TA,E21/88,
p.27.] At the beginning of July the heralds proclaimed that the Three Estates should meet in Edinburgh tolbooth on the 22 July for the Fencing procedure.[ibid,p.32.] They then proclaimed later in the month that the Estates should be present at Holyroodhouse on the 25 July to accompany the Lord High Commissioner in the Riding of Parliament to the tolbooth.[TA,E21/
86,p.32.] In August Windram and four other heralds proclaimed the recently passed Acts of Parliament at the mercat cross in Edinburgh.[ibid,p.34.]

Windram was on duty at the funeral of Alexander,Earl of Dunfermline on the 9 July 1622.[Stevenson,1899,p.162.] He was also involved with the captains of the Dutch and Spanish warships during December when he ordered the Dutch to surrender the sails of their vessel to one of the Edinburgh baillies to allow the Spanish vessel to leave Leith Roads before them and gain a head start.[TA,E21/89,p.38.]

The foreign vessels spent the winter anchored in the Roads as Robert Windram returned to Leith during April 1623 and repeated the order given to the Dutch captain. [TA,E21/90,p.26.] In May Windram received extra expenses of £20.0.0. for his execution of various commissions, proclaiming the Acts of Parliament, and for duties connected with the Dutch and Spanish warships.[ibid,p.27.] Prince Charles had made a secret visit to Spain between the 7 March and the 30 August and arrived home safely in September. Windram and Mackiesoun

proclaimed in October that a service of thanksgiving for the Prince's return would be held in the High Kirk of St Giles.[ibid, p.42.]

Windram and Ritchie proclaimed in Edinburgh during July 1624 that it was the King's command that Communion would be celebrated in all the kirks of Edinburgh at Christmas and everyone, Privy Councillors,judges, magistrates, and baillies included, should take communion "kneiling". If they failed to do so they would answer to the King personally.[TA,E21/91,p.9.]

King James VI and I died in England on the 27 March 1625 and the news reached the Scottish Privy Councillors on the 31 March. A hurried search had to be made for the state trumpeters which involved hiring a horseman to look for them at Craigmillar, and a postal messenger to look for them on foot.[TA,E21/92,p.23.] Having found three of the trumpeters, two heralds (possibly Windram and Mackiesoun) proclaimed the death of the sovereign at Edinburgh cross after the sounding of a fanfare.[ibid.] Windram and Mackiesoun made a proclamation in April concerning the legality of documents in the interim period between destruction of the Jacobean royal seals and provision of seals for the new sovereign.[ibid,p.24.]
It is possible that some of the Scottish heralds, including Windram, were on duty at the funeral of King James on Saturday the 7 May. Evidence comes from letters written by Gilbert Primrose to his father, James Primrose, Clerk of the Privy Council, concerning his experiences in London at the time of the funeral. He wrote," a Mr Thomas Kellie, one of the Scots then visiting London, had disgraced himself by 'a most insolent and unnatural ryot' in the form of an assault upon his brother-in-law, Mr Robert Windram." [RPCS,Vol.I,2nd Series,p.xiv.] The aftermath of this assault resulted in a Caution, signed on the 26 October, that "Robert Winrahame,Albanie herauld will not molest Mr Thomas Kellie,advocate, nor his tenants and servantis in any way." [ibid,p.150.]

62. PATRICK ROSS fl.1614

Described as a Pursuivant in 1614 by Grant.[Grant,1945,p.28.]

63. WALTER RITCHIE fl.1616-1624

Ritchie was the servitor of Sir John Arnot of Berswick,Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and he became a burgess of Edinburgh on the 8 February 1609. He was appointed Kintyre Pursuivant in 1616. In March 1622 Ritchie became one of two officers of arms employed by the Treasury at a monthly salary of £7.10.0. He eventually moved to Orkney and resigned as Kintyre Pursuivant on the 10 April 1632 at Kirkwall.[Grant,1945,p.27.]

Ritchie proclaimed at Edinburgh cross during February 1617 informing noblemen of their places in the Riding of Parliament as decided by the King.[TA,E21/84,p.65.] Ritchie was included in the list of officers of arms who petitioned the Privy Council for an increase in fees during April.
[RPCS,Vol.XI,p.102.] In June Ritchie proclaimed that any who had the royal silver plate from the Palace of Holyroodhouse should return it forwith to the Deputy Treasurer.[TA,E21/84,p.66.] He was probably one of the group of heralds who proclaimed on five occasions in Edinburgh during June and July concerning the Parliament held at the time.[ibid,pp.66,67.]

In 1618 Ritchie proclaimed at Edinburgh cross during February that all should keep the season of Lent.[ibid,p.83.] He also made a proclamation commanding shopkeepers to remove obnoxious material from the streets of Edinburgh and put it to other parts of the burgh.[ibid,p.85.] Ritchie made two other proclamations in Edinburgh during March,[ibid,p.88.] and another in April.[TA,E21/85,p.21.] He journeyed to Prestonpans afterwards and confiscated property of a man accused of assault.[ibid.] In May he proclaimed in Edinburgh that all the commissioners appointed by Parliament to consider "the plantatioun of kirkis" should meet in Edinburgh on the
1 June.[ibid,p.23.] He confiscated property of Lawrence Cass, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, in June.[ibid.p.27.] Two months later Ritchie proclaimed that the General Assembly would meet in the High Kirk of Perth on the 25 August.[ibid,p.31.] He made another proclamation in Edinburgh during the month,[ibid,p.32.] and may have been one of the officers of arms who proclaimed in October that the Privy Council had ratified the decisions made by the General Assembly in Perth.[ibid,p.37.] From the 18 to the 25 November he was with Robert Windram proclaiming in Edinburgh, Leith, Stirling,

Dumbarton, and Inverary that Archibald,Earl of Argyll should return from abroad to answer various charges before the Privy Council.
[RPCS,Vol.XI,pp.507,508.] He returned to Edinburgh by the end of the month to proclaim new custom duties on various types of food.[TA,E21/85,p.40.]
The following month he was in Burntisland at the harbour to arrest four vessels.[ibid,p.41.] He proclaimed again in Edinburgh before going to Inverkeithing to arrest a ship called "The James Wyse" which was commanded by a John Cunningham who had landed contraband goods.[ibid,p.42.]

During February 1619 Ritchie made four proclamations. The first forbade hunting within five miles of the royal palaces at Holyroodhouse, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, and Falkland.[ibid,p.45.] Next he intimated the keeping of Lent,[ibid.] and then, with Robert Windram, a proclamation was made concerning the Earl of Argyll.[ibid,p.46.] He made another proclamation about the keeping of Lent at the end of the month.
[ibid.] One proclamation was made by Ritchie in March which concernd the practice of burning moorland to clear the way for new growth. Parliament decreed it could not be done after the month of May.[TA,E21/86,p.22.]

In June he proclaimed at Edinburgh cross that the decrees of the General Assembly had to be respected and any books or pamphlets which were not in accord with the decrees would be prohibited.[TA,E21/86,p.29.] Ritchie proclaimed twice in July. The first time he announced the Privy Council's directions concerning beggars in Scotland,[ibid,p.32.] and the second stated that all barrels made for holding salmon, herring, and processed fish should be manufactured according to Edinburgh standards and measures.
[ibid,p.33.] Later in July Robert,Lord Maxwell made his complaint about being sued by Lord Lyon for not paying his creation fee to Walter Ritchie.
[RPCS,Vol.XII,pp.41,42.] In August Ritchie proclaimed in Edinburgh and Leith that seafarers should not enter any Scottish harbour without permission from the local provost and baillies.[TA,E21/86,p.35.] During the same month Ritchie repeated the February hunting ban, this time to within five miles of Edinburgh.[ibid,p.36.] Ritchie went back to Leith in October to proclaim that no artillery could be exported from Scotland except that required for the protection of vessels. The penalty for doing so would be the confiscation of both vessel and its gear,[ibid,p.39.] Ritchie may have been one of the officers

who proclaimed in November the types of gold coin which were legal tender.[ibid,p.43.]

In February 1620 Walter Ritchie proclaimed in Edinburgh and Leith that no-one was allowed to go on board a vessel to bring off a passenger unless permission was given by one of the King's officers.[ibid,p.49.] He also charged Sir John Campbell of Caddell to pay the Treasurer certain dues allowable from the rents on the island of Islay. This involved Ritchie travelling to the north west of Scotland.[ibid,p.50.] In March he received an additional sum of £40.0.0. for travelling expenses incurred in serving the charge on Sir John Campbell of Caddell.[TA,E21/87,p.25.]

Ritchie charged three booksellers, a merchant, and two individuals during April. They were exiled to Caithness, Aberdeen, Montrose, and Dunkeld.

[ibid,p.27.] In the same month Ritchie proclaimed the King's intention to pay a second royal visit to Scotland and as a result hunting was prohibited within five miles of Holyroodhouse, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and "Murrowmont".[ibid.] Ritchie repeated this proclamation at the mercat cross of Falkland, Perth, Cupar, Forfar, Montrose, Stonehaven, and Aberdeen.[ibid.] He had returned to Edinburgh by May because he proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh and Canongate, and at the pier of Leith, that soldiers under the command of a Colonel Gray should be ready for embarkation.[ibid.] In June he served a warrant of the Privy Council on two individuals, and then charged two of the booksellers a second time to ward themselves at the places already stipulated within twenty days or be declared rebels.[ibid,p.33.] Ritchie proclaimed in Edinburgh during the same month that the lieges should respect the decrees of the General Assembly and take communion in a reverent manner.[ibid.]

In July he returned to Leith to proclaim again about unauthorised entry to Scottish ports,[ibid,p.35.] before leaving Edinburgh to charge the chamberlain of Dunbar, his deputy John Aitchison, and Hoppil his tailor, to render an account of the taxes due from the county of Dunbar within ten days of the charge.[ibid.]

Ritchie may have travelled to Shetland during August and September to charge Robert Finlayson, the former sheriff-depute of the islands, to appear before the Privy Council on the 7 November to answer charges of wrong doing and injustice while in a position of legal authority on the islands.[ibid,p.41.]

By November Ritchie was back in Edinburgh as he proclaimed with Robert Windram about the foreign currency acceptable as legal tender in Scotland. [TA,E21/87,p.44.] However later in the month he travelled to Dundee, Crail, Burntisland, and Prestonpans to charge the receivers of custom for each burgh to render their accounts up to November 1620.[ibid.] In December he moved through East Lothian to charge the Earl and Countess of Winton, the Master of Elphinstone, Lady Fawside, Sir James Richardson of Smetoun, Robert Richardson of Pencaitland, and James Preston to appear personally before the Privy Council on the 14 December to answer charges of operating a price ring in respect of charges for coal.[ibid,p.46.]

Walter Ritchie was equally occupied in 1621. On two occasions in January he proclaimed at Edinburgh cross that the noblemen waiting to attend the Convention should meet in the tolbooth on the 25 and 26 January in the afternoon.[ibid,p.49.] He returned to East Lothian in February to charge the operators of the coal price ring to appear before the Privy Council on the 8 February.[ibid,p.50.] He proclaimed the keeping of Lent at Edinburgh cross,[ibid.] and was then part of the group of officers who accompanied Robert Windram to announce the meeting of Parliament on the 1 June.[ibid, p.51.] Ritchie proclaimed the new import duty on foodstuffs at the beginning of April,[TA,E21/88,p.23.] before going to Berwick and Dunbar to charge all the earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and freeholders within the sheriffdom and lordship to appear before the Privy Council on the 13 June to attend the hearings about taxing the land in these two areas, and fixing the jurisdiction boundaries between them.[ibid,p.24.] He proclaimed at Edinburgh before the end of April,[ibid,p.25.] and in May left the burgh to charge Robert,Earl of Lothian and Sir John Stewart of Traquair to keep the peace between them.[ibid,p.27.]

He returned to Edinburgh to collect new instructions and left before the middle of May to yet again charge the East Lothian landlords involved in fixing the price of coal. This time it was not to face a penalty but to give advice to the Privy Council about how best to resolve the situation. Ritchie also charged other landlords to attend, along with the baillies of the Canongate, Dalkeith, and Musselburgh so that a consensus of opinion would be heard. The meeting was arranged for the 26 May.[ibid.]

Ritchie may have been on duty when un-named heralds proclaimed three times during July and August about Parliament meeting in Edinburgh,[ibid,p.32.] about the Riding on the 25 July, and finally announcing the Acts passed by the Parliament.[ibid,p.34.] At the beginning of August he proclaimed that the Privy Council would meet on the 7 August,[ibid,p.35.] before leaving to deliver printed copies of the Acts of Parliament in Linlithgow, Stirling, Glasgow, Dumbarton, Renfrew, Irvine, Ayr, and Carrick.[ibid.]

Walter Ritchie performed his duties in a satisfactory manner as the Treasurer decided to make him a daily employee from March 1622. Every month from then until December 1625 he was paid a monthly salary. He presumably undertook specific duties which were not recorded individually in the Accounts. However proclamations were part of his duties as a royal officer of arms and these were paid for separately.

He proclaimed in Edinburgh on the 19 May 1623, accompanied by two witnesses and a trumpeter.[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.792.] In June he proclaimed that the King had chosen specific Privy Council members to investigate public grievances.

[TA,E21/89,p.30.] The following month he made a proclamation forbidding the dumping of ballast by ships in the Forth, except at specified places.[ibid,

p.33.] The same month he informed the lieges who had complaints against the keepers of the seals, writers, and clerks, that they should contact the commissioners mentioned in the June proclamation.[TA,E21/89,p.34.] Also in July he proclaimed the Privy Council's decision about the mentally handicapped which would also be proclaimed throughout the realm of Scotland.[TA,E21/90,p.34.] The final proclamation by Ritchie featured in the Accounts was that of July 1624 when he accompanied Robert Windram to Edinburgh mercat cross to intimate that communion should be taken during the coming Christmas.[TA,E21/91,p.9.]

64. JAMES FUIRDE fl.1617-1619

Fuirde appears in Lindsay of Rathillet's April 1569 List as a messenger of arms for Fife, Clackmannan, and Kinross. He was a burgess of Cupar and had become Unicorn Pursuivant by 1617.[Grant,1945,p.18.] Fuirde was given Letters of Caution by Robert Auchmowtie of Demyng and executed the duty on the 11

January 1619.[RPCS,Vol.XI,pp.591,592.] James Fuirde was succeeded by John Borthwick in 1619.

65. THOMAS DRYSDALE fl.1617-c1650

He was an indweller in Leith who married Bessie Hunter, possibly a sister of Gilbert Hunter,Dingwall Pursuivant, and grand daughter of Eleazer Mackiesoun,Bute Pursuivant. Appointed Islay Herald in 1617 and promoted to Lyon Depute in 1627. He was Lyon Clerk in 1630 and became a widower in May 1643.[Grant,1945,p.15.]

Drysdale was present at the Privy Council meeting on the 10 September 1617 which heard the accusation that Robert Windram and Thomas Williamson, heralds, had not shared certain fees with their brethren.[RPCS,Vol.XI, pp.232,233.] At the same meeting he was accused of breaking a private financial arrangement with Robert Windram,Albany Herald.[ibid,pp.233,234.]

In 1619 he purchased a copy of 'The Blazon of Gentrie' by John Ferne, which had been published in 1586. He took exception to the author's statement that Scotland owed fealty to England and wrote in the book,"He is a traitor and lyar in his throat, and I offer him the combat that says Scotland's Kings were ever feudatorie to England." [Grant,1892,p.20.]
He accompanied Robert Windram and Eleazer Mackiesoun, his father-in-law, to Edinburgh cross and Leith to proclaim in March 1620 the prohibition on exporting gold and silver from Scotland.[TA,E21/87,p.23.]
He was on duty at the funeral of Alexander,Earl of Dunfermline on the 9 July 1622.[Stevenson,1899,p.162.] Drysdale was accused of attacking James Robinson in Leith, along with Gilbert Hunter on the 30 November 1622.
[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.144.]
He signed a Letter of Caution in Edinburgh, along with three others, on the 16 March 1624 to ensure that Robert Stirke would appear before the Privy Council on the 24 March.[ibid,p.46.] Later in the year he was one of the heralds who proclaimed on the 30 November that there would be no meeting of the Privy Council, Court of Session, or any inferior courts, until the 7 January 1625 because there were cases of plague in Edinburgh.[ibid,p.652.]

66. JAMES CUNNINGHAM fl.1617-1630

Cunningham was appointed Carrick Pursuivant in 1617 and promoted to Marchmont Herald in 1622.[Grant,1945,p.14.]

67. GILBERT HUNTER fl.1617-1650

He was an indweller in Leith,[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.144.] and Dingwall Pursuivant in 1617.[Grant,1945,p.21.] Hunter had a son, Thomas, who succeeded him as Dingwall Pursuivant on the 22 May 1650. He may have been related through marriage to Thomas Drysdale,Islay Herald and Eleazer Mackiesoun,Bute Pursuivant.

Hunter was on duty at the funeral of Alexander,Earl of Dunfermline on the 9 July 1622.[Stevenson,1899,p.162.] He was accused of harming James Robinson in Leith, while in the company of Thomas Drysdale on the 30 November 1622. [RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.144.] The following month, on the 16 December, Hunter was accused of harassing Robinson for a second time.[ibid.]

68. JAMES CURRIE fl.1619-1661

Currie was an indweller in Edinburgh who was appointed as a Pursuivant in 1619. From March 1622 he was one of the Treasury pursuivants in waiting with the title of Bute Pursuivant, this was changed to Ormonde Pursuivant in 1623.[TA,E21/89 and 90.] He was promoted to Islay Herald on the 16 January 1636. Currie married Janet Bennet and had two sons, James who was apprenticed to James Stewart tailor on the 19 June 1622, and John.[Grant, 1945,p.14.]

James Currie was on duty in Edinburgh for the meeting of Parliament in July 1621 as he left the burgh during August with printed copies of two Acts. He proclaimed the Acts at the mercat cross of Peebles, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Duns, Lauder, and Haddington, and delivered copies to the sheriffs, provosts, and baillies in each burgh. The Act dealing with ecclesiastical taxation was also delivered to the Bishop of Caithness, the Lords Melrose, Kelso, Coldingham,

Dryburgh, Jedburgh, the priors of Camiabue, Ethie, Coldstream, the prioress of Haddington, and the minister of Peebles.[TA, E21/88,p.35.]

He proclaimed the observation of Lent during March 1622 at Edinburgh cross. [TA,E21/89,p.16.] At the end of March he received his first payment of £7.10.0. as a Treasury pursuivant in waiting.[ibid,p.17.] During April he proclaimed in Edinburgh and Leith that the custom duty on foreign food imported to Scotland was no longer payable.[ibid,p.18.] He proclaimed at the beginning of June that all who had legal business for the Privy Council should wait at the door of the lower hall in the Edinburgh tolbooth during the afternoon of the 4 June.[ibid,p.23.] Currie was on duty at the funeral of the Earl of Dunfermline on the 9 July. He proclaimed in November at Edinburgh that the commissioners appointed for "plantatioun of kirkis" should meet on the 27th of the month.[ibid,p.36.]

He again proclaimed at Edinburgh cross in February 1623 that Lent should be observed.[ibid,p.41.] During April he was at Edinburgh cross and the pier and shore of Leith making another proclamation dealing with the import of foreign food.[TA,E21/90,p.25.]

On the 23 April he was at a Privy Council meeting acting on behalf of Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank whose orchard had been damaged by Edward Wilson. [RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.211.] He made two currency proclamations in Edinburgh during August concerning the striking of new copper coins to benefit the poor people of the realm.[TA,E21/90,p.37.] To enable this to be done the export of old copper was prohibited until the Mint had completed the issue of coins.[ibid.] At the beginning of November he announced that the Privy Council would meet in the lower hall of Edinburgh tolbooth on the 4th of the month.[ibid,p.44.] On the 4 December the Privy Council issued a warrant to the Treasurer for arresting the dwelling of Francis Cockburn with the instruction to send one of the "ordiner pursevantis of the thesaurarie."
[RPCS,Vol.XIII,pp.384,385.] James Currie left Edinburgh to execute this duty at Cockburn's house near Temple in Midlothian,[TA,E21/90,p.46.] but was deforced by Cockburn while doing so. This resulted in another warrant being issued by the Privy Council on the 11 December stating that Cockburn would

be accused of treason if his house was not surrendered within six hours after delivery of a new charge.[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.388.]

During June 1624 James Currie proclaimed at Edinburgh cross that the lieges were forbidden to meet in a private house or place to practice "preiching or uther religiouse exercise."[TA,E21/91,p.15.] In November he left Edinburgh to charge two people with usury.[ibid,p.21.] The same month he proclaimed in Edinburgh and Leith that the provosts and baillies should carefully check vessels and passengers from the Netherlands because plague was prevalent in parts of the Low Countries.[ibid.]

Following the death of King James in March 1625, James Currie went to the mercat cross in Edinburgh and proclaimed during April that all in positions of authority should exercise their duties until the new sovereign issued new warrants for their appointments.[ibid,p.25.]

69. JOHN BORTHWICK fl.1619-1633

Borthwick was Unicorn Pursuivant in 1619. He married Mary Gilhagie and had a son John who was baptised on the 19 January 1619.[Grant,1945,p.12.] John Borthwick was probably related to James Borthwick,Rothesay Herald.

70. SIR JEROME LINDSAY of ANNATLAND and DUNINO fl.1620-1630

Born about 1562, he was the son of David Lindsay, first protestant minister of Leith, and later Bishop of Ross. His first wife was Agnes, daughter of Lord Lyon Sir David Lindsay of The Mount secundus. He was also the brother-in-law of Archbishop Spottiswood, author of the "History of the Church of Scotland." Lindsay was admitted as a messenger of arms by his father-in-law on the 1 September 1597.[SRO,GD/182/5] He succeeded as Lord Lyon King of Arms on the 8 November 1620.[Grant,1945,p.22.] Lindsay was appointed Admiral-Depute of Scotland by the Duke of Richmond before 1626.[RPCS, 2nd Series,Vol.I,p.424.] He was admitted as an advocate on the 28 July 1627. Lindsay married as his second wife, Margaret Colville, and had two children, Rachal and David. Sir Jerome Lindsay of Annatland resigned as Lord Lyon in

1630,[Balfour Paul,1900,p.85.] and died on the 4 December 1642.[Grant,1945,p.22.]

Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 1 June 1621 and Lindsay was probably present on that occasion. He was installed as Lyon at the Palace of Holyroodhouse on Sunday 17 June.[RPCS,Vol.XII,p.499.] During July instructions were given as to the exact place Lyon would take place in the Riding of Parliament.[ibid,p.544.] The following month, on the 16 August, David,Lord Scone was created Viscount Stormont and Sir Jerome Lindsay would have shared the appropriate fee.

The following year William,Lord Crichton was created Viscount of Ayr on the 2 February, and would have paid his fee to Lyon and his brethren.

Lindsay was not present at the funeral of Alexander,Earl of Dunfermline on the 9 July 1622 but five days earlier had been told by the Privy Council to control his messengers of arms following an incident when a messenger broke into an individual's home in order to confiscate goods.[RPCS,Vol.XIII,p.4.]

On the 3 December 1623 Kenneth,Lord Mackenzie was raised to the Earldom of Seaforth. Lyon would have received a fee as a result.

In 1624 two further creations were made, either in March or November, when John,Viscount Annand became the Earl of Annandale, and John,Viscount Lauderdale became the Earl of Lauderdale. Again Sir Jerome Lindsay would have shared in the creation fees.
On the 30 November, heralds, pursuivants, and messengers proclaimed in Edinburgh the institution of the Order of the Baronets of Nova Scotia, part of a scheme to encourage colonisation in North America.[RPCS,Vol.XIII, p.650.] This proclamation was coupled with another stating that no meetings of Parliament, Privy Council, or judicial assemblies would take place until the 7 January 1625 because there were cases of plague in Edinburgh.[ibid, p.652.]

In 1625, James,Marquess of Hamilton KG, died at Whitehall on the 2 March. His coffin was eventually sent to Scotland for burial, and a funeral took place

seven months later on the 2 September. Sir Jerome Lindsay, four heralds, and four pursuivants took part in the funeral procession.
[Maidment,1837,pp.101-105.]

Arms : Quarterly,1st and 4th, Gules a fess checky Azure and Argent, 2nd and 3rd, Or a lion rampant Gules debruised of a ribbon Sable.

71. ALEXANDER NEILSON fl.1622-1633

According to Grant was appointed Carrick Pursuivant in 1622.[Grant,1945, p.25.]

THE MACERS 1565-1607

1565
William Bryson, William Purves, Hector Trollope, Thomas Crichton.
[ERS,Vol.XIX,p.338.]

1566
William Bryson, William Purves, Hector Trollope, Thomas Crichton.
[ERS,Vol.XIX,p.351.]

1567
William Bryson, William Purves, Hector Trollope, Thomas Crichton.
[ERS,Vol.XIX,pp.381,382.]

1568

William Bryson, William Purves, Hector Trollope, Thomas Crichton, Alexander Strang. [TA,Vol.XII,p.134.]

1569

William Bryson, William Purves, Hector Trollope, Thomas Crichton, Andrew Annand. [ERS,Vol.XX,p.33.]

1573

William Bryson, Hector Trollope, John Reid, Archibald Douglas. [ERS,Vol.XX,p.121.]

1578

Archibald Douglas paid £13.6.8. for gilding his "mace wand." [TA,Vol.XIII,p.211.]

1579

William Bryson, Gilbert Thornton, Archibald Douglas, John Ferguson. [ERS,Vol.XX,p.347.]

1580

William Bryson, Archibald Douglas, John Ferguson, Robert Stewart. [ERS,Vol.XXI,p.133.]

1583

John Corsar, extraordinary macer.[TA,E21/63,p.95.]

1588

John Ferguson, Archibald Douglas, Robert Stewart, David Bryson. [ERS,Vol.XXI,pp.369,370.]

1589

John Ferguson, Archibald Douglas, Robert Stewart, David Bryson. [ERS,Vol.XXII,p.34.]

1591

John Ferguson, Archibald Douglas, Robert Stewart, David Bryson.
[ERS,Vol.XXII,p.122.]

1593

John Ferguson, Archibald Douglas, Robert Stewart, David Bryson,,
James Scrimgeour of the Myres,Master Macer. [ERS,Vol.XXII,pp.307,308.]

1594

Robert Stewart, David Bryson, Alexander Douglas, James Chalmers,
James Scrimgeour of the Myres,Master Macer. [ERS,Vol.XXII,p.397.]

1599

Robert Stewart, David Bryson, Alexander Douglas, James Chalmers.
[ERS,Vol.XXIII,p.281.]

1607

Archibald Douglas, Alexander Douglas, James Chalmers.
[RPCS,Vol.VII,pp.318,438,687.]

THE TRUMPETERS IN ORDINARY 1567-1603

1567

James Savoy, James Weddell, James Ramsay.
[TA,Vol.XII,pp.50,67.]

1568

James Weddell, James Drummond, James Ramsay, Nicol Lyal.
[TA,Vol.XII,p.142.]

1571

Nicol Lyal, William Ramsay.
[TA,Vol.XII,p.239.]

1572

Nicol Lyal, Thomas Thomson.

[TA,Vol.XII,pp.308,321.]

1573

Nicol Lyal. [TA,Vol.XII,p.336.]

1575

James Weddell. Weddell received gift of escheat of goods in 1575.

[RPSS,Vol.VII,p.44,no.289.]

1576

William Ramsay. Appointed on the 10 July 1576 as a full time trumpeter.

[RPSS,Vol.VII,p.96,no.562.]

1578

William Ramsay, Robert Drummond, James Savoy.

[TA, Vol.XIII,p.211.]

1579

William Ramsay, John Redford.

[TA,Vol.XIII,p.211.

1580

John McNab, William Ramsay, Robert Maxwell.

McNab received new livery of red and yellow and a trumpet banner of the royal Arms. [TA,E21/61,p.30.]

1581

Robert Drummond, Robert Maxwell, William Ramsay, James Savoy, John McNab,

Francis Savoy. All received new liveries and trumpet banners in October of the year. [TA,E21/61,pp.167-169.]

1582

Robert Maxwell, William Ramsay, Robert Drummond, John McNab.
[TA,E21/63,pp.17,43,70.]

1583

Robert Maxwell, William Ramsay, Robert Drummond, John McNab.
Presumably in office though not named in the records.

1584

Robert Maxwell, William Ramsay, John McNab.
All received new trumpet banners in May of the year.[TA,E22/6,pp.83,84.]

1585

Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month.
[TA,E22/6,p.145.]

1586

Four trumpeters in ordinary paid a New Year gift of £10.0.0.
Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. [TA,E21/64,pp.50,62.]

1587

William Ramsay and Robert Drummond received new liveries and trumpet banners to accompany the Scottish ambassadors to Denmark.
[TA,E21/65,pp.55,56.]
Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month.[ibid,p.61.]

1588

Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month.
[TA,E21/66,p.44.]

1589

Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month.
[TA,E21/67,p.39.]

1590

Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month. Four trumpeters in

ordinary received new liveries and trumpet banners for the Queen's coronation. [TA,E21/67,pp.101,102,112.]
Adrian Vanson,court painter, paid £66.13.4. for painting the impaled Arms of Scotland and Denmark in oils and gold leaf on the four trumpet banners.
Two Dutch trumpeters who came with Queen Anne from Denmark received new liveries. [TA,E21/67,pp.112,143,144.]

1591
Four trumpeters in ordinary paid £6.13.4. per month.[TA,E21/68-69,p.17.]
John Baxter, an English trumpeter who married one of Queen Anne's attendants, received a wedding gift of £100. [ibid,p.45.]

1592
Four trumpeters in ordinary each received £20.0.0. for their liveries.
[TA,E21/68-69,p.72.]

1593
Four trumpeters in ordinary each received £20.0.0. for their liveries.
[TA,E21/69,p.30.]
Five trumpeters in ordinary paid £46.4.0. per annum.
[ERS,Vol.XII,pp.307,308.]

1594
Five trumpeters in ordinary paid £46.4.0. per annum.
[ERS,Vol.XII,p.397.]

1599
William Ramsay, Robert Drummond, Nicol Weddell, John Ramsay, Archibald Sim,
all paid £46.4.0. per annum. [ERS,Vol.XIII,p.281.]

1602
Five trumpeters in ordinary each received £20.0.0. for their liveries.
[TA,E21/76,p.183.]

1604

The Privy Council ordered five stands of liveries for the trumpeters in ordinary to wear at the meeting of Parliament in April.

[TA,E21/77,p.29.]

Appendix Two

PATRONS OF HERALDRY

A selection only is given to provide additional background information

1. JAMES CHARLES STEWART,6TH KING OF SCOTS, 1ST OF ENGLAND 1567-1625

Born within Edinburgh Castle on the 10 June 1566, the only son of Mary Queen of Scots and her second husband Henry Stewart,Lord Darnley, Prince James was crowned King at the age of thirteen months on the 29 July 1567.
He was brought up at Stirling Castle where he received an education from various tutors who developed his interest in literature and the classics at the expense of visual appreciation. King James began to rule personally in 1585 when he was nineteen, having made the Palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh his main residence.

Four years later he undertook his only overseas visit when he travelled to Scandinavia to marry Anne, daughter of King Frederick II of Denmark. Thereafter the couple had six children ; Henry,Duke of Rothesay, born 1594 and died 1612, Princess Elizabeth,born 1596, later Queen of Bohemia, Charles,Duke of Albany, born 1600, later King Charles I, Robert,Duke of Kintyre, who died in infancy during 1601, and two daughters born in England, who also died in infancy.

Following the death of Queen Elizabeth I of England on the 24 March 1603, King James travelled south and was crowned King of England on the 25 July. He paid one return visit to Scotland from May until July during 1617 and died at Theobalds, Hertfordsire on the 27 March 1625.

As King, James showed little interest in art and architecture, his main passion was hunting. He collected precious stones which were set as personal jewellery but his interest may have been inspired by their intrinsic value rather than their aesthetic worth. His intellectual prowess created several books of note, and his

political acumen provided a period of peace and comparative prosperity in Scotland which allowed others to engage in the visual arts, including heraldry.

2. GEORGE GORDON,6TH EARL AND 1ST MARQUESS OF HUNTLY c1560-1636

George Gordon was born into the leading Catholic family in the north-east of Scotland which its main residence at Strathbogie, later named Huntly Castle. As a child he was sent to France for his education where, still a minor, he inherited his father's title in 1576.

Having completed his education he returned to Scotland in the early 1580s and quickly established a relationship with King James which remained steadfast on the part of the sovereign through all the ensuing events involving both men. In 1587 he was appointed Lord High Chamberlain prior to marrying Henrietta, eldest daughter of Esme Stewart,Duke of Lennox. By her he had nine children.

From 1588 until 1598 Huntly was opposed to the King's religious policy and committed various acts of rebellion. Along with the Earls of Erroll and Crawford he raised a force against the King in 1588, he was responsible for the death of the Earl of Moray in 1592, and in 1594 he defeated an expedition sent against him under the Earl of Argyll. However his castle at Strathbogie was severely damaged. Huntly felt it expedient to spend some time in France and while there was awarded the Order of St Michael from King Henry IV. He returned to Scotland in due course, submitted to the King and was pardoned. On the 17 April 1599 he was created Marquess of Huntly, thereafter he became the King's Lieutenant and Justiciar in the north of Scotland. Although he submitted publicly to Presbyterian policy his loyalty to the Catholic faith remained true and when he died on the 13 June 1633 he was buried in Elgin Cathedral according to the rites of the Catholic church.

After becoming Marquess, George Gordon concentrated on restoring his palace castle at Huntly where heraldic display played a key role in the architectural scheme. The exterior incorporated heraldry, monograms and dates, culminating

in a most original armorial frontispiece above the main entrance. The interior contained two armorial fireplaces and several rooms with tempera painted decoration. The chapel was painted with religious scenes.
[The Scots Peerage,Volume IV,pp.541-545.]

3.JOHN ERSKINE, 1ST EARL OF MAR fl.1548-1572

Erskine was brought up as a Catholic and succeeded his father as the 6th Lord Erskine in 1555. Two years later he married Annabella, daughter of William Murray of Tullibardine, and they eventually had two children, a son and a daughter. By 1550 he was Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, a post which he held until 1567. Erskine joined the Protestant movement in 1560, becoming a Privy Councillor following the return of Mary Queen of Scots from France in August 1561. He was restored to the Earldom of Mar on the 20 July 1565 for his services to the Crown. These duties became even more important in 1567 when he was entrusted with the task of caring for the young Prince James.
Erskine guarded James within Stirling Castle during the periods of strife under the Regencies of Moray and Lennox. John Erskine,Earl of Mar was himself chosen as Regent of Scotland on the 5 September 1571, but died in office a year later on the 28 October 1572.

Following his marriage Lord Erskine started construction of a residence in Stirling between the Castle and the Kirk of the Holy Blood. The residence was never completely finished but has a remarkable decorative facade which features three heraldic panels set in elaborate housings.
[The Scots Peerage,Volume II,pp.612-615.]

4. ROBERT SETON, 6TH LORD SETON, 1ST EARL OF WINTOUN fl.1582-1603

One of the distinguished Catholic family of Seton, Robert was the second son of the Master of the Royal Household to Mary Queen of Scots. His younger brother Alexander became Chancellor of Scotland. Robert married Lady Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Eglinton in 1582 and had five sons and a daughter by her. Lord Seton commissioned a family tree in 1588 which was followed in 1591 by an Armorial, painted by John Workman. He was

created Earl of Wintoun on the 16 November 1600, but died three years later and was buried on the day King James left Scotland to inherit the Crown of England, the 5 April 1603.
[Burke,1883,p.486.]

5, GEORGE SETON, 3RD EARL OF WINTOUN 1584-1650

George Seton inherited the title on the death of his elder brother Robert. He employed William Wallace, master mason, to rebuild Wintoun House in 1619 after Wallace had completed work at Edinburgh Castle and Linlithgow Palace.
[MacGibbon & Ross,1887,Volume II,p.525.]

6. ALEXANDER SETON, 1ST EARL OF DUNFERMLINE fl.1555-1622

Younger brother of the 1st Earl of Wintoun, Alexander was educated in Rome as he was destined for a career in the church. Following the Reformation he altered his intention and studied civil law, though he, like the Marquess of Huntly, retained a sympathy for the Catholic faith. He continued his studies in France before returning to Scotland where he was called to the Bar at the age of twenty-two. In 1583 he accompanied his father in an embassy to King Henry IV of France.

Three years later he was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session with the title of Prior of Pluscarden. He married as his first wife Lilias Drummond c1592 and had five daughters by her. In 1593 he became President of the Court of Session as a result of his abilities. These abilities were further recognised by his appointment as one of the Octavians in 1595. The following year Queen Anne chose him to be Constable of Dunfermline Palace, an honour augmented by the grant of the lands and barony of Fyvie. Within a year the barony was erected into a free Lordship of Parliament, giving Alexander Seton the title of Lord Fyvie, with the provision that he should be "decorated with an addition of insignia and arms to the proper Arms of his House." Alexander began a scheme of improvement to Fyvie Castle which was completed c1603, the year he added a pew to the local kirk at Fyvie for his own use.

In 1601 his wife died and he married again. His second wife was Grizel Leslie, daughter of the Master of Rothes. She bore him a son and two daughters before she died in 1606. The following year he married for the third time, his wife being Margaret Hay, a sister of Lord Yester. By her he had another son and two daughters.

Early in 1604 Lord Fyvie had been appointed Vice Chancellor of Scotland but before the end of the year was promoted to Chancellor. In March 1605 he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dunfermline.

His next appointment took place on the 6 April 1611 when he was made Keeper of the Palace of Holyroodhouse. By this date he had acquired Pinkie House, Musselburgh, and by 1613 completed extensive additions and improvements to the building. The Chancellor died at Pinkie House on the 16 June 1622 and was buried exactly one month later with great solemnity at Dalgety in Fife.
[Seton, 1896, pp.634-653.]

7. SIR ALEXANDER FRASER of PHILORTH 1569-1623

Alexander Fraser inherited the estate of Philorth in Aberdeenshire as the 8th laird in 1569. His first wife was Magdalen, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie, and by her he had five sons and three daughters. He began erection of Kinnaird Head Castle in 1570 and about the same time constructed the adjacent small tower containing heraldic pendants. Fraser also built during 1572 the first parish kirk in Faithlie, the fishing community beside his castle. Four years later he began to build an improved harbour for the community. On the 1 July 1592 he received a charter from King James which changed the name of the port from Faithlie to Fraserburgh, erected it to a burgh of regality, and gave authority for the establishment of a university in the burgh.
Alexander Fraser was knighted at the time of Prince Henry's baptism in August 1594. When his first wife died, he married again in 1606, to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Maxwell,Lord Herries.
In 1613 he made a contract with the Feuars of Fraserburgh which established their right to administer the burgh and to hold weekly markets on Monday and Saturday. Markets were also held annually on the feast days of St Michael and

St John. It may have been around 1613 that the finial of the burgh's mercat cross was carved. Parts of the extensive estate of Philorth had to be sold off to pay for establishing the port and burgh of Fraserburgh, and by the time Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth died in July 1623 his patrimony was much reduced, though his burgh continued to flourish.
[Saltoun, 1889, Volume I, pp.]

8. SIR DUNCAN CAMPBELL of GLENORCHY 1545-1631

In 1583 Duncan Campbell succeeded his father as the 7th laird of Glenorchy, an estate in north-east Argyllshire. His first wife was Jean, a daughter of the Earl of Atholl, whom he married in 1573. The couple had seven sons and four daughters. Campbell was knighted in 1590, three years before the death of his wife. He remarried in 1597, his second wife being a daughter of Henry,Lord Sinclair. She bore Glenorchy two sons and four daughters.
Campbell of Glenorchy was the first of the Highland lairds to turn his attention to rural improvements. He planted trees and enforced the planting of them by his tenants. He also had a taste for literature and travelled in England, France, and Flanders. In 1617 he was made heritable keeper of the forest of Mamlorn and later became sheriff of Perth. On the 29 May 1625 he acquired a Baronetcy of Nova Scotia. Glenorchy died on the 23 June 1631.
Campbell of Glenorchy employed his Arms to identify much of his personal property and also kept inventory records which have survived. In the light of material possibly once used by other heraldic patrons, and now lost, that left by Glenorchy gives a good indication of one important function served by heraldry during the reign of King James.
[Innes, 1855, pp.iv-vi.]

9. SIR DAVID LINDSAY of EDZELL 1551-1610

David Lindsay was the son of David,9th Earl of Crawford. He and his brother John were sent to the Continent for their education under the care of James Lawson who later became a colleague of John Knox. The trio spent some time in Dieppe and Paris before leaving France because of religious strife. The two boys studied in Cambridge for a while before returning to Scotland. John Lindsay went on to have a legal career, eventually becoming a Lord of Session

with the judicial title of Lord Menmuir. David married Lady Helen Lindsay, and after bearing two sons and two daughters she died in 1579. He later married Dame Isobel Forbes but had no other children by her. Esme Stewart was created Duke of Lennox in October 1581 and David Lindsay was one of several gentlemen knighted on that occasion.

Sir David was active in attempting to exploit the mineral wealth of his estate and employed a German expert, Bernard Fechtenberg, to supervise the mining of lead and other minerals in Glenesk. Along with estate improvements Sir David completed additions to his castle at Edzell including the construction of a Pleasance which he completed in 1604. He also planned a new town of Edzell. Before this however, in 1597, Sir David's brother Lord Menmuir resigned his position on the Court of Session and his place was bestowed on Sir David who took the title Lord Edzell. His remaining years were clouded by the actions of his heir, David, who was involved in the murder of Lord Spynie in Edinburgh on the 5 July 1607. Lord Edzell died at Edzell Castle on the 14 December 1610.
[Lindsay, 1849, Volume I, pp.329-392.]

10. ALEXANDER BURNETT of LEYS 1578-1619

Alexander was the eighth of the name to hold the barony of Leys, and succeeded to the estate in 1578. He married Katherine, daughter of Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir. He completed building Crathes Castle sometime before 1596 as he commissioned the manufacture of a bed and two chairs, both dated 1594. On St John's Day 1606 he purchased the estate of Muchalls near Stonehaven where he commenced construction of a fortified house in 1619, the year of his death. Alexander was a close friend of the Earl of Dunfermline whose estate of Fyvie lay not far from Crathes. It is possible Alexander was influenced by the Earl when he undertook the internal decoration of his house. Alexander and Katherine had a large family of six sons and eight daughters. Their second son, Thomas, became the first Baronet of Leys.
[Burnett, 1901, pp.32-40.]

11. SIR THOMAS BURNETT of LEYS 1610-1653

In 1603 Thomas was a student at King's College in Aberdeen and later, in 1610, married as his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie. By her he had two sons and two daughters. Thomas was made an honorary burgess of Aberdeen in 1619, the year he inherited the barony of Leys. The following year he was knighted and in 1621 represented Kincardineshire in Parliament. Before this his wife died and in 1621 he married again. His second wife was Jean, daughter of Sir John Moncreiff of that Ilk. The couple had three sons and four daughters. Five years later he was one of the first to purchase a Baronetcy of Nova Scotia, his patent being dated at Holyroodhouse on the 21 April 1626.

When he inherited the estate in 1619 construction of the castle at Muchalls had just begun. He continued with the building, and by 1624 had completed the great hall with its fine plaster ceiling.

Heraldry was included in the overall scheme of plasterwork which incorporated an overmantel bearing the royal Arms of the United Kingdom. Sir Thomas eventually finished his works at Muchalls in 1627.
[Burnett, 1901, pp.41-72.]

12. JAMES OR JOHN WOOD of BALBEGNO fl.1581

Few details are known about this individual who was a cadet of the Woods of Bonnington in Angus. He was married to an Elizabeth Irvine. He owned the castle of Balbegno near Fettercairn, in Angus, which has some unusual architectural features. These are of a decorative nature on the exterior and include stone carved figures looking from a false window. Inside the tower is a groined vault of stone in the great hall, painted with a scheme of heraldic decoration featuring the Arms of sixteen earls, all associated with specific political views.
[Sutherland, 1975, pp.268-273.]

13. WILLIAM BRUCE of EARLSHALL fl.1588-1631

William was the eldest son of Alexander Bruce and his second wife, Janet Elphinstone. He succeeded to the unfinished castle of Earlshall on the death of his father in 1600 and was twice married. His first wife Elizabeth, was the daughter of Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. Bruce completed Earlshall around 1600, by which time he had married again, his second wife being Dame Agnes Lindsay. She was of a family deeply involved with the administration of Scottish heraldry. As a result she may have influenced her husband to commission the most elaborate scheme of domestic heraldic decoration undertaken during the reign of King James. The ceiling of the great hall has seventy-seven shields of Arms incorporated in the design.
[Bruce, 1870, p.333.]

14. SIR GEORGE BRUCE of CARNOCK fl.1589-1617

George Bruce owned the estate of Carnock in Fife which is four miles north-west of Culross, the burgh with which he is intimately associated. He was the

third son of Sir Edward Bruce and became Scotland's leading industrialist of the age. He was married to Euphemia Primrose by whom he had three sons. Bruce's wealth was based on the coal mine which ran under the River Forth, first exploited by the monks of Culross Abbey. Part of the mine production was used to evaporate sea water for making salt. In the Edinburgh Records for the 7 November 1580 there is an entry concerning two Danish shipmasters who were arrested for not paying 340 rex dollars to George Bruce for a load of salt. They had to give surety that they would pay the sum in Elsinore to Frederick Lyall, Bruce's agent in Denmark.

George Bruce purchased Culross around 1597, the year he constructed a residence in the burgh. He enlarged the building in 1611, adding his Arms to one of the dormer window pediments and decorating the interior with decorative tempera painting. In the same year Bruce received a knighthood he represented Culross in Parliament and was one of the commissioners to treat the abortive union with England. Sir George Bruce entertained the King at Culross during the 1617 royal visit, showing him the coal mine and salt pans. His residence was thereafter called the Palace and its form and interiors demonstrate the kind of patronage undertaken by wealthy men of business during the early seventeenth century. Sir George Bruce of Carnock died in 1625 and an elaborate tomb was erected, by his family in the Abbey Church at Culross, which terminates at the top with his coat of arms.
[Bruce, 1870, pp.579-580.]

15. SIR WILLIAM NISBET of DEAN 1569-1639

William Nisbet was the younger son of Henry Nisbet, provost of Edinburgh from July 1597 until October 1598. He had an elder brother, Henry, who along with William, served Edinburgh as a councillor. William was first elected in October 1600, combining duties to the town with success in business. He was married twice, firstly to Janet Williamson, and then to Katherine Dick. He acquired the estate of Dean (then outwith the burgh of Edinburgh) around 1616 and enlarged the existing house to suit his own requirements. He was elected provost of Edinburgh in 1616, an office he held until 1619, so that he acted as host to the King during the 1617 royal visit. This duty was rewarded by a knighthood. Sir William was re-elected provost for another year in 1620

and when he died in 1639 he left £1,000 Scots towards supporting a chair of divinity at Edinburgh University.

Although his residence, Dean House, was demolished in 1845 to provide space for the Dean Cemetery, there are sufficient architectural fragments remaining to show the richness of the decoration.At least one room in the house had an elaborate tempera painted ceiling.
[Whitson, 1932,pp.32-34.]

16. DAVID BARCLAY of COLLAIRNIE fl.1607

Above the entrance to Collairnie Castle in Fife is a stone bearing the Arms of Helen Balfour with the date 1607. She was the wife of David Barclay, heir to David Barclay who constructed the castle in 1581. After inheriting the castle in 1587 David Barclay of Collairnie commissioned heraldic decoration for the ceilings of two apartments, one of which is dated 1607. The second ceiling bears the H.B. initials of his wife. The two ceilings, unlike the work at Earlshall, constitute a straight forward record of kinship and friendship without the addition of fanciful heraldry and other space-filling decorative elements.
[Walker, 1990.]

Appendix Three

HERALDIC CRAFTSMEN 1565-1625

Name	*Craft*	*Flourished*
46. ANDERSON, Hugh	Goldsmith	1614-1639
31. ANDERSON, John	Painter	1599-1649
23. BARTON, John	Goldsmith	1589
51. BELL, John	Mason	1617-1618
13. BEATON, William	Embroiderer	1579-1620
43. BINNING, John	Painter	1610-1633
6. BINNING, Thomas	Painter	1563-1586
1. BINNING, Walter	Painter	1540-1594
10. BRADY, Mungo	Goldsmith	1570-1585
12. BRONKHURST, Arnold	Painter	1578-1583
40. CAULDWELL, William	Painter	1608-1624
39. CLYGHORNE, Thomas	Goldsmith	1606-1615
4. COCKIE, James	Goldsmith	1558-1573
29. COLQUHOUN, William	Genealogist	1593
5. CRAIG, Adam	Goldsmith	1562-1576
38. CRAUFURD, George	Goldsmith	1606-1644
28. CRAWFORD, James	Goldsmith	1592-1600
34. CUNNINGHAM, George	Goldsmith	1604
24. CUNNINGHAM, John	Goldsmith	1589
60. DICKSON, Charles	Goldsmith	1624-1636
15. FOULIS, Thomas	Goldsmith	1581-1605

16. GIBSON, John	Bookbinder	1581-1600
2. GILBERT, Michael	Goldsmith	1549-1590
54. GOODRICK, Mathew	Painter	1617-1654
9. GRAY, James	Goldsmith	1564-1583
56. HALL, Thomas	Painter	1617-1628
33. HENRYSON, Gilbert	Painter	1603
22. Unknown maker I.H.	Goldsmith	1588
7. HERIOT, George	Goldsmith	1563-1624
11. INGLIS, Esther	Calligrapher	1571-1624
58. JENKIN, Valentine	Painter	1617-1634
59. KER, William	Painter	1618
41. KIRKWOOD, Gilbert	Goldsmith	1609-1617
52. KIRKWOOD, George	Goldsmith	1617
48. LAMBERT, Benjamin	Mason	1616
17. LEIPER, Thomas	Mason	1584-1589
19. LINDSAY, Hugh	Goldsmith	1587-1626
21. MELVILLE, John	Painter	1587-1605
45. MYLNE, Henry	Goldsmith	1613-1617
18. MYLNE, John	Mason	1586-1621
42. MYLNE, John	Mason	1610-1657
26. OLIPHANT, Katharine	Embroideress	1590
35. PEEBLES, Thomas	Goldsmith	1605
44. RAMSAY, David	Clockmaker	1613
32. RAMSAY, William	Painter	1600-1622
37. REID, George	Painter	1606
49. ROBERTSON, George	Goldsmith	1616-1617

27.	SAWERS, John, Elder	Painter	1591-1628
53.	SAWERS, John, Younger	Painter	1617-1651
8.	SCOTT, James	Painter	1564-1592
36.	SCOTT, John	Painter	1605-1607
55.	STONE, Nicholas	Carver	1617
47.	STRACHAN, Andrew	Painter	1616-1673
30.	SYMINGTOUN, William	Painter	1594-1609
57.	TELFER, Robert	Painter	1594-1609
14.	VANSON, Adrian	Painter	1581-1610
3.	DE VOGELEER, Lieven	Painter	1551-1568
50.	WALLACE, William	Mason	1617-1631
20.	WORKMAN, James, Elder	Painter	1587-1633
25.	WORKMAN, John	Painter	1589-1604

1. WALTER BINNING fl.1540-1594 Painter

Walter Binning was the senior member of a family associated with painting in Edinburgh for almost a century. He owned property on the south side of the burgh beside the High School and the Black Friars churchyard. Binning had at least one apprentice, Richard Binning in 1583, who was probably a relation. Payments to him for painting are on record from 1540, two of his clients being the Regent Arran and Edinburgh Burgh Council.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.28-30.]

On the 14 June 1566 he was paid £4.0.0. for painting the royal Arms of France and the Arms of Lord Darnley when the latter received the Order of St Michael from the French ambassador Rambollat.[TA,Vol.XI,p.53.] In December of the following year Binning received £8.0.0. for painting sixteen coats of arms in connection with the forfeiture of James,Earl of Bothwell, and his accomplices.[TA,Vol.XII,p.91.] He had to execute an unknown larger number of armorials for another forfeiture during the summer of 1568, and was paid £23.4.0.[ibid,p.138.]

Binning, a supporter of the deposed Queen, was summoned to appear at Leith on the 31 January 1572 as one of the forty-seven inhabitants who attempted to expel several burgesses and other indwellers from Edinburgh. He was charged with conspiracy on the 31 July 1573 but found surety for good behaviour the following month.[Lynch,1981,p.317.]

In May 1577 he was paid £40.0.0. for painting the north gallery in the Palace of Holyroodhouse,[TA,Vol.XIII,p.166.] and two years later painted the personal heraldry of forfeited individuals including the Abbots of Arbroath and Paisley.[ibid,p.292.] Binning was assessed at 5/- in the 1583 Tax Roll of Edinburgh.[Lynch,1981.]

2. MICHAEL GILBERT fl.1549-1590 Goldsmith

Gilbert became a burgess of Edinburgh on the 10 October 1549 by right of his wife, Sibilla Wicht.[REB,1929,p.205.] He was Deacon of the Goldsmiths Incorporation from 1558 to 1561, and in 1576. He also served as a town

councillor from 1554 to 1556, 1561 to 1562, 1563 to 1564, and 1565 to 1566. He was present at the coronation of the King at Stirling on the 29 July 1567 as a burgh commissioner.[Lynch,1981,p.330.] Gilbert had Thomas Foulis
[15] as an apprentice, and together they supplied the King with gold work in April 1585, and January 1589, totalling £7,097.2.4.[TA,E21/66,pp.43,44,
and E21/67,pp.31,32.] Earlier Gilbert supplied the King with goldwork worth £730.0.0. in August 1584,[TA,E22/6,p.107.] and £1,102.10.0. in January 1585.[ibid,p.130.] In total the King spent £8,929.12.4. on New Year gifts in 1585. Gilbert died in 1590, leaving a personal fortune of £22,667.0.0.[Lynch,1981,p.53.]

On the 6 January 1562 Gilbert delivered to the Privy Council a male and female die for striking gold and silver medals, along with two punches.
[RPCS,Vol.I,pp.227,228.] These produced what is now known as the Seton Medal, and is the only piece bearing heraldry which is associated with Michael Gilbert.[Plates 107 and 108.]

3. LIEVEN DE VOGELEER fl.1551-1568 Painter

This Flemish-born artist is known only by the painting *The Memorial of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, King of Scots,* which was executed in London during January 1568. The painting was commissioned by the Earl and Countess of Lennox as a memorial for the infant King James.[Thomson,1975,pp.18,19.]
It contains three heraldic banners and three shields of Arms surrounded by collars of chivalry. [Plate 119.]

4. JAMES COCKIE fl.1558-1573 Goldsmith

Cockie was elected a burgess of Edinburgh on the 4 August 1562 at the same time as his younger brother, William, who was also a goldsmith.[REB,1929,
p.116.] They were the sons of the late James Cockie, goldsmith.
James Cockie was Deacon of the Goldsmiths Incorporation from 1563 to 1565.

In 1588 he was paid for sinking and engraving the royal Arms and an inscription, on a bronze gun.[TA,Vol.X,p.438.] About 1566 he made the silver

mounts for a ewer of rock crystal which he engraved with the Arms of the Earl of Mar. [Plate 47.]

From 1571 until 1573 Cockie was one of the defenders of Edinburgh Castle under the leadership of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange. Cockie and another goldsmith, James Mosman, minted coins within the Castle, an act which led to their execution on the 3 August 1573 following the capture of the Castle by forces of the Regent.

5. ADAM CRAIG fl.1563-c1576 Goldsmith

Craig was made a burgess of Edinburgh on the 15 September 1562 by right of his father.[REB,1929,p.125.] He was the maker of the Fergusson Mazer which is engraved with the impaled Arms of Fergusson and Durham.

6. THOMAS BINNING fl.1563- died before 1586 Painter

Binning was also a glazier and supplied glass in 1563 for the new tolbooth in Edinburgh. On the 16 November 1569 he was paid 30/- for painting the Arms of John,Lord Fleming and the laird of Boghall who were both forfeited. [TA,Vol.XII,p.174.] In 1573 Thomas Binning was described as a servant to the Lord St John.(Sir James Sandilands,Lord Torphichen, last Preceptor of the Order of St John which was disbanded in Scotland during 1565.) Binning had an apprentice, William Pinkerton, who was described as apprentice to the deceased Thomas Binning when he was admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh on the 10 June 1586.[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.27,28.]

7. GEORGE HERIOT 1563-1624 Goldsmith

More famous for his educational legacy than for surviving examples of his craft, Heriot did manufacture the mould for casting silver badges, bearing the Arms of Edinburgh, which were worn by the town's five musicians.[EBR, 1931,p.41.]

8. JAMES SCOTT fl.1564-1592 Painter

Scott occurs as a witness in Glasgow on the 21 November 1564. He was served heir to Patrick Scott, painter, and thereafter was made a burgess and freeman of Glasgow as a burgess heir on the 10 October 1574. He was granted the fines of John Biggart, burgess, in 1577 by the provost and baillies of Glasgow for duties undertaken in the burgh, including painting the town clock. From 1577 to 1592 Scott was occasionally employed by the burgh of Ayr. He painted the coat of arms on the tolbooth and other heraldry on the bridge at Ayr.[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.83,84.]

9. JAMES GRAY fl.1564-1583 Goldsmith

Gray was a goldsmith burgess of the burgh of Canongate.[BOEC,1890,p.11.] He made the Tulloch Mazer in 1557,[Plates 100,101.] and engraved the Cockburn Memorial Brass in 1563.[Plate 103.] He was Die Sinker at the Mint from 1568 until 1583.[Cochran-Patrick,1876,p.xxxvi.] In 1569 he made the Galloway Mazer.[Plate 102.] The following year he engraved the Memorial Brass to the Regent Moray for which he was paid £20.0.0.[Northern Notes & Queries,Vol.VI,pp.55,56.] It is possible Gray was responsible, c1570, for sinking the dies for the Great Seal of King James.[Plate 35.] In December 1580 Gray was paid £40.0.0. for "his extraordiner chargeis for his panes in making of certane extraordiner irnis to sindrie pieces of gold appointit to have bene cunyceit."[Cochran-Patrick,1876,p.247.] This refers to the gold ducat bearing the profile portrait of the boy king James on the obverse, and the royal Arms on the reverse. [Plate 27.]

10. MUNGO BRADY fl.1570-1585 Goldsmith

Brady was an Edinburgh town councillor from October 1570 until June 1571. [Lynch,1981,p.296.] In July 1571 Brady was provided with silver to the value of £38.6.8. to make substitute Honours of Scotland for use at the meeting of Parliament in Stirling, the originals being held in Edinburgh Castle by the Queen's supporters.[TA,Vol.XII,p.279.] On the 3 August 1573 Brady sat on the assize which convicted Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, James Cockie and James Mosman.[Lynch,1981,p.296.]

In a dispute before the Privy Council on the 30 June 1576, concerning the office of Deacon of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths, Mungo Bradie was included in a list of goldsmiths.[RPCS,Vol.I,p.537.]

In March 1581 Bradie was given an old gold angel coin for gilding a clock belonging to the King.[TA,E21/62,p.123.] In November of the same year he was paid £5.0.0. for supplying "ten pair of chassis of silver wrocht and gravin with his hienes armes for his halkis."[ibid,pp.173,174.] Brady had engraved these items of falconry with the royal Arms so that if they were lost all would know the rightful owner. The following month he was paid £38.17.0. for supplying unidentified silver items for the King's use.
[ibid,p.178.]

The final entry to Brady in the Treasurer's Accounts is for work supplied, between May 1583 and January 1585, at a cost of £220.8.0.[TA,E22/6,p.130.]

11. ESTHER INGLIS born 1571-died 1624 Calligrapher

Born at Dieppe,France in 1571, the daughter of Nicholas Langlois, Esther Ingles was taken to England by her parents in 1572 following the Saint Bartholomew Day Massacre. Her parents settled in Edinburgh by 1578 where her father taught French. She had her portrait painted at the age of twenty-four. The following year she married Bartholomew Kello,minister, and in due course the couple had a son, named Bartholomew, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. An unsigned warrant exists appointing Bartholomew Kello to be "Clerk of all Passports" giving him authority to arrange for diplomatic documents to be written on the King's behalf "be the maist exquisit wreater within this realm", an obvious reference to his wife, who had already gained the reputation of being the foremost calligrapher in Scotland. There is a record, dated the 8 February 1598, from the Privy Council, of an action raised by Kello and his wife against Thomas Foulis,goldsmith,[15] and John Gourlay, for non-payment of unspecified debts. It is possible Esther had prepared drawings of heraldry, or an inscription, for Foulis to engrave on a piece of his metalwork. In 1607 the couple moved to England where Bartholomew Kello received the living of

Willingale Spain near Chelmsford in Essex. Sometime before 1624 the couple returned to Scotland and settled in Leith where Esther died on the 30 August 1624. [Laing,1865,pp.284-309.]

Forty-two manuscripts, written by Esther Inglis, are known to survive. At least eleven bear heraldic decoration, and another is devoted to heraldry. This is entitled *A Book of the Arms of England Doone by me Esther Inglis, Januar the First 1609.* This is dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, and contains sixty-four representations of English nobiliary heraldry.

12. ARNOLD BRONKHURST fl.1578-1583 Painter

Although no known heraldic work by Bronkhurst is extant, he is included here as he was appointed on the 19 September 1581,"to draw all the small and great pictures for his majesty." This arrangement lasted until Martinmas 1583.[Thomson,1975,p.22.]

An entry for the 3 December 1580 in the Master of Works Accounts, dealing with the repair of the porter's lodge at Holyroodhouse, includes 30/-,
"for the drawing of the kingis majesteis armis be a panter, and uther werk done be him." [Paton,1957,p.309.] The painter could have been Bronkhurst.

13. WILLIAM BEATON fl.1579-died 1620 Embroiderer

Beaton was Embroiderer to the King before 1579. On the 29 April 1579 he was made a burgess of Edinburgh "by the kynges majesteis speciall wryting direct to the provost, baillies and counsel to that effect, gratis."
[REB,1929,p.51.] Beaton did not follow the King to London in 1603 and lived in Edinburgh at the time of the royal visit in 1617. He may have embroidered the royal Arms [Plate 42.] associated with the burgh council which is now in the collection of the National Museums of Scotland.
[Swain,1986,p.42 and Henshall & Maxwell,1961,p.289.]

14. ADRIAN VANSON fl.1581-died before 1610 Painter

Possibly "My Lord Seton's painter" referred to in 1582 when £10.0.0. was paid "to my Lord Seytonis painter for certane picturis of his majesties visage drawin by him and gevin to the sinkare to be gravin in the new cunze." [TA,E21/62,p.169.] The die sinker involved was Thomas Foulis [15] who produced a silver 40/- piece and a 10/- piece, each bearing a profile half length portrait of the King. [Plate 26.]

By May 1584 Vanson had replaced Bronkhurst as court painter, shown by the following entry,"Item to Hadriane Fansoun, painter to his hienes, in place of Arnold Brukhurst for his fee of the said terme conforme to his gift."
[TA,E22/6,p.81.] Vanson was made a burgess of Edinburgh on the 30 December 1585 for services to the town and in anticipation that he would give instruction in painting to apprentices.[REB,1929,p.446.] In May 1590 Vanson was paid £66.13.4. for painting four banners for the trumpeters in ordinary with the impaled Arms of the King and Queen.[TA,E21/67,p.107.] Two portraits which contain heraldry [Plates 80 and 120.] have been attributed to Vanson.[Thomson,1975,p.36.]

15. THOMAS FOULIS fl.1581-1605 Goldsmith

Foulis was apprenticed to Michael Gilbert [2] and was made a burgess of Edinburgh on the 21 June 1581.[REB,1929,p.192.] He was paid £100.0.0. in February 1582 for providing dies for new coinage.[TA,E21/62,p.195.] In January 1585 Foulis supplied goldwork to the King to the value of £985.11.0. which was for New Year gifts.[TA,E22/6,p.130.] From 1588 until 1605 Foulis was Die Sinker at the Mint.[Cochran-Patrick,1876,p.xxvi.]

Foulis was paid £953.6.8. in June 1589 for supplying two gold chains and an unknown number of rings for the captains of two English ships which had arrived in Leith roads.[TA,E21/67,p.57.]
The following year he received £1,500 in May as part payment for (presumably gold) chains which had been given as gifts to a Danish admiral and other Danish noblemen at the time of the Queen's coronation at the Abbey of Holyrood.[ibid,p.112.] The following month Foulis received £1,466.5.0. as

payment for New Year gifts he delivered to the King two years before, in January 1587. As security for the outstanding sum the King had pledged to Foulis a large table-cut diamond. He was also paid the outstanding sum of £3,893.18.4. owed by the King, for which he had pledged to Foulis two table-cut rubies and three large cabachon rubies in red and black enamelled settings.[ibid,p.122.] Then in November of the same year he received £5,090.8.0. for gold work and jewels which had been omitted from the October accounts, though the King borrowed back £290 from the sum.
[TA,E21/68-69,p.2.] In all, during 1590 Thomas Foulis was paid the remarkable sum of £11,950.11.4. for goldwork and jewels supplied to the King.

In January 1591, the first New Year shared by the King and Queen, Foulis was paid £10,008.12.0. for supplying jewels and gold work as New Year gifts.[ibid,p.11.] In August Foulis was paid £5,418.0.0. for supplying the King with further jewels and gold work,[ibid,p.44.] and again in November was paid £1,316.0.0. for similar goods.[ibid,p.54.]

New Year gifts feature again in 1592, supplied by Foulis, for which he was paid £10,644.[TA,E21/68-69,pp.59,60.] In March he delivered jewels and gold work to the King for the sum of £727.0.0.[ibid,p.68.]

In May 1594 Foulis was in London on business and the King wrote to him on the 16th of the month asking him to purchase 1,000 stone of lead and a quantity of alabaster for use in building work at Stirling Castle.[Paton, 1957,p.314.]

Foulis received a Coinage Warrant in 1601 to sink dies and punches for a new issue of gold and silver coins. The obverse of the gold coin had to bear three crowned thistles and three lions with a rose in the middle, circumbscribed CLEMENTI.PLECTIT.ET.PROTEGIT.IMPERIO. The reverse to carry the royal Arms surmounted with a crown and circumbscribed JACOBUS.6.D.G.R. SCOTORUM. The silver coin was to be struck on the obverse with three Rs with a crowned J in each R along with three lions and a 6 in the centre, all circumbscribed REGEM.JONA.PROTEGIT.INNOXIUM. The reverse was to be the same as the reverse on the gold coin.[Cochran-Patrick,1876,pp.271,272.]

For some reason these coin designs were never struck and it is not known if Foulis manufactured the necessary dies.

On the 26 March 1605 the Privy Council ordered Thomas Foulis to make a new Great Seal, Privy Seal, and Signet, in accordance with the King's command. Foulis had to take instruction from the Earl of Dunfermline,Lord Chancellor and John Arnot,the Deputy Treasurer.[RPCS,Vol.VII,p.27.] Three months later, on the 4 June, the Privy council repeated the order to Foulis, telling him to renew the Great Seal with the quartered Arms of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The same Arms were to be engraved on the Privy Seal and Signet.[ibid,p.54.] These instructions are puzzling because Thomas Peebles,goldsmith,[35] had received eleven pounds of silver in January 1605 to make the Great and Privy Seals, along with the Court of Session Signets. He was then paid £300.0.0. for sinking and working the seals.[TA,E21/78, p.46.] It is possible Peebles used an incorrect form of marshalling on the new royal Arms of the United Kingdom so that the Privy Council issued new instructions to Thomas Foulis.

16. JOHN GIBSON fl.1581-died 1600 Bookbinder

Gibson was appointed bookbinder to the King on the 29 July 1581. He was elected a burgess of Edinburgh in right of his father, Andrew Gibson, baker, on the 17 February 1585.[REB,1929,p.203.] He continued in the post of King's bookbinder until his death on the 26 December 1600. [Mitchell,1955,pp.57,121.] Gibson used a stamp of the royal Arms, and another with St Andrew on his Cross, for gold blocking some of his bindings.

17. THOMAS LEIPER fl.1584-1589 Mason

Leiper was the master mason during improvements to Tolquhon Castle, Aberdeenshire, which included decorative carvings, and heraldic panels. He may have been related to James Leiper, mason indweller of Aberdeen, who was put to the horn in 1623 for failing to complete contracted work at Castle Fraser.[Slade,1977/78,p.255.]

There are a series of post-Reformation carved Arma Christi on hanging vault bosses which are peculiar to the north-east of Scotland. They occur at Gight, Craig, and Towie Barclay Castles and in the Wine Tower,Fraserburgh. All these buildings have architectural features associated with Thomas Leiper. He may therefore have been responsible for what is the finest heraldic carving of the period. It is possible he also carved the finial of the mercat cross at Fraserburgh.

18. JOHN MYLNE fl.1586-died 1621 Mason

Mylne was master mason to the King, and father of John who became master mason to King Charles I. In 1586 Mylne was responsible for erecting the mercat cross at Dundee which carries the Arms of the burgh. [Plate 126.]
A contract was drawn up between Thomas Bannantyne of Kirkton of Newtyle, George Thomson, and John Mylne, mason burgess of Dundee, in 1589 for work at Bannatyne House, Strathmore. The contract detailed heraldic work. Mylne "sall mak ane houssing for the Kingis armes justlie abone the mid pend of the fore yet and sall wirk fynlie the Kingis armes and places therein and in everie ane of the roundis, severall housing for armes and sall wirk the erle of Crafurdis armes to be put in the ane and the Lord Justuce Clerkis armes to be put in the uther." [Mylne,1893,pp.67,68.] On the 4 June 1617 Mylne was elected a burgess of Edinburgh.[REB,1929,p.374.]

19. HUGH LINDSAY fl.1587-1626 Goldsmith

Admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh [REB,1929,p.310.] on the 27 September 1587 as apprentice to William Cockie,goldsmith, the brother of James Cockie.[4] Between 1596 and 1600 Lindsay made a silver communion cup for Currie Kirk which was commissioned by the minister, Mathew Lichtone. His initials are contained within a shield shape engraved on the inside of the bowl. Around 1609 Lindsay made the Lanark Racing Bell which is engraved with the Arms of the burgh. [Plate 112.]

20. JAMES WORKMAN Elder fl.1587-1633 Painter

The son of David Workman, painter burgess of Edinburgh, James was made a burgess in right of his father on the 27 January 1587. He had two brothers, John [25] and Charles, also painters. He was married to Elizabeth Loche and had at least three sons, James who became a painter burgess of Edinburgh on the 29 September 1641, a middle son whose name is unknown, and George who became a glazier burgess by right of his father.

In 1589 James Workman, along with his brother John, took part in the preparations for the entry of Queen Anne to Edinburgh. He was paid £5.0.0. "for gilding of the gret armeis at the Netherbow, and for gilting of tua armeis quhilk ar to be put up at the West Port, and for malloring and cullering of the Netherbow about the armeis, and for drawing of alscheller draughtis within the Bow, and for cullouring of the cros." Workman was also paid £8.0.0. for work on the ship which took the King to Denmark.

Workman was appointed herald painter to the Office of Arms in 1592, and two years later in June 1594 was paid £4.0.0. "for making twelf armes of the forfaltit lordis to be revin in the tolbooth and at the croce of Edinburgh." [Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.108,109,110.]

In August 1602 Workman was paid £3.6.8. for painting "thair majesties armes to be patroms."[TA,E21/70,p.112.] He received sasine of a tenement of land in Burntisland, along with his wife, on the 17 October 1604. He was granted a licence by the burgh in 1606 "to haive his resideanc with his familie in his awin house within thir burgh." Workman still owned property in Burntisland during 1608.

From 1616 until 1633 Workman was paid for doing work at the royal properties of Edinburgh Castle, Holyroodhouse and Linlithgow Palace. The accounts demonstrate that a painter of the period undertook a variety of tasks.
On the 30 December 1616 he was paid £19.4.0. for painting twelve beds green. On the 2 June 1617 he submitted an account for materials used at Edinburgh Castle. Later the same month he was paid £30.0.0. "for painting his majesties armes abone the inner yet and for furneisching gold, cullouris, and warkmanschip thairto." He was paid another £30.0.0."for

painting ane of the grit armes in the new werk." This was probably one of the carvings executed by William Wallace [50] for the north-east facade of the Palace Block at the the Castle. Workman was also paid £24.0.0. the same month for "painting and gilting of sex ring speiris." During 1622 he was paid 12/- for painting two window frames green at Holyroodhouse and £1.4.0. for painting "My Lord Chancallaris knock case with grein paintrie." On the 3 March 1624 payments for work at Edinburgh Castle included £5.0.0. to James Workman.

From 1625 until 1633 the various sums paid to Workman which appear in official accounts are all for house painting rather than heraldic painting.
Workman had three apprentices: William Symmington in 1594 [30], William Ramsay in 1600 [32], and George Reid in 1606 [37].
[All above references taken from Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.108-110.]

Various writers have accepted Lord Lyon Sir Francis Grant's statement that Workman was appointed Marchmont Herald. During Workman's lifetime the office of Marchmont Herald was held continuously by other persons and no appointment to Workman, other than that of herald painter, appears under the records of the Great Seal of Scotland.

21. JOHN MELVILLE fl.1587-1605 Painter

A resident of Aberdeen, Melville was paid on the 3 July 1587 for painting an imitation tapestry at the rear of the rood loft in St Nicholas Kirk and for painting the east clock on the Kirk. In the 1590s he decorated, and signed with his initials, various ceilings in Delgatie Castle, Aberdeen-
shire. On the 13 May 1604 Melville was accused by the Aberdeen kirk session "for paynting of a crucifix to the buriall of the ladye of gicht quhilk wes borne at hir burial."(Isobel Auchterlony, wife of William Gordon of Gight)
Melville admitted that he had done so at the laird's direction and produced a letter from him "quhairbe he wes speciallie desyrit to paynt the said crucifix." In the financial year 1604-1605 Melville was paid £1.0.0. "for painting the armes on the tolbuithe dur."[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,
pp.64,65.]

22. MAKER I.H. fl.1588 Goldsmith

Unknown maker of a coconut cup, [Plate 105.] silver mounted, which is engraved with the arms of George Sinclair, and those of his wife Margaret Forbes, along with the date 1588. [Finlay,1956,pp.96,97.]

23. JOHN BARTON fl.1589 Goldsmith

Barton either modelled prior to casting, or engraved a punch, of the Arms of the burgh of Edinburgh which were used to authenticate the public weights in 1589.[EBR,1927,p.333.]

24. JOHN CUNNINGHAM fl.1589 Goldsmith

Cunningham was commissioned in 1589 to make a pair of silver keys for presentation to Queen Anne on her entry to Edinburgh.[EBR,1927,p.332.]

25. JOHN WORKMAN fl.1589–died 1604 Painter

The son of David Workman and brother of James Workman Elder,[20] John was also involved in 1589 with the preparations for Queen Anne's entry to Edinburgh. He received £33.6.8. for "gilting of the twa armeis at the Netherbow and for painting of the glob and for fourtene armeis and fourtene crownis and fourtene septers with certane coittis of airmour." He received several smaller sums for painting theatrical items used in symbolic pageants: £1.16.0. for "ane doissin of hardin to be the bairnies cottis of armeis"; 18/- for painting "sevin stalfis"; 18/- for painting "four stoupes of ane bed at the salt trone with painting of Bachus"; 10/- for painting
"Hercules baton and rod"; 10/- for painting "septouris". On the 30 September 1590 he was paid £14.0.0. by Edinburgh burgh council for "paynting of the kings loft" in the High Kirk of St Giles.

A contract was drawn up on the 25 April 1592 between Workman and George Bell, for furnishing the "funerall and bureall" of James,Earl of Moray and Patrick Dunbar,sheriff of Moray, "with the haill ceremoneis and furnitour thair to belonging and pertening, sic as tymber, buckrum, taffaty, and uther

materiallis quhatsumever, alsuell warkmanschip as utheris necessarie" for the sum of £53.9.0. providing that John Workman "be nocht subject to furneis nor deliver the said noble lordis pictour." [SRO,Register of Deeds,43,p.104.] These arrangements were for "the Bonnie Earl o' Moray" who had been murdered by George Gordon,Earl of Huntly.

Workman was appointed by the King on the 14 November 1592 to be "paynter of the armes of all knichtis, lordis, erles, and dukes at the tymes of thair belting and promotion and alsua at the tymes of their foirfaltiers, restitution and funerallis and all uther tymes and occasionis", other painters within the realm being discharged "of all drawing and paynting of the saidis arms."[RPSS,PS.1/65,p.48.]
The following year in July Workman was paid £2.0.0. for painting "of the armes of Francis, sumtyme erle Bothuil, McConnel and McClanes at twa sundrie tymes makand sex in number."[TA,E21/69,p.47.]

John Workman attempted to extend the King's appointment of being the painter of nobiliary heraldry on the 1 November 1599 by arguing before the Privy Council that he should have the monopoly of heraldic painting at the Office of Arms. He cited John Sawers, painter [27] as having no right to undertake heraldic painting. The Privy Council threw out this selfish attempt to curb competition.[RPCS,Vol.VI,p.36.]

In May 1603 Workman was paid for painting the coach in which Queen Anne departed for England.[TA,E21/76,p.276.] The following year, on the 31 October, Workman died of the plague. His testament describes him as "painter to his majesty, indweller in Edinburgh" and includes a full inventory of his rather sparse goods and gear.[SRO,CC,8/8/41,s.d.8 March,
1606.]
[All references unless noted, taken from Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.11, 110,111.]

26. KATHARINE OLIPHANT fl.1590 Embroideress

She was married to George Dundas of Dundas and Arniston sometime before 1565. Katharine embroidered a table carpet before the end of the century which incorporates the Arms of Oliphant, borne by the punning supporter of the family, an elephant. [Plate 134.]

27. JOHN SAWERS Elder fl.1591–died 1628 Painter

Sawers was a painter burgess of Edinburgh from the 16 November 1591. He was paid for services to Edinburgh burgh council the following day. Sawers married Agnes Home on the 30 January 1606 and had a son, John, who also became a painter. His daughter, Janet, married Robert Blaikie, painter, who was made a burgess by right of his wife on the 7 January 1618.

Sawers was unsuccessfully cited by Workman [25] before the Privy Council in the latter's attempt to gain an heraldic painting monopoly during 1599.

In 1614 Sawers was paid 10/- and a pint of wine for "drawing ye stane to be set above the foir yet heid" at the Magdalen Chapel in Edinburgh. He earned £50.0.0. on the 16 June 1617 "for painting of his majesties armes of Scotland, England, France, and Irland and for furneisching of gold cullouris and warkmanschip thairto." This could have been the panel on the east facade of the Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle, carved by William Wallace.

The following year he was working in Edinburgh Castle during March and April for the sum of £5.0.0. for a six day week. This did not include "furnesing all maner of colloures for painting of his majesties bed that was sent up to Londonn." He received £66.13.4. for doing so on the 13 April.

John Sawers had four apprentices during his working life. John Stewart in 1595, Gibert Henryson in 1603,[33] John Scott in 1607,[36] and John Binning in 1610 [43]. Sawers died in 1628 while working at Linlithgow Palace. [Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.81,82.]

28. JAMES CRAWFORD fl.1592-1600 Goldsmith

He was made a burgess of Edinburgh as apprentice to the late Thomas Annand, goldsmith, on the 10 October 1592. Crawford was later made a guild brother on the 29 January 1600.[REB,1929,p.128.] Although there is no extant heraldic work by him, he did make the Craigievar Mazer [Plate 106.] which carries on the mazer style used by James Gray.[9]

29. WILLIAM COLQUHOUN fl.1593 Genealogist

This otherwise unknown individual was paid £85.10.0. during February 1593 for "making a cairt of genealogie to his hienes of his graces predecessouris."[TA,E21/68-69,p.13.]

30. WILLIAM SYMINGTON fl.1594-1609 Painter

The son of Mathew Symington in Cumnock, William was apprenticed to James Workman Elder,[20] from the 12 March 1594. He was elected a painter burgess of Edinburgh as the apprentice of Workman on the 18 November 1607. Symington married Bessie Scot on the 8 August 1609. As Workman's assistant he must have helped with various heraldic commissions, particularly those involving tempera schemes of decoration.[Apted and Hannabuss, 1978,p.93.]

31. JOHN ANDERSON fl.1599-1649 Painter

He was the son of Gilbert Anderson of Aberdeen. Anderson was made a guild brother of Aberdeen on the 6 October 1601 and became a burgess of Edinburgh on the 8 May 1611. He was married and had two children, Adam and Euphemia. His daughter married Alexander Davidson, an advocate in Aberdeen. Anderson's wife was buried on the 20 December 1634.

He was paid 112 merks on the 21 February 1599 for painting the clerk of the burgh's chamber in Aberdeen. By 1611 he was in Edinburgh as he was paid on the 8 May by the burgh council "for paynting and gilting of the two brods of the knock at the nether bow." He returned to the north-east and was painting at Huntly Castle when he was summoned south on the 25 March 1617 to work at

Falkland Palace. It is possible he painted the great heraldic frontispiece at Huntly. On the 3 June he was asked to travel from Falkland to Edinburgh Castle where he painted the room in which King James had been born. This included a painting of the royal Arms. [Plate 38.] He also painted a room within the new hall at the Castle where he marbled the doors and chimney.

During 1633 he painted at Holyroodhouse, and then returned to Aberdeen the following year to work in St Nicholas Kirk. He was also commissioned by Sir John Grant of Freuchie to execute a variety of painting work. In 1612 Anderson had George Jamesone as an apprentice.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1878,pp.23,24.]

32. WILLIAM RAMSAY fl.1600–1622 Painter

He was the son of Laurence Ramsay, plasterer, and was apprenticed to James Workman Elder on the 10 June 1600. He became a painter burgess of Edinburgh on the 24 April 1605 by right of his father. He married Agnes Ramsay on the 6 June 1605. On the 29 July 1608 Ramsay was paid £8.0.0. for painting flags for a weapon showing. During 1617 he was included among the painters paid for work at Edinburgh Castle. Ramsay had four apprentices: John Ryllie in 1608, John Miller in 1613, James Brown in 1620, and George Brown in 1622.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.77.]

33. GILBERT HENRYSON fl.1603 Painter

The son of Gilbert Henryson, reader at St Cuthbert's Kirk, Edinburgh, Henryson was apprenticed to John Sawers Elder [27] on the 4 January 1603.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.46.]

34. GEORGE CUNNINGHAM fl.1604 Goldsmith

Goldsmith in the burgh of Canongate who made the silver gilt case to contain the seal of commission for the Earl of Montrose in 1604. He also engraved the exterior of the case with appropriate armorial decoration.
[Plates 36 and 109.]

35. THOMAS PEEBLES fl.1605 Goldsmith

Peebles was paid £300.0.0. in January 1605 for using silver worth £518 to make "the great and privie seills, court and session signettis." [TA,E21/78,p.46.] These were replaced by the versions created by Thomas Foulis [15].

36. JOHN SCOTT fl.1605-1607 Painter

Scott was the son of Richard Scott, indweller in Edinburgh. He was apprenticed to Charles Workman, painter, on the 16 September 1605. However Workman is said to have died on the 16 August 1605. Scott did became an apprentice to John Sawers Elder [27] on the 18 February 1607 and probabl;y helped him with heraldic commissions.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.84.]

37. GEORGE REID fl.1606 Painter

Reid became an apprentice to James Workman Elder [20] on the 8 January 1601. He was the son of George Reid in Garknow.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.78.]

38. GEORGE CRAUFURD fl.1606-1644 Goldsmith

Elected a burgess of Edinburgh on the 17 December 1606,[REB,1929,p.128.] Craufurd made the four cups, gifted by the Earl of Dunfermline, for Inveresk Kirk. [Plate 65.]

39. THOMAS CLYGHORNE fl.1606-1615 Goldsmith

A burgess of Edinburgh on the 17 December 1606 as the apprentice of Daniel Crawford, goldsmith,[REB,1929,p.108.] Clyghorne made a silver bowl of mazer form c1615. This he engraved with the impaled Arms of Bell and Inglis. At a later date the bowl was given additional heraldry - the impaled Arms of Bell and Campbell. [Plate 113.]

40. WILLIAM CAULDWELL fl.1608-1624 Painter

Cauldwell was probably a resident of Ayr where he did work for the burgh council. In 1608 he was paid £3.0.0. for painting "the mort kist in the pest time" and the drums. The following year he painted the council house and was paid £3.6.8. Cauldwell received £6.0.0.in 1613 for "dressing and colouring of the loftis in the kirk." The year after he was paid £2.0.0. for "painting drums at the time of the late muster of the burgh." Finally in 1623 he received 4/- for "painting two mort kists."
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.32.]
Although heraldic painting is not mentioned, it is almost certain that the drums painted in 1608 and 1614 carried the burgh Arms of Ayr. The mort kists may have been decorated with appropriate funerary symbols such as a skull accompanied by the words *Momento Mori* or a winged hourglass with the words *Tempus Fugit*.

41. GILBERT KIRKWOOD fl.1609-1617 Goldsmith

Kirkwood was elected a burgess and guildbrother of Edinburgh as the apprentice of George Foulis, goldsmith, on the 13 September 1609.[REB,1929, p.294.] Kirkwood served Edinburgh town council from the 5 October 1619 until the 23 August 1625 as a councillor, commissioner, and representative of the Goldsmiths Incorporation.[EBR,1931,pp.197-272.] He may have been related to George Kirkwood, Albany Herald.

Kirkwood produced a series of very fine communion cups following the passing of the Act in 1617 which required "all the paroche kirkis within this kingdome be prowydit off basines and lavoiris for the ministration of the sacrament of baptism, and of couppes, rablis and table clothes, for the ministratioun of the holie communion." Cups by Kirkwood are at Balmaghie, Carstairs, Blantyre, Cambuslang, Tynron, Inchture, Glencairn and Fyvie. The latter is engraved with the Arms of Alexander Seton,Earl of Dunfermline, who presented the cup to the parish kirk.[Finlay,1956,pp.86,87.]
[Plate 60.]

42. JOHN MYLNE fl.1610-died 1657 Mason

The son of John Mylne [18] he assisted his father to build the bridge at Perth. He married Isobel Wilson in 1610. Mylne left Perth in 1616 at the request of Edinburgh burgh council to succeed Benjamin Lambert, mason,[48] who had died suddenly. Lambert had been engaged on improvements to the Netherbow Port in preparation for the royal visit of 1617. These involved a new statue of the King and a carving of the "new armis",i.e. the royal Arms of the United Kingdom. Mylne completed the unfinished carved work.
[Mylne,1893,p.105.]
On the 27 May 1617 Mylne was paid for "working the twa arms of the west port in the Deyne before they come to Edinburgh." The West Port stood at the end of the Grassmarket and it was also renovated for the visit. There was a quarry in the present Dean Village where Mylne carved the heraldic panels before they were transported for mounting on the arched gateway of the West Port. Mylne also erected a new basement structure for the mercat cross in Edinburgh.[Mylne,1893,p.107.] Mylne was made a burgess of Edinburgh gratis by act of the council on the 8 August 1617 for his labours on behalf of the town.[REB,1929,p.374.

43. JOHN BINNING fl.1610–1633 Painter

John was the son of Thomas Binning, indweller in Edinburgh. On the 25 April 1610 he was apprenticed to John Sawers, Elder.[27] He was paid £18.0.0. on the 19 May 1617 for painting the tennis court black at Falkland Palace. Later that month, on the 26th, he shared expenses of £9.14.0. with Valentine Jenkin,[58] for the hire of three horses to transport themselves, and materials, from Edinburgh to Stirling.

Binning became a burgess of Edinburgh on the 16 January 1628 and the following year worked at Linlithgow Palace. He partnered James Workman, Elder,[20] at Linlithgow where they painted the carvings of the four orders of chivalry on the outer gateway, which are associated with King James V.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.27.]

44. DAVID RAMSAY fl.1610-1613 Clockmaker

Ramsay became clockmaker to the King in 1613, and was based in London. He made a table clock about 1610, and then c1615 a watch, which is engraved with the Arms of Robert Carr,Earl of Somerset. [Plate 114.] He also made a watch mechanism contained in a silver and gilt brass case. The case was engraved by a Fleming, Gerard de Heck. It is possible de Heck was responsible for engraving all of Ramsay's time pieces.
[Exhibition Booklet,1975,p.38.]

45. HENRY MYLNE fl.1613-1617 Goldsmith

Made a burgess of Edinburgh on the 8 September 1613, Henry was the eldest son of David Mylne, goldsmith.[REB,1929,p.374.] On the 12 April 1617 Mylne was paid £45.0.0. for "making the sceptre, St Andro and St George with the ordour of the Thrissell."[Mylne,1893,p.106.]

These were the metal fittings for the statue of King James, started by Benjamin Lambert [48] and completed by John Mylne [42] for the Netherbow Port. The St Andrew and St George were the pendant badges on the collar of thistles and the Order of the Garter which hung round the neck of the statue.

46. HUGH ANDERSON fl.1614-1639 Goldsmith

He was a resident craftsman in Aberdeen who was paid on the 21 October 1614 "for making of the parsone of Kinkells seall to seall the tak that he gave the town." The seal may have been heraldic. Anderson was Deacon of the Hammermen in 1617, 1620, and 1623, and Deacon-Convenor in 1622 and 1623.
[James,1981,p.27.]

47. ANDREW STRACHAN fl.1616-1673 Painter

A painter of armorials in Aberdeen, Strachan was married to Margaret Meling and had four children, Violet, Robert, Thomas, and Esther. The bulk of his recorded work was executed after 1625.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.92.]

48. BENJAMIN LAMBERT died 1616 Mason

On the 9 September 1616 Edinburgh burgh council recorded the following, "Quhilk day the provost, baillies, deyne of gild, thesaurer, and counsell being conveynit, ordainis Johnne Byris,thesaurer, to content and pay to Benjamin Lambert the sowme of four hundreth, therettie merks, sax schillingis, aucht penyis for the King's portrait and new armis to be erected at the netherbow and the same sarbe awllowit to him in his comptis." The following month the burgh treasurer recorded "Item,Benjamine died this nycht at 5 houris at nycht, his wages is this oulk £7.4.0.Scots."
The burgh council paid some of Lambert's funeral expenses. As the result of this tragic event John Mylne [42] was called in to complete the contract.
[Mylne,1893,p.105.]

49. GEORGE ROBERTSON fl.1616-1617 Goldsmith

Robertson was elected a burgess of Edinburgh on the 24 July 1616 by right of being an apprentice to George Craufurd,[38] goldsmith.[REB,1929,p.424.]

The following year Robertson was commissioned to make a new mace for Edinburgh burgh council, which cost £874.10.0. The mace is of silver gilt and incorporates heraldic decoration. [Plate 116.] The commission was one of several to various craftsmen as part of the preparations for the royal visit in 1617.[Finlay,1956,p.93.]

50. WILLIAM WALLACE fl.1615-died 1631 Mason

Wallace is described as a carver in extant lists of masons working on various royal buildings from 1615. He was appointed principal master mason to the King on the 18 April 1617.[Paton,1957,p.xxxv.] During that year he worked on the north-east Palace Block at Edinburgh Castle and carved the royal Arms and Honours of Scotland, along with other decorative details.
[Plates 38,39,and 40.] The following year he was responsible for rebuilding the collapsed north range of Linlithgow Palace [Plate 44.] On the 21 November 1621 he became a burgess of Edinburgh.[REB,1929,p.510.]

During 1625 he was at work in Stirling Castle where he was paid in October for "xx pund weycht of small irne maid be him for wirking of the lyonnes and unicornes with the rest of the kingis badges."[Mylne,1893,p.73.]
Wallace went on to execute carved work at Winton House for the 2nd Earl of Wintoun, and was also engaged with the construction of George Heriot's School in Edinburgh.
Wallace's mark: a saltire cross with a heart at the top right.
[McWilliam,1980,p.473,and Gifford,McWilliam,& Walker,1984,p.180.]

51. JOHN BELL fl.1617-1618 Mason

Bell was resident in Aberdeenshire and was probably related to George Bell, mason, who died in 1575, and to David Bell, employed at Pitfichie Castle in 1607.[Cruden,1981,p.190.] John Bell's great achievement is the heraldic table of the royal Arms at Castle Fraser. [Plate 125.] The carving is one of the few to be signed by the carver. It is inscribed: 1617 I BEL MM (Heart Mark) F which can be transcribed: 1617 JOHN BELL MASTER MASON (His mark) FECIT.[Slade,1977,p.252.]

52. GEORGE KIRKWOOD fl.1617 Goldsmith

Kirkwood made a pair of silver ceremonial keys for presentation to King James when he entered Edinburgh during his visit in 1617.[EBR,1931,p.158.]

53. JOHN SAWERS Younger fl.1617-died 1651 Painter

The son of John Sawers,[27] he was paid, along with other painters, for work done at Edinburgh Castle in June 1617, and then in March and April 1618. His main career falls outwith the reign of King James, but his interest in the science and painting of heraldry began before 1625. Sawers became herald painter at the Office of Arms in 1628, demitted that office on appointment as Carrick Pursuivant on the 29 March 1637, and was promoted to Snowdoun Herald on the 1 April 1643. He produced an armorial which is now in the National Library of Scotland.[Ms 31.4.4.]
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.82,82.]

54. MATHEW GOODRICK fl.1617–1654 Painter

Citizen and painter of London. With the huge demand for craftsmen at the time of preparation for the 1617 royal visit, Goodrick was employed at Holyroodhouse "at the soume of tua hundreth pundis laughful money of England" for "paynting and gylting of his majesties chappell of Haliruidhous." This probably included heraldic painting as he worked in partnership with Nicholas Stone.[55]
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978.pp.42,43.]

55. NICHOLAS STONE fl.1617 Woodcarver

Citizen and carver of London. Employed by the Privy Council for the "repairing of his majesties chappell within the Palace of Halirudhouse with daskis, stallis, laftis, and otheris necessaris, in suche decent and comelie forme and maner as is aggreable to his Majesties princelie estaite." This was to be done by Stone because "this work could not be gottin so perfytlie and well done within this cuntrey as is requisite."
[RPCS,Vol.X,pp.593,594,and Vol.XI,pp.64,65,67,84.] The remains of a carved oak panel from Holyrood Abbey may be an example of Stone's work.

56. THOMAS HALL fl.1617–1628 Painter

Included in the list of painters employed at Edinburgh Castle during 1617. Hall also worked with John Sawers,Elder at Linlthgow Palace in 1628.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.44.]

57. ROBERT TELFER fl.1617–1639 Painter

The son of Henry Telfer, mason, he was made a painter burgess of Edinburgh on the 10 December 1617. Telfer married Christian Morre on the 27 November 1621 and had a son John who later became a painter burgess of Edinburgh by right of his father.

Robert Telfer worked at Edinburgh Castle in 1618 and at Holyroodhouse in 1633 and 1639. In 1636 he painted the royal Arms over the main entrance to Parliament House in Edinburgh.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.96.]

58. VALENTINE JENKIN fl.1617-1634 Painter

Jenkin was an English-born painter who worked in Stirling Castle during 1617. He was paid in May of that year for transporting painting materials from Edinburgh to Stirling, along with John Binning.[43] On the 10 April 1623 he was made a painter burgess of Glasgow "for service done by him to the burgh, and to be done, which will extend to the sum of 100 merks."

There are numerous records for painting done by Jenkin between 1627 and 1634 at Glasgow, Hamilton Palace, and Stirling Castle where he painted the interior of the Chapel Royal. [Plate 22.] In May 1629 he was paid expenses for horse hire "that caryit ane kais with thrie brodis in it quhairon the Kingis armes" from Stirling to Falkland. Jenkin was paid "for the painting of the forsaid thrie great brodis and furnisching cullouris, gold, oyle, and the haill stufe thairto, and for overlaying and marboilling the thrie housingis abone the great yet quhare thai stand." The following year Jenkin was paid for gilding "the cok and ass the thrystell and crown and schepter above the kings armes and to gilt the tounes armes above the entrie to the gevel of the tolbuith" in Glasgow.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,pp.52,53.]

59. WILLIAM KER fl.1618 Painter

Ker may have been an Aberdonian who worked in Edinburgh Castle during March and April 1618 with John Sawers Younger and Robert Telfer.
[Apted and Hannabuss,1978,p.55.]

60. CHARLES DICKSON fl.1624-1636 Goldsmith

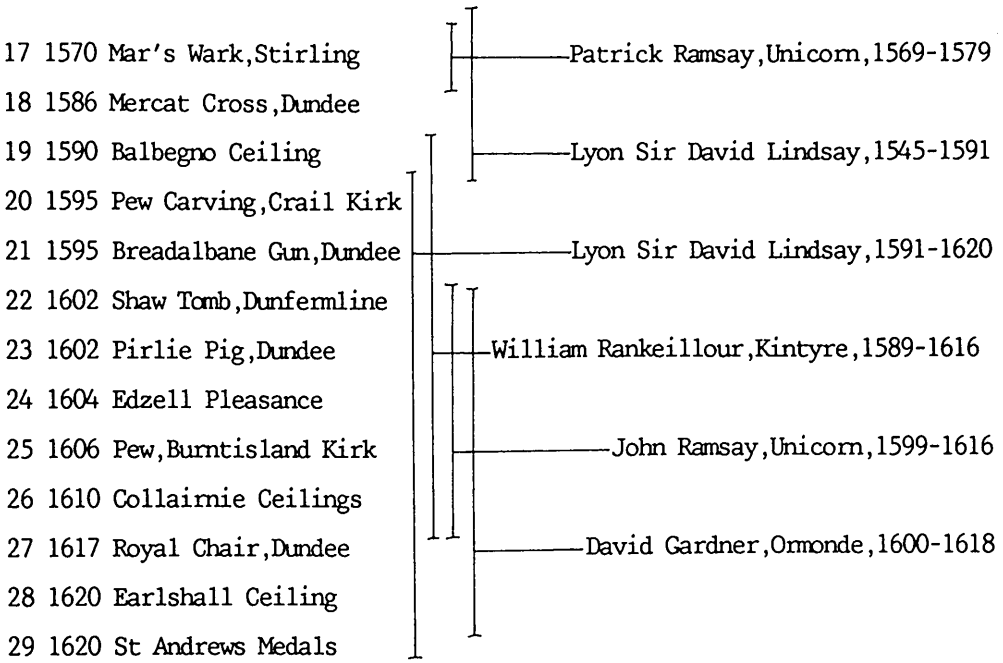
On the 24 April 1624,"the Lordis of Secreit Counsell ordanis and commandis the ressavearis of his majesties rentis to mak payment and delyverance to Charlis Dikkiesoun, goldsmythe, of the soume of fourtie pundis for his panis and travellis tane in graving of his majesties cashett and sinking of the courte signett." [RPCS,Vol.VIII,p.491.] Dickson was Sinker at the Mint from 1625 until 1636.[Cochran-Patrick,1876,p.xxvi.] He became a burgess and guild brother of Edinburgh on the 10 September 1634 by right of his father David Dickson.[REB,1929,p.149.]

Appendix Four

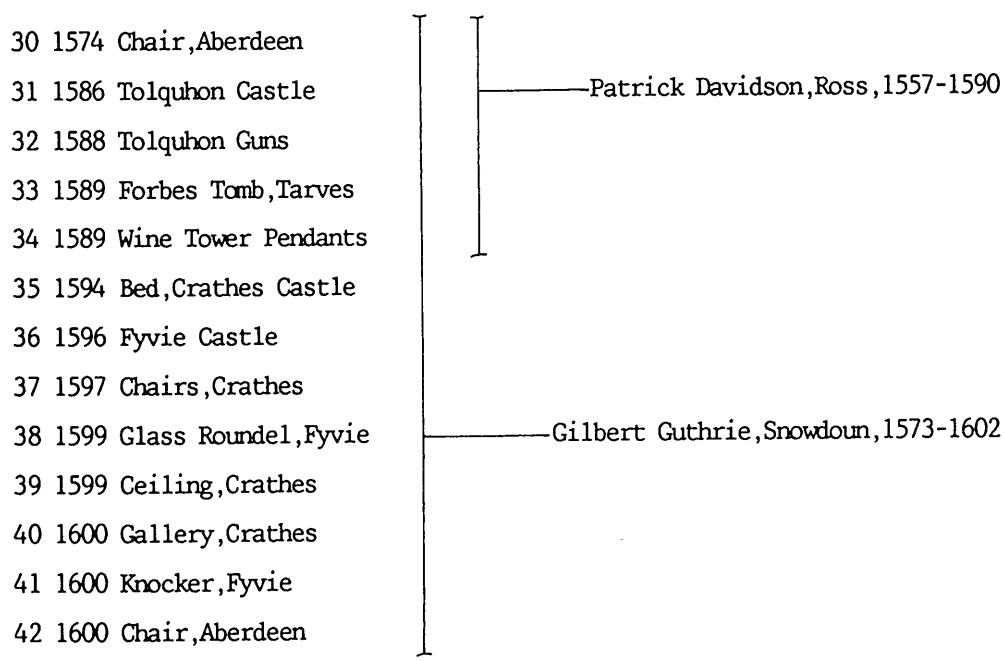
CORRELATION BETWEEN OFFICERS AND LOCATION OF HERALDIC ART

Numeral refers to locations shown on map of Scotland

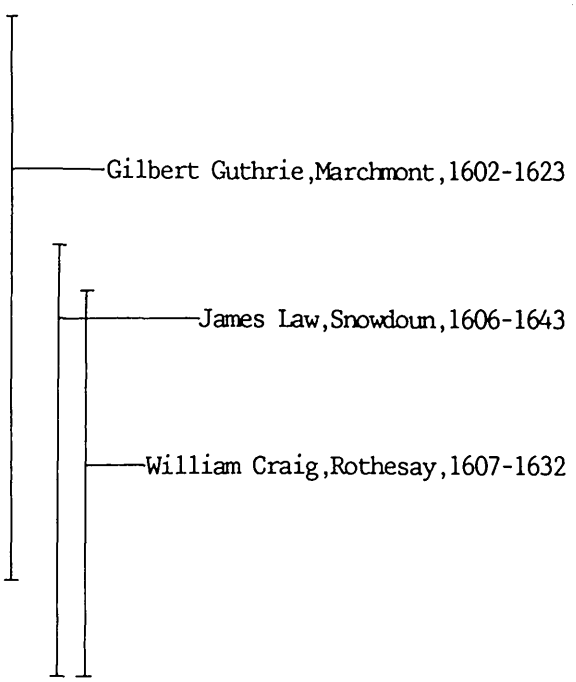
Date	*Example*	*Officer, with dates of appointment*
ORKNEY AND SHETLAND		
1	1574 Tankerness House Panel	William Henderson,Dingwall,1563-1582
2	1588 Cup of George Sinclair	
3	1610 Muness Castle Carving	
4	1610 Muness Castle Knocker	
WEST		
5	1585 Hagg's Castle	
6	1596 Dunderave Castle	
7	1597 Newark Castle	
8	1598 McLellan's Tomb	
9	1600 Amisfield Door	
10	1601 Terregles Door	Robert Campbell,Carrick,1582-1615
11	1606 Killochan Panels	
12	1608 Paisley Silver Bell	
13	1609 Lanark Silver Bell	
14	1620 Paisley Silver Bell	
BORDERS		
15	1576 Branxholm Panel	John Gledstanes,Ormonde,1577-1593
16	1611 Gala House Lintel	
ANGUS AND FIFE		


17 1570 Mar's Wark,Stirling
18 1586 Mercat Cross,Dundee
19 1590 Balbegno Ceiling
20 1595 Pew Carving,Crail Kirk
21 1595 Breadalbane Gun,Dundee
22 1602 Shaw Tomb,Dunfermline
23 1602 Pirlie Pig,Dundee
24 1604 Edzell Pleasance
25 1606 Pew,Burntisland Kirk
26 1610 Collairnie Ceilings
27 1617 Royal Chair,Dundee
28 1620 Earlshall Ceiling
29 1620 St Andrews Medals
Patrick Ramsay,Unicorn,1569-1579
Lyon Sir David Lindsay,1545-1591
Lyon Sir David Lindsay,1591-1620
William Rankeillour,Kintyre,1589-1616
John Ramsay,Unicorn,1599-1616
David Gardner,Ormonde,1600-1618

NORTH-EAST


30 1574 Chair,Aberdeen
31 1586 Tolquhon Castle
32 1588 Tolquhon Guns
33 1589 Forbes Tomb,Tarves
34 1589 Wine Tower Pendants
35 1594 Bed,Crathes Castle
36 1596 Fyvie Castle
37 1597 Chairs,Crathes
38 1599 Glass Roundel,Fyvie
39 1599 Ceiling,Crathes
40 1600 Gallery,Crathes
41 1600 Knocker,Fyvie
42 1600 Chair,Aberdeen
Patrick Davidson,Ross,1557-1590
Gilbert Guthrie,Snowdoun,1573-1602

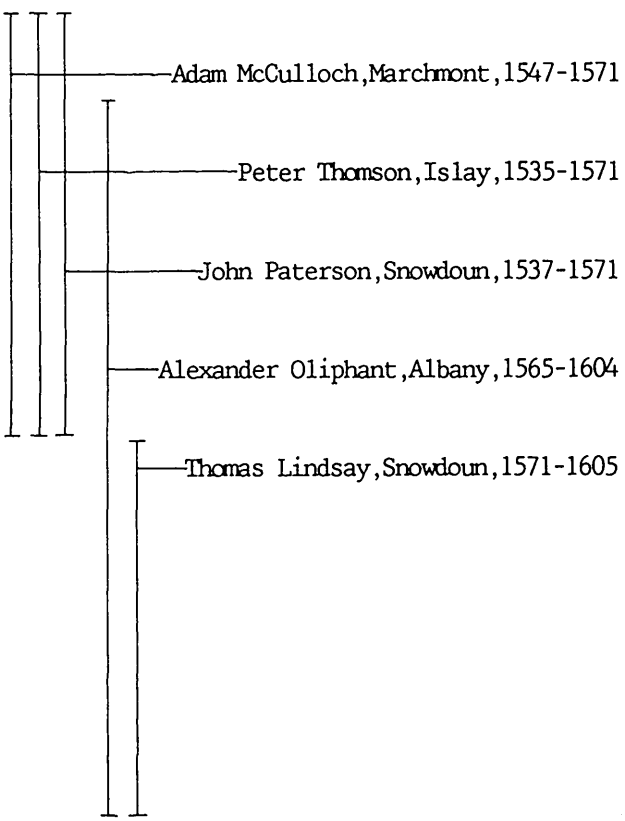
43 1602 Frontispiece,Huntly
44 1602 Ceiling,Crathes
45 1602 Doorway,Cullen
46 1602 Loft,Cullen Kirk
47 1603 Panel,Fyvie Kirk
48 1606 Fireplace,Huntly
49 1613 Brass,Aberdeen
50 1613 Dresser,Tilquhilly
51 1613 Cross,Fraserburgh
52 1617 Heraldry,Castle Fraser
53 1618 Cup,Fyvie Kirk
54 1621 Chair,Aberdeen
55 1624 Plaster,Muchalls Castle
56 1625 Plaster,Craigievar



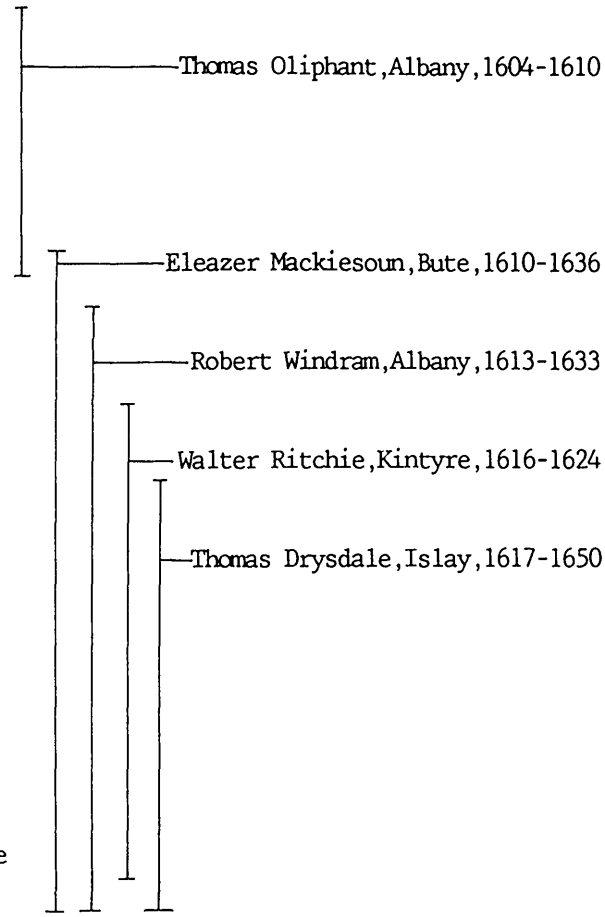
EDINBURGH AND DISTRICT

All coinage of the realm issued between 1567 and 1625, struck in Edinburgh.

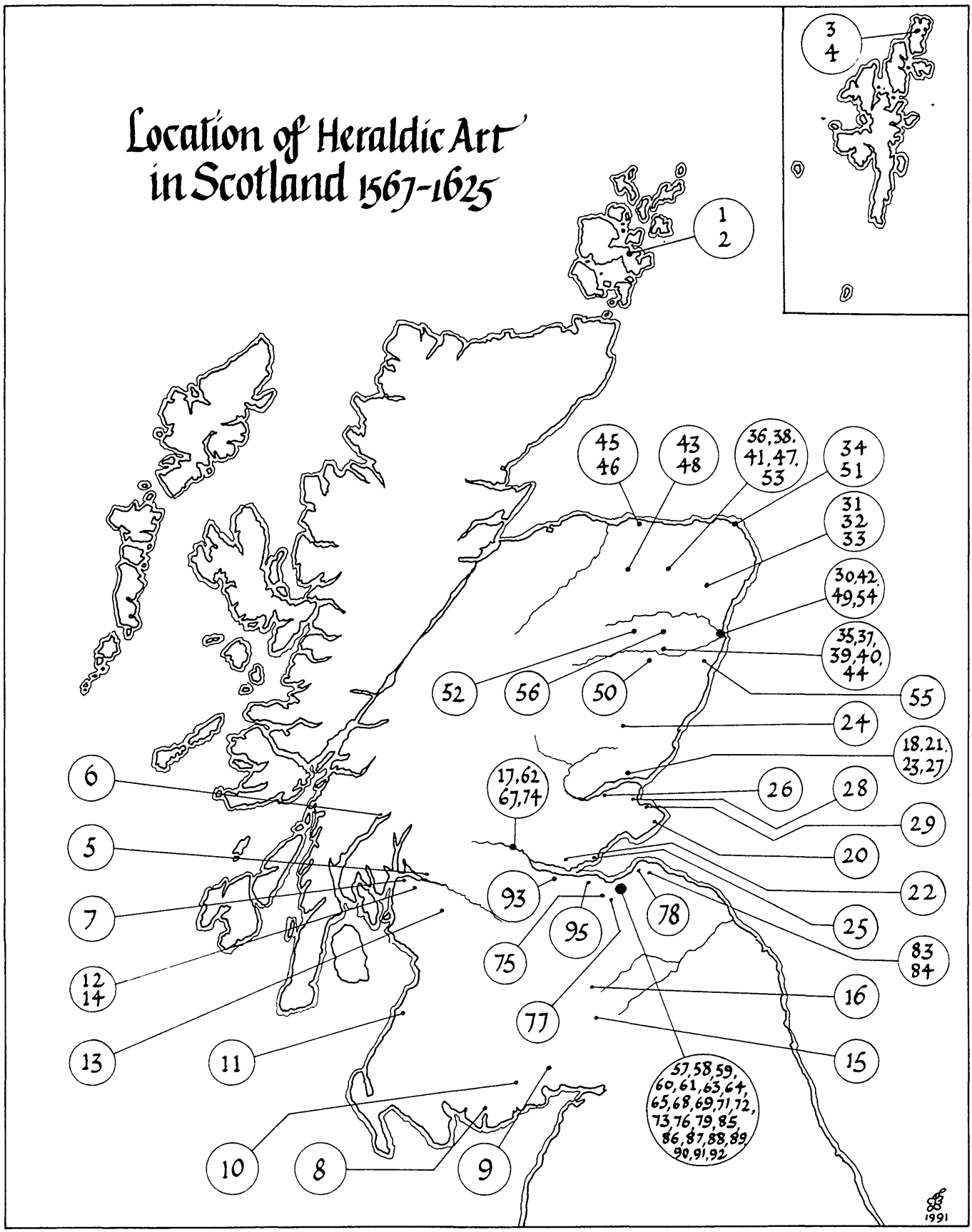
57 1562 Seton Medal
58 1563 Cockburn Brass
59 1565 Forman Armorial 1
60 1565 Forman Armorial 2
61 1565 Hamilton Armorial
62 1566 Erskine Ewer
63 1567 Letters Pat.Balfour
64 1567 Letters Pat.Maxwell
65 1570 Moray Brass
66 1577 Seton Bronze Bell
67 1578 Door,Stirling
68 1583 Le Breton Armorial
69 1585 Seton Family Tree
70 1590 Arniston Embroidery
71 1590 Cavers Standard
72 1590 Marchmont Standard
73 1591 Seton Armorial



74 1595 Chapel Royal,Stirling
75 1595 Pew,Midcalder Kirk
76 1596 Kinloch Birthbrief
77 1600 Glass Roundel,Woodhouselee
78 1604 Pew,Preston Kirk
79 1604 Montrose Seal Case
80 1605 Nunraw Ceiling
81 1605 Royal Arms,Holyrood
82 1608 Carving,Linlithgow
83 1610 Ceiling,Pinkie
84 1613 Plaster,Pinkie
85 1615 Clyghorne Bowl
86 1616 Palace,Edinburgh
87 1617 Royal Arms,Edinburgh
88 1617 Royal Arms Embroidery
89 1617 Mace,Edinburgh
90 1619 Dean House Carving
91 1620 Dunvegan Armorial
92 1620 Workman Armorial
93 1620 Linlithgow Palace
94 1621 Cup,Inveresk Kirk
95 1623 Fountain,Dundas Castle
96 1626 Sawers Armorial



All Lyon Kings, Heralds, Pursuivants and Herald Painters, either regularly visited, or resided in Edinburgh.


Location of Heraldic Art in Scotland 1567-1625
3
4
1
2
45
46
43
48
36,38,
41,47,
53
34
51
31
32
33
30,42,
49,54
35,37,
39,40,
44
55
52
56
50
24
18,21,
23,27
17,62
67,74
26
28
29
6
5
20
22
93
78
7
95
25
75
83
84
12
14
16
77
13
11
15
57,58,59,
60,61,63,64,
65,68,69,71,72,
73,76,79,85,
86,87,88,89
90,91,92
10
8
9
1991

BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPTS

Sir David Lindsay's Collectanea, National Library of Scotland, 31.3.20.
Office of a Herald, National Library of Scotland, 31.7.22.
Fife Families, National Library of Scotland, 34.6.24.
Scottish Armorial, c1565, National Library of Scotland, 31.4.2.
Seton Armorial, 1591, National Library of Scotland, Acc.9309.
Workman Armorial, c1620, National Library of Scotland, 31.3.6.
Sawers Armorial, post1625, National Library of Scotland, 31.4.4.

Forman Lyon Office Armorial, Lyon Office, MS.17.
The Lyon Office, Unpublished Ms by Lord Lyon G. Burnett in the Lyon Office.

Treasurers Accounts, 1580-1625, Scottish Record Office, MS.E21/61-E21/92.

Liber Curarium et Processus Dni Roberti Forman de Luthrie Leonis Regis Armorum 1557, Scottish Record Office, Ms.RH11/1/1.

Protocol Book of James Nicolson Scottish Record Office, Ms.NP1/10.

The Worthies & The Regalia, A Linked Chain of Plaster Ceilings, 1599-1665, Unpublished Ms by J.E.D. Touche.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Accounts of the Treasurer of Scotland, 1566-1580, Volumes 12 and 13, Edinburgh.

Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1567-1592, Volume II, III, VII, Edinburgh, 1814.

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1557-1594, Volumes 19 to 22, Edinburgh.

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1593-1608. Volume 5, Edinburgh, 1880.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1627, Volumes 1 to 14, Second Series, Volume 1, Edinburgh.

Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland, 1556-1584, Volumes 5 to 8, Edinburgh.

ANDERSON, Rev.J., 1899, Calendar of the Laing Charters, Edinburgh.

ANDERSON, J.R., (Ed.), 1925, The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1573-1750, Edinburgh.

APTED, M.R. and HANNABUSS, S.	1978	Painters in Scotland,1301-1700, Edinburgh.
BURKE, Sir B.	1883,	Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire. London.
BURNS, Rev.T	1892,	Old Scottish Communion Plate, Edinburgh.
DONALDSON, G.	1949,	Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572. Edinburgh.
DE VRIES, J.Vredeman,	1604,	Perspective, Leiden.
DIETTERLIN, W.	1598,	Architectura, Nuremberg.
FRANKS,A.W. and GREUBER, H.A.,(Eds)	1885,	Medallic Illustrations of Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 1, London.
GIFFORD,J,MCWILLIAM,C, WALKER,D,WILSON,C.	1984,	Edinburgh, The Buildings of Scotland, London.
GIFFORD, J.	1988,	Fife, The Buildings of Scotland, London.
GILLESPIE, J.(intro.)	1922,	Details of Scottish Domestic Arctitecture, Edinburgh.
GRANT, F.J.	1892,	Memorial Catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition, 1891, Edinburgh.
GRANT, Sir F.J.	1945,	Court of the Lord Lyon, 1318-1945, Edinburgh.
HAWKINS, E.	1885,	Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II. Volume 1, London
H.M.S.O.	1933,	An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Fife, Edinburgh.
H.M.S.O.	1951,	An Inventory of the Ancient and Historical Monuments of the City of Edinburgh. Edinburgh.
INNES, C.[Ed]	1855,	The Black Book of Taymouth, Edinburgh.
JAMES, I.E.	1981,	The Goldsmiths of Aberdeen, Aberdeen.
LAING, H.	1850,	Ancient Scottish Seals, Edinburgh.
LAING, H.	1866,	Ancient Scottish Seals, Edinburgh.
MACDONALD, W.R.	1904,	Scottish Armorial Seals, Edinburgh.

MACGIBBON,D. and ROSS,T. 1872-92, The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland, 5 Volumes, Edinburgh.

MACGIBBON,D. and ROSS,T. 1896-97, The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland, 3 Volumes, Edinburgh.

MACKENZIE of Rosehaugh, Sir G. 1680, The Science of Herauldry, Edinburgh.

McWILLIAM, C 1980, Lothian, The Buildings of Scotland, London.

MAIDMENT, J. 1837, Heraldic Tracts of Sir James Balfour, Edinburgh.

MITCHELL, J. 1982, English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms Volume 1, 1244-1334, Peebles.

MITCHELL, R.W. 1982, Seton Armorial, Transcription, Peebles.

MITCHELL, R.W. 1982, Dunvegan Armorial, Transcription, Peebles.

MITCHELL, R.W. 1983, Hamilton Armorial, Transcription, Peebles.

MITCHELL, R.W. 1984, Hague Roll, Transcription, Peebles.

PATON, H.M. (Ed), 1957, Accounts of the Masters of Works,1529-1615, Volume 1, Edinburgh.

COCHRAN-PATRICK, R.W. 1876, Records of the Coinage of Scotland, Edinburgh.

COCHRAN-PATRICK, R.W. 1884, Catalogue of Medals of Scotland, Edinburgh.

PRYDE, G.S. (Ed), 1937, Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624, Edinburgh.

PURVEY, P.F. 1972, Coins and Tokens of Scotland, Standard Catalogue of British Coins, Part 4, London.

RENWICK, R. (Ed), 1887, Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, 1510-1666, Glasgow.

LUCIE-SMITH, E, 1988, Dictionary of Art Terms, London.

STAIR, J [Ed. D.M. Walker] 1981, The Institutions of the Law of Scotland, Edinburgh

STEVENSON, J.H. and WOOD, M. 1940, Scottish Heraldic Seals, Volume 1, Public Seals. Glasgow.

STODART, R.R. 1881, Scottish Arms,1370-1678, 2 Volumes, Edinburgh.

WATSON,C.B.B. (Ed), 1929, Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren, 1406-1700, Edinburgh.

WHITELAW, C.E. 1977, Scottish Arms Makers, London.

WOOD, M. (Ed), 1927, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1589-1603, Edinburgh.

WOOD, M. (Ed), 1931, Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604-1626, Edinburgh.

WOOD, M. (Ed), 1932, The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh,1296-1932, Edinburgh.

SECONDARY SOURCES

ANDERSON, P.D. 1982, Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney,Lord of Shetland, 1533-1593, Edinburgh.

ANONYMOUS, 1975, King James VI and I, Edinburgh International Festival Catalogue, Edinburgh.

APTED, M.R. 1966, The Painted Ceilings of Scotland,1550-1650, Edinburgh.

BARLOW, T.D. 1948, The Woodcuts of Albrecht Durer, London.

BABELON, J.P. 1989, Chateaux de France au siecle de la Renaissance, Paris.

BILLINGS, R.W. 1852, The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh.

BIRCH, W.de G. 1905, History of Scottish Seals, Stirling.

BRUCE, M.E.C. 1870, Family Records of Bruces and Cumyns, Edinburgh.

BRYDALL, R. 1889, Art in Scotland, Edinburgh.

BURNETT, C.J. and BENNETT, H. 1987, The Green Mantle ; A Celebration of the Revival in 1687 of The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Edinburgh.

BURNETT, G. 1901, The Family of Burnett of Leys, Aberdeen.

BURNS, C. 1970, Golden Rose and Blessed Sword : Papal gifts to Scottish Monarchs, Glasgow.

CALDWELL, D.H. (Ed), 1981, Scottish Weapons and Fortifications, 1100-1800, Edinburgh.

CASTRIES, Duc de, 1980, Les Chateaux de Famille, Album des Chateaux de France, Paris.

CHRISTENSEN, T.L. 1983, The Earl of Rothes in Denmark, The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, Cowan & Shaw (Editors), Edinburgh, pp.60-74.

CRUDEN, S. 1981, The Scottish Castle, London.

FERGUSON, G 1955, Signs & Symbols in Christian Art, London.

FINLAY, I. 1948, Scottish Crafts, London

FINLAY, I. 1956, Scottish Gold and Silver Work, London.

FRASER, W. 1858, The Stirlings of Keir and their Family Papers, Edinburgh.

FRASER, W. 1873, The Book of Carlaverock, Volume 1, Edinburgh.

FYFE, J.G. 1927, Scottish Diaries and Memories, 1550-1746, Stirling.

GEDDES, W.G. and DUGUID, P. 1886, The Heraldic Ceiling of the Cathedral Church of St.Machar,Old Aberdeen, Aberdeen.

GIROUARD, M. 1966, Robert Smythson and the Architecture of the Elizabethan Era, London.

HAY, G. 1957, The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560-1843, Oxford.

HILL, O. 1953, Scottish Castles of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, London.

H.M.S.O. 1960, The Stirling Heads, Edinburgh.

HOWARD, D.S. 1974, Chinese Armorial Porcelain, London.

HUIZINGA, J. 1924, The Waning of the Middle Ages, London.

INNES of Learney, T. 1934, Scots Heraldry, Edinburgh.

JACKSON, D.J. 1937, Esther Inglis, Calligrapher, 1571-1624, New York.

JONES, D. 1987, Looking at Scottish Furniture, a documented Anthology, 1570-1900, Stirling.

JOURDAIN, M. 1950, English Interior Decoration, 1500-1830, London.

LEE, M. 1983, King James's Popish Chancellor, The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, Cowan & Shaw (Editors),Edinburgh,pp.170-182.

LINDSAY, Lord 1849, Lives of the Lindsays, Volume 1, London.

LINDSAY, I.G. 1960, The Scottish Parish Kirk, Edinburgh.

LYNCH, M. 1981, Edinburgh and the Reformation, Edinburgh.

MACMILLAN, D. 1990, Scottish Art, 1460-1990, Edinburgh.

MANSON, T.M.Y. 1983, Shetland in the Sixteenth Century, The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, Cowan & Shaw (Editors),Edinburgh,pp.200-213.

MILLINGTON, E.J. 1858, Heraldry in History, Poetry, and Romance, London

MITCHELL, W.S. 1955, A History of Scottish Bookbinding 1432 to 1650, Aberdeen.

MUNRO, R.W. & J. 1980, The Scrimgeours and their Chiefs, Edinburgh.

MYLNE, R.S. 1893, The Master Masons to the Crown of Scotland Edinburgh.

NEUBECKER, D. 1976, Heraldry, Sources, Symbols and Meaning, New York.

NOBLE, Rev. M. 1805, A History of the College of Arms, London.

PALLISTER, B. 1870, Historic Devices, Badges and War-Cries, London.

BALFOUR PAUL, Sir J. 1904-14 The Scots Peerage, Edinburgh.

BALFOUR PAUL, Sir J. 1900, Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art, Edinburgh.

ROSENBERG, J.,SLIVE, S. and TER KNILE, E.H. 1972, Dutch Art and Architecture,1600-1800, Harmondsworth.

ROWLANDS, J. 1988, The Age of Durer and Holbein, German Drawings, 1400-1550, Exhibition catalogue, British Museum. London.

SALTOUN, Lord, 1879, The Frasers of Philorth, Two Volumes, Edinburgh.

SANDERSON, M.H.B. 1987, Mary Stewart's People, Edinburgh.

SETON, G. 1896, A History of the Family of Seton, Edinburgh.

SHAW, D. 1983, Adam Bothwell, a Conserver of the Renaissance in Scotland, The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, Cowan & Shaw,(Editors),Edinburgh,pp.141-169.

SHAW, L. 1882, History of the Province of Moray (Ed.J.F.S.Gordon), Volume 2, Glasgow.

SHEARMAN, J. 1967, Mannerism, Harmondsworth

SIMPSON, G.G. 1986, Scottish Handwriting, 1150-1650, Aberdeen.

STARKEY, D.[Ed.] 1991, Henry VIII, A European Court in England, London.

STEVENSON, D. 1988, The Origins of Freemasonry, Cambridge.

STEVENSON, J.H. 1914, Heraldry in Scotland, 2 Volumes, Glasgow.

SUMMERSON, J. 1970, Architecture in Britain, 1530-1830, Harmondsworth.

SWAIN, M. 1973, The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots, London.

SWAIN, M. 1986, Scottish Embroidery, Medieval to Modern, London.

TERRY, C.S. 1905, The Scottish Parliament, Glasgow.

THOMSON, D. 1975, Painting in Scotland, 1570-1650, Edinburgh.

WARRACK, J. 1920, Domestic Life in Scotland, 1488-1688, Edinburgh.

WOODCOCK, T. and ROBINSON, J.M. 1988, The Oxford Guide to Heraldry, Oxford.

WHINNEY, M. 1988, Sculpture in Britain, London

ARTICLES

ANDERSON, P.J. Note on Heraldic Representations now, or formerly, at Marischal College, Aberdeen, PSAS, Volume XXIII, 1888, pp.166-184.

BRYCE, I.B.D. The Wine Tower, Fraserburgh, Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland, Volume 11, 1989, pp.3-14.

BURNETT, C.J. — The Development of the Royal Arms of Scotland to 1603
Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland
Jubilee edition, 1977 pp.9-19.

BURNETT, C.J. — Funeral heraldry in Scotland with particular reference to hatchments
PSAS, Volume 116, 1986, pp. 477-481.

BURNETT, C.J. — The Collar of The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle
Journal of the Orders and Medals Research Society,
Volume 26,no.3,(196), 1987, pp.149-158.

CALDWELL, D.H. — In Search of Scottish Art : Native Traditions and Foreign Influences.
Scotland Creates, 1990, pp.45-60.

CLARK, W.H.C. — The Siller Gun, privately printed pamphlet, 1961, pp.1-19.

CLOUSTON, R.M.W. — The Church Bells of Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire
PSAS, Volume LXXXII, 1947, pp. 146-192.

COOKE, T.E. — Notice of the Heraldic Painted Ceilings in a House at Linlithgow, now destroyed,
PSAS, Volume VII-Part II, 1867, pp.400-412.

DONALDSON, G. — The Dunbar Monument in its Historical Setting,
East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, 1987, pp.1-16.

EELES, F.C. — The Church Bells of Linlithgowshire,
PSAS, Volume XLVII, 1912, pp.61-94.

GUTHRIE, Rev.J.T. — Cullen Auld Kirk,
Cullen Kirk Session, 1962.

HENSHALL, A. and MAXWELL, S. — Two Seventeenth Century Embroidered Royal Coats of Arms.
PSAS, Volume XCV, 1961, pp.284-290.

INNES of Learney, T. — The Scottish Parliament : Its Symbolism and its Ceremonial,
The Juridical Review, 1932, Volume XLIV, No.2, pp. 87-124.

INNES of Learney, T. — The Style and Title of Lord Lyon King of Arms,
The Juridical Review, 1932, Volume XLIV, No.3, pp. 197-220.

INNES of Learney, T. — Heraldic Decoration on the Castles of Huntly and Balvenie, PSAS, Volume LXX, 1935, pp.387-397.

LAING, D. — Notes relating to Mrs Esther (Langlois or) Inglis, the celebrated Calligraphist, PSAS, Volume VI, 1864, pp. 284-309.

LAING, H. — Remarks on the Carved Ceiling and Heraldic Shields of the Apartment in Holyroodhouse commonly known as "Queen Mary's Audience Chamber, PSAS, Volume VII, Part II, 1867-68, pp.381-384.

LEARMONT, D. — The Trinity Hall Chairs, Aberdeen, Furniture History, 1978, No. 14, pp.1-8.

LYONS, A.W. — Tempera Painting in Scotland during the Early Part of the Seventeenth Century, PSAS, Volume II, Fourth Series, 1903, pp.151-173.

MACKECHNIE, A. — The Architectural Profession, The Architecture of the Scottish Renaissance, 1990, pp.21-22, Edinburgh.

MAXWELL, S. — Carved Oak Panels formerly at Greenlaw, Kirkcudbrightshire, PSAS, Volume LXXXII, 1947, pp.290-292.

NOAD, R. — The Influence of France on the Architecture of Scotland during the Sixteenth Century. Quarterly, The Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, No.24, Winter 1927, pp.101-112.

NOAD, R. — The Influence of the Low Countries on the Architecture of Scotland. Quarterly, The Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, No.28, Winter 1928, pp.101-116.

O'NEILL, T. — Adam Loutfut's Book, Journal of the Heraldry Society, Vol.IV, No.32, 1957, pp.307-310.

POTTINGER, D. — A Jaundiced Look at the State of Things Journal of the Heraldry Society of Scotland, No.3, 1981, pp.46-59.

RICHARDSON, J.S. — Stirling Castle, Official Guidebook, 1943, Edinburgh

RICHARDSON, J.S. — Linlithgow Palace, Official Guidebook, 1943, Edinburgh.

SIMPSON, W.D. — The Architectural History of Huntly Castle, PSAS, Volume LXXII, 1921, pp.134-163.

SIMPSON, W.D. — Edzell Castle, PSAS, Volume LXV, 1930, pp.115-172

SIMPSON, W.D. — Tolquhon Castle and its Builder, PSAS, Volume LXXII, 1937, pp.248-272.

SIMPSON, W.D. — The Tolquhon Aisle, and other Monuments in Tarves Kirkyard ; with some further notes on Tolquhon, PSAS, Volume LXXX, 1948, pp.117-126.

SLADE, H.G. — Castle Fraser : a seat of the antient family of Fraser, PSAS, Volume 109, 1977, pp.233-300.

STEVENSON, J.H.(Ed) — The Funeral of Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, The Scottish Antiquary, Vol.XIII, 1899, pp.160-168.

STEWART, R. — The Richt Worschipfull Sir William Stewart of Luthrie, Knycht, Lyon King of Arms, Stewart Magazine, 1920, No.4, pp.352-371.

SUTHERLAND, J. — The Heraldic Ceiling of Balbegno Castle, Aberdeen University Review, 1975-76, Volume XLVI, pp.268-273.

WATSON, G.P.H. and GRAHAM, A. — A Mural Painting and a carved Door at Traquair House, PSAS, Volume LXXVI, 1941, pp.5-7

THE·SCOTTISH·OFFICERS·OF·ARMS 1565–1625

LEGEND
- Lyon
- Herald
- Pursuivant
- Extraordinary/other
- Non herald
- ..... Demitted

1 SIR ROBERT FORMAN OF LUTHRIE Lyon
2 ALEXANDER ROSS Ross Herald
3 JOHN FORSYTH Falkland and Kinture Pursuivant
4 WILLIAM SETON Pursuivant
5 WILLIAM HARDY Unicorn Pursuivant
6 MARTIN UDDART Ormonde Pursuivant
7 JOHN PATERSON Snowdoun Herald
8
9 ADAM McCULLOCH Marchmont Herald and Orkney Herald Extraordinary
10 PETER THOMSON Islay Herald
11 ALEXANDER FORRESTER Carrick Pursuivant
12 JOHN CALDER Bute Pursuivant
13 PATRICK DAVIDSON Kintyre Pursuivant, Ross Herald
14 WILLIAM HENDERSON Dingwall Pursuivant
15 ALEXANDER OLIPHANT Albany Herald
16 SIR WILLIAM STEWART OF LUTHRIE Ross and Albany Herald Lyon
17 SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF RATHILLET Rothesay Herald Lyon
18
19 ALEXANDER McCULLOCH Unicorn and Ormond Pursuivant
20 JOHN FORMAN Rothesay Herald
21 PATRICK RAMSAY Unicorn Pursuivant
22 JOHN BROWN Pursuivant Extraordinary
23 ROBERT CAMPBELL Extraordinary then Carrick Pursuivant
24 JAMES PURDY OF KINALDIES Kintyre Pursuivant, Islay Herald
25 THOMAS BARRY Pursuivant
26 ALEXANDER GUTHRIE Snowdoun Herald
27 THOMAS LINDSAY Snowdoun Herald
28 ROBERT RA Pursuivant
29 GILBERT GUTHRIE Linlithgow Pursuivant Marchmont Herald
30 ROBERT MUDY Pursuivant
31 NICOL FORRET Pursuivant
32 THOMAS RAMSAY Pursuivant
33 FLORENS DOUGLAS Rothesay Herald
34 JOHN GLEDSTANES OF GLEDSTANES Messenger then Marchmont Herald
35 JAMES MAXWELL Orkney Herald Extraordinary
36 GILBERT GUTHRIE Messenger then Marchmont Herald
37 GEORGE FALCONER Pursuivant
38 JAMES DAVIDSON Pursuivant
39 THOMAS CRAIG Pursuivant
40 ROBERT FRASER Unicorn Pursuivant
41 JAMES CRICHTON Pursuivant
42 JOHN PURDY Dingwall Pursuivant, Ross Herald
43 PATRICK BANNATYNE Islay Herald
44 WILLIAM RANKEILLOUR Kintyre Pursuivant
45 THOMAS MUNRO Pursuivant
46 JOHN BLINSELE Bute Pursuivant, Islay Herald
47 SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT Secundus Islay Herald Lyon
48 DANIEL GRAHAM Dingwall Pursuivant
49 ANDREW LITTLEJOHN Ross Herald
50 JAMES BORTHWICK Rothesay Herald
51 WILLIAM MACKIESOUN Bute Pursuivant
52 ADAM MATHESON Ross Herald
53 JOHN RAMSAY Unicorn Pursuivant
54 DAVID GARDNER Ormonde Pursuivant
55 THOMAS WILLIAMSON OF MYLNEHALL Ross Herald
56 JOHN YELLOWLEES Dingwall Pursuivant
57 THOMAS OLIPHANT Albany Herald
58 JAMES LAW Snowdoun Herald
59 WILLIAM CRAIG Rothesay and Ross Herald
60 JAMES WINDRAM Lyon Clerk
61 GEORGE KIRKWOOD Albany Herald
62 ELEAZER MACKIESOUN Bute Pursuivant
63 ROBERT WINDRAM Albany Herald
64 PATRICK ROSS Pursuivant
65 WALTER RITCHIE Kintyre Pursuivant
66 JAMES FUIRDE Unicorn Pursuivant
67 THOMAS DRYSDALE Islay Herald
68 JAMES CUNNINGHAM Carrick Pursuivant, Marchmont Herald
69 GILBERT HUNTER Dingwall Pursuivant
70 JAMES CURRIE Ormonde Pursuivant
71 JOHN BORTHWICK Unicorn Pursuivant
SIR JEROME LINDSAY OF ANNATLAND Lyon
ALEXANDER NEILSON Carrick Pursuivant

1565 BIRTH OF PRINCE
REGENT MORAY
1570 REGENT LENNOX
REGENT MAR
1575 REGENT MORTON
1580
1585
1590 CORONATION OF QUEEN ANNE
1595 BAPTISM OF PRINCE HENRY
1600 BAPTISM OF PRINCE CHARLES
BAPTISM OF PRINCE ROBERT
ACCESSION TO ENGLAND
1605
1610
1615 ROYAL VISIT TO SCOTLAND
1620
1625 DEATH OF KING JAMES VI AND I


SIR ROBERT FORMAN OF LUTHRIE


SIR WILLIAM STEWART OF LUTHRIE


SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF RATHILLET


SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT Secundus


SIR JEROME LINDSAY OF ANNATLAND


Volume Two
PLATES
The
OFFICERS OF ARMS
and
HERALDIC ART
under
KING JAMES
Sixth & First
1567 - 1625
CHARLES JOHN BURNETT
Ross Herald
EDINBURGH EX BIBL
Thesis submitted for
the degree of M.Litt. in the
University of Edinburgh
October 1991

Volume Two - Plates

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

List of Plates

Note and Abbreviation

Plates

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The visual nature of heraldry is so basic that any study of the subject will involve illustrations. One hundred and forty-seven plates have been employed to demonstrate or emphasise various points made in the text of this thesis.

I willingly acknowledge my indebtedness to the following individuals and organisations for granting permission to reproduce illustrations of objects in their possession :

Her Majesty The Queen: 37, 41, 119.
Mrs M. Swain MBE: 134.
Duke of Atholl: 23.
H. Dittrich Esq: 61, 62, 63, 64.
A.C.Henry Esq: 93.

The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland: 10, 11, 19, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 42, 43, 47, 60, 79, 83, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 112, 114, 117, 137, 138, 140, 147.
Historic Scotland: 38, 39, 40, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 84, 85, 122, 123, 124.
Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland: 21, 22, 44, 71, 72, 73, 130, 142.
National Trust for Scotland: 68, 69, 120, 125, 133.
Furniture History Society: 94, 95, 96.
Country Life Publications: 66, 76, 141.
Scottish Record Office: 24, 35.
Scottish National Portrait Gallery: 80, 81.
Dundee Art Galleries and Museums: 91, 92.
Paisley Art Gallery and Museum: 110, 111.
Christie's (Scotland) Limited: 12.
Asprey's Limited, London: 113.
City of Edinburgh District Council: 116.

LIST OF PLATES

1. Dress of the Officers of Arms, late 16th century, and after 1617.
2. Scottish Armorial, c1565, associated with Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie.
3. Forman Lyon Office Armorial, c1566.
4. Letters Patent, 6 February 1567, to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich.
5. Letters Patent, 2 April 1567, to John, Lord Maxwell.
6. Tolbooth and Mercat Cross, Edinburgh, in 1647.
7. Scottish Armorial, pre 1580, owned by Mrs C M Kerr in 1891.
8. Hamilton Armorial, c1565, College of Arms, London.
9. Hector Le Breton Armorial, c1583, College of Arms, London.
10. Cavers Standard, late 16th century, portion nearest hoist.
11. Cavers Standard, late 16th century, portion at fly.
12. Marchmont Standard, late 16th century.
13. The Palace of Holyroodhouse in 1647.
14. Seton Armorial, 1591.
15. Birthbrief in favour of David Kinloch, 1596.
16. Lindsay of The Mount secundus Armorial, c1595.
17. Dunvegan Armorial, c1620.
18. Workman Armorial, c1620.
19. Funeral Roll for marshalling Heraldic Elements, 1592?
20. Sawers Armorial, post 1625.
21. Oak Door from Stirling Castle, 1578, bearing the Royal Arms.
22. Chapel Royal, Sirling Castle, 1594.
23. Oak Carving of the Royal Arms of Scotland, c1600.
24. Great Seal of Scotland, reign of King James VI.
25. Marriage Medal of King James and Queen Anne, c1590.
26. Second Coinage of King James VI, 1572.
27. Third Issue of Coinage, 1580 and 1581.
28. Fourth and Fifth Issue of Coinage, 1582 and 1588.
29. Sixth Issue of Coinage, 1591.
30. Seventh Issue of Coinage, 1593.
31. Eighth Issue of Coinage, 1601.
32. Billon and Copper Coins of King James VI.
33. Sample of Coins issued after 1603.
34. Stained Glass Roundel, 1600, with Royal Arms of Scotland and Denmark.

35. Great Seal of Scotland of King James VI and I, 1605.
36. Montrose Seal Case, 1604, obverse with Royal Arms.
37. Royal Arms of the United Kingdom, Scottish Version, c1605.
38. Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle, 1616.
39. Honours of Scotland, East Facade, Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle.
40. Carved Pediment Decoration by William Wallace, 1616.
41. Oak Carving of the Royal Arms, c1617, from Holyroodhouse.
42. Embroidered Royal arms of King James VI and I, c1617.
43. Brass Stamp for a Super Libros, c1580, bearing the Royal Arms.
44. East Facade, Inner Quadrangle, Linlithgow Palace, 1620.
45. Mar's Wark, Stirling, 1570.
46. Heraldic Panels, Mar's Wark, Stirling.
47. Erskine Ewer, 1566, by James Cockie.
48. Heraldic Frontispiece, Huntly Castle, 1602.
49. Armorial Tower, Innsbruck, Austria.
50. False Dormer Window, Huntly Castle.
51. Armorial Fireplace, Huntly Castle, 1606.
52. Portrait Fireplace, Huntly Castle, c1606.
53. Cast Bronze Bell, 1577, commissioned by George, 5th Lord Seton.
54. Seton Family Tree, 1585.
55. Fyvie Castle, Central Tower, Main Facade.
56. Stained Glass Roundel, Fyvie Castle, 1599.
57. Main Staircase, Fyvie Castle.
58. Polychrome carved Oak Panel, 1603, Fyvie Kirk.
59. Heraldic Door Knocker, Fyvie Castle, c1603.
60. Communion Cup, Fyvie Kirk, 1618.
61. Trompe l'oeil Painted Ceiling, Pinkie House, Musselburgh, c1610.
62. Armorial Achievements, Painted Ceiling, Pinkie House.
63. Achievement of the Earl of Dunfermline in Plaster, c1613.
64. Heraldic Badge of the Earl of Dunfermline.
65. Communion Cup, Inveresk Kirk, 1621.
66. Oak Bed with Heraldic Tester, Crathes Castle, 1594.
67. Benches from St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.
68. Pair of Oak Chairs, Crathes Castle, 1597.
69. Oak Ceiling, Long Gallery, Crathes Castle, c1600.
70. The 'Muses' Ceiling, Crathes Castle, 1599.

71. The 'Nobles' Ceiling, Crathes Castle, 1602.
72. Painted Vault, Balbegno Castle, c1581.
73. Painted Ceiling, Nunraw, c1605?
74. Heraldic Ceiling, Collairnie Castle, c1608-1611.
75. Painted Gallery, Earlshall, 1620.
76. Plaster Ceiling and Overmantle, Muchalls Castle, 1624.
77. Heraldic Pendants, Wine Tower, Fraserburgh, c1570.
78. Finial of the Mercat Cross, Fraserburgh, c1613.
79. Breadalbane Gun, 1599, manufactured in Dundee.
80. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1601
81. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1619.
82. Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1619.
83. Ballochyle Brooch, late 16th century.
84. The Pleasance, Edzell Castle, 1604.
85. Heraldic Panel, The Pleasance, Edzell Castle, 1604.
86. Architectural Fragment, Dean House, Edinburgh, c1619.
87. Monument to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, died 1610.
88. Tomb of Sir Thomas MacLellan of Bombie, died 1597.
89. Monument to William Shaw, died 1602.
90. Monument to Sir Alexander Menzies, died 1624.
91. Chair Back, Dundee, made for the visit of the King in 1617.
92. The Dundee Pirlie Pig, of engraved pewter, 1602.
93. The Kircudbright Siller Gun, 1587.
94. Wrights' and Coopers' Chair, Aberdeen, 1574.
95. Oak Chair for the Deacon of the Hammermen, Aberdeen, c1600.
96. Oak Chair of the Tailors' Craft, Aberdeen, 1621.
97. Silver Archery Medals, St Andrews University, 1618-1627.
98. The Watson Mazer, c1550.
99. The St Mary's Mazer, c1550.
100. The Tulloch Mazer, 1557.
101. Print from the Tulloch Mazer, 1557.
102. The Galloway Mazer, 1569.
103. Memorial Brasses by James Gray, 1563 and 1570.
104. Countermarking of Coinage in 1575 and 1578.
105. Coconut Cup, 1588.
106. The Craigievar Mazer, 1591.

107.Seton Medal, 1562, obverse.

108.Seton Medal, 1562, reverse.

109.Montrose Seal Case, 1604, reverse with Arms of the Earl of Montrose.

110.Paisley Silver Bell, 1608.

111.Small Silver Paisley Bell, 1620.

112.Lanark Racing Bell, c1609.

113.Silver Bowl, by Thomas Clyghorne, c1615.

114.Watch by David Ramsay, c1615.

115.Memorial Brass to Dr Duncan Liddel, 1613.

116.Edinburgh City Mace, made by George Robertson in 1617.

117.Tolquhon Bronze Gun, 1588.

118.Cast Brass Door Knocker from Muness Castle, c1610.

119.Memorial of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, 1568.

120.Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, 1592.

121.Work by Elspeth Inglis.

122.Skewputt with Thomas Leiper's Initials at Tolquhon Castle, 1586-1589.

123.Heraldic panels above Entrance, Tolquhon Castle, 1586.

124.Tolquhon Monument in Tarves Kirkyard, 1589.

125.Heraldic Table on Castle Fraser, 1617.

126.Mercat Cross Shaft, Dundee, 1586.

127.Carved Panels from Kirkwall, 1574, and Branxholm Castle, 1576.

128.Main Entrance of Dunderave Castle, Argyll, 1596.

129.Hagg's Castle,Glasgow, showing carved decoration at the Entrance, 1585.

130.Newark Castle, c1598, and Cullen House, c1602.

131.Fountain sundial, Dundas Castle, 1623.

132.Carved Heraldic Stone Panels, 1578, 1583, and 1611.

133.Plaster Overmantle, Craigievar Castle, c1626.

134.Arniston Table Carpet, c1590.

135.Wood Carving from Muness Castle, c1610.

136.Door from Terregles, 1601, now at Traquair House.

137.Door from Amisfield Castle, 1600.

138.Killochan Panels, 1606.

139.Oak Dresser, 1613, originally made for Tilquhilly Castle, Kincardine.

140.Carved Oak Heraldic Panel with Arms of Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, 1621.

141.Seafield Loft, Cullen Auld Kirk, 1602.

142.Canopied Pew, Burntisland Kirk, 1606.

NOTE AND ABBREVIATION

The following plates were copied from the illustrated catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891; 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20,34, 54, 56, 59, 103, 115.

R.C.A.H.M.S. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland.

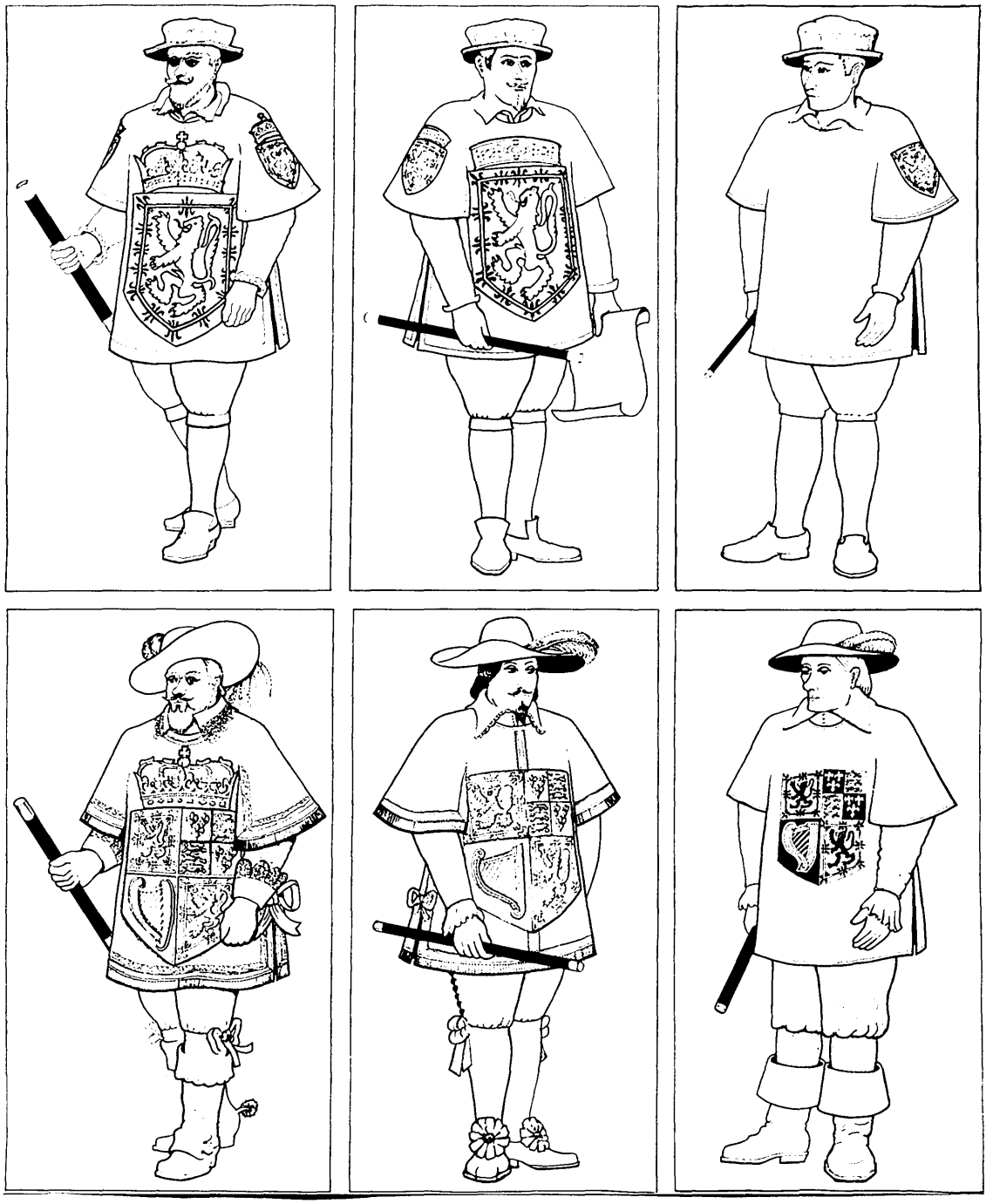


PLATE 1.
Above: Dress of Lyon, Herald, and Pursuivant during late 16th. century.
Below: Tabards as worn after 1617 by Lyon, Herald and Pursuivant.

Drawn by C.J. Burnett
Based on written description in N.L.S. Adv. Ms. 34.3.22., p. 18.

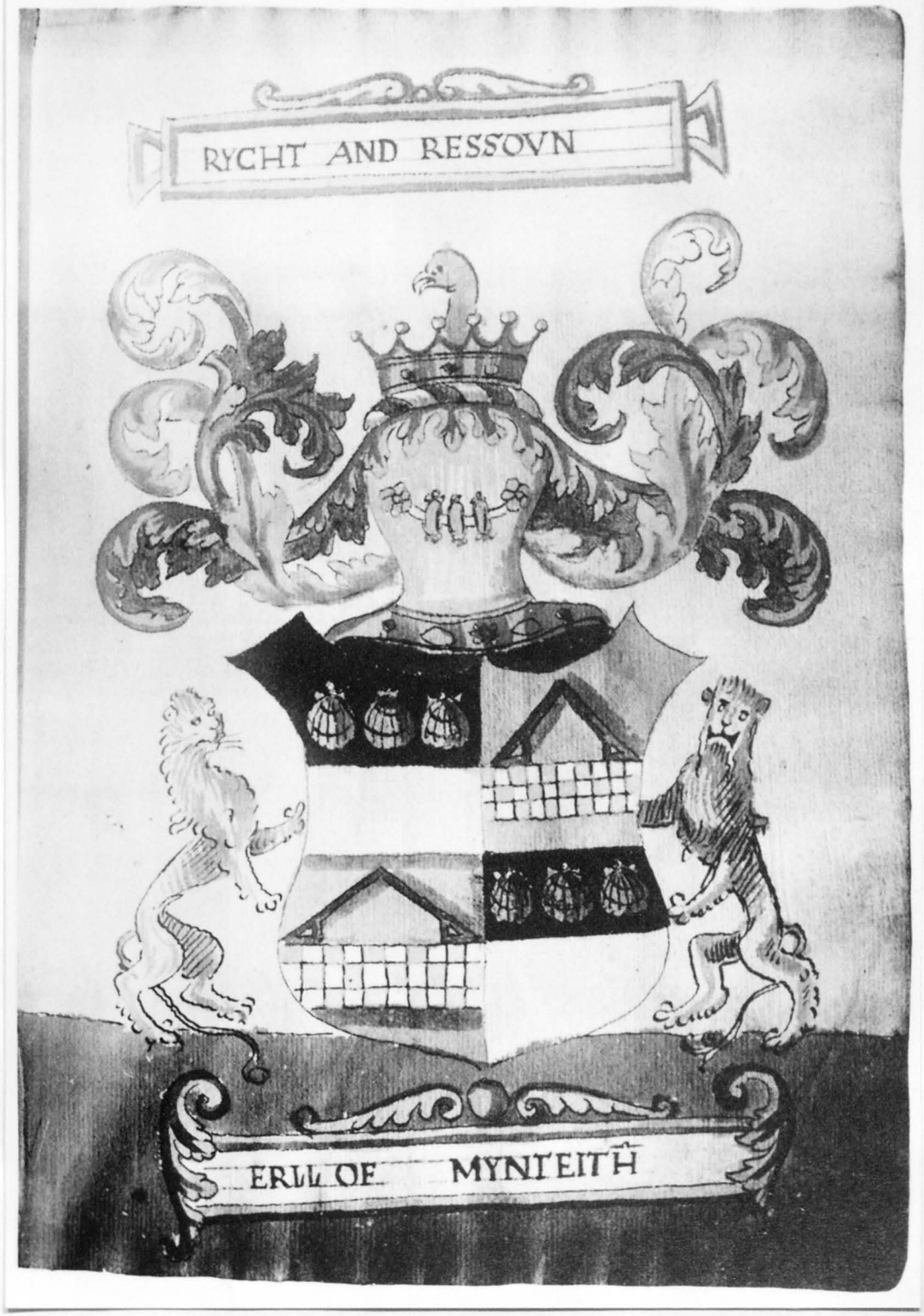


PLATE 2
Scottish Armorial c1565
Associated with Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 664.
National library of Scotland, Adv. MS. 31.4.2.



PLATE 3

Forman Lyon Office Armorial, c1566

Manuscript associated with Lyon Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie but erroneously named Workman's Armorial.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 666.

Lyon Office Ms. 17.

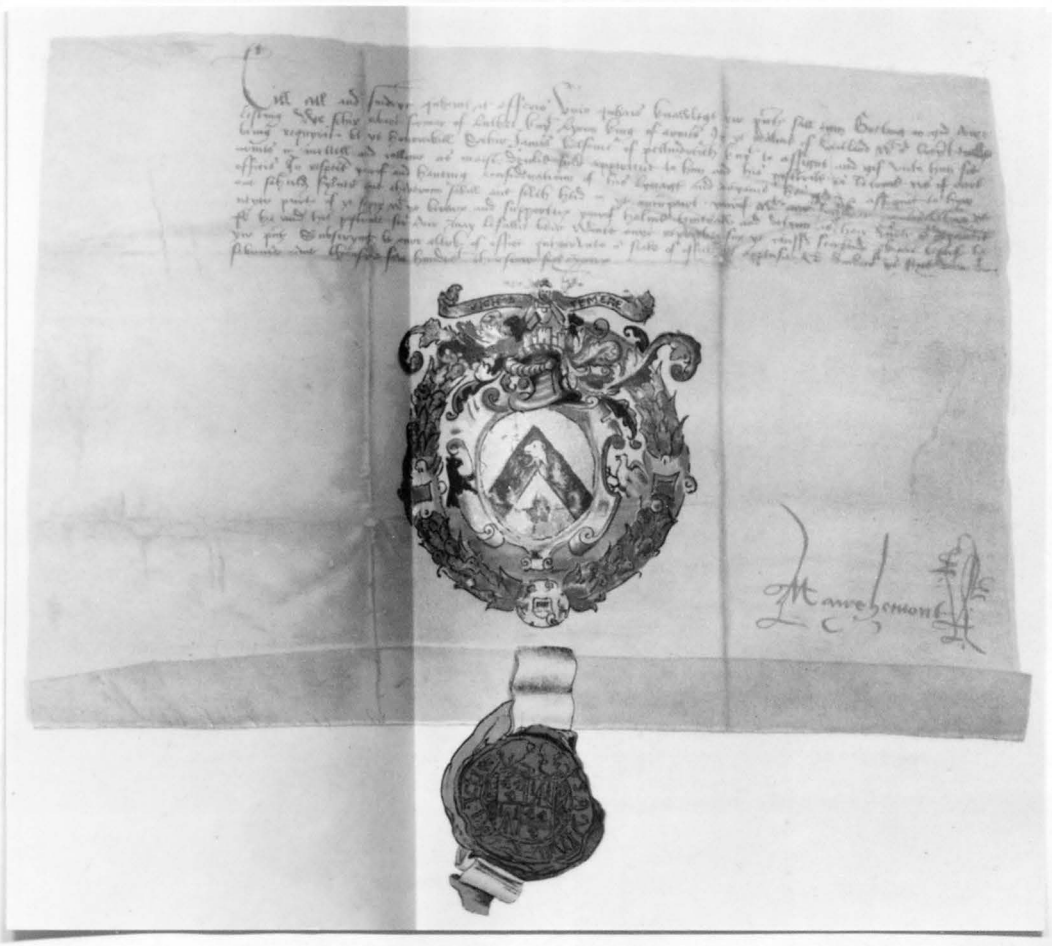


PLATE 4

Letters Patent, 6 February 1567.

Granting Arms to Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 48.
Owned by B.R.T. Balfour of Townley, Drogheda, in 1891.

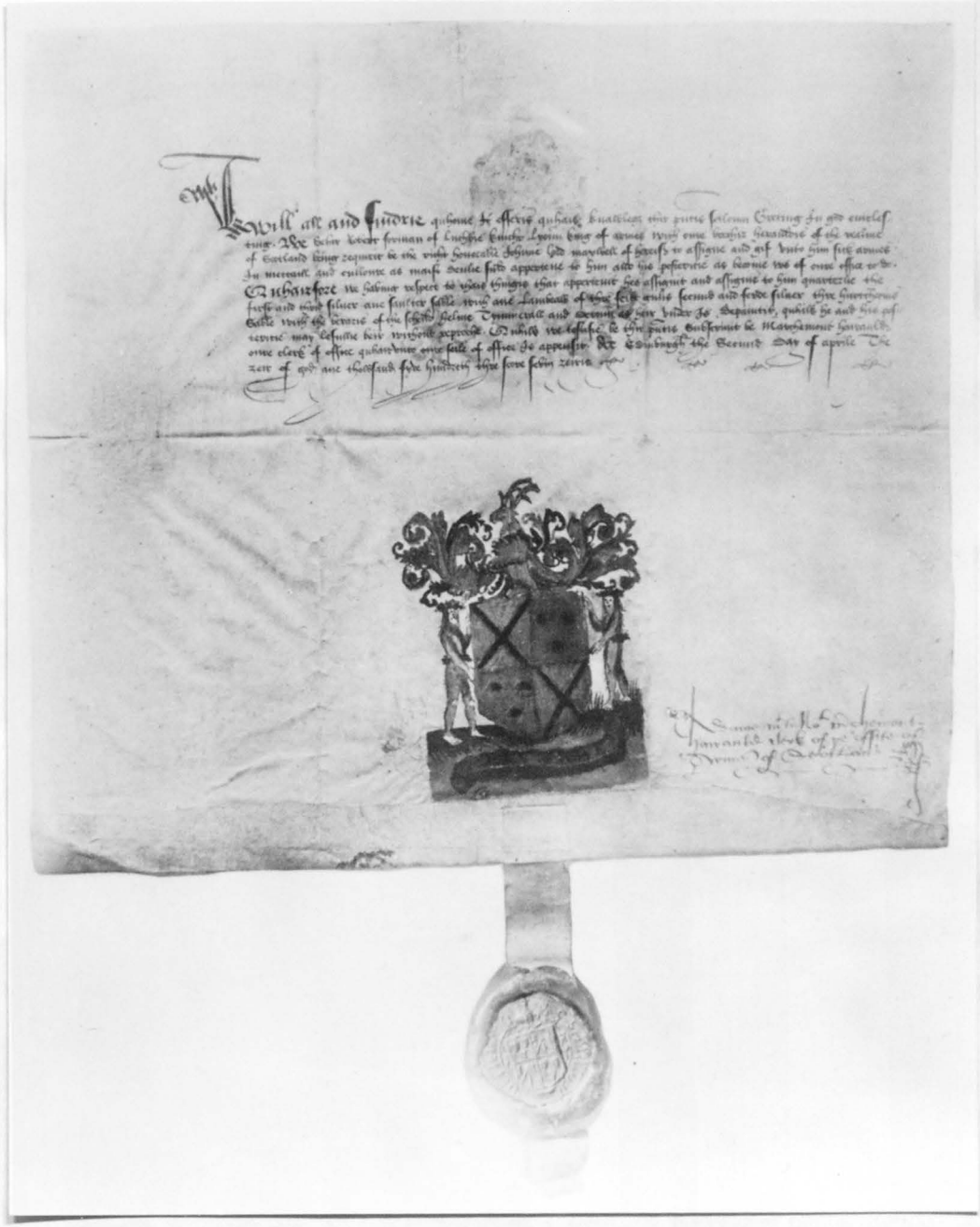


PLATE 5

Letters Patent, 2 April 1567.
Granting Arms to John, Lord Maxwell.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 49.
Owned by H. Maxwell Stuart in 1891.

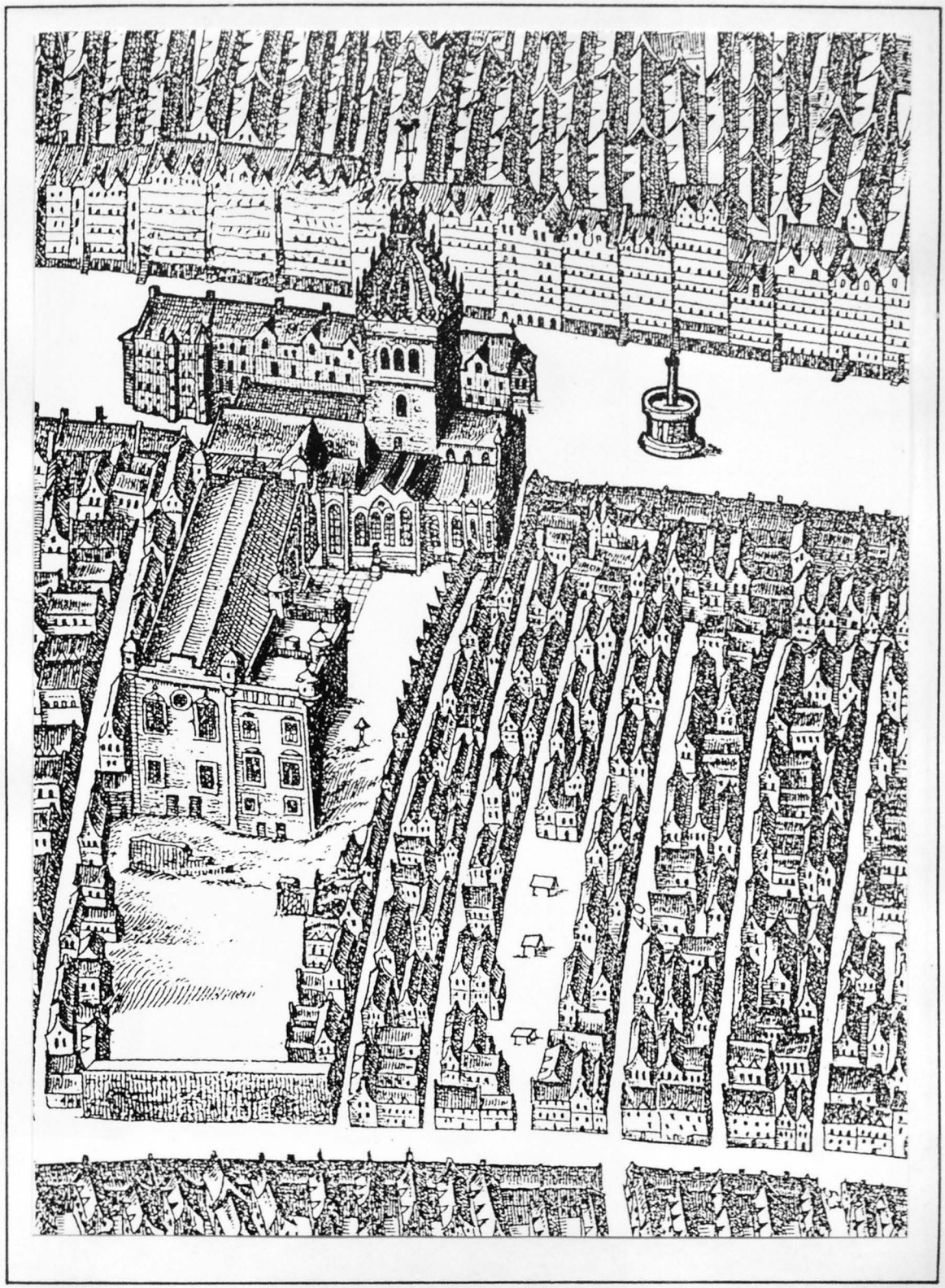


PLATE 6

Tolbooth and Mercat Cross, High Street, Edinburgh.
The meetings of Parliament often took place in the Tolbooth, and the Officers of Arms made their proclamations from the cross.

Detail from Gordon of Rothemay's View of Edinburgh, 1647.

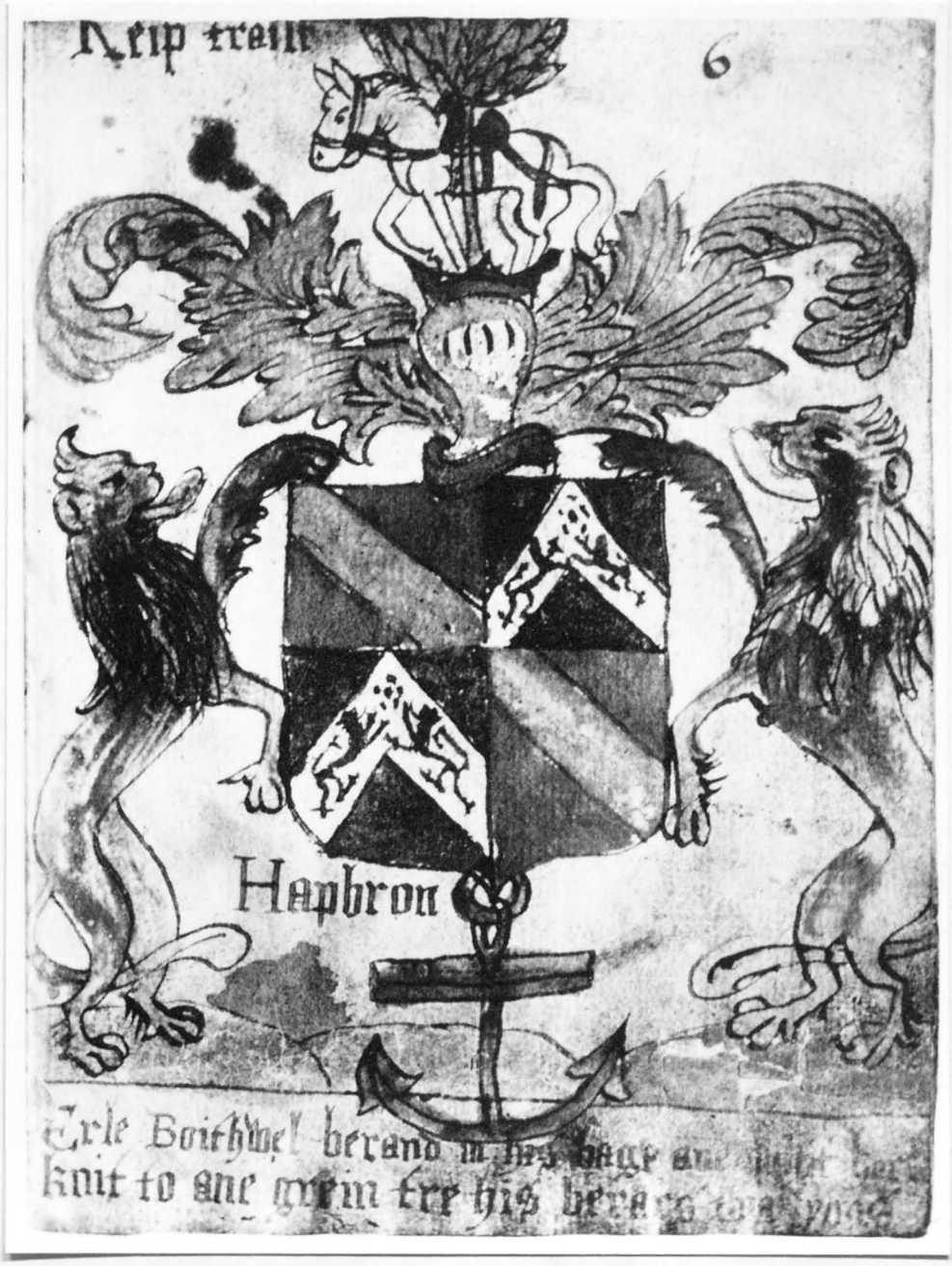


PLATE 7

Scottish Armorial, pre 1580

Executed in the same style as the Armorials shown in Plates 2, 3, 8 and 9.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 667.

Owned by Mrs C. M. Kerr in 1891



PLATE 8

Hamilton Armorial, c1565

Six folios are devoted to the heraldry of the House of Hamilton.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 677

College of Arms, London.



PLATE 9
Hector le Breton Armorial, c1583.
This Scottish Armorial is named after a former owner who was King of Arms in France from 1615 until 1653.

College of Arms, London.



PLATE 10
Cavers Standard, late 16th century.
Portion nearest the hoist showing saltire, lion, Douglas hearts and mullet.

National Museums of Scotland. LF11.

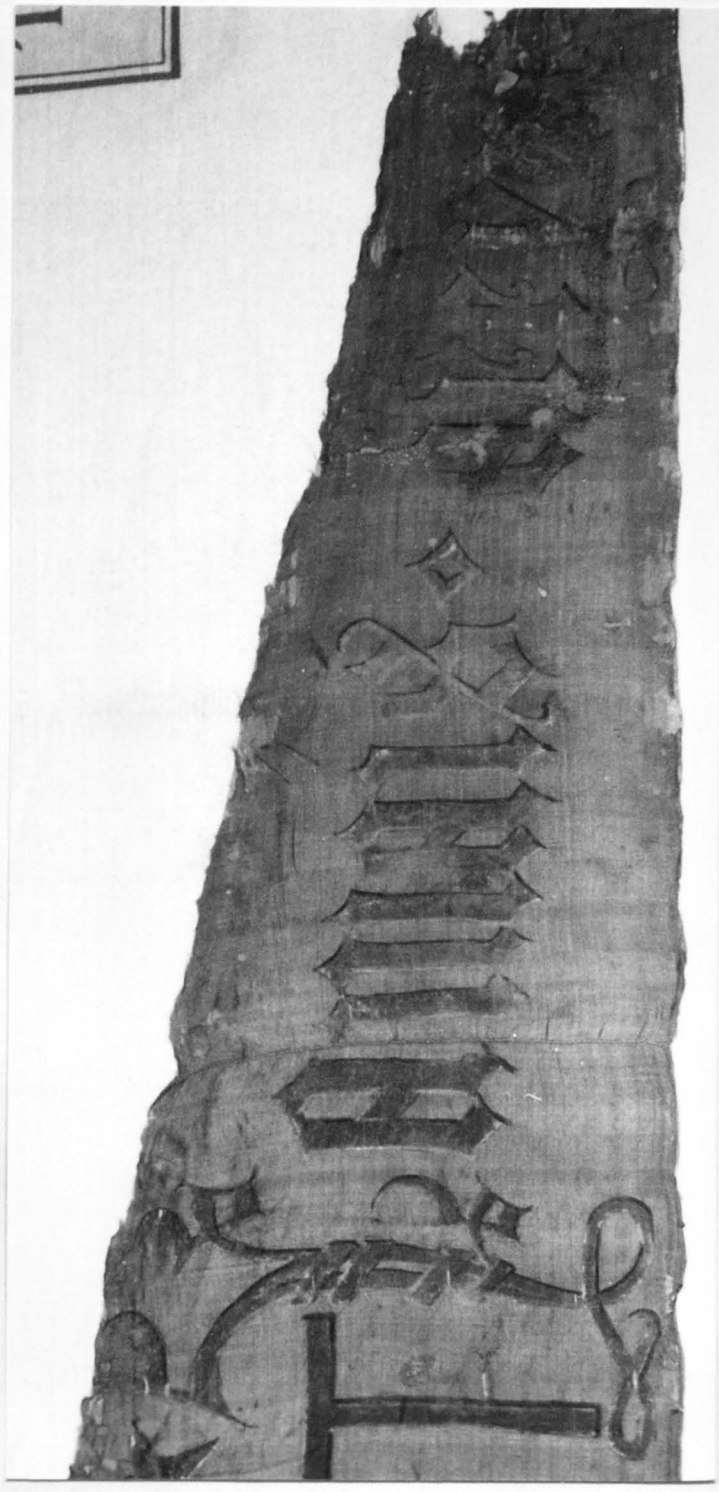


PLATE 11
Cavers Standard, late 16th century
Portion at the fly with the motto : Jamais areyre.

National Museums of Scotland, LF11.



PLATE 12

Marchmont Standard, late 16th century.
The standard originally bore three papingoes at the fly to accompany the motto: Keyp reull.
Photograph by courtesy of Christies [Scotland] Limited.
Private owner unknown

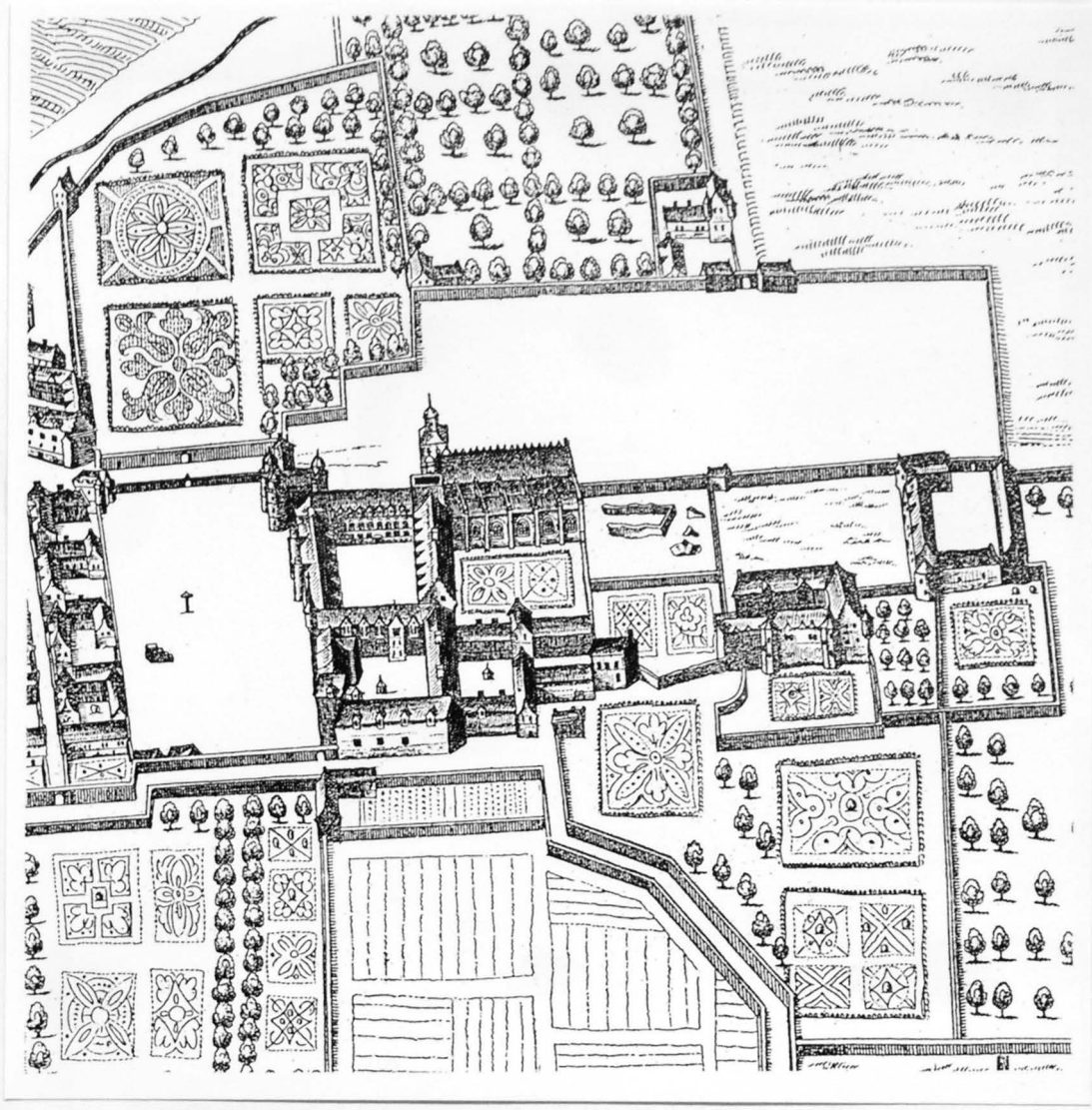


PLATE 13
The Palace of Holyroodhouse
As known to the Officers of Arms during the reign of King James VI and I.

Detail from Gordon of Rothemay's View of Edinburgh, 1647.



PLATE 14

Seton Armorial, 1591

Illuminated for Robert, 6th Lord Seton, showing one of the folios with royal effigies.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 671.

National Library of Scotland, Acc. No. 9309.


IACOBVS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTORVM VNIVERSIS ET SINGVLIS REGI

PLATE 15

Birthbrief in favour of David Kinloch, 1596

Painted in the same style as that in the Lindsay of The Mount Secundus Armorial. [Plate 16]

Photograph from Plate XXXII, Innes of Learney, 1934, p.140.

Present Owner unknown.

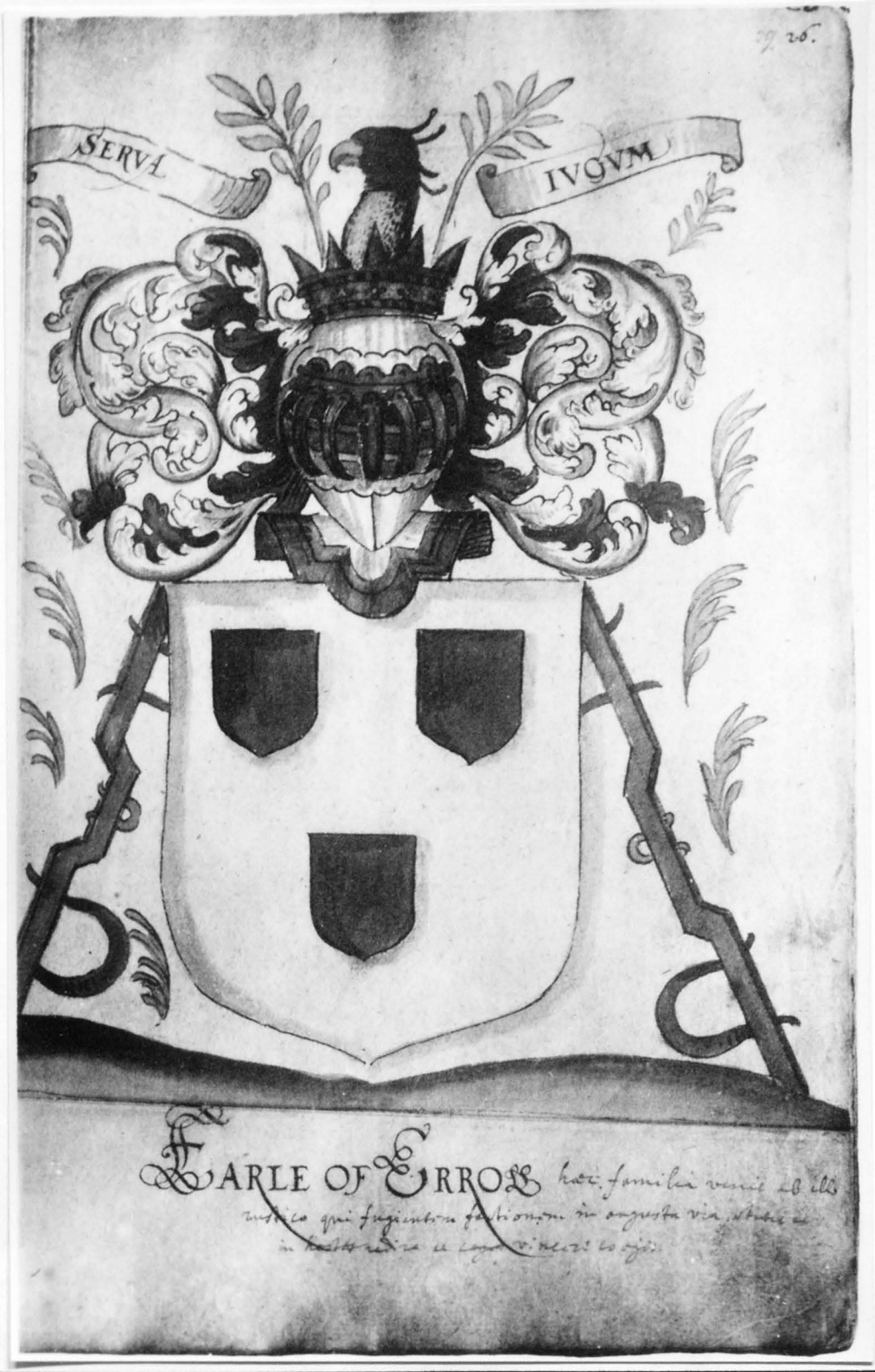


PLATE 16
Lindsay of The Mount Secundus Armorial c1595.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 671A.
Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

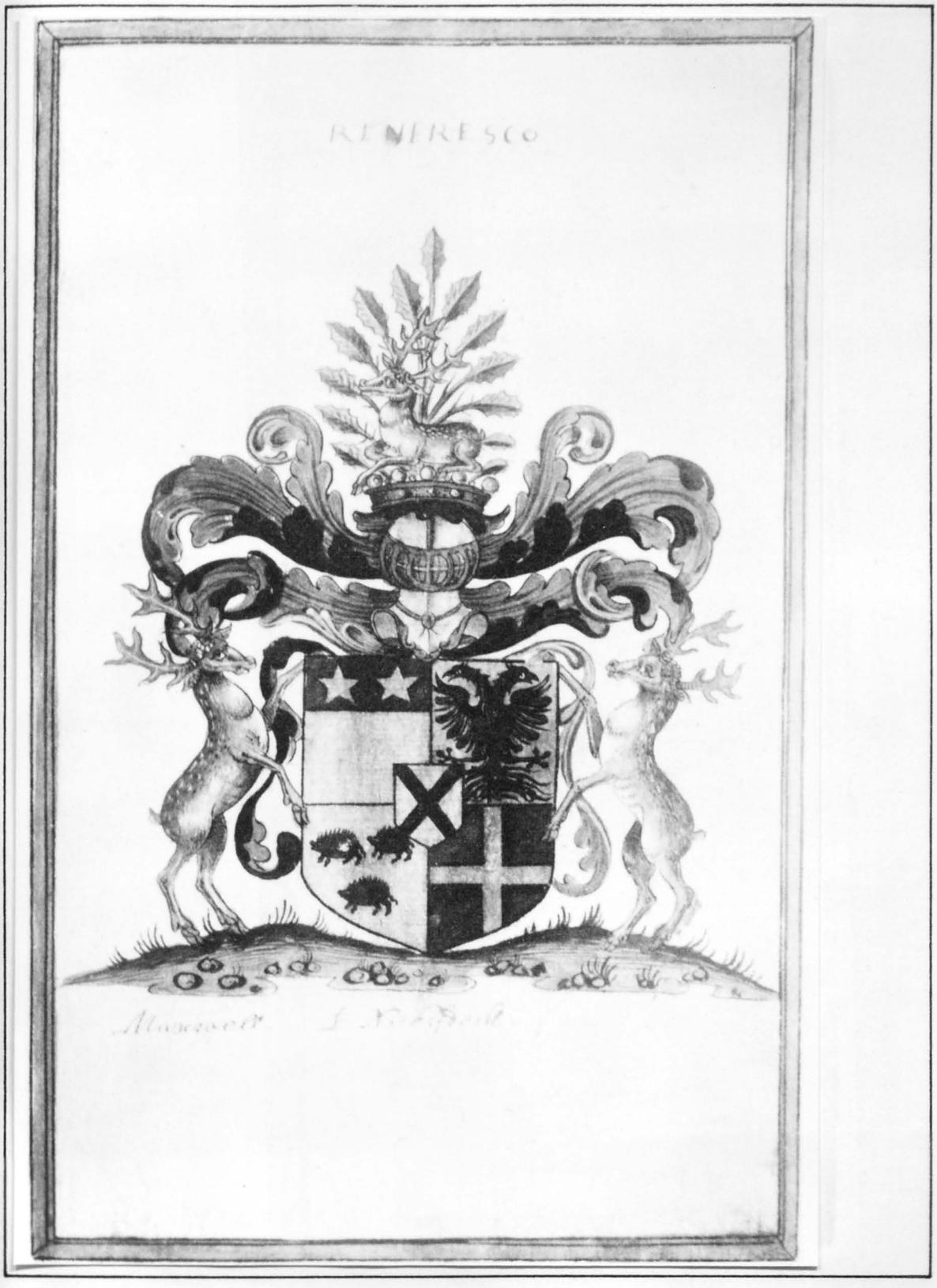


PLATE 17
Dunvegan Armorial, c1620.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 678.
The MacLeod of MacLeod.

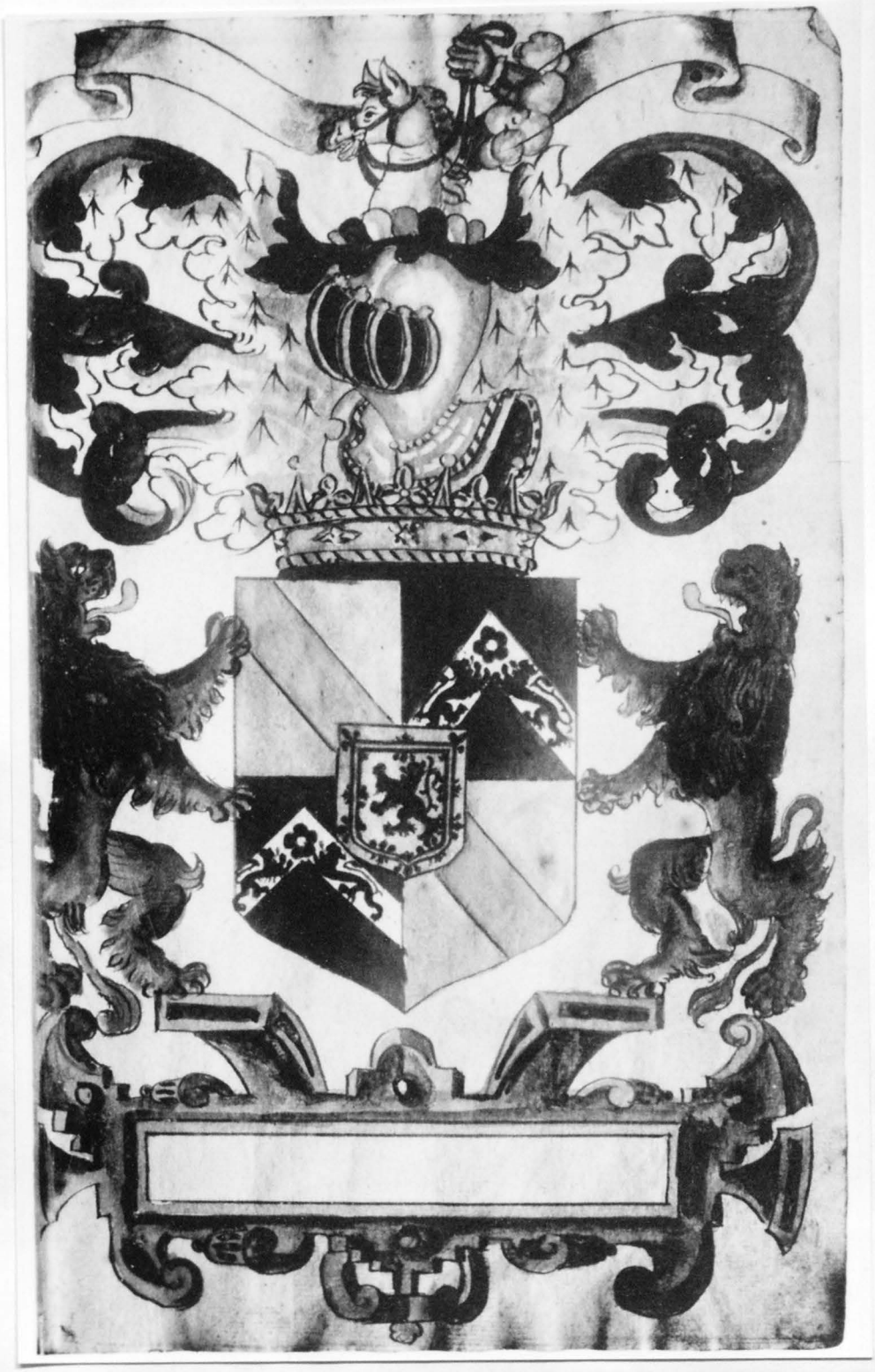


PLATE 18

Workman Armorial, c1620

Executed by James Workman Elder, herald painter at the Office of Arms.

National Library of Scotland, Adv. Ms. 31.3.6.



PLATE 19
Funeral Roll for Marshalling Heraldic Elements, 1622
possibly executed earlier by John Workman at the time of the funeral of James, Earl of Moray.

National Museums of Scotland, DD83.



PLATE 20
Sawers Armorial, post 1625

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891. no. 673.
National Library of Scotland. Adv. Ms. 31.4.4.



PLATE 21
Oak Door from Stirling Castle, 1578.
The door's upper panel bears the royal Arms of King James VI.

Photograph by courtesy of the R.C.A.H.M.S. neg.no. ST/914
National Museums of Scotland, 1905.858.

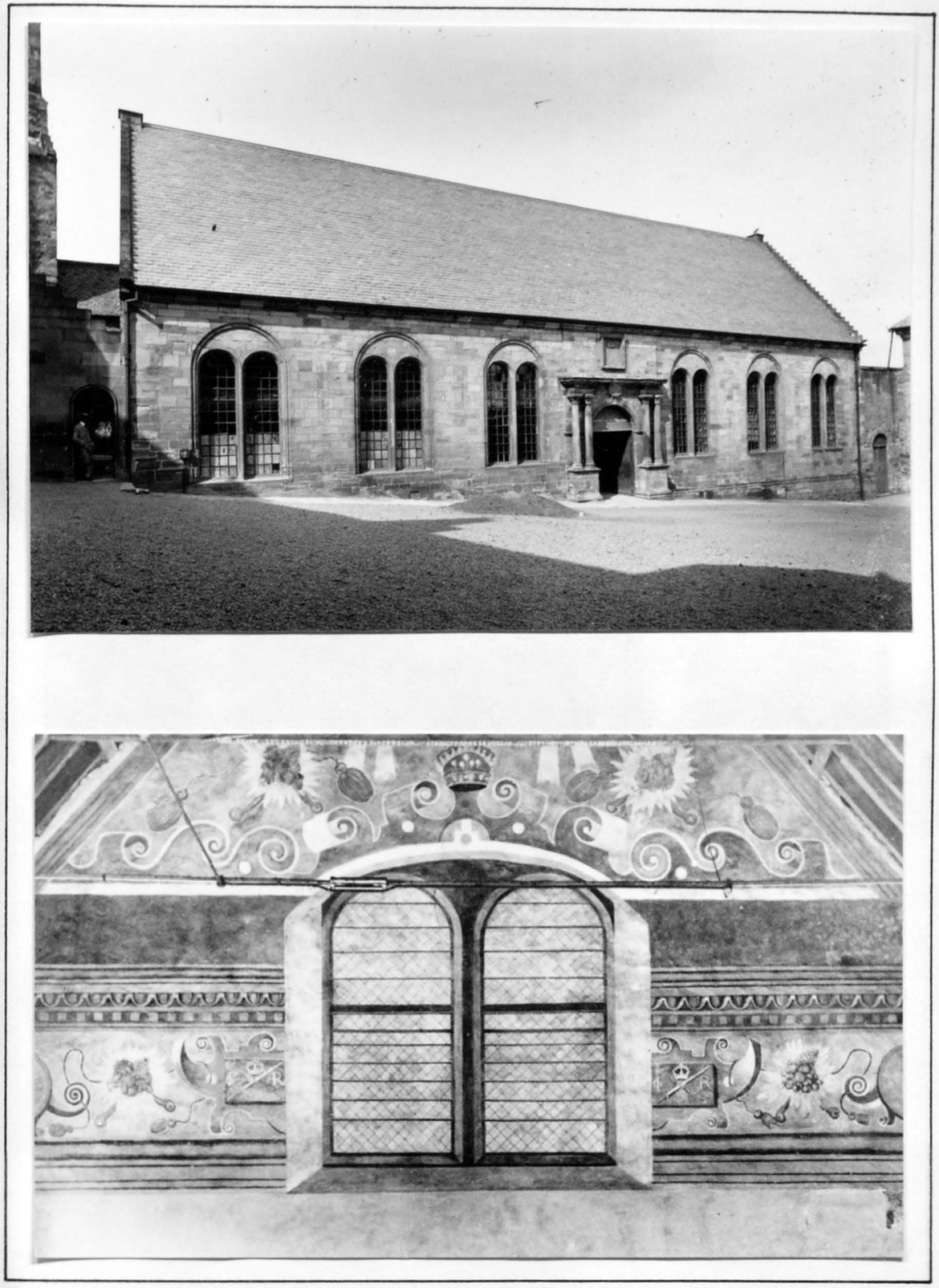


PLATE 22

Chapel Royal, Stirling Castle, 1594.

The blank housing over the doorway, originally contained a carving of the royal Arms. Below: Internal decoration by Valentine Jenkin, 1628-29.

Photographs by R.C.A.H.M.S. neg. nos. above ST/2395, below B 41860. Historic Scotland.



PLATE 23
Oak carving of the Royal Arms of Scotland, c1600.

Photograph by courtesy of the Duke of Atholl.
Blair Atholl Castle.



PLATE 24
Great Seal of Scotland, reign of King James VI.
Earliest dated document bearing an impression is 1572

Photograph courtesy of the Scottish Record Office,
Scottish Record Office



PLATE 25

Above: Marriage Medal of King James and Queen Anne, c1590

Below: First Silver Coinage of King James VI, 1567.
Ryal, or Sword Dollar.

Photographs, National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 26

Second Coinage of King James VI, 1572

a. Gold £20 Piece, b. Silver Half-Merk, or Noble, = 6/8. c. Silver Two Merks, or Thistle Dollar, = 26/8. James Gray, Sinker.

Photographs, National Museums of Scotland.

National Museums of Scotland, JVI.4, JVI.5, JVI.20.



PLATE 27

Third Issue of Coinage, 1580 and 1581

above: Gold Ducat = 80/-.

below: Silver 16/- Piece.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland.
National Museums of Scotland, JV1.



PLATE 28

Fourth and Fifth Issue of Coinage, 1582 and 1588.

a. Gold Lion Noble = 75/-, 1584, b. Silver 40/-Piece, 1582 [There was also a 30/- and 10/-Piece] c. Gold Thistle Noble = 146/8, struck in 1588.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland.

National Museums of Scotland, JV17, JV23.



PLATE 29

Sixth Issue of Coinage, 1591

Above: Gold Hat Piece = 80/-, 1591

Below: Silver Balance Half Merk = 6/8, 1591

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland, JV1.3, JV1.22.



PLATE 30

Seventh Issue of Coinage, 1593

a. Gold Rider = 100/-, 1593, b. Silver 10/- Piece, 1593, c. Silver Twelve Pence Piece, 1594.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 31

Eighth Issue of Coinage, 1601

Above : Gold Sword and Sceptre Piece = 120/- , 1601.

Below : Silver Thistle Merk = 13/4 , 1601

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland



PLATE 32

Billon and Copper Coins of King James VI

a. Plack = 8d, 1583-1590. [there was also a ½ Plack] b. Hard Head = 2d, 1588, [also ½ Hard Head and Saltire Plack in 1594] c. Turner = 2d, 1597.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 33

Sample of Coins issued after 1603

Above : Silver 6/- Piece, 1605. English heraldic Quarters 1st and 4th.

Below : Gold Unite Coin = £12, 1609. Scottish Quarters 1st and 4th.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland, J13, JVI.12.



PLATE 34
Stained Glass Roundel, 1600
Bearing the impaled Arms of King James and Queen Anne.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 1100.
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 35
Great Seal of Scotland of King James VI and I, 1605

Photograph by courtesy of The Scottish Record Office.
Scottish Record Office.



PLATE 36
Montrose Seal Case, 1604
Obverse showing marshalling of the royal Arms
of Great Britain.

National Museums of Scotland.

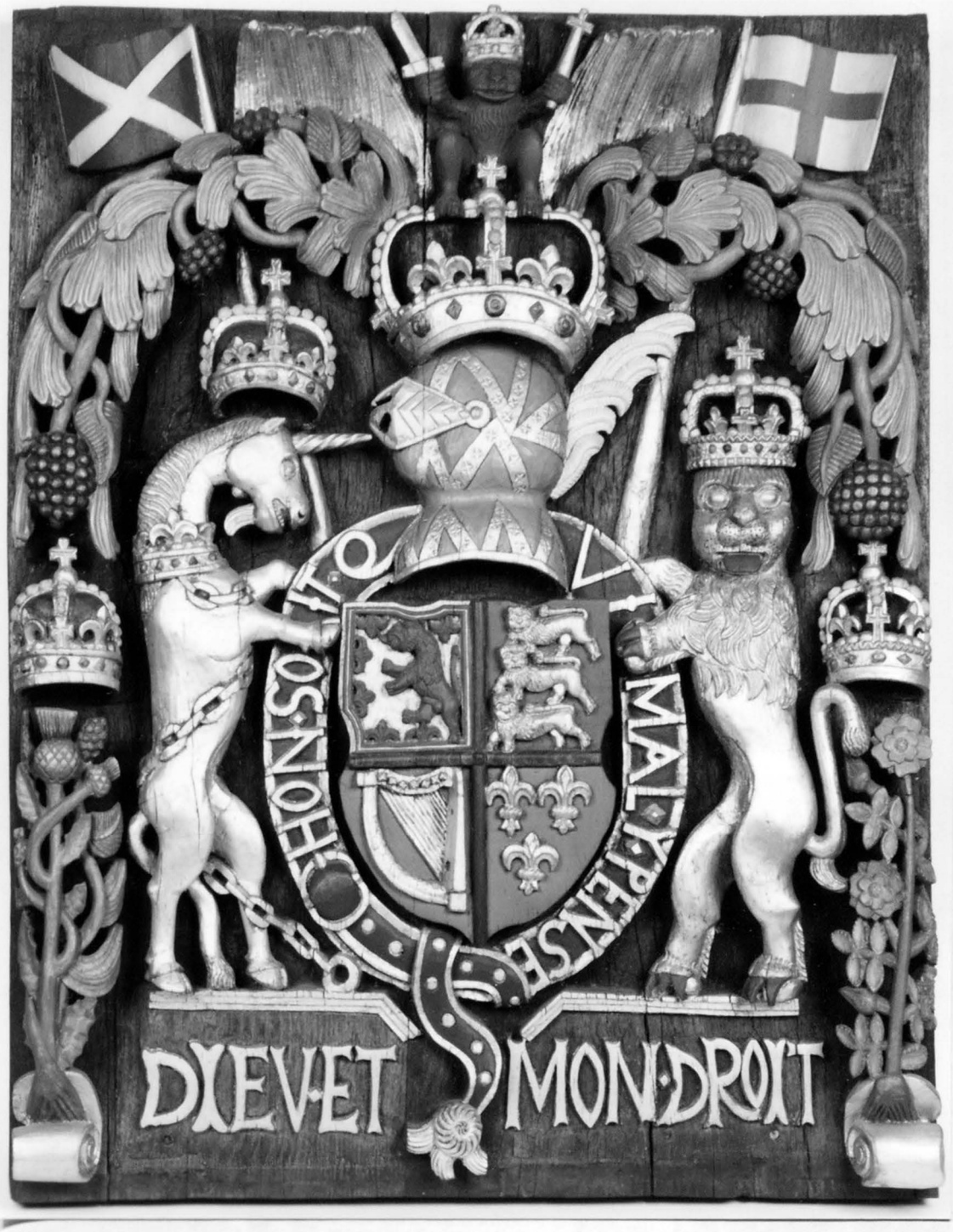


PLATE 37

Royal Arms of Great Britain, Scottish version, c 1605.

This could be the earliest carved version of the Arms as used in Scotland.

Photography by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen
The Palace of Holyroodhouse

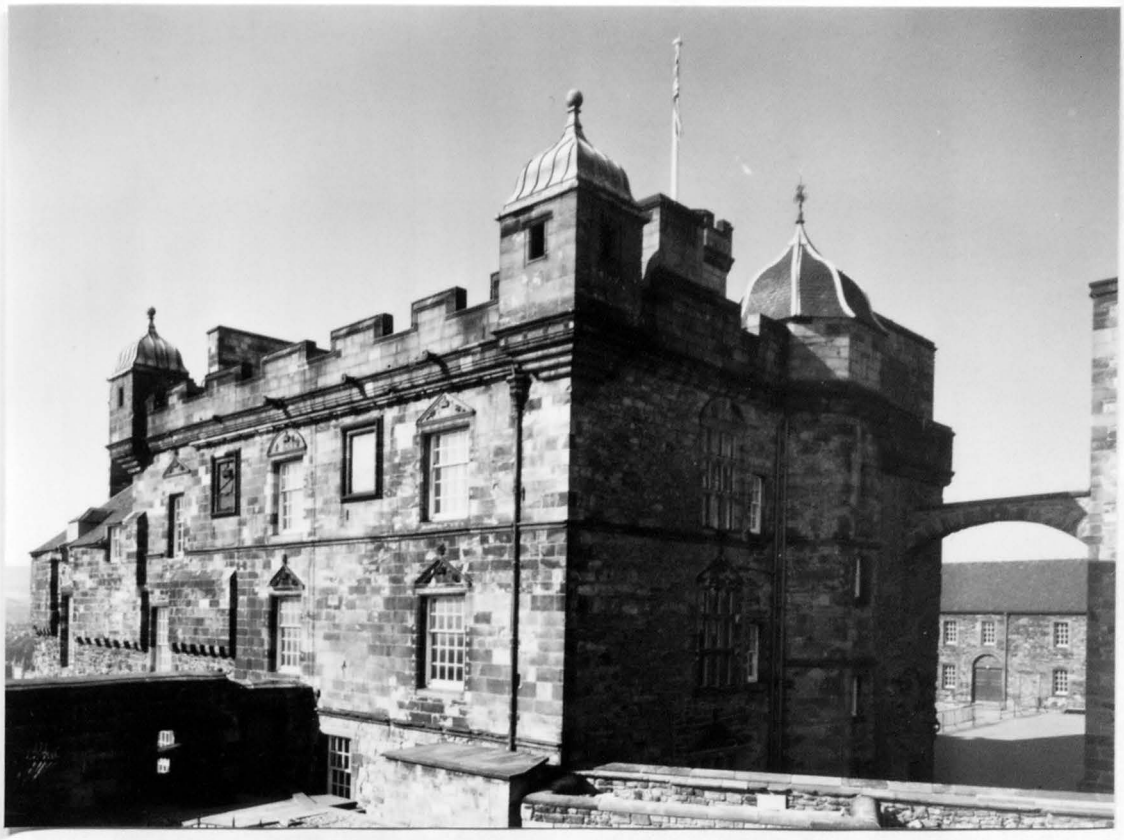




PLATE 38

Above: Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle, 1616

Below: Royal Arms of Scotland painted by John Anderson, 1617

Photographs by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. nos. A3440/2, A1291/1
Historic Scotland



PLATE 39
Honours of Scotland, east facade, Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle.
Original panel carved by William Wallace in 1616.

Photograph courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A2391/1
Historic Scotland

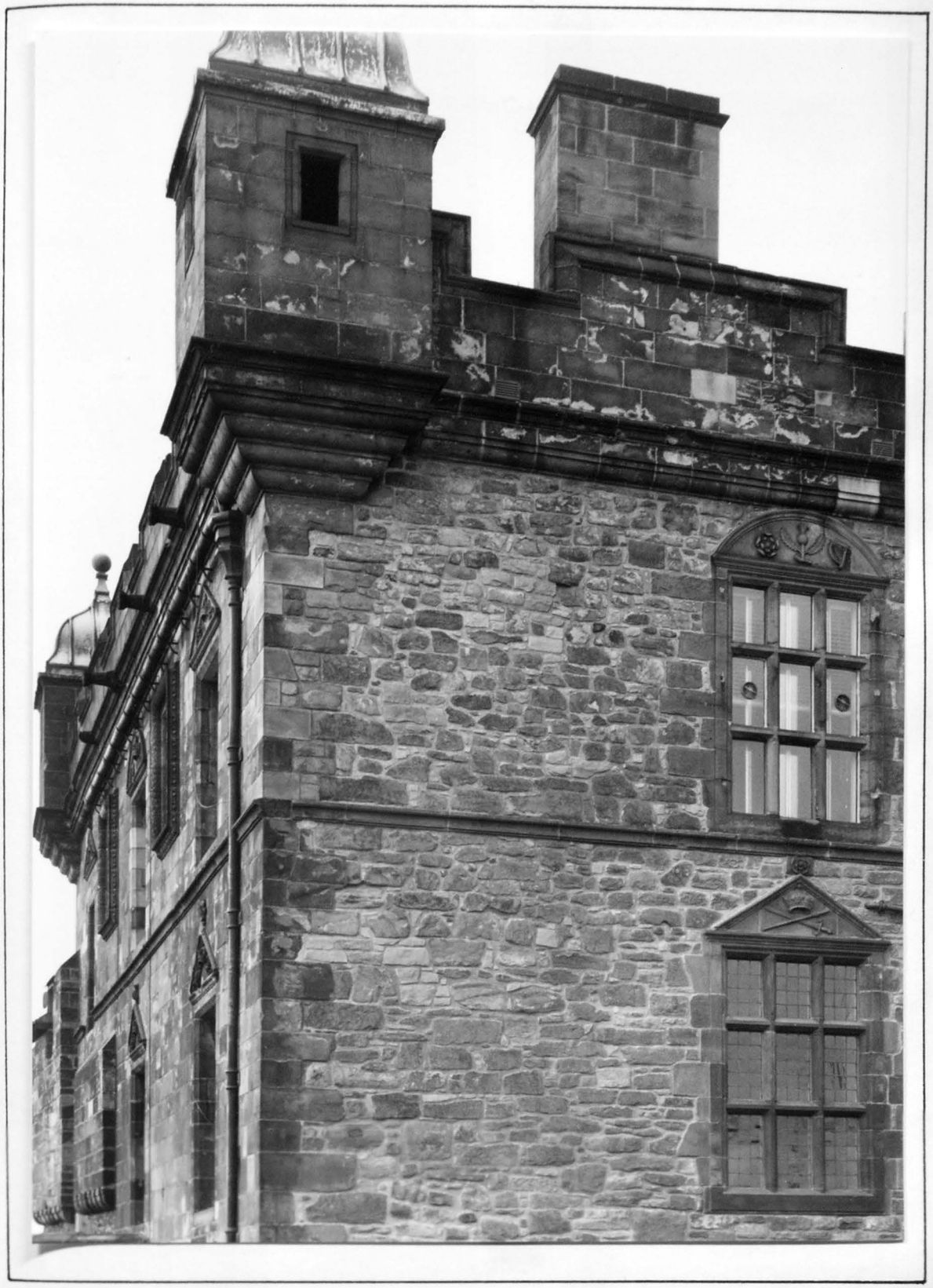


PLATE 40
Carved Pediment Decoration by William Wallace, 1616,
On the Palace Block, Edinburgh Castle.

Photograph courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A3763/3
Historic Scotland



PLATE 41
Oak Carving of the Royal Arms c1617
Possibly the work of Nicholas Stone.

Photograph by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen.
Palace of Holyroodhouse.

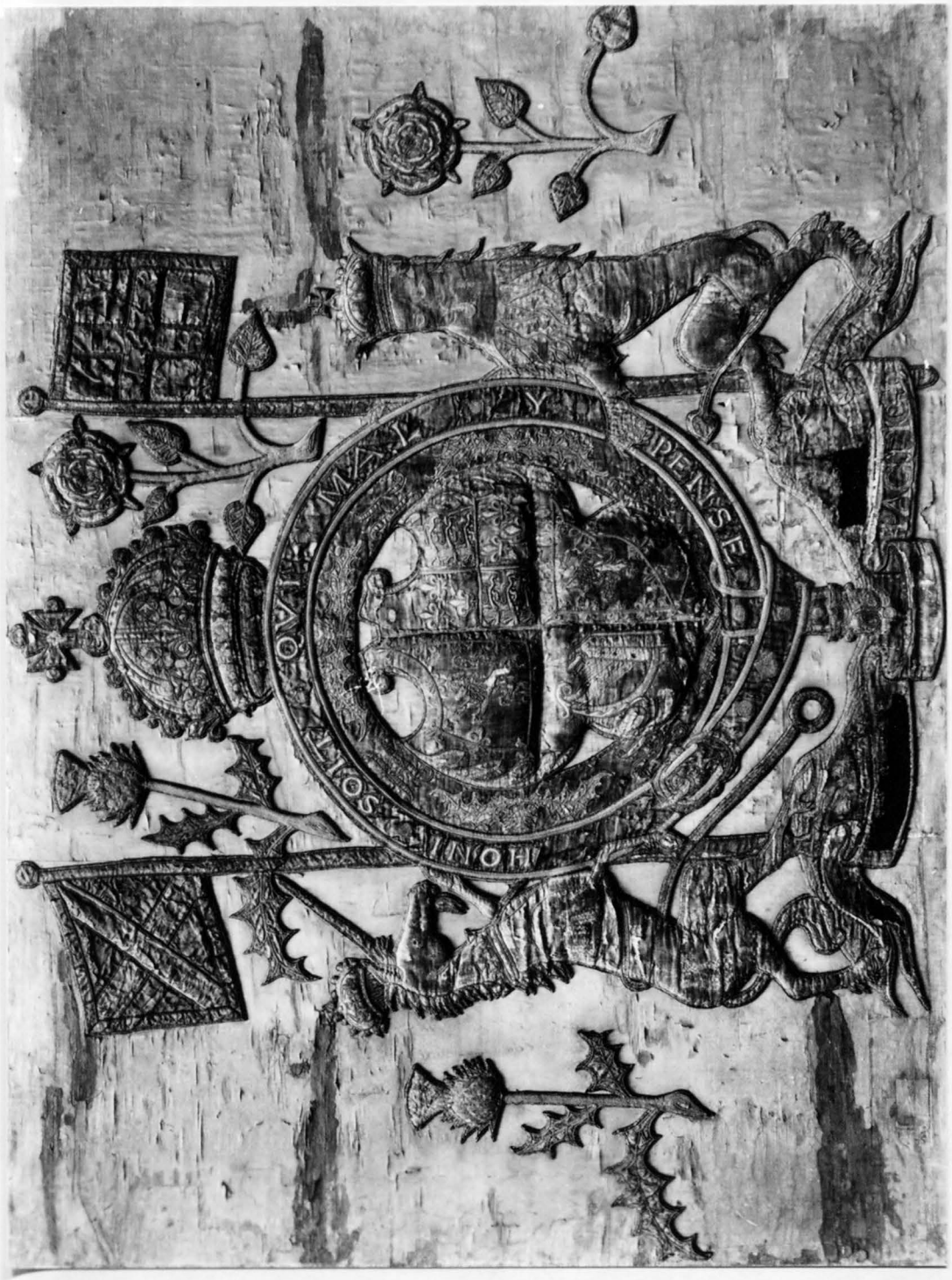


PLATE 42
Embroidered Royal Arms of King James VI and I, c1617
Possibly executed by William Beaton, the King's Embroiderer.

Photograph by National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland



PLATE 43
Brass Stamp for a Super Libros c1580
Bearing the Royal Arms of King James VI

Photograph by National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 44
East Façade, Inner Quadrangle, Linlithgow Palace, 1620.
Carved decoration by William Wallace executed 1618-1620.

Photograph courtesy of R.C.A.H.M.S. neg. no. B41859.
Historic Scotland



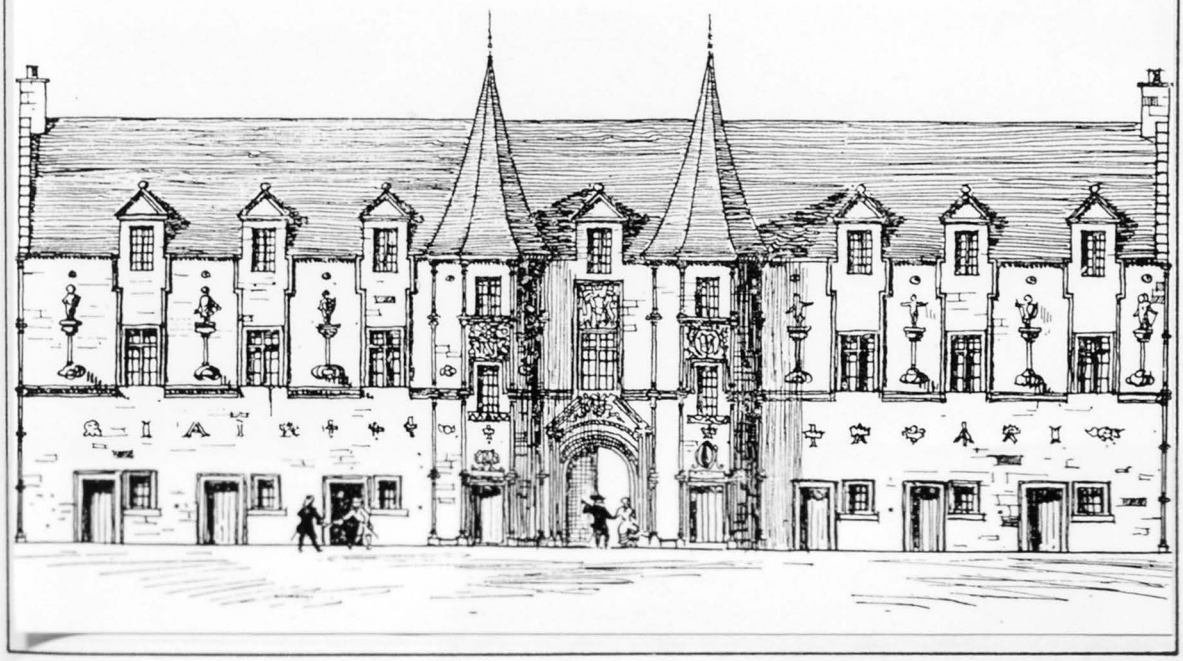


PLATE 45

Mar's Wark, Stirling, 1570.

Above: Royal Arms over main entrance.

Below: Reconstruction of façade.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A 2348/2 Historic Scotland.





PLATE 46

Heraldic Panels, Mar's Wark, Stirling.

Above: Arms of John Erskine, 18th Earl of Mar.

Below: Impaled Arms of Erskine and Murray of Tullibardine.

Photographs by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg.nos. A2348/1 and 7. Historic Scotland.

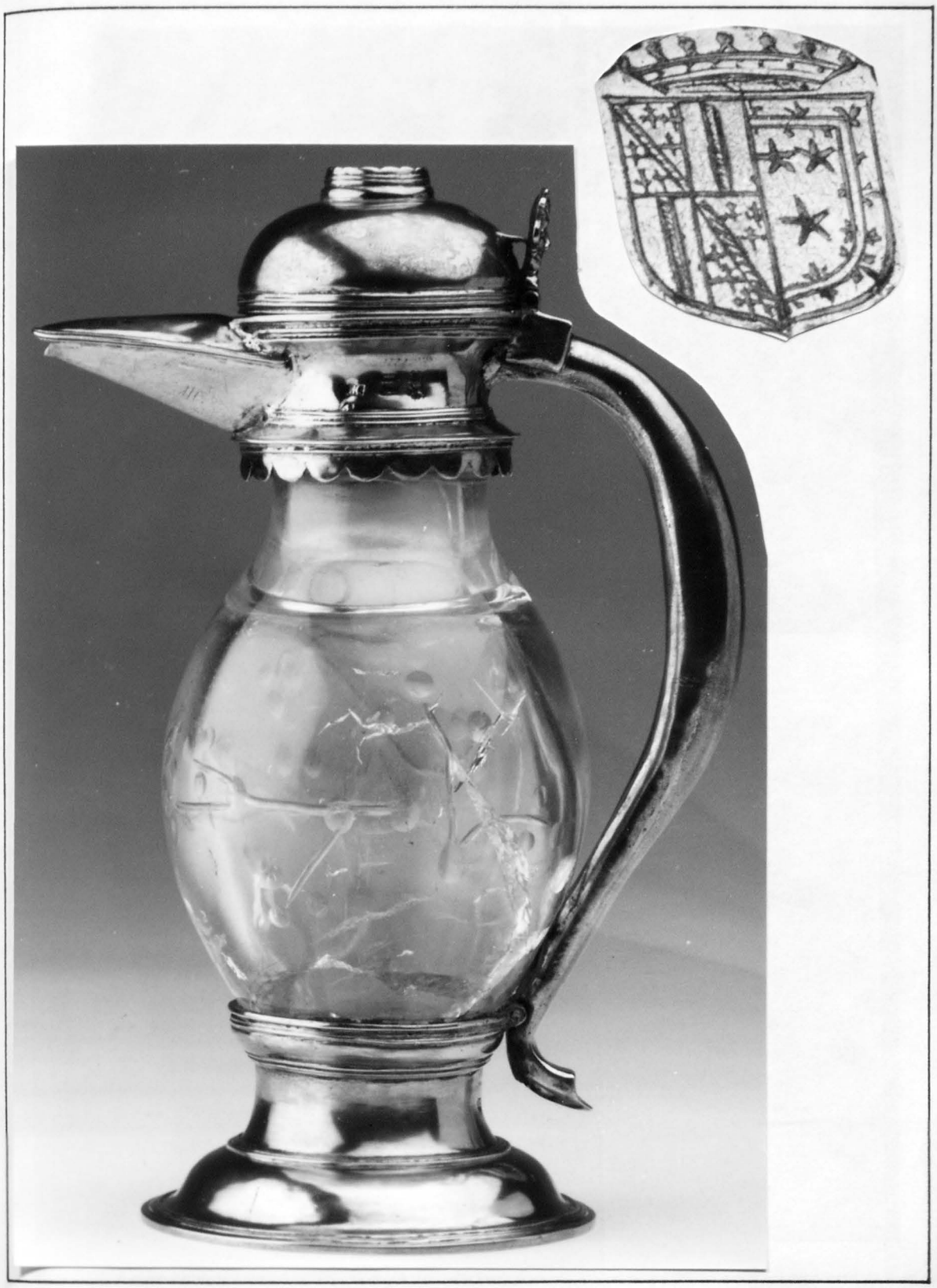


PLATE 47

Erskine Ewer, 1566

Rock crystal with silver mounts by James Cockie, who also placed the Arms of Erskine on the lid.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland.
In the collection of a private owner who wishes anonymity.

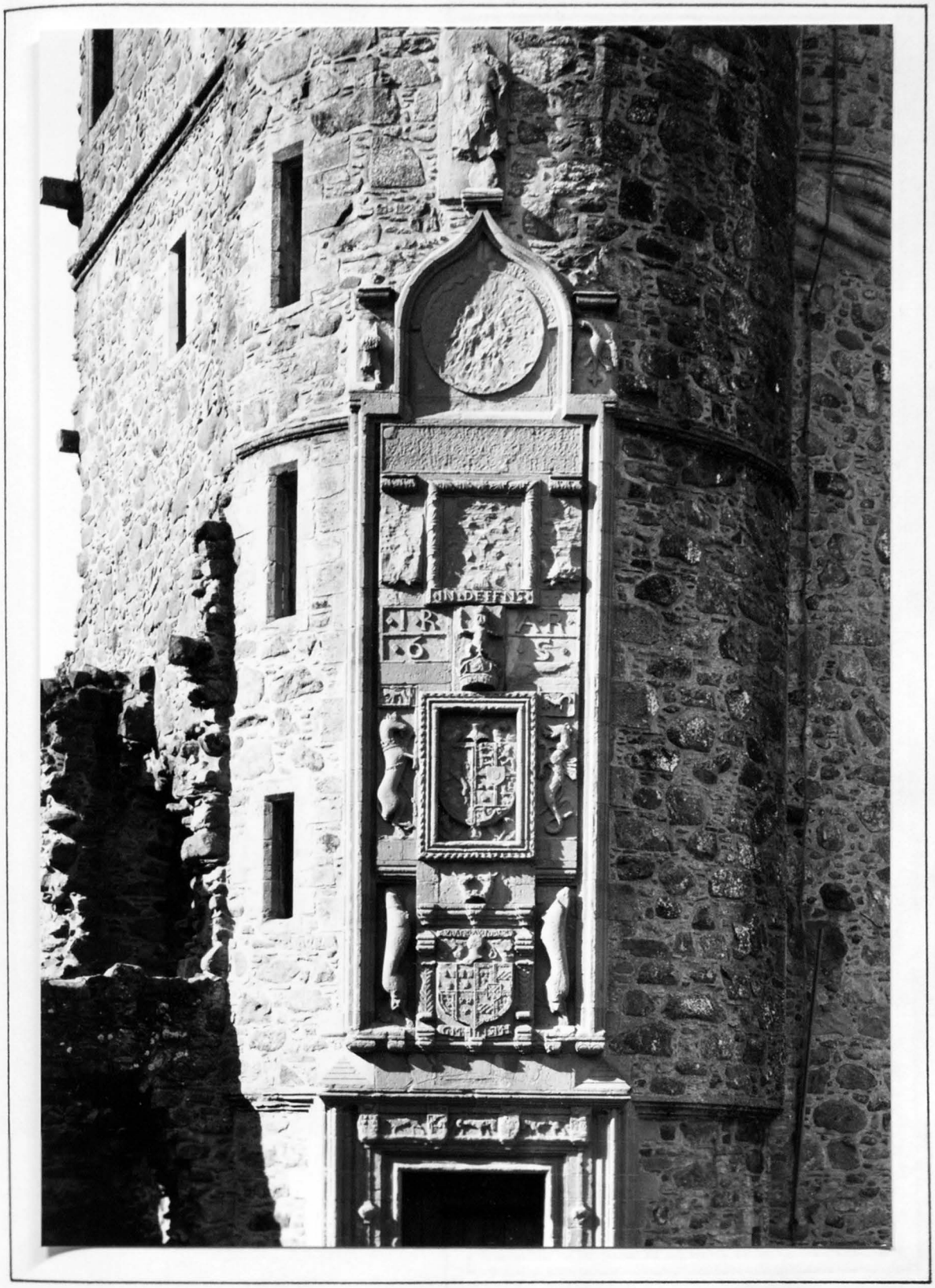


PLATE 48

Heraldic Frontispiece, Huntly Castle, 1602

The most elaborate example of architectural heraldry executed during the reign of King James.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A3809/1. Historic Scotland.

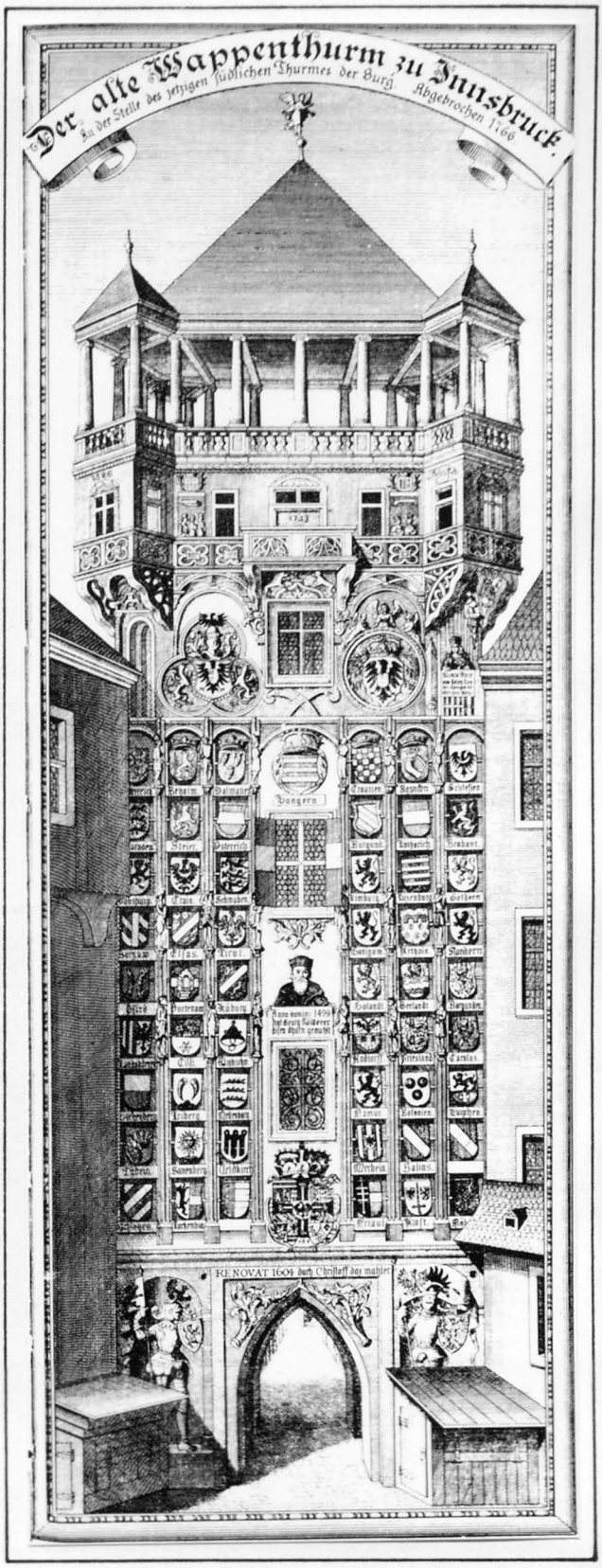


PLATE 49

Armorial Tower, Innsbruck, Austria.
Painted in 1497 with the Arms of all the Hapsburg subject territories. The tower was demolished in 1766.
Neubecker, 1976, p. 253.

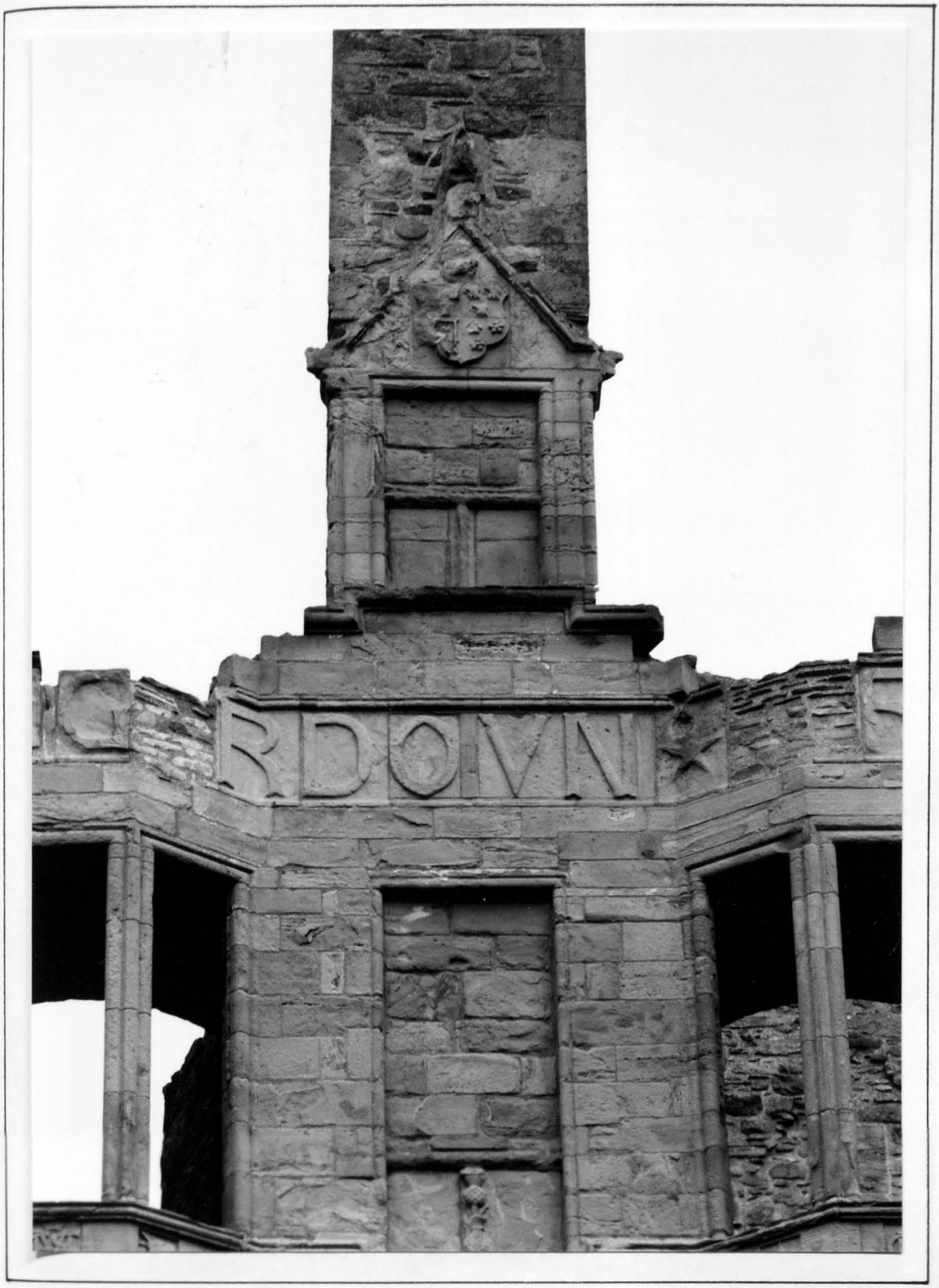


PLATE 50
False Dormer Window, Huntly Castle.
Showing the Arms of George Gordon within the pediment.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg.no. A5241/29.
Historic Scotland.



PLATE 51
Armorial Fireplace, Huntly Castle, 1606
Situated in the former main state room on the first floor.

Photograph courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A5606/24.
Historic Scotland.

EX BIBL UNIV. EDINBURGEN



PLATE 52
Portrait Fireplace, Huntly Castle, c1606
Situated on the second floor of the castle, it combines the impaled Arms, and portraits, of the Marquess & Marchioness.
Photograph courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A5606/2
Historic Scotland.

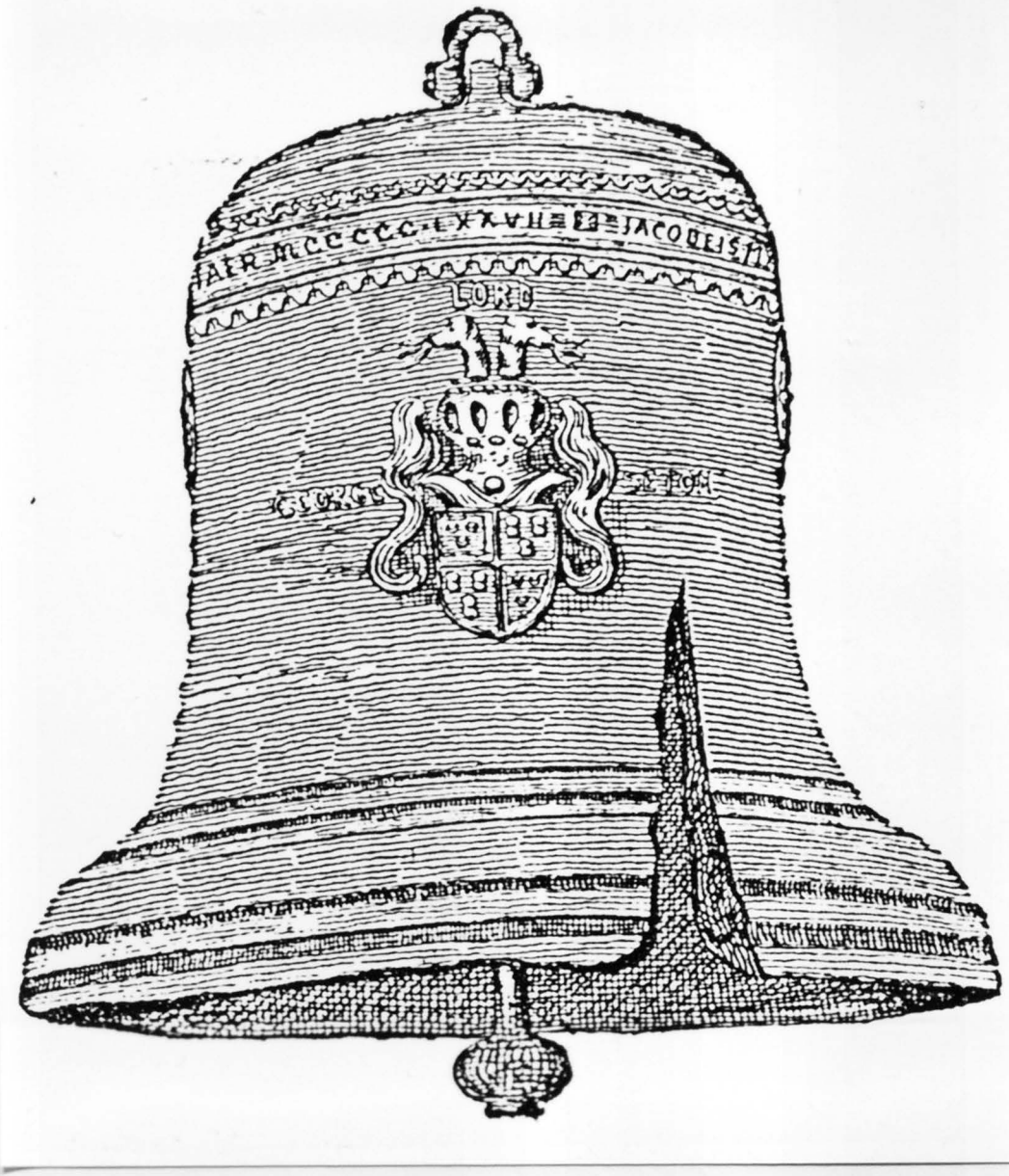


PLATE 53

Cast Bronze Bell, 1577

Commissioned by George, 5th Lord Seton, for Seton Collegiate Church, East Lothian.

Seton, 1896, p. 770.

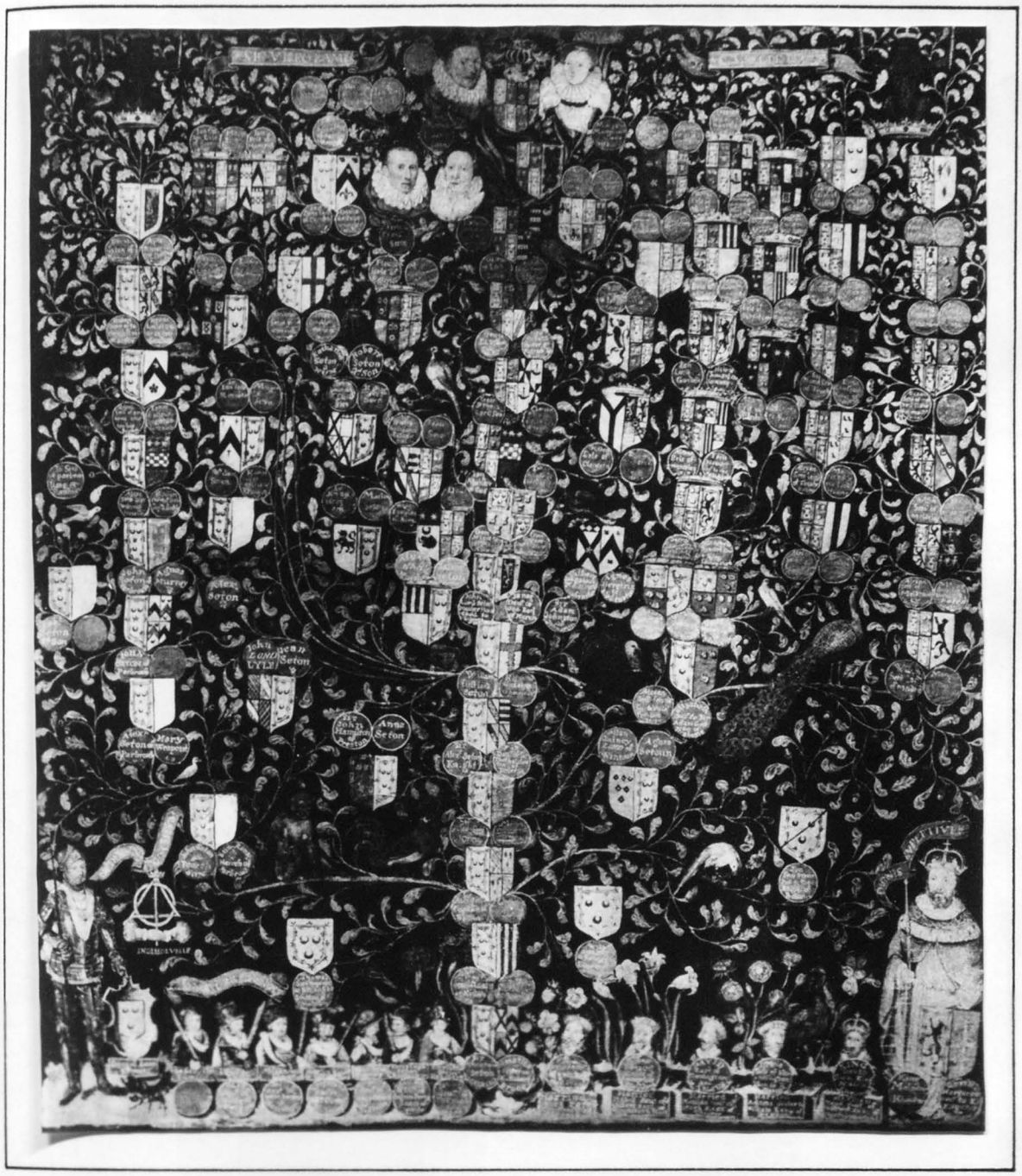


PLATE 54

Seton Family Tree, 1585

Prepared for Robert, 6th Lord Seton, later created Earl of Wintoun.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 3.
Sir David Ogilvy Bt.



PLATE 55

Fyvie Castle, central tower, main façade.
Erected by Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, between 1596 and 1603.

Billings, 1852, Vol. II, plate 51
National Trust for Scotland.



PLATE 56

Stained glass Roundel, Fyvie Castle, 1599.
Bearing the composite Arms of Seton and Hamilton used by Alexander Seton before being raised to Earl of Dunfermline.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 198.
National Trust for Scotland.

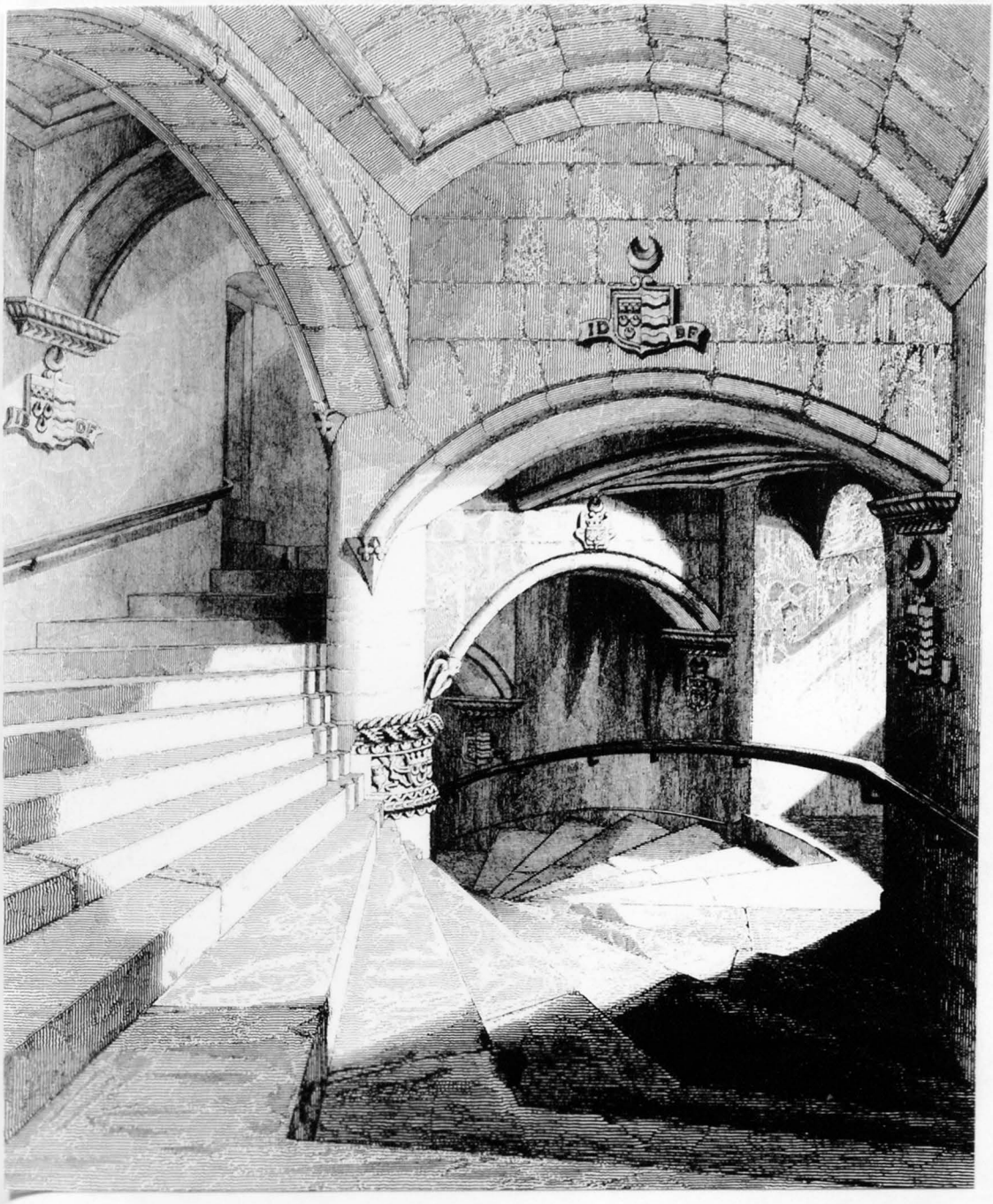


PLATE 57

Main Staircase, Fyvie Castle.

Decorated with the impaled Arms of Alexander Seton and his first wife, Lilias Drummond.

Billings, 1852, Vol. II, plate 52

National Trust for Scotland.



PLATE 58

Polychrome Carved Oak Panel, 1603

Mounted adjacent to the pew of Alexander Seton in the former kirk at Fyvie.

Drawn by C.J. Burnett.

Fyvie Parish Kirk.

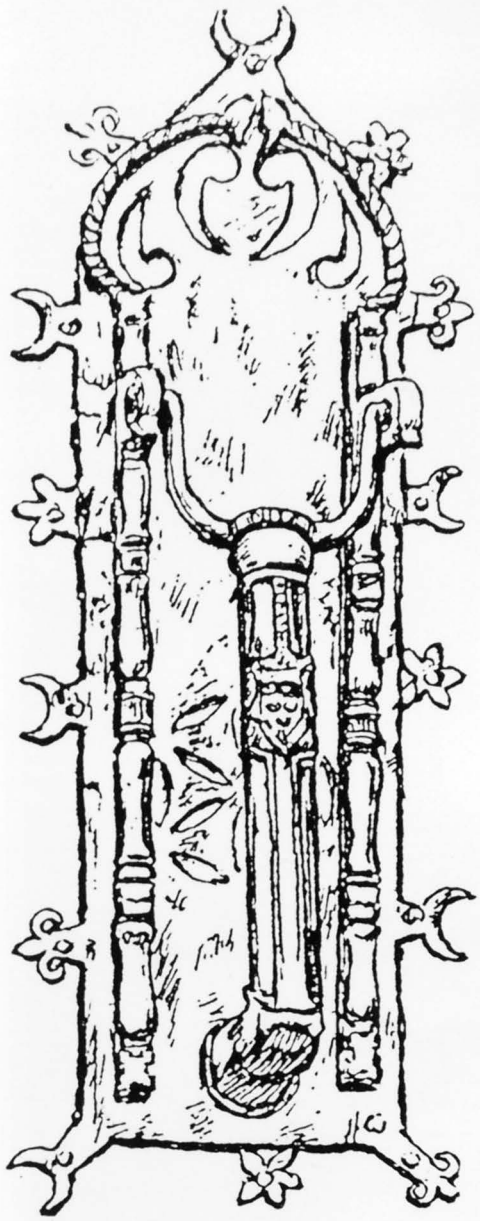




PLATE 59

Heraldic Door Knocker, Fyvie Castle, c1603
Decorated with the Arms and motto of Alexander Seton.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 1193.
National Trust for Scotland.



PLATE 60

Communion Cup, Fyvie, 1618.

Gifted by Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, whose Arms are engraved on the bowl. Maker, Gilbert Kirkwood, Edinburgh.

Photograph, National Museums of Scotland.
Fyvie Parish Kirk.

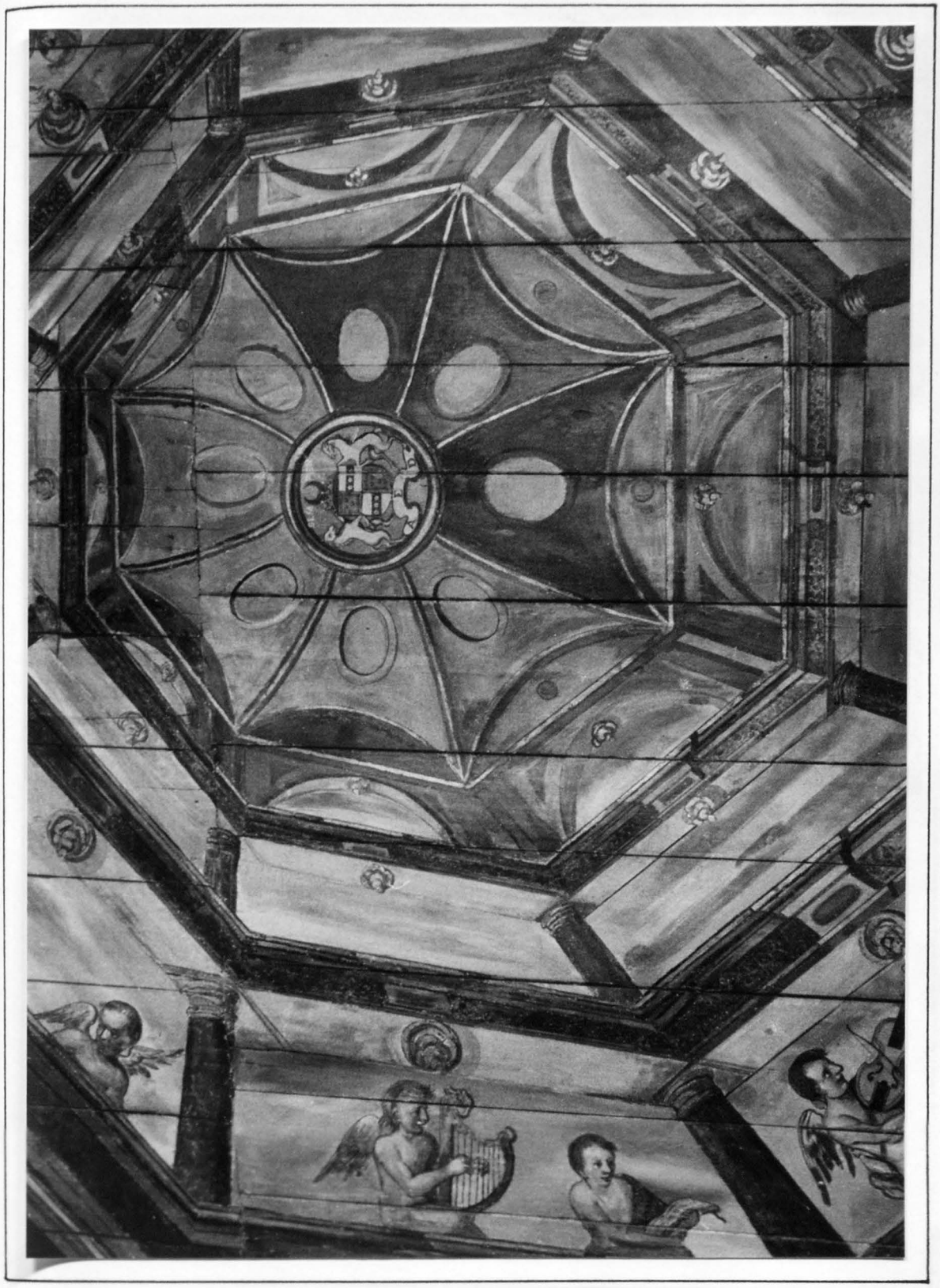


PLATE 61
Trompe l'oeil Painted Ceiling, Pinkie House, Musselburgh, c1610.
In the centre, the quartered Arms of the Earl of Dunfermline.

Photograph by courtesy of H. Dittrich Esq.
Loretto School Board

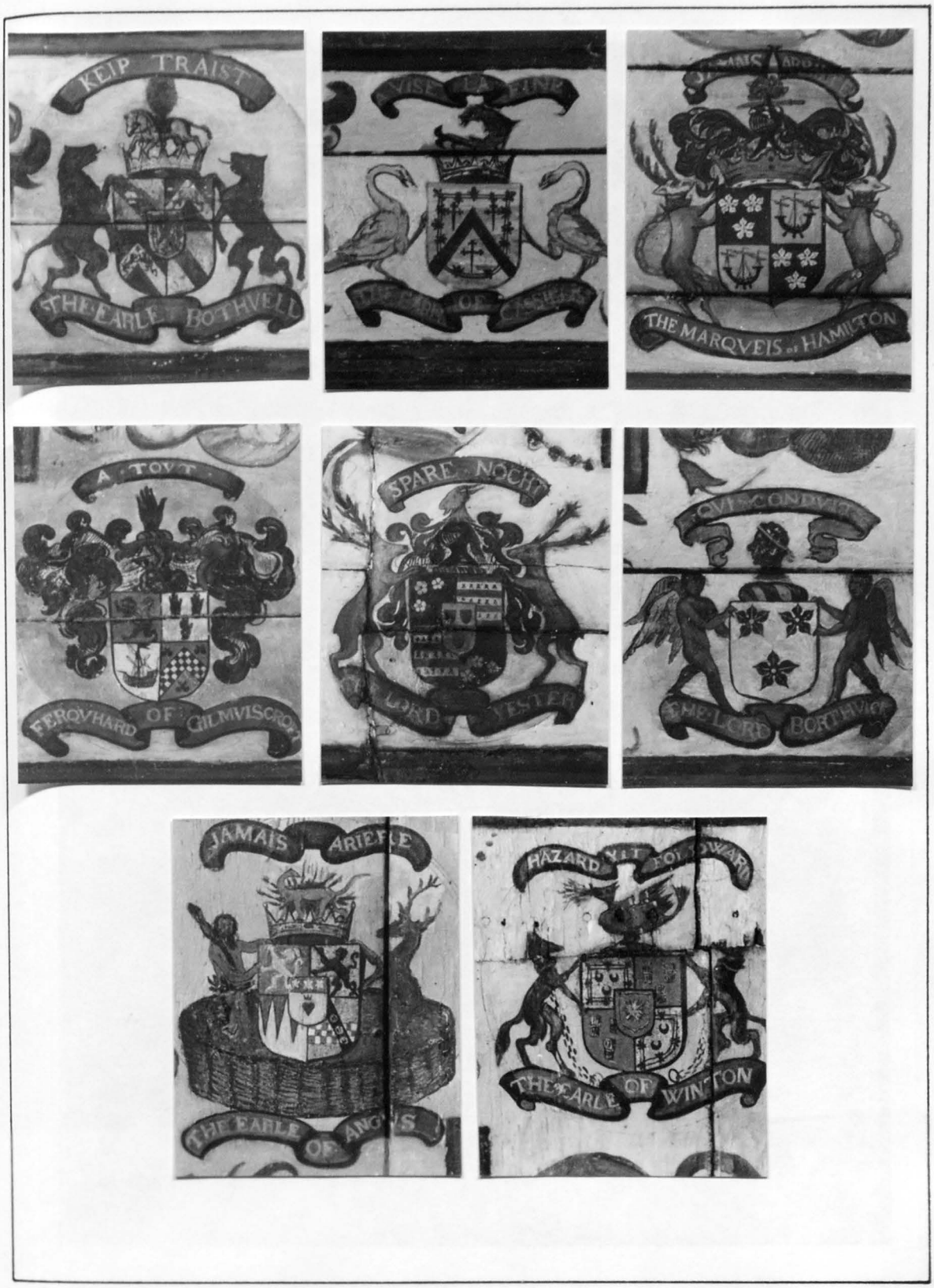


PLATE 62

Armorial Achievements, Painted Ceiling, Pinkie House. These provide genealogical information about the Earl of Dunfermline.

Photographs by courtesy of H. Dittrich Esq. Loretto School Board.



PLATE 63

Achievement of the Earl of Dunfermline in Plaster. c 1613

Part of the plasterwork decoration at Pinkie House undertaken by itinerant English plasterers.

Photograph by courtesy of H. Dittrich Esq.
Loretto School Board.

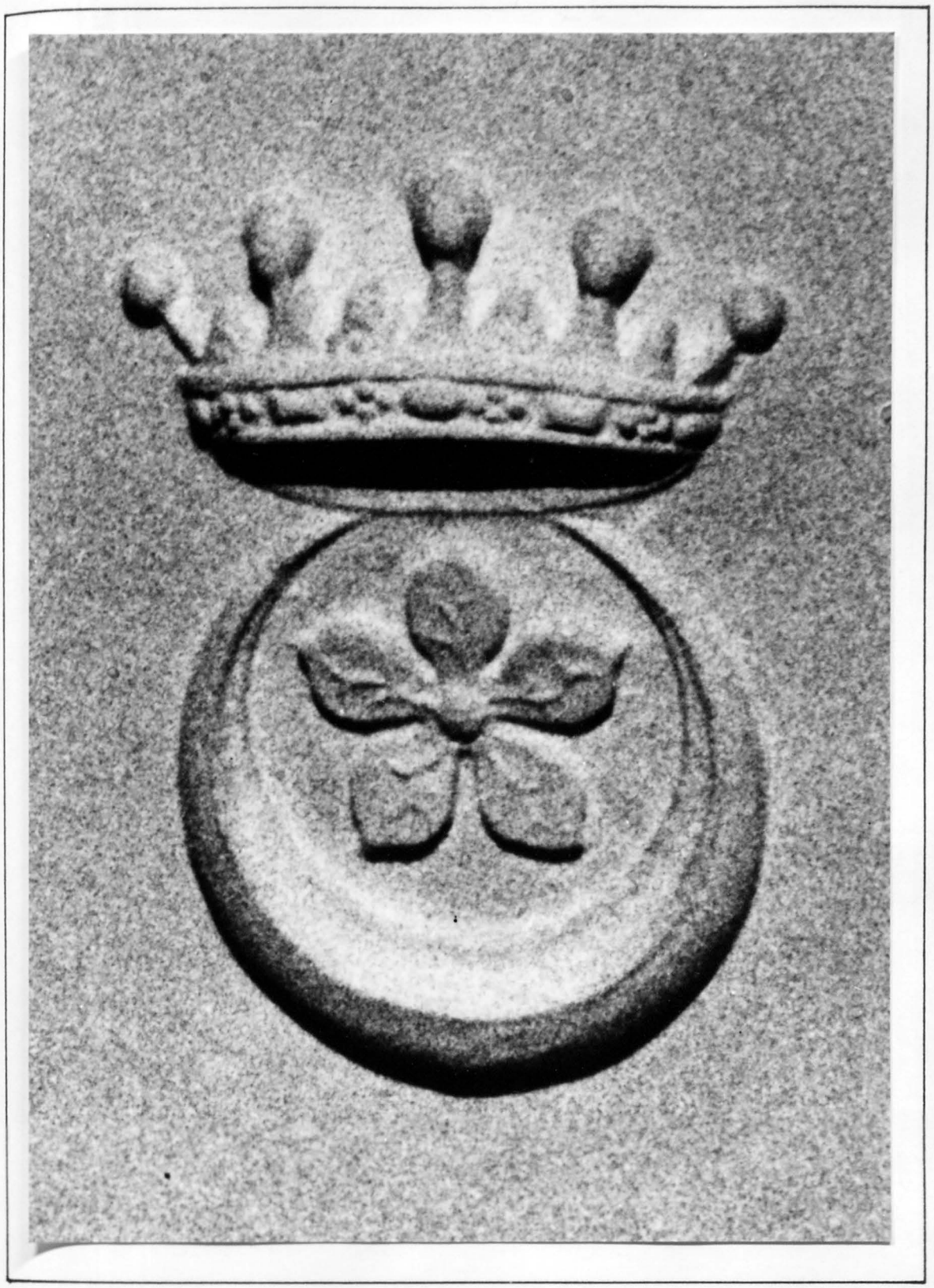


PLATE 64

Heraldic Badge of the Earl of Dunfermline
Rendered in plaster as a decorative detail on a ceiling in Pinkie House.

Photograph courtesy of H. Dittrich Esq.
Loretto School Board.

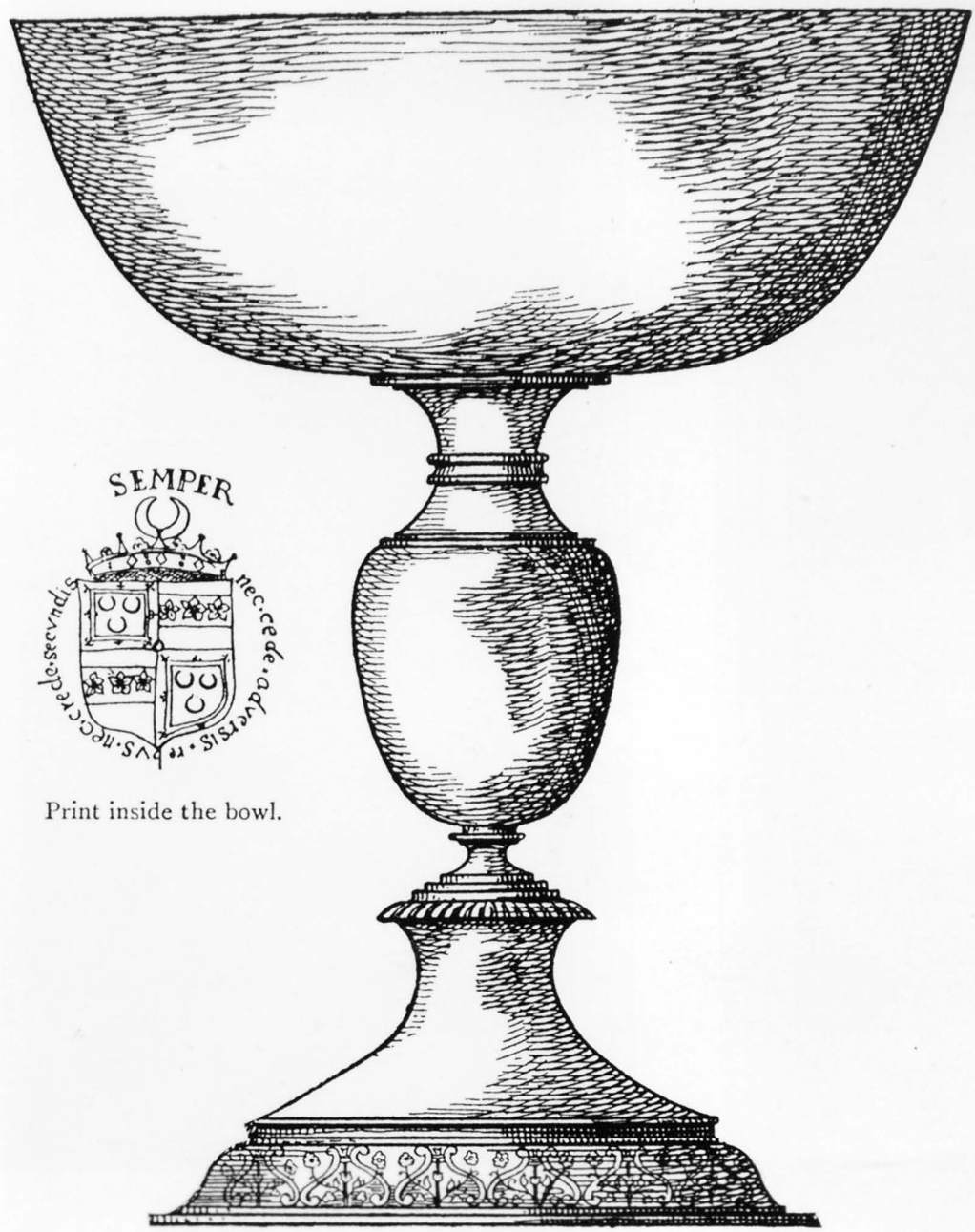


PLATE 65

Communion Cup, Inveresk, 1621

One of four cups gifted to the Kirk by the Earl of Dunfermline. Only one bears his Arms. Maker, George Crauford.

Burns, 1892, Fig. 20, p. 213.

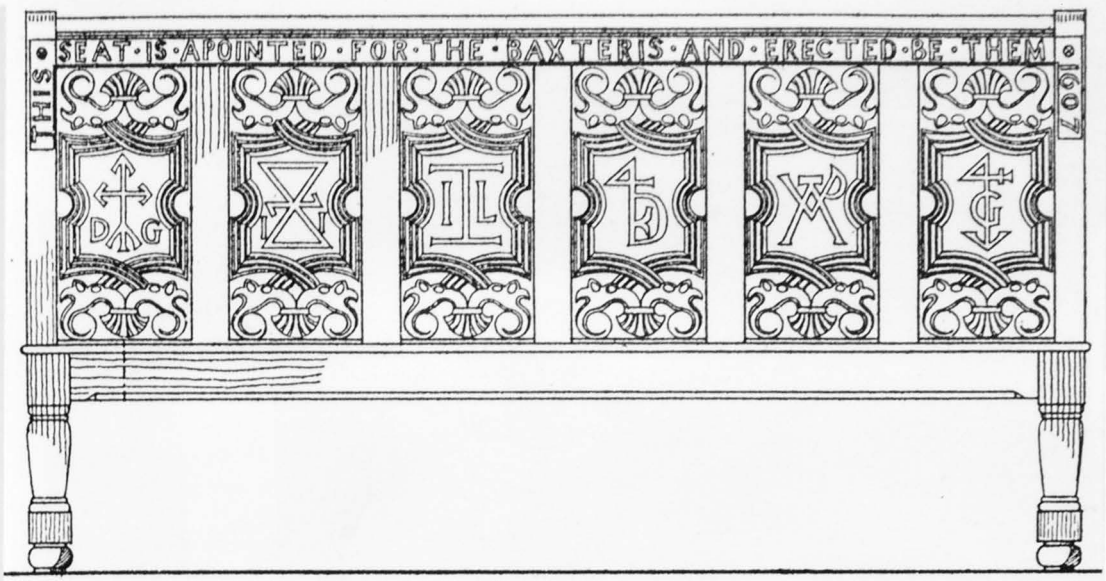
Inveresk Parish Kirk.



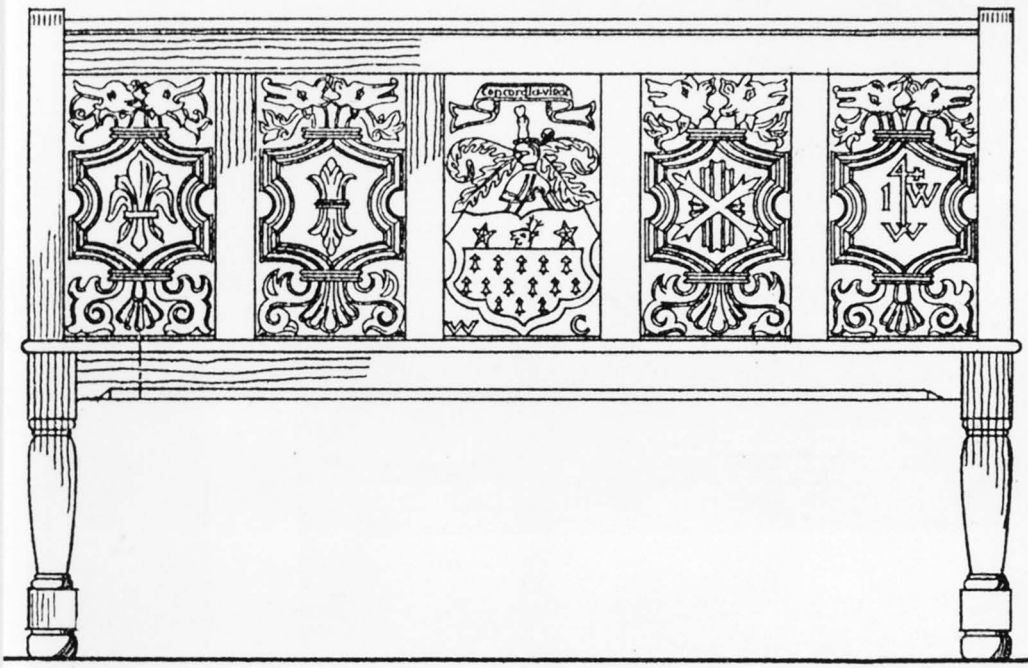
PLATE 66

Oak Bed with Heraldic Tester, Crathes Castle, 1594
The central panel contains the Arms, portraits and initials of Alexander Burnett of Leys and his wife, Katherine Gordon.

Photograph by Country Life
National Trust for Scotland



A



B

PLATE 67

Benches from St. Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen

A: Bench dated 1607, decorated with merchant's marks.

B: Bench made in 1677.

Details of Scottish Domestic Architecture, 1922, plate 96.

St. Nicholas Kirk.



PLATE 68
Pair of Oak Chairs, Crathes Castle, 1597
Bearing the Arms of Burnett and Gordon.

Photograph by courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland
National Trust for Scotland.



PLATE 69

Oak Ceiling, Long Gallery, Crathes Castle, c1600

The central row of shields bear the Royal Arms, and the Arms of the Marquess of Hamilton, Lord Fyvie, and Alexander Burnett.

Photograph by courtesy of the National Trust for Scotland.
National Trust for Scotland.

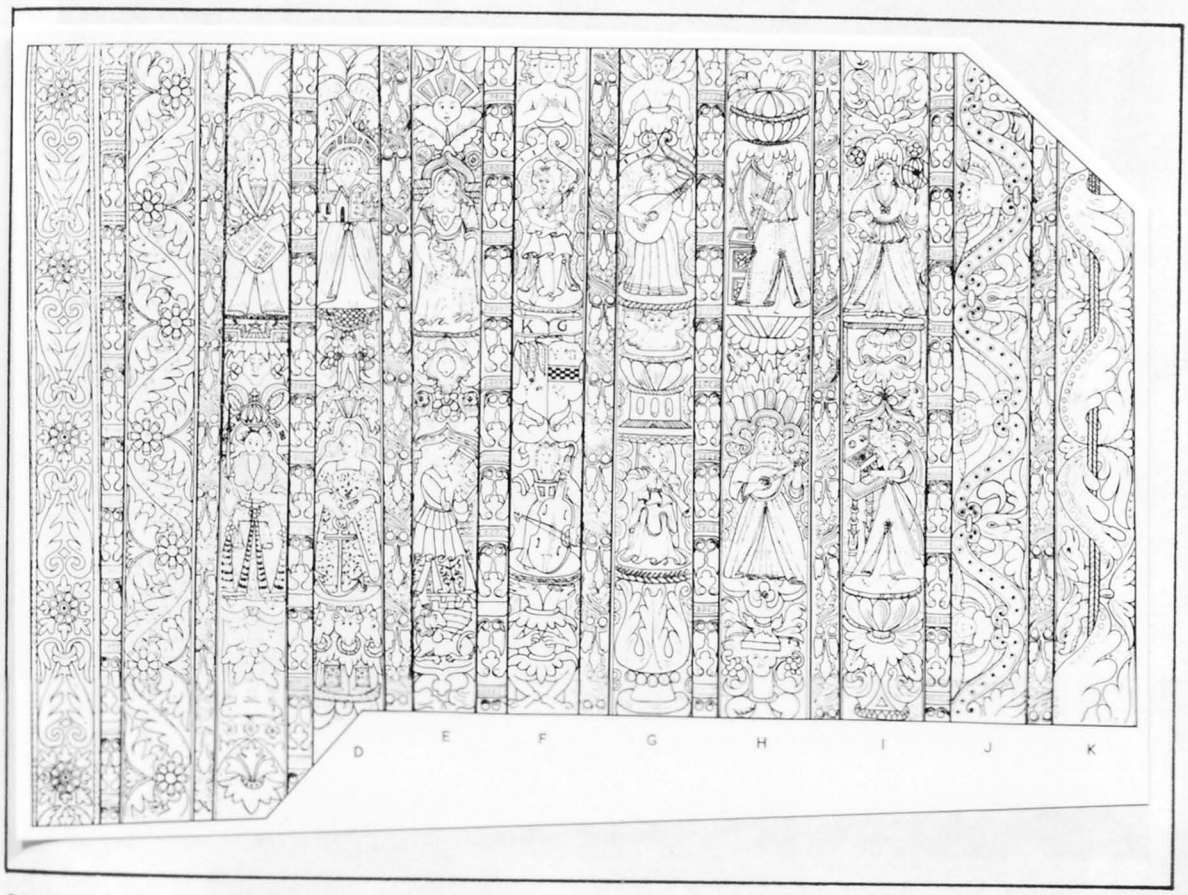


PLATE 70

The 'Muses' Ceiling, Crathes Castle, 1599

The central strip carries the initials of Katherine Gordon.

Ceiling decorated with tempera paint.

Apted, 1966, plate 40.

National Trust for Scotland.

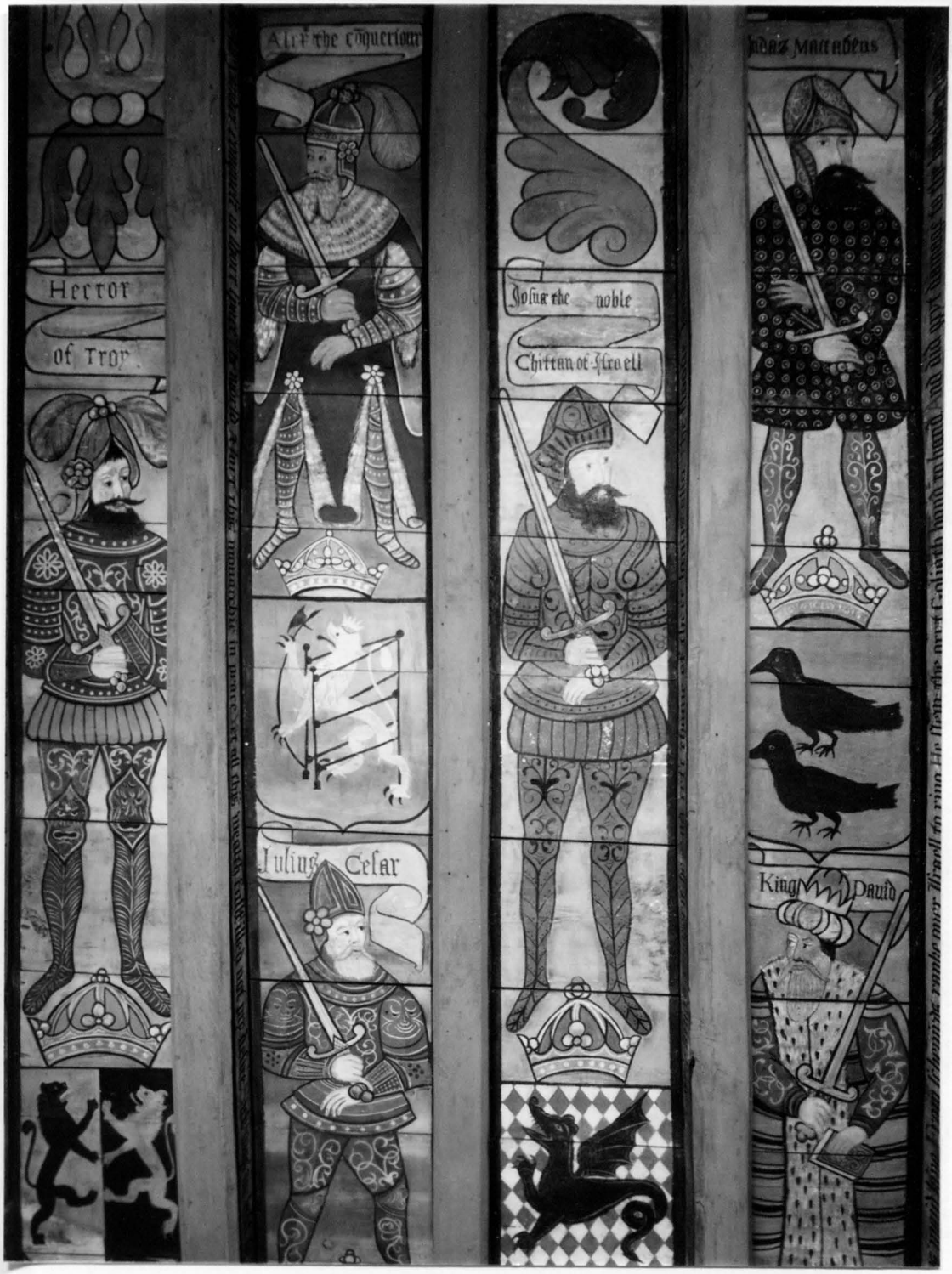


PLATE 71

'The Nobles' tempera painted ceiling, Crathes Castle, 1602
Each noble, or "Worthy", is identified and accompanied by his Arms of Attribution.

Photograph by courtesy of R.C.A.H.M.S., neg. no. A 27217
National Trust for Scotland.

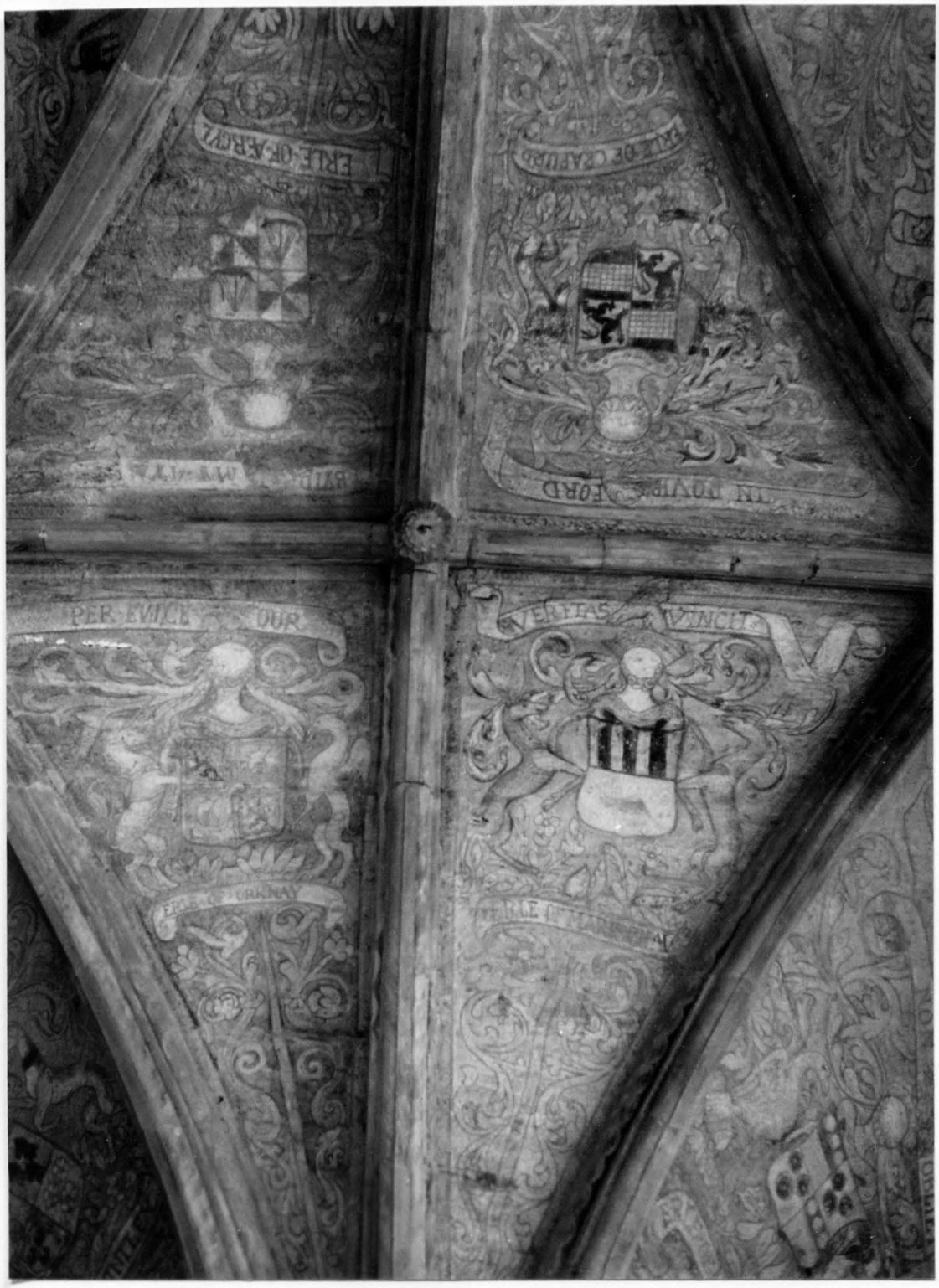


PLATE 72
Painted Vault, Balbegno Castle, c1581
Decorated with the Arms of sixteen Scottish earls.

Photograph by courtesy of R·C·A·H·M·S, neg. no. KC/218.
Anonymous private owner.

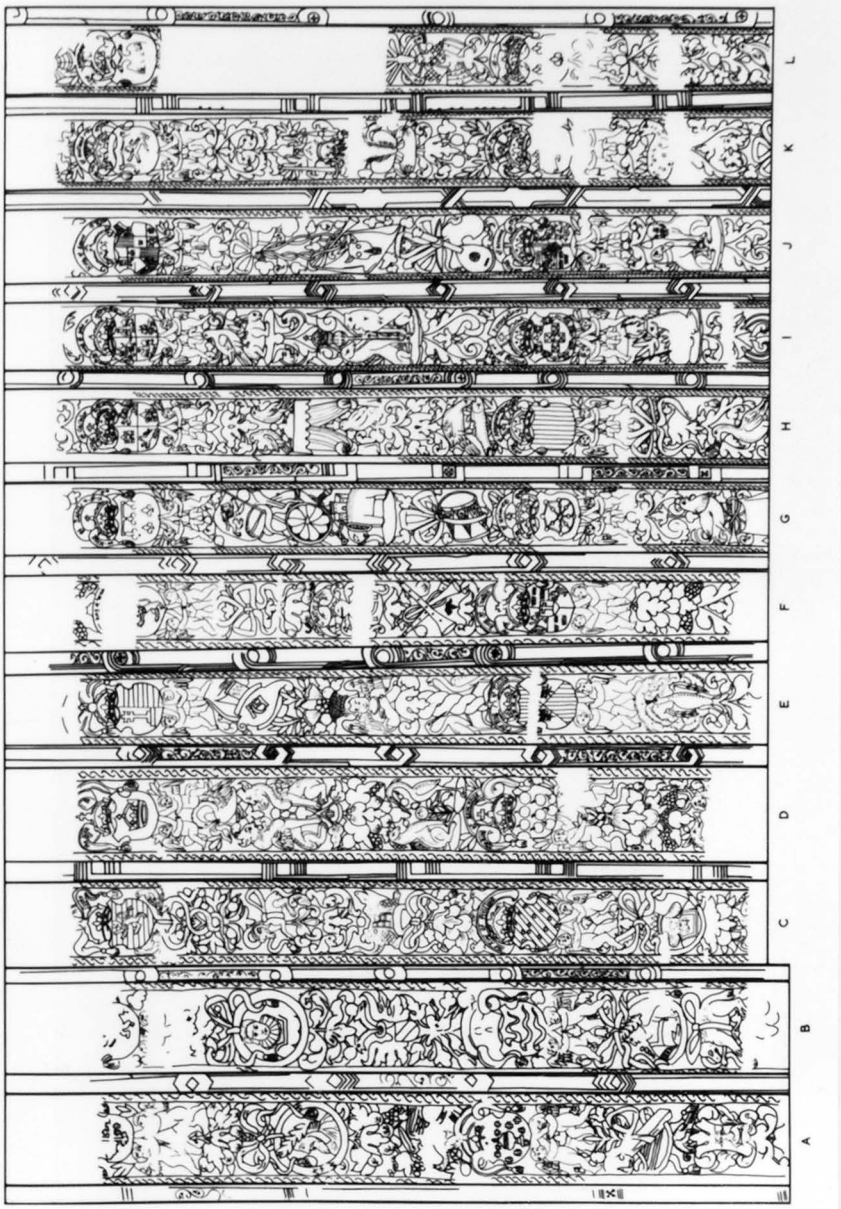


PLATE 73

Painted Ceiling, Nunraw, c1605?

There are twenty recognisable royal coats of arms incorporated in the scheme of decoration.

Photograph courtesy of the R·C·A·H·M·S, neg. no. B41857
The Order of Cistercians.

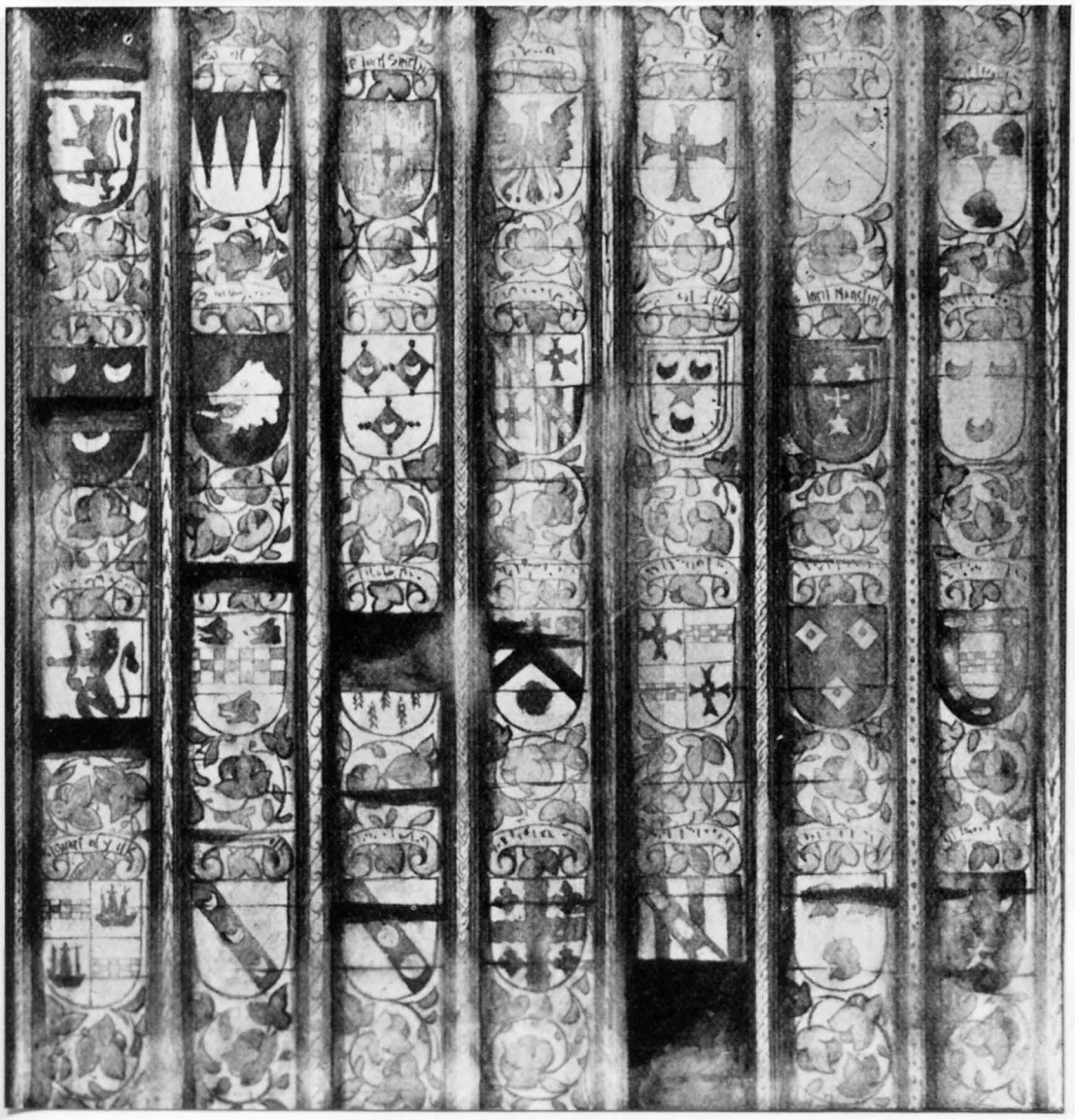


PLATE 74

Heraldic Ceiling, Collairnie Castle, c1608-1611.
One of two ceilings in the castle which employs heraldry as the main decorative element.

P.S.A.S, 1903, p. 157.
Collairnie Tower Trust.



PLATE 75

Painted Gallery, Earlshall, 1620

The decorative scheme incorporates seventy-seven armorial achievements.

Photograph by courtesy of the R·C·A·H·M·S, neg. no. B41858
Major Baxter of Earlshall.



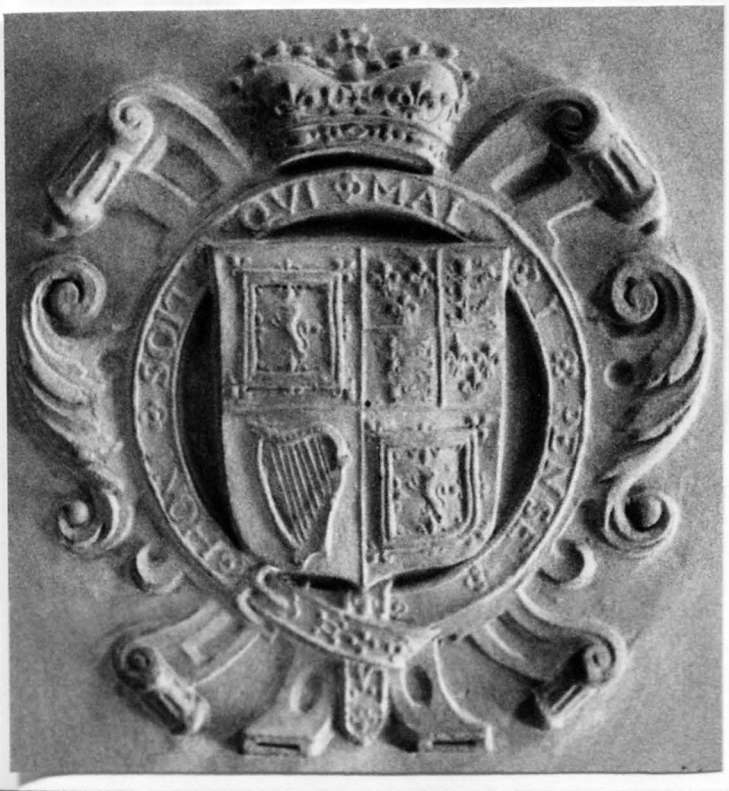




PLATE 76

Plaster Ceiling and Overmantle, Muchalls Castle, 1624

Above: Royal Arms, and shields on ceiling of Great Hall.

Below: Shields of Arms using same mould for cartouche surround.

Photographs a. RCAHMS, negs. KT/360/26, KC/370/19, c by Country Life.



PLATE 77

Heraldic Pendants, Wine Tower, Fraserburgh, c1570

a. Royal Arms, b. Arma Christi, c. Arms of Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, d. Keith & Douglas, e. Erskine, f. Fraser & Hay.

MacGibbon and Ross, 1887, Vol. II, Fig. 502, p. 34.
Banff and Buchan District Council.

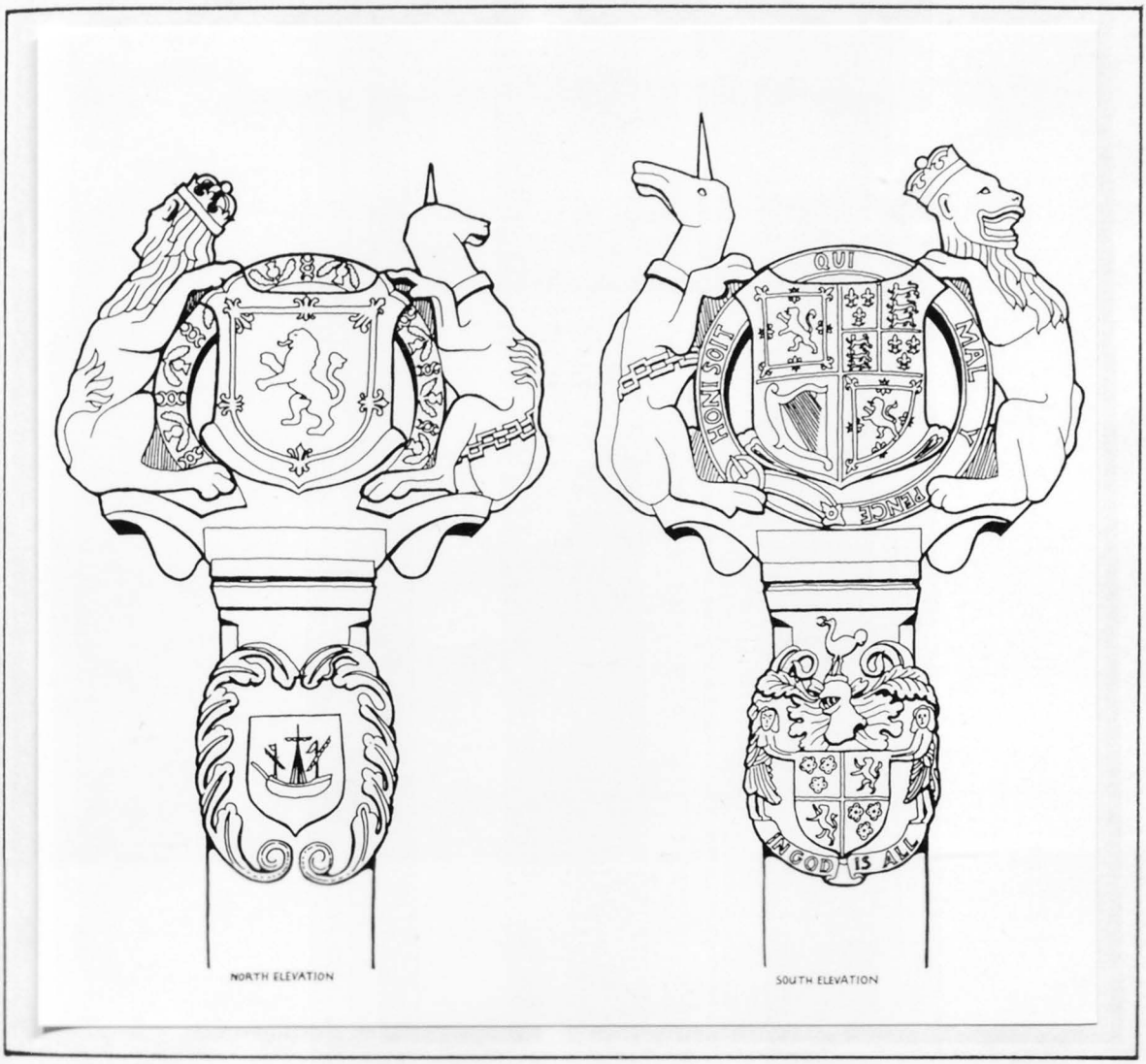


PLATE 78

Finial of the Mercat Cross, Fraserburgh, c1613

The double-sided finial carries the Royal Arms of Scotland on one side and the Arms of the two Kingdoms on the other.

Drawn by C.J. Burnett
Banff and Buchan District Council.



PLATE 79

Breadalbane Gun, 1599

left: Armorial Achievement of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy.

right: Arms of the burgh of Dundee.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland.
National Museums of Scotland.

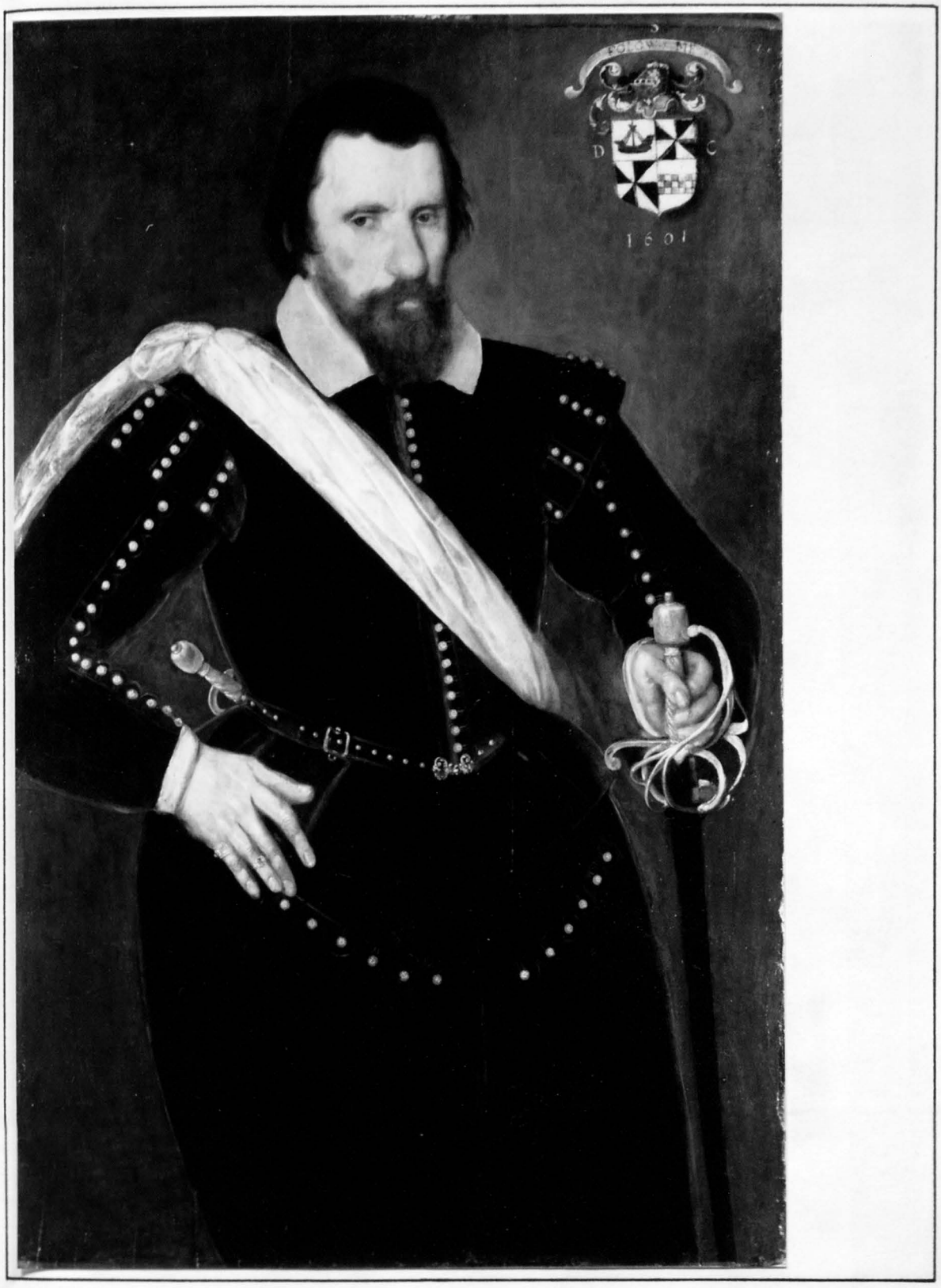


PLATE 80

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1601

Portrait attributed to Adrian Vanson. The mantling on the Arms is similar to that in the portrait of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean.

Photograph by courtesy of The National Galleries of Scotland. Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 2364.



PLATE 81

Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1619

Gouache portrait heightened with gold leaf. Possibly the work of a herald painter, such as one of the Sawers.

Innes, 1855, The Black Book of Taymouth, reproduction portrait from original. The Breadalbane Estate



PLATE 82
Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, 1619
Unknown painter, but John Anderson has been suggested.
Full achievement of Glenorchy shown top left of canvas.
Photograph by courtesy of The National Galleries of Scotland.
Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 2165.



PLATE 83

Ballochyle Brooch, late 16th century

Silver, with cabochon-cut stone, by unknown maker, A·S.

Engraved with initials M·C and a quartered Campbell coat of arms.

Photograph, National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland.

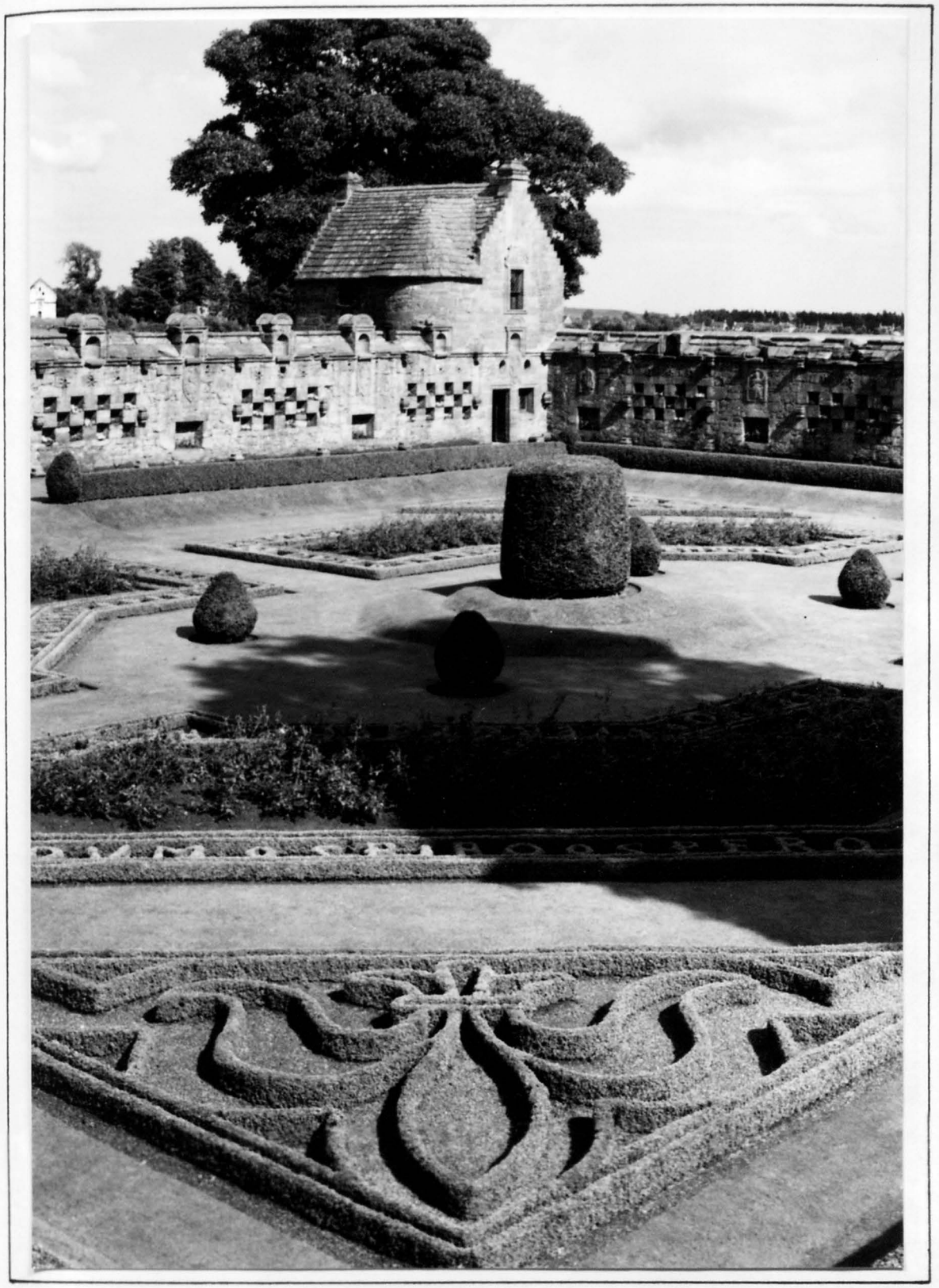


PLATE 84

The Pleasance, Edzell Castle, 1604

General view showing inner wall surface pierced with the Lindsay fess checky. Summer house in the corner.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A1050/3
Historic Scotland.

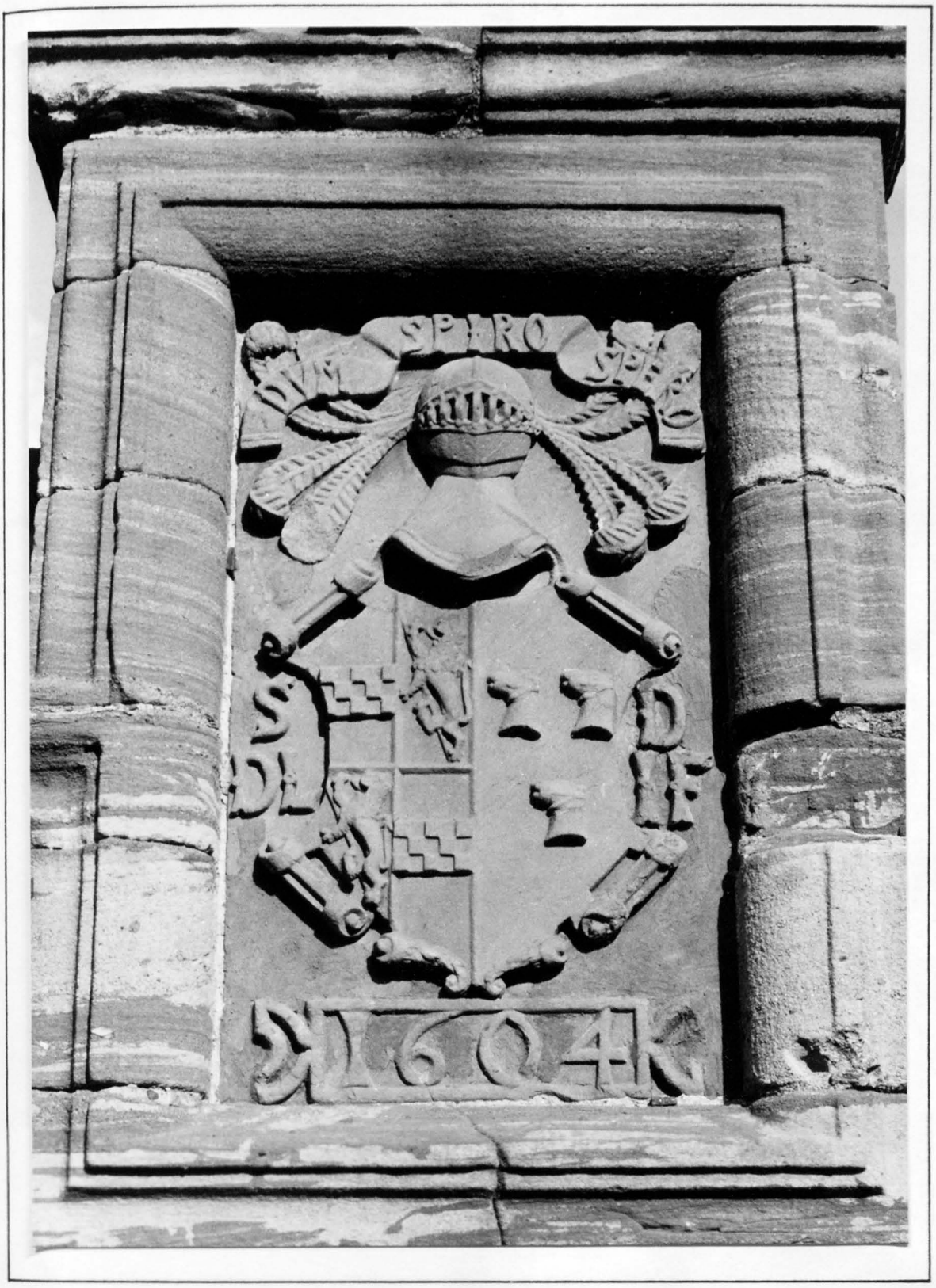


PLATE 85

Heraldic Panel, The Pleasance, Edzell Castle, 1604
Bearing the impaled Arms of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell and his wife, Dame Isobel Forbes.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A 4804/1
Historic Scotland.

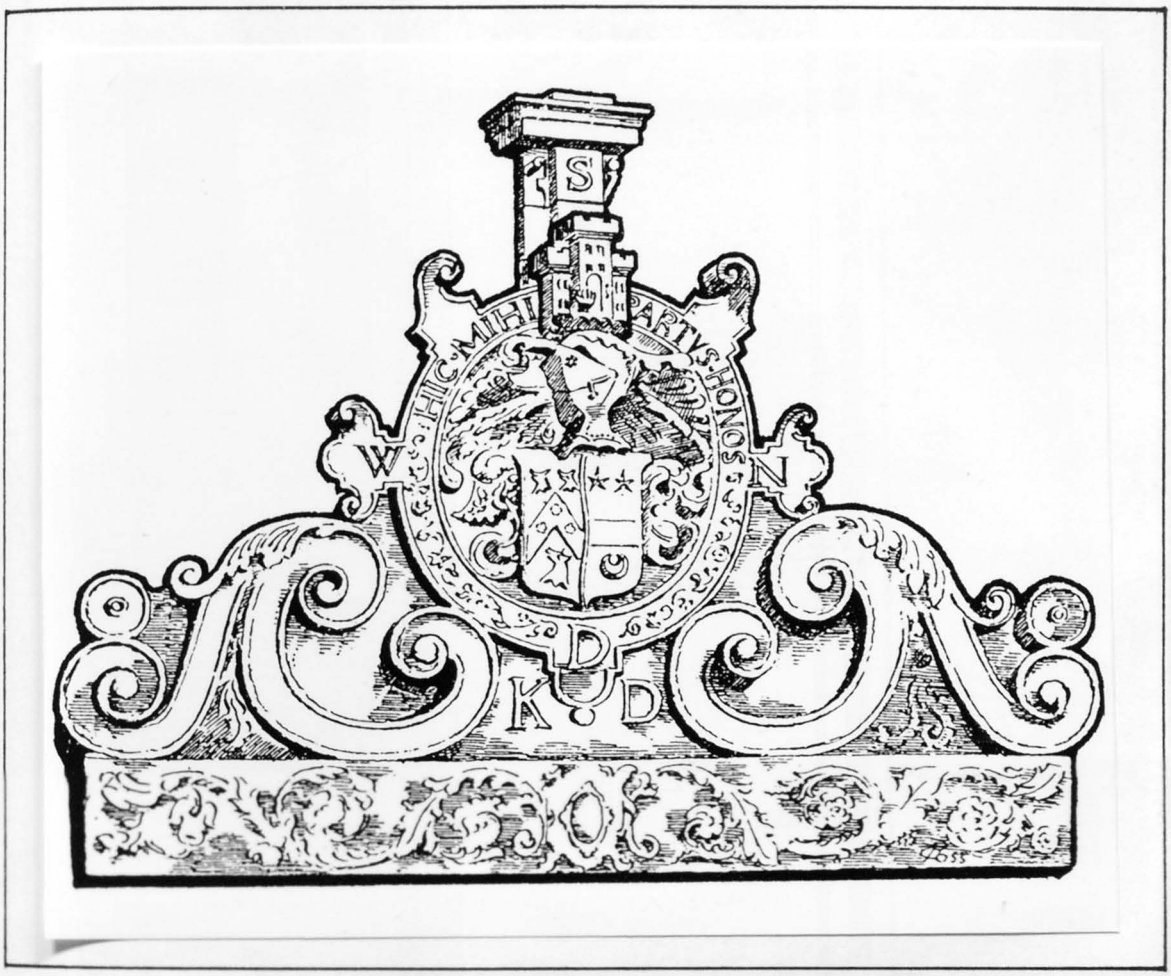


PLATE 86

Architectural Fragment, Dean House, Edinburgh, c1619

The House was demolished in 1845 and this fragment was built into ariaining wall of the Dean Cemetery.

MacGibbon and Ross, 1892, Vol. IV, Fig. 1069, p. 483.
Edinburgh District Council.



PLATE 87

Monument to George Home, Earl of Dunbar, died 1610
Manufactured in London and transported to Dunbar Parish Kirk.
Damaged by fire in January 1987.

MacGibbon and Ross, 1892, Fig. 1316, p. 202.
Dunbar Parish Kirk.

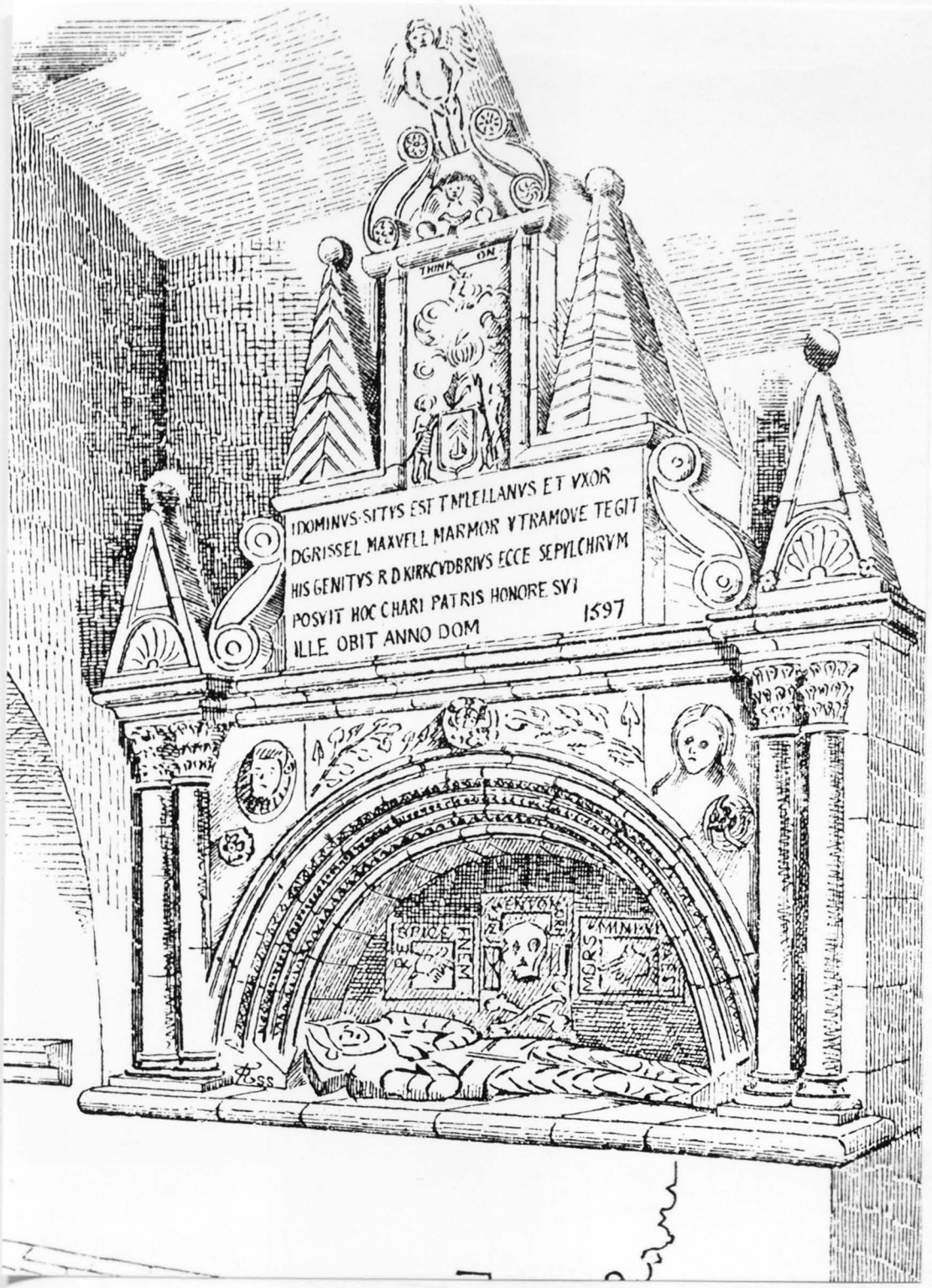


PLATE 88

Tomb of Sir Thomas MacLellan of Bombie, died 1597
The deceased was Provost of Kircudbright, part of the Burgh Arms, a ship, is used as an additional charge on the MacLellan Arms.

MacGibbon and Ross, 1887, Vol II, Fig. 613, p. 155.
Auld Greyfriars Kirk, Kircudbright.

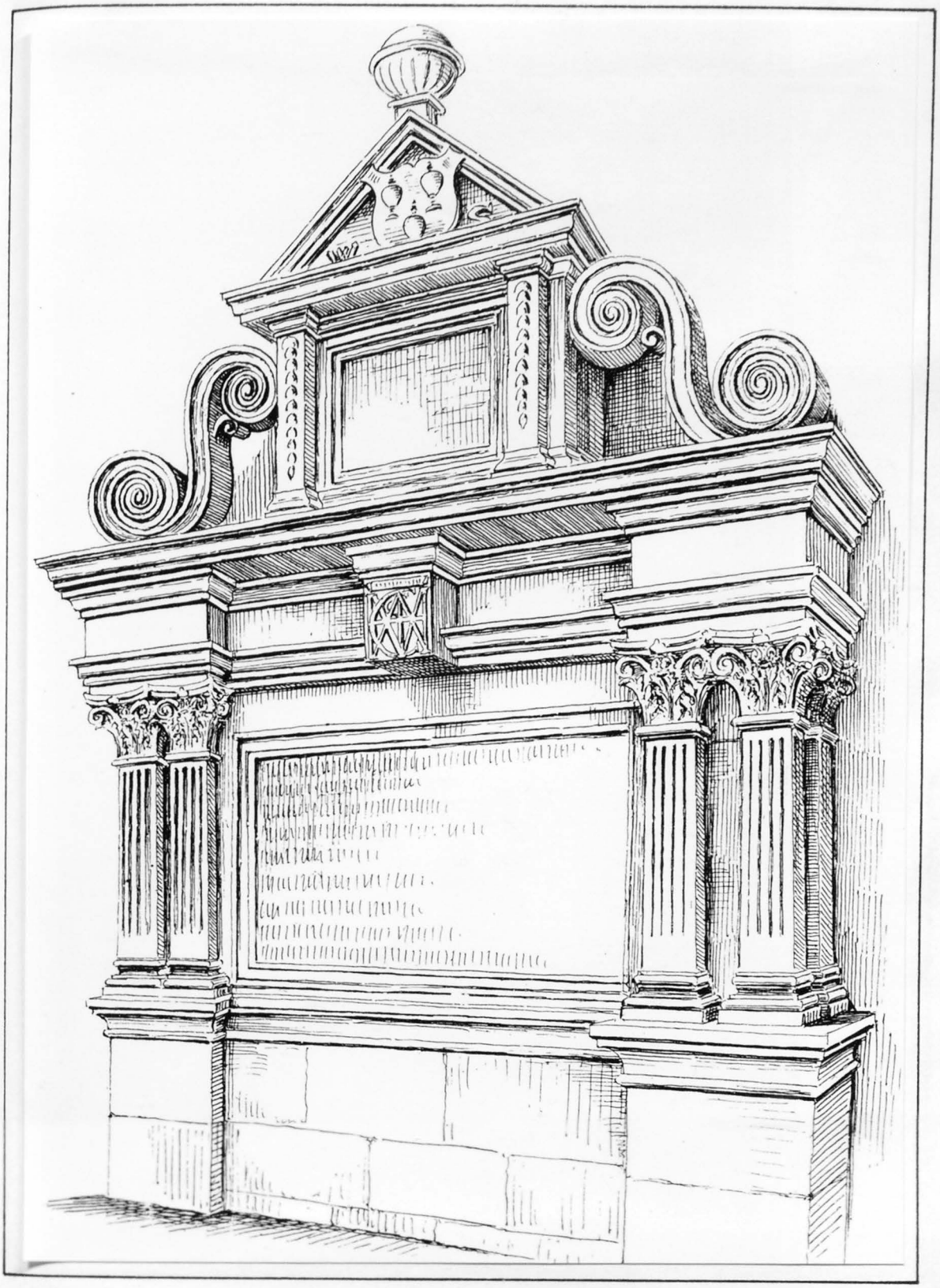


PLATE 89

Monument to William Shaw, died 1602

Shaw was the King's Master Mason from 1583 until his death in 1602.
This memorial was erected by command of Queen Anne.

MacGibbon and Ross, Ecclesiastical Architecture, Vol. 1, p. 258.
Historic Scotland, Dunfermline Abbey.

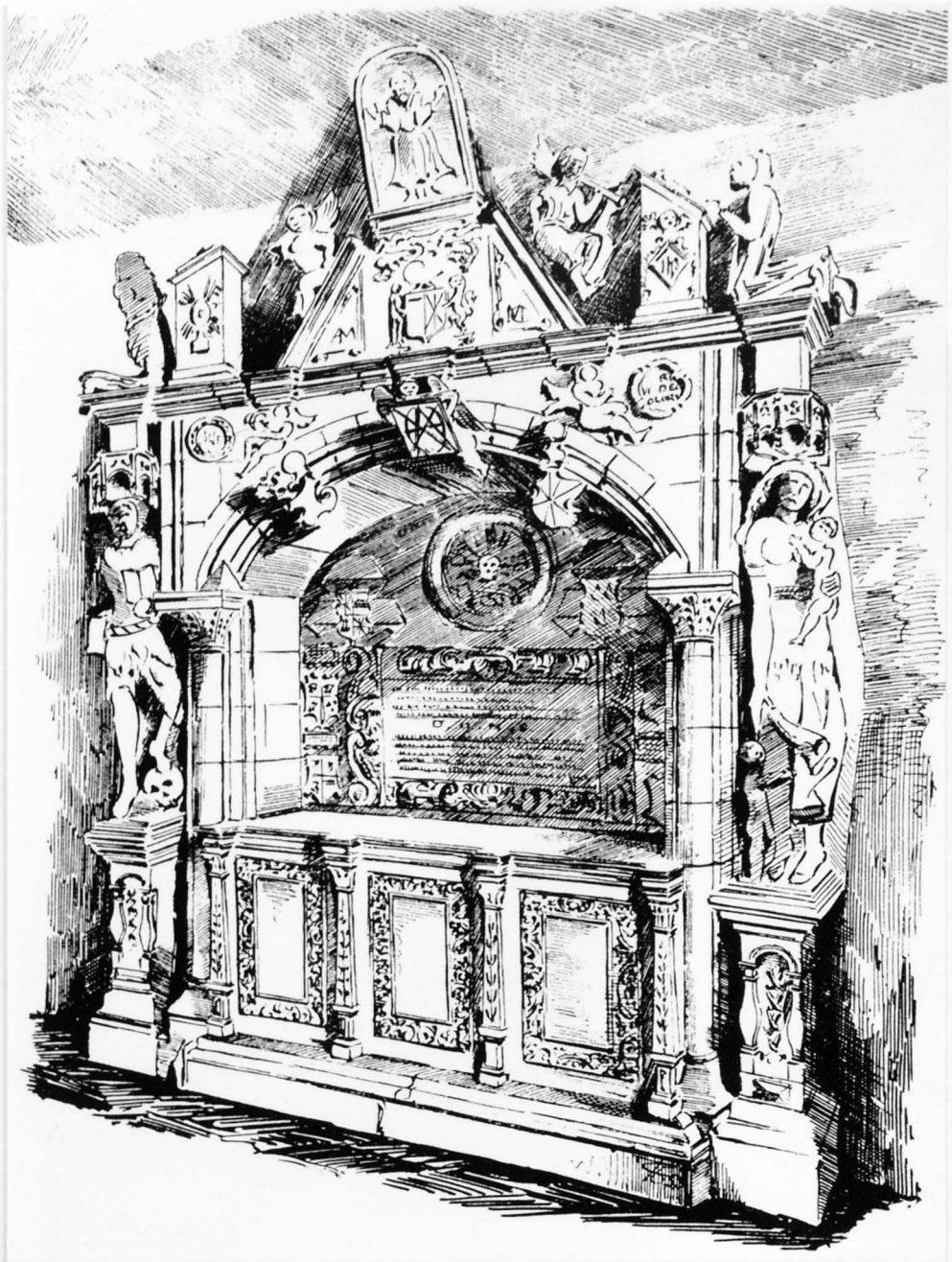


PLATE 90

Monument to Sir Alexander Menzies, died 1624
The canopied recess is medieval in form but rendered in a native Renaissance style.

MacGibbon and Ross, Ecclesiastical Architecture, Vol. III, p. 621.
Weem Auld Kirk, Perthshire.



PLATE 91

Chair Back, Dundee, 1617

All that survives from a royal chair made for the visit of King James to Dundee in 1617.

Photograph courtesy of Dundee Art Galleries and Museums
Dundee Art Galleries and Museums.



PLATE 92

The Dundee Pirlie Pig, 1602

Pewter container for Councillor's fines. The engraved shield of the burgh Arms is clearly shown.

Photograph courtesy of Dundee Art Galleries and Museums
Dundee Art Galleries and Museums.

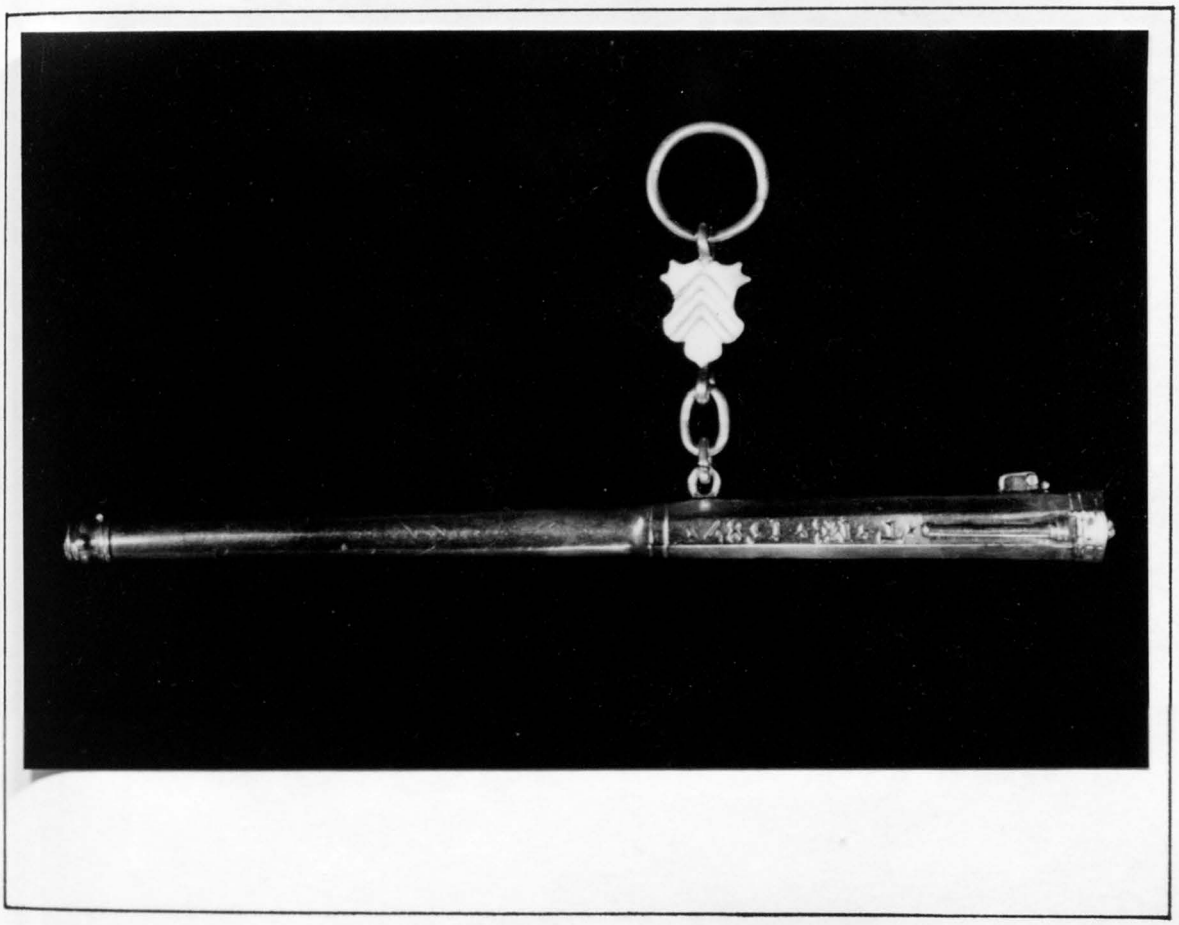


PLATE 93

The Kircubright Siller Gun, 1587

Presented to the Incorporated Trades of the Burgh by King James as a shooting prize. The Arms are those of Sir Thomas Maclellan.

Photograph by courtesy of A.C. Henry LL.B. N.P.
Kircudbright Incorporated Trades.



PLATE 94

Wrights' and Coopers' Chair, Aberdeen, 1574
Presented to the Incorporation by Jerome Black, Deacon, whose Arms are featured on the back of the chair.

Photograph by courtesy of the Furniture History Society
Aberdeen Incorporated Trades.



PLATE 95

Oak Chair, c1600

Chair of the Deacon of the Hammermen. Presented by Lawrence Mercer, several times Deacon between 1572 and 1596.

Photograph by courtesy of the Furniture History Society Aberdeen Incorporated Trades.

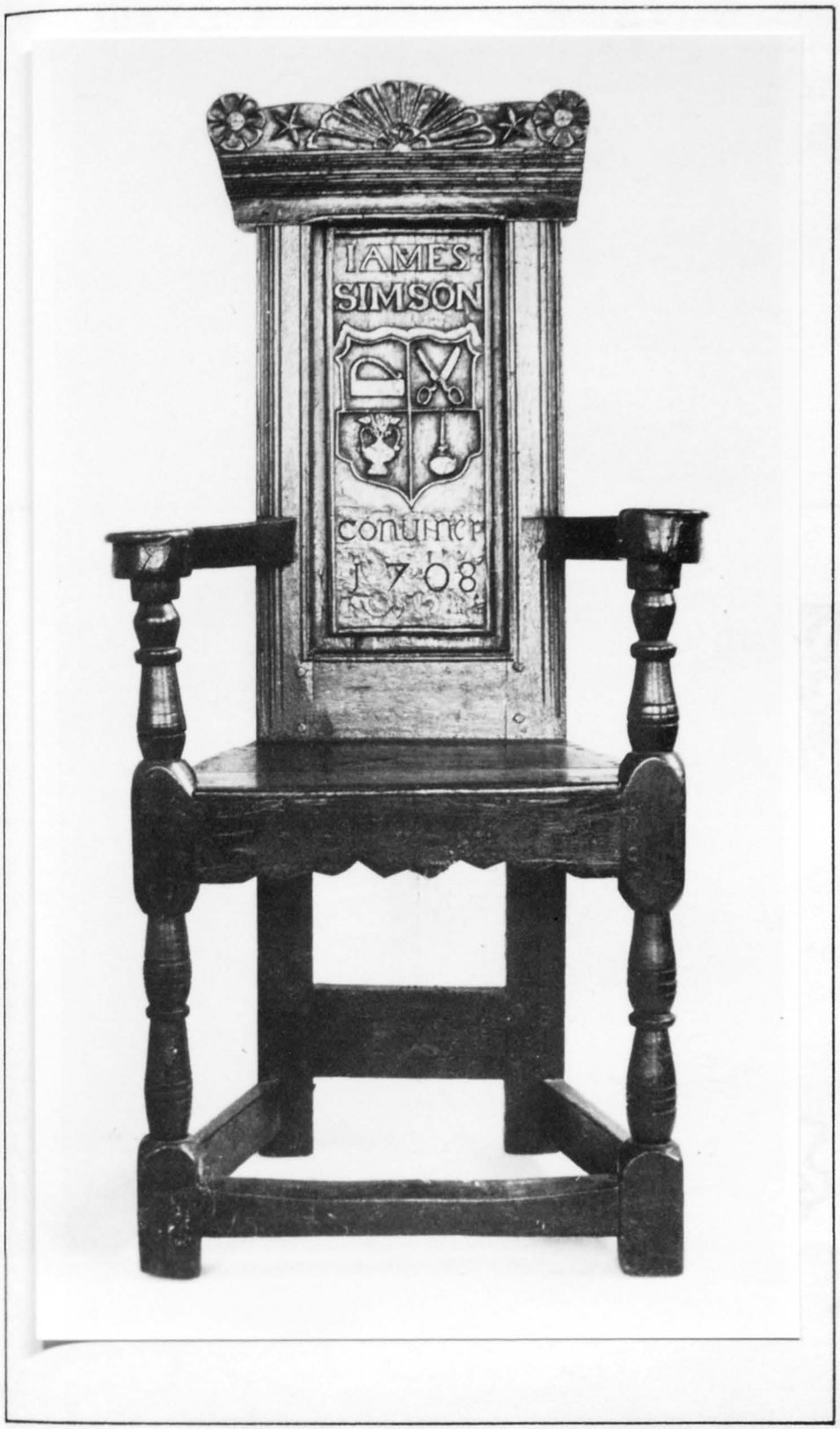


PLATE 96

Oak Chair, 1621

The chair was gifted in 1621, and altered in 1708. The back is decorated with the assumed Arms of the Tailors' craft.

Photograph by courtesy of the Furniture History Society
Aberdeen Incorporated Trades.

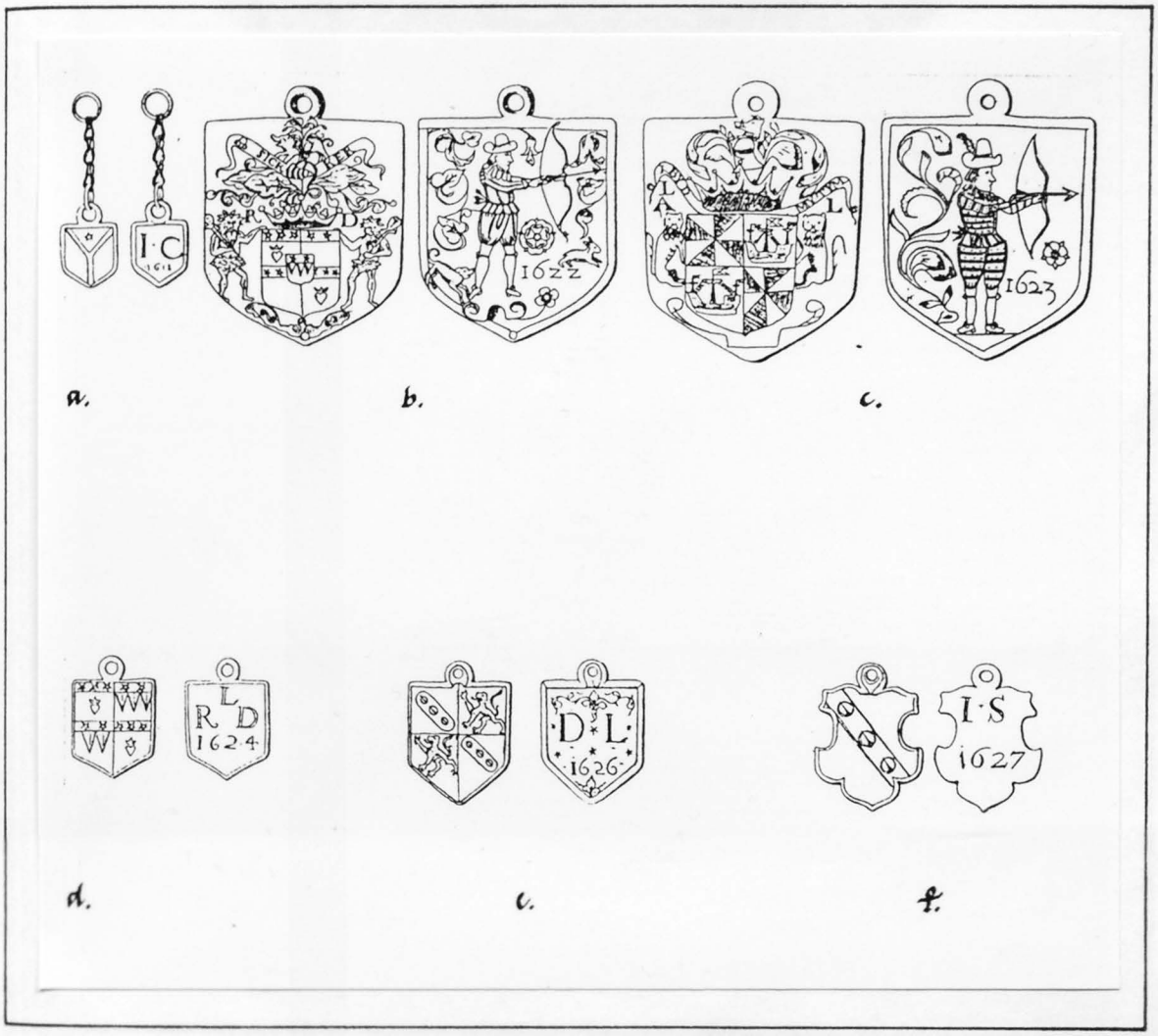


PLATE 97

Silver Archery Medals, 1618-1627

Commissioned by winners of the Silver Arrow Archery Competition, St Andrews University. a. Cunningham, b&c. Robert, Lord Dalkeith, c. Archibald, Marquess of Argyll, e. Leslie, f. Stirling.

P.S.A.S, Vol. LXIX. Figs. 4-15, pp. 361-367.

St Andrews University.



PLATE 98

The Watson Mazer, c1550

Central print is engraved with the Arms of Watson. Maker unknown.

Photograph by National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland, 1948.132.



PLATE 99

The St Mary's Mazer, c 1550

This is the oldest fully hall-marked piece of Edinburgh silver. Maker Alexander Auchinleck.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 100

The Tulloch Mazer. 1557

Wooden bowl with silver lip and supporting stem. Made by the Canongate goldsmith, James Gray.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 101

Print from the Tulloch Mazer, 1557

Bearing the Arms of Tulloch of Tannochy, and the inscription:

HONORA·DEVM·EX TOTA·ANIMA·TVA, and the date 1557.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland.

National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 102

The Galloway Mazer, 1569

Although the mazer bears no heraldry, the engraved decoration should be compared with Plate 103. Maker James Gray.

Photograph by National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland, 1954.691.

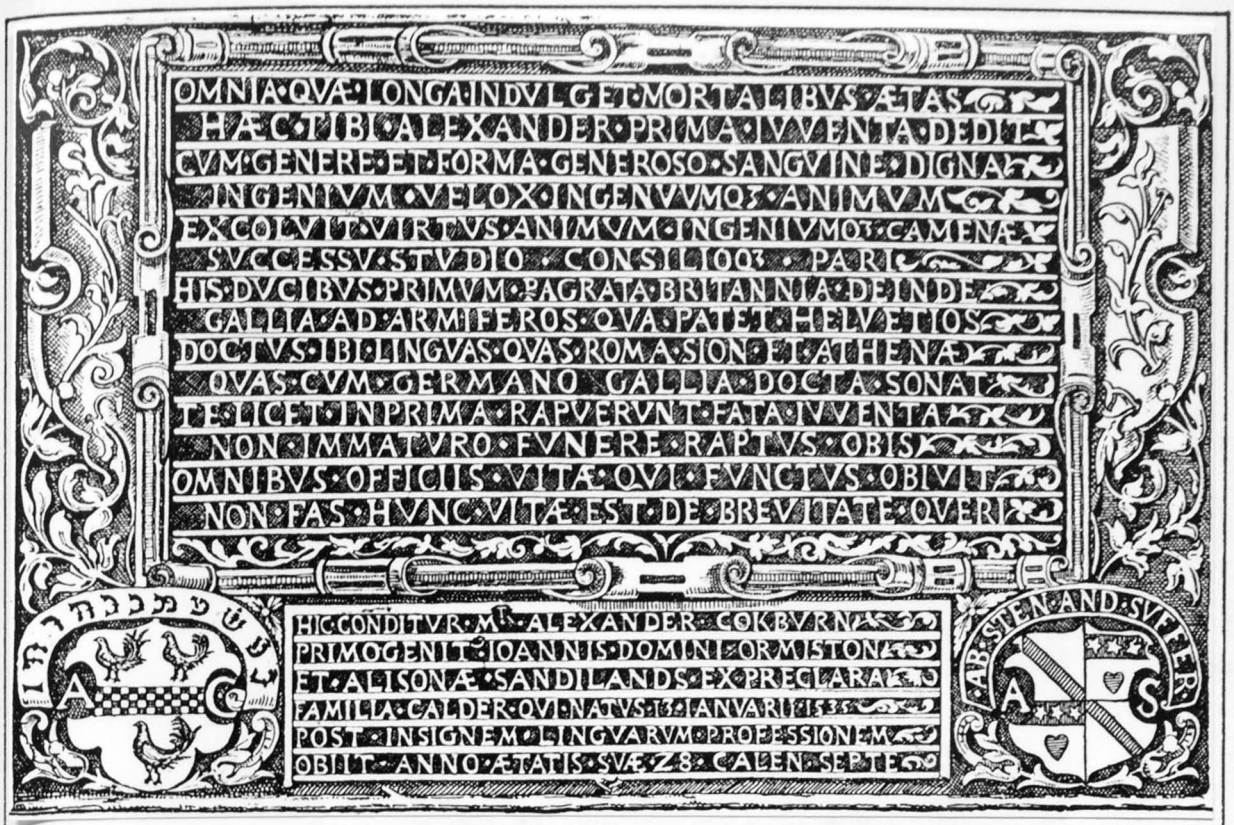


PLATE 103

Memorial Brasses by James Gray, 1563 and 1570

Above: Brass to Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston, 1563

Below: Brass to The Regent Moray, 1570.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, nos. 1151 and 1150

National Museums of Scotland and the High Kirk of St. Giles, Edinburgh.



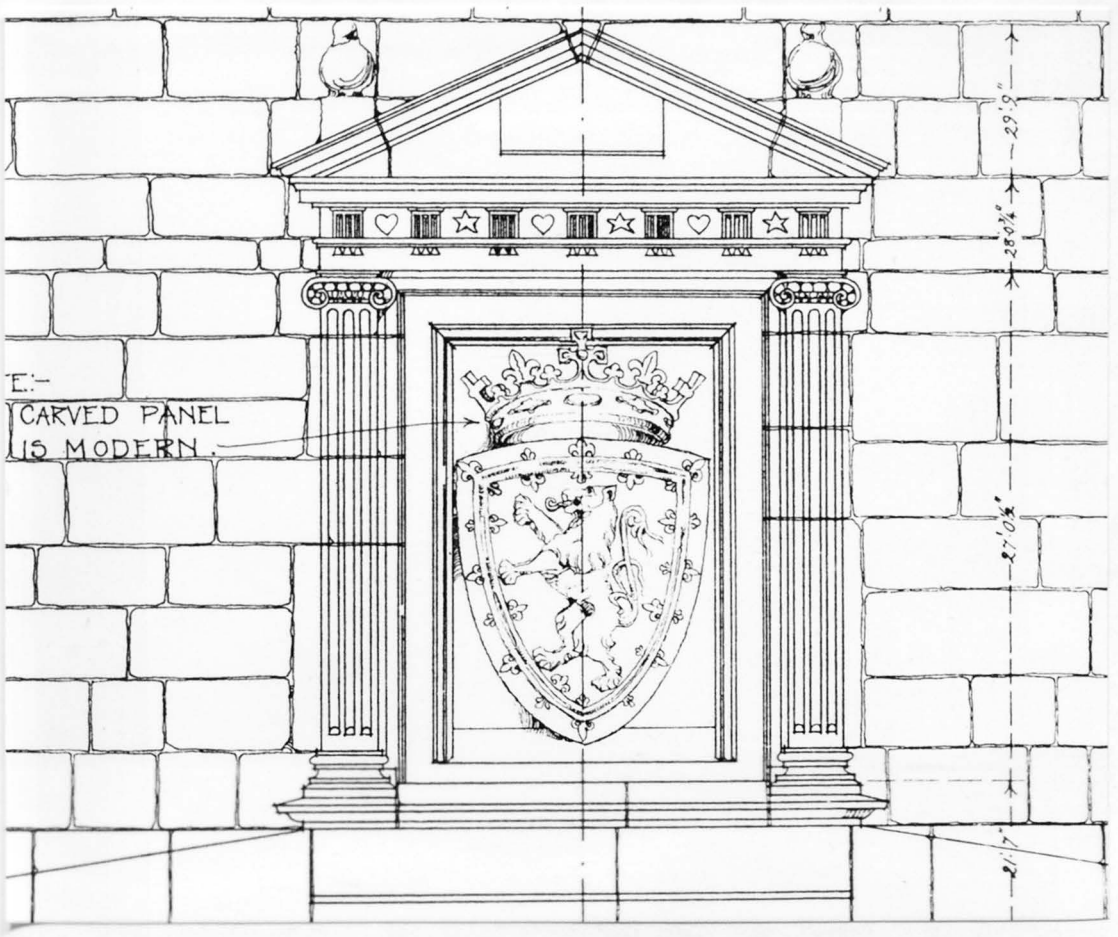


PLATE 104

Countermarking of coinage in 1575 and 1578

James Gray made the countermark dies. The earliest was based on Douglas heraldry, an idea used on the Regent Morton Gateway at Edinburgh Castle in 1574.

Photographs by the National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 105

Coconut Cup, 1588

Rim engraved with Arms of George Sinclair, 3rd son of 4th Earl of Caithness, and his wife Margaret Forbes. Unknown maker I.H.

Photograph by The National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland, 1960.762.

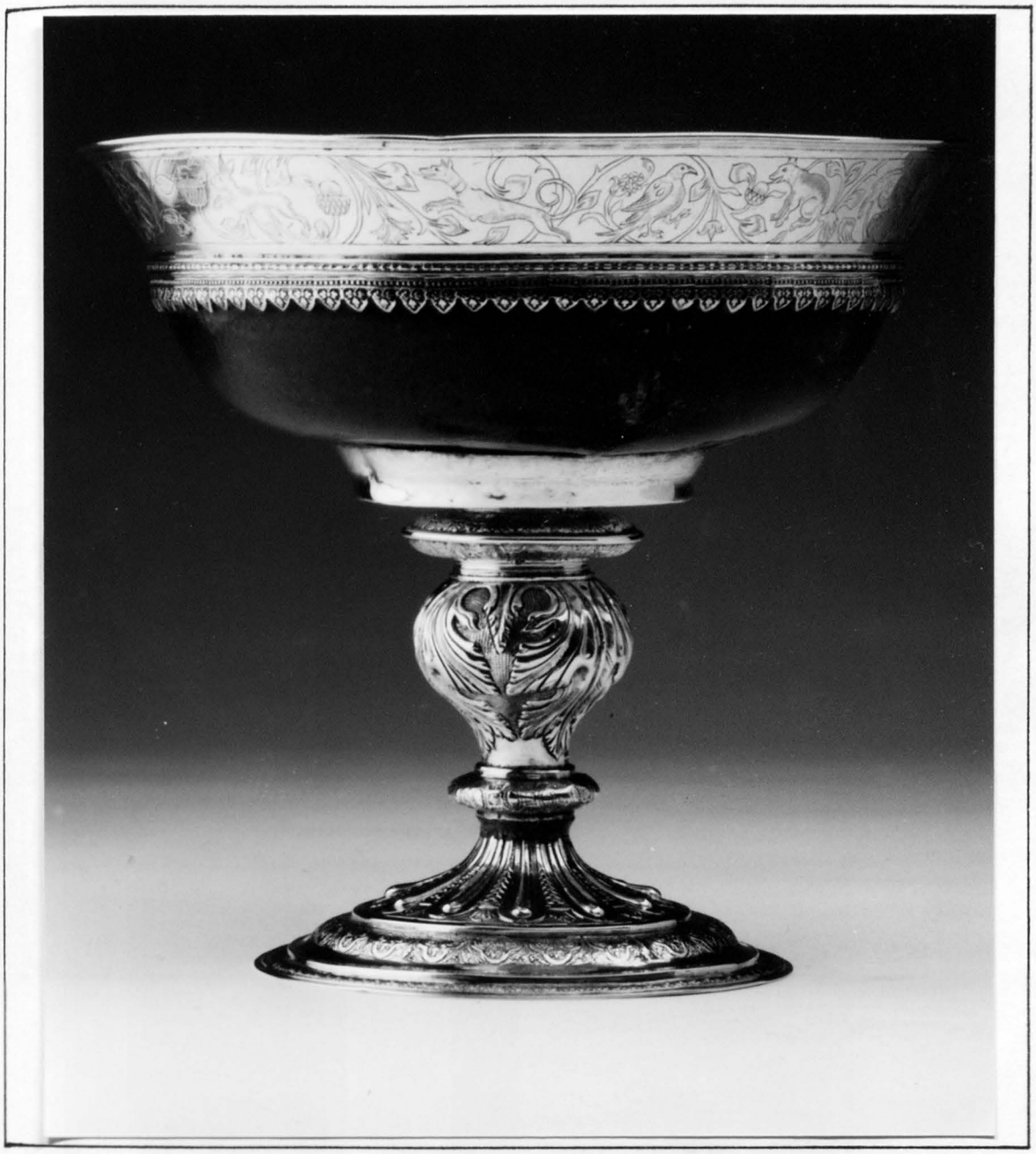


PLATE 106
The Craigievar Mazer, 1591
Maker James Crawford. Quality of engraving to be compared with the work of James Gray, Plates 101 and 102.
Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 107

The Seton Medal, 1562, Obverse

Commissioned by George, 5th Lord Seton. Dies for medal were supplied by Michael Gilbert. Medal struck in gold and silver.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 108

The Seton Medal, 1562. Reverse

The interlocking crescents utilises a charge from the Seton Arms. The encircling legend also occurred at Seton Palace.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland.



PLATE 109

Montrose Seal Case, 1604

Reverse engraved with the Arms of John, 3rd Earl of Montrose.

Maker George Cunningham Senior.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland

Anonymous Private Owner.



PLATE 110

Paisley Silver Bell, 1608

Unknown maker. Engraved with the Arms used by the Burgh of Paisley at the time.

Photograph by courtesy of Paisley Art Gallery and Museum Renfrew District Council.



PLATE 111

Small Silver Paisley Bell, 1620

Unknown Maker. Engraved with the Arms and initials of Hugh Crawford of Cloberhill, first winner of the bell.

Photograph by courtesy of Paisley Art Gallery and Museum Renfrew District Council.

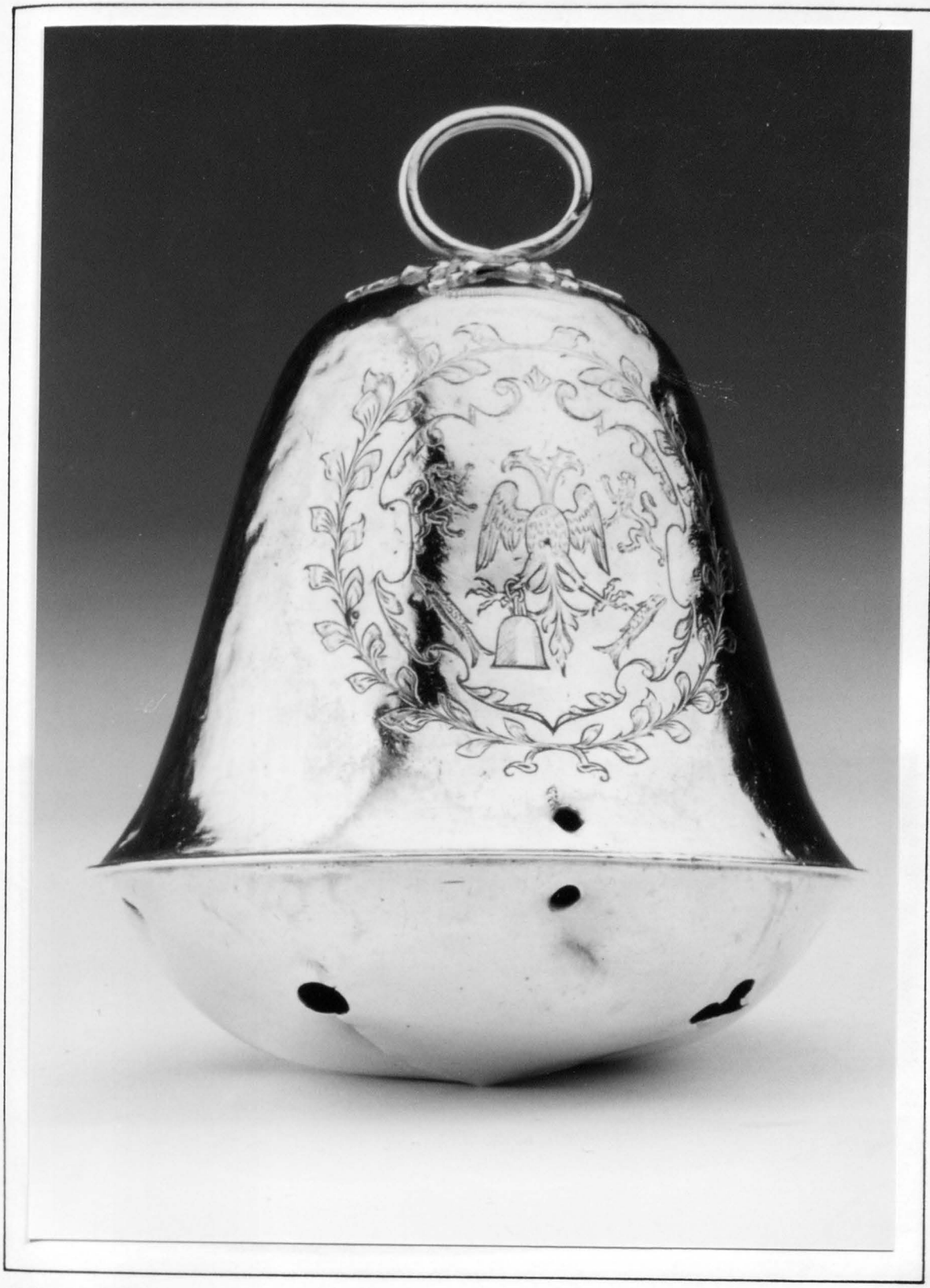


PLATE 112

Lanark Racing Bell, c1609

Maker Hugh Lindsay. Engraved with the Arms of the Burgh in use since at least 1357.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
Clydesdale District Council



PLATE 113

Silver Bowl, c1615

Maker Thomas Clyghorne. Arms of original owners engraved on print, subsequent owners' Arms outside of bowl.

Photographs by courtesy of Asprey's Limited, London
Asprey's Limited.



PLATE 114

Watch by David Ramsay c1615
Engraved with the Arms of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset K.G.
The Fleming, Gerard de Heck, may have been the engraver.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland, NL 63.

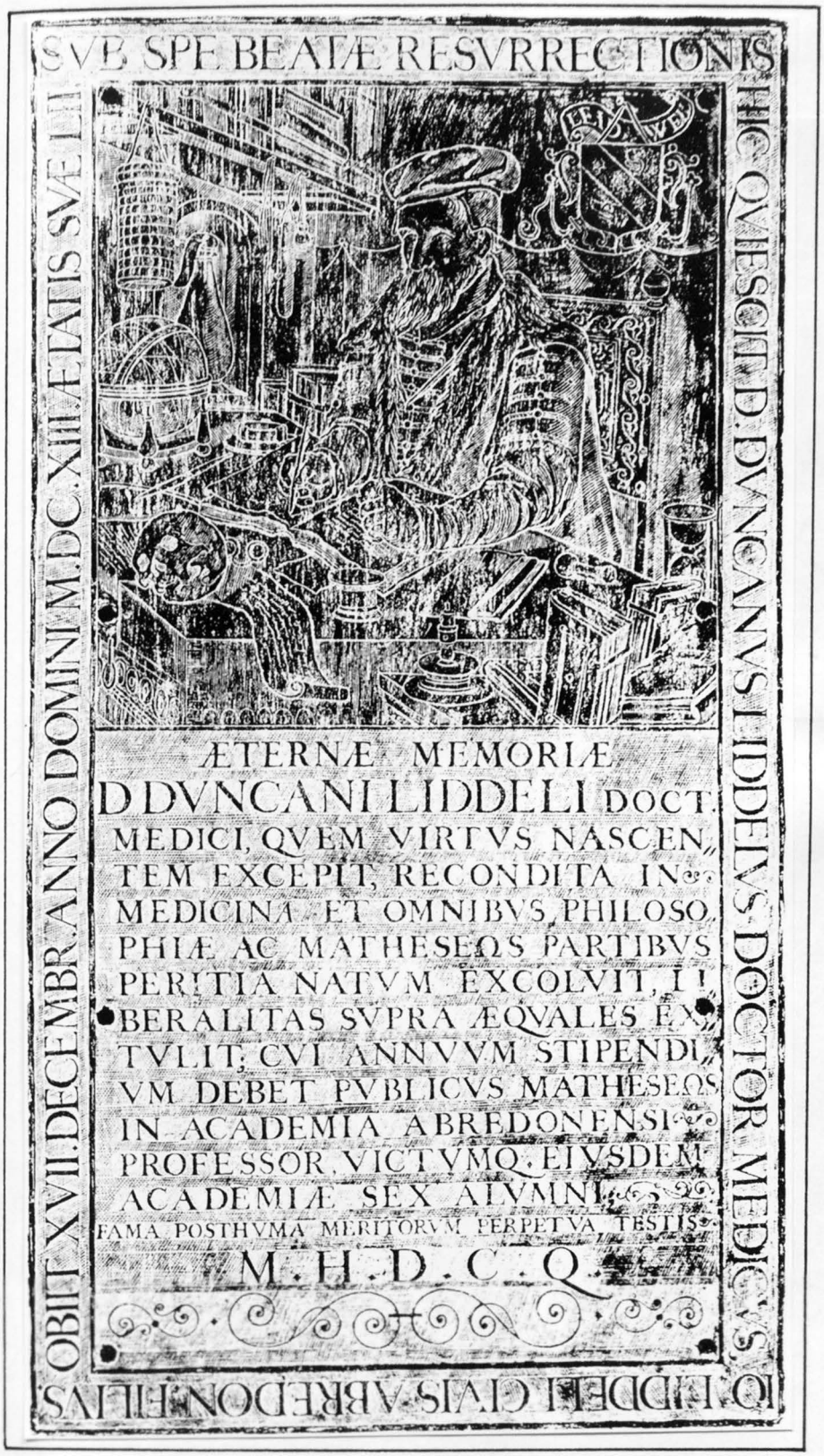


PLATE 115

Memorial Brass to Dr. Duncan Liddel, 1613
Engraved in Amsterdam by Gaspard Bruydegoms.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 1131.
St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen.



a.



b.



c.

PLATE 116

Edinburgh City Mace, 1617.

a. Overall view. b. Royal Arms beneath arches of crown finial.

c. Detail of engraving adjacent to the applied Arms.

Photographs by National Museums of Scotland.
Edinburgh District Council.

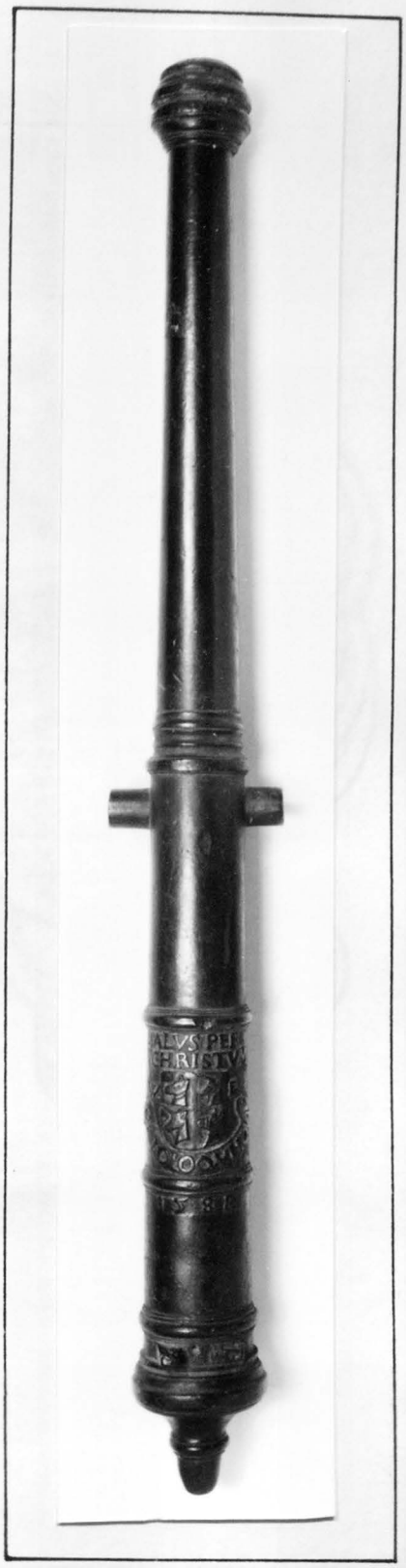


PLATE 117

Tolquhon Bronze Gun, 1588

One of four guns commissioned by William Forbes of Tolquhon and decorated with his Arms, motto, initials and date.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland LH446.

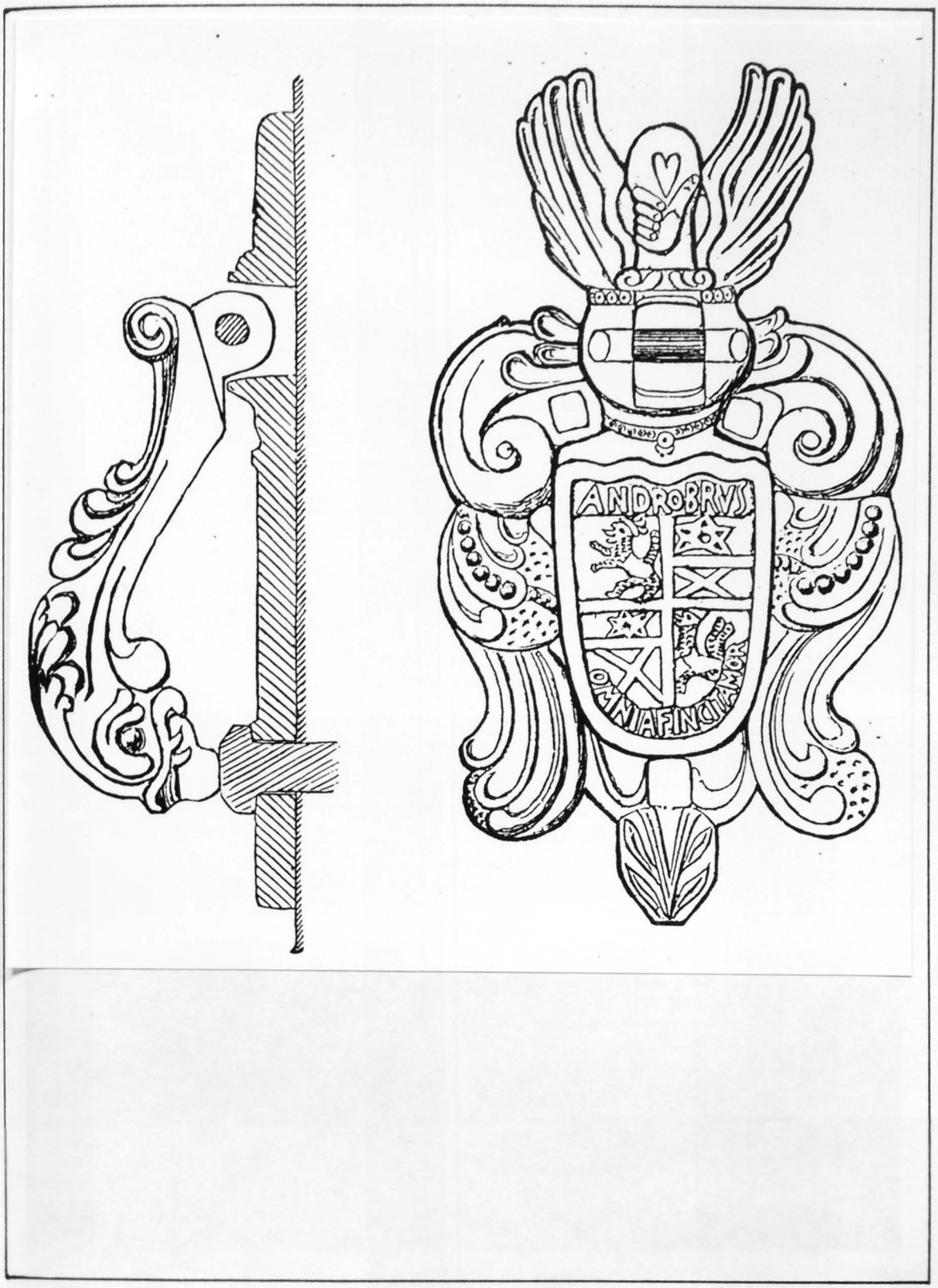


PLATE 118

Cast Brass Door Knocker, c1610
From Muness Castle, Unst, Shetland, bearing the Arms of Andrew Bruce.

Heraldic Exhibition, Edinburgh, 1891, no. 263.
Present Location unKnown.



PLATE 119

Memorial of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, 1568
Painted by Lieven de Vogeleer in London, and commissioned by the Earl and Countess of Lennox.

Photograph by gracious permission of H.M. The Queen
Palace of Holyroodhouse.



PLATE 120

Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, 1592

Portrait attributed to Adrian Vanson. Mantling of Arms similar to that shown in Plate 80

Photograph by courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland Culzean Castle.

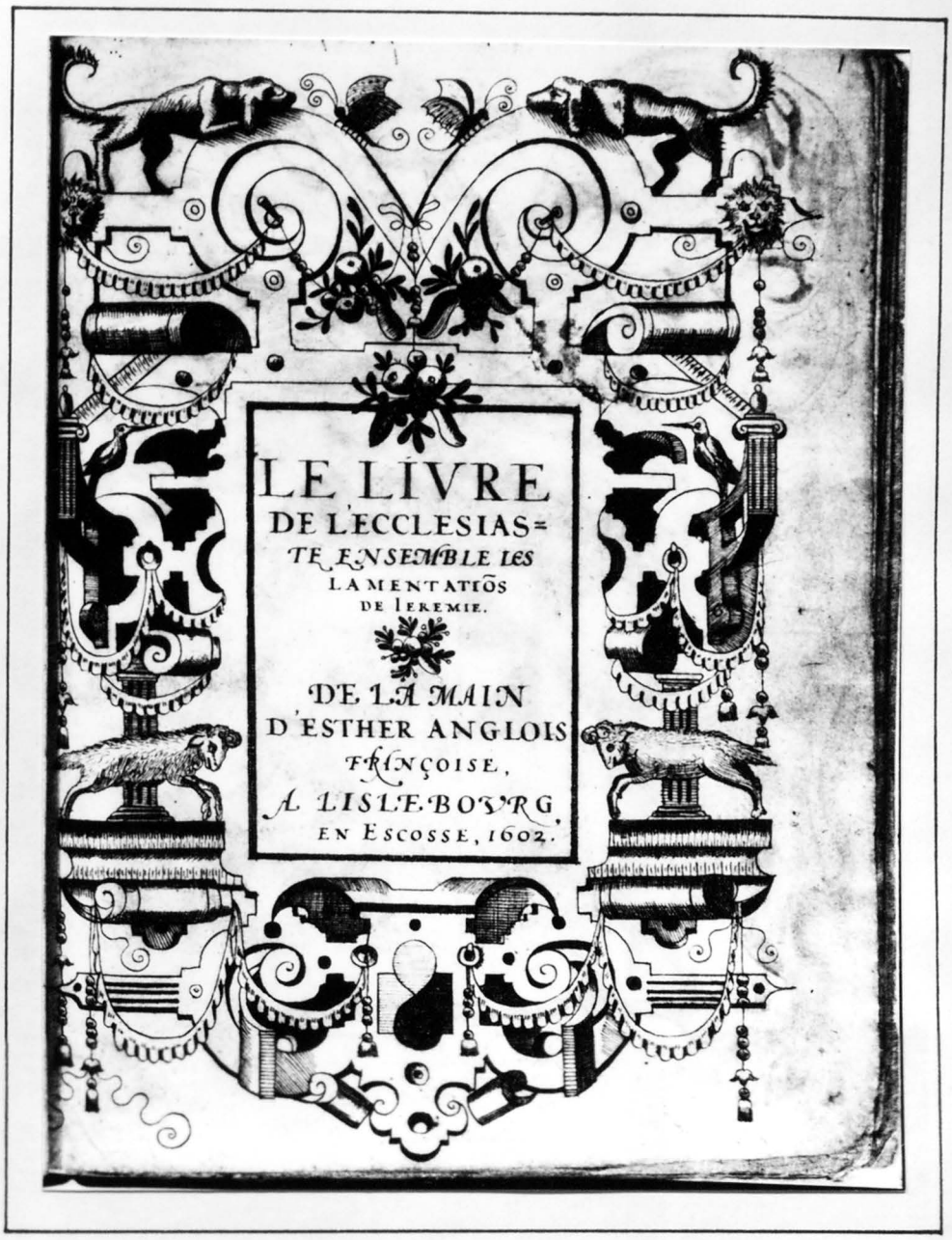


PLATE 121

Title Page of Manuscript written by Esther Inglis, 1602
Strapwork is used as the main decorative motif.

Photograph by National Library of Scotland
National Library of Scotland, MS 20498.

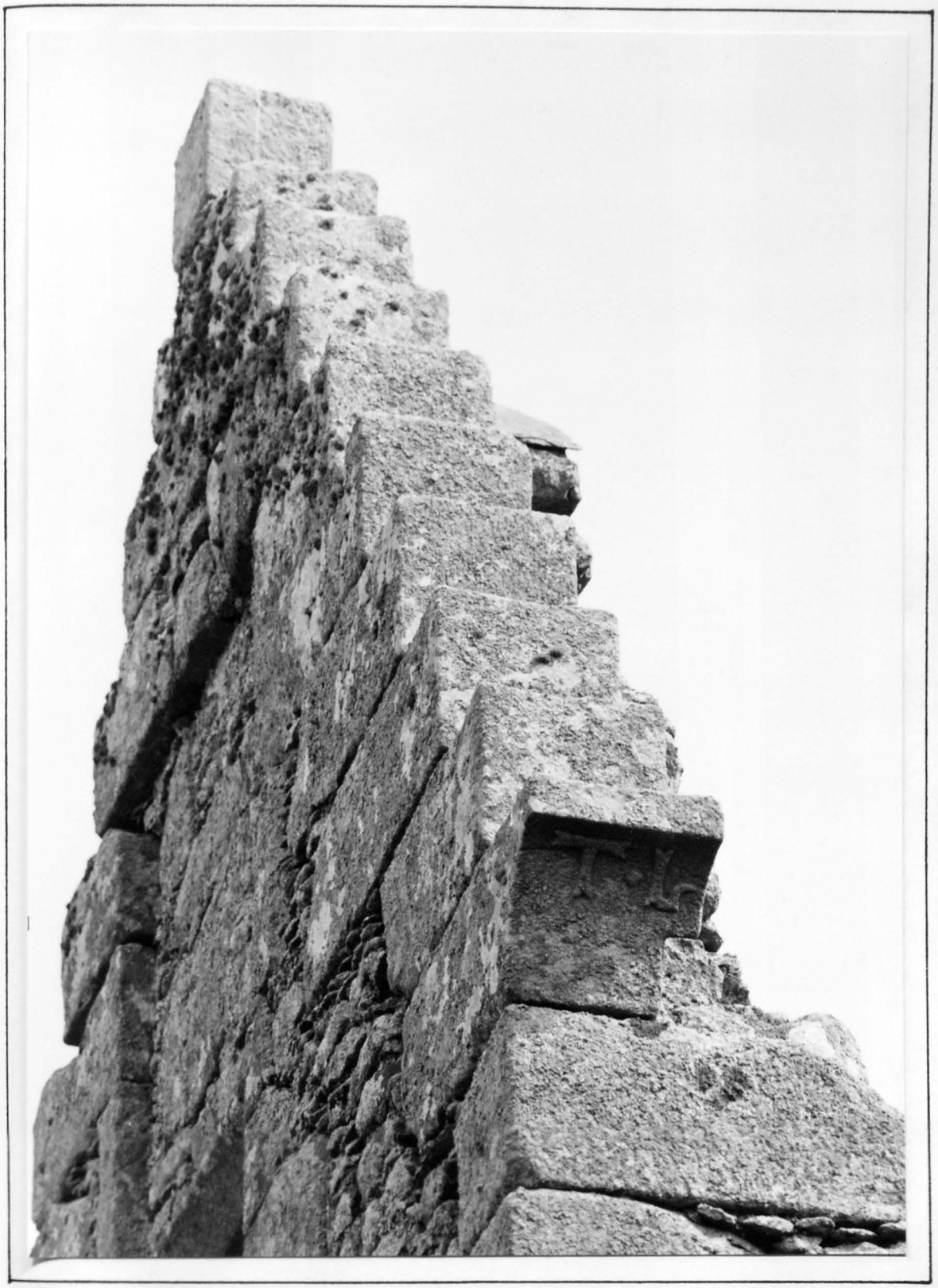


PLATE 122
Skewputt with Thomas Leiper's Initials, 1586–1589
Located on a gable at Tolquhon Castle, Aberdeenshire.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg.no. A4869/4
Historic Scotland.



PLATE 123
Heraldic Panels above Entrance, Tolquhon Castle, 1586
Royal Arms above Arms of William Forbes of Tolquhon.

Photograph by courtesy of Historic Scotland, neg. no. A4713/1
Historic Scotland.

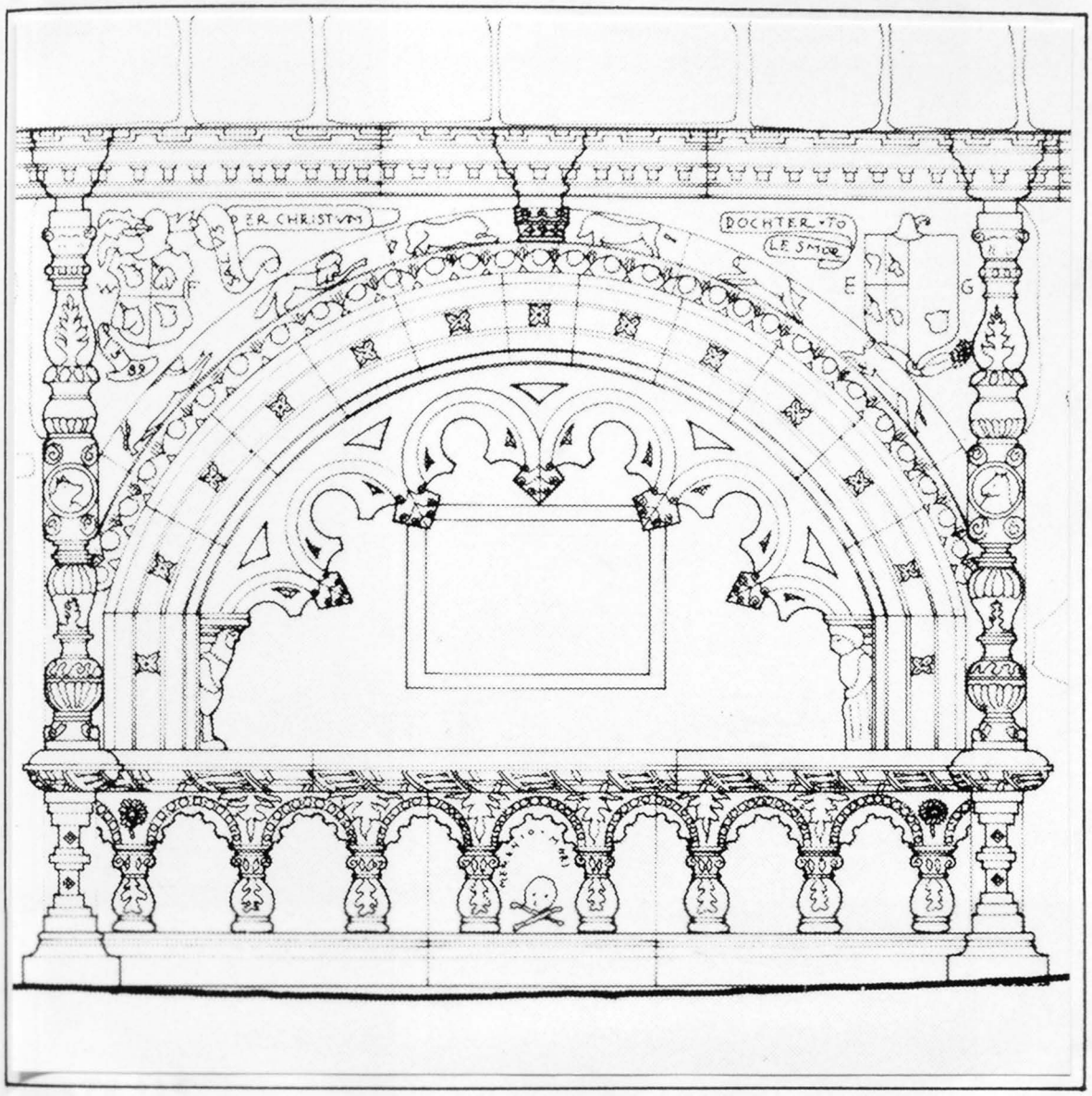


PLATE 124

Tolquhon Monument in Tarves Kirkyard, 1589
Commemorates William Forbes of Tolquhon and his wife
Elizabeth Gordon of Lesmoir.

From a drawing by Historic Scotland
Historic Scotland

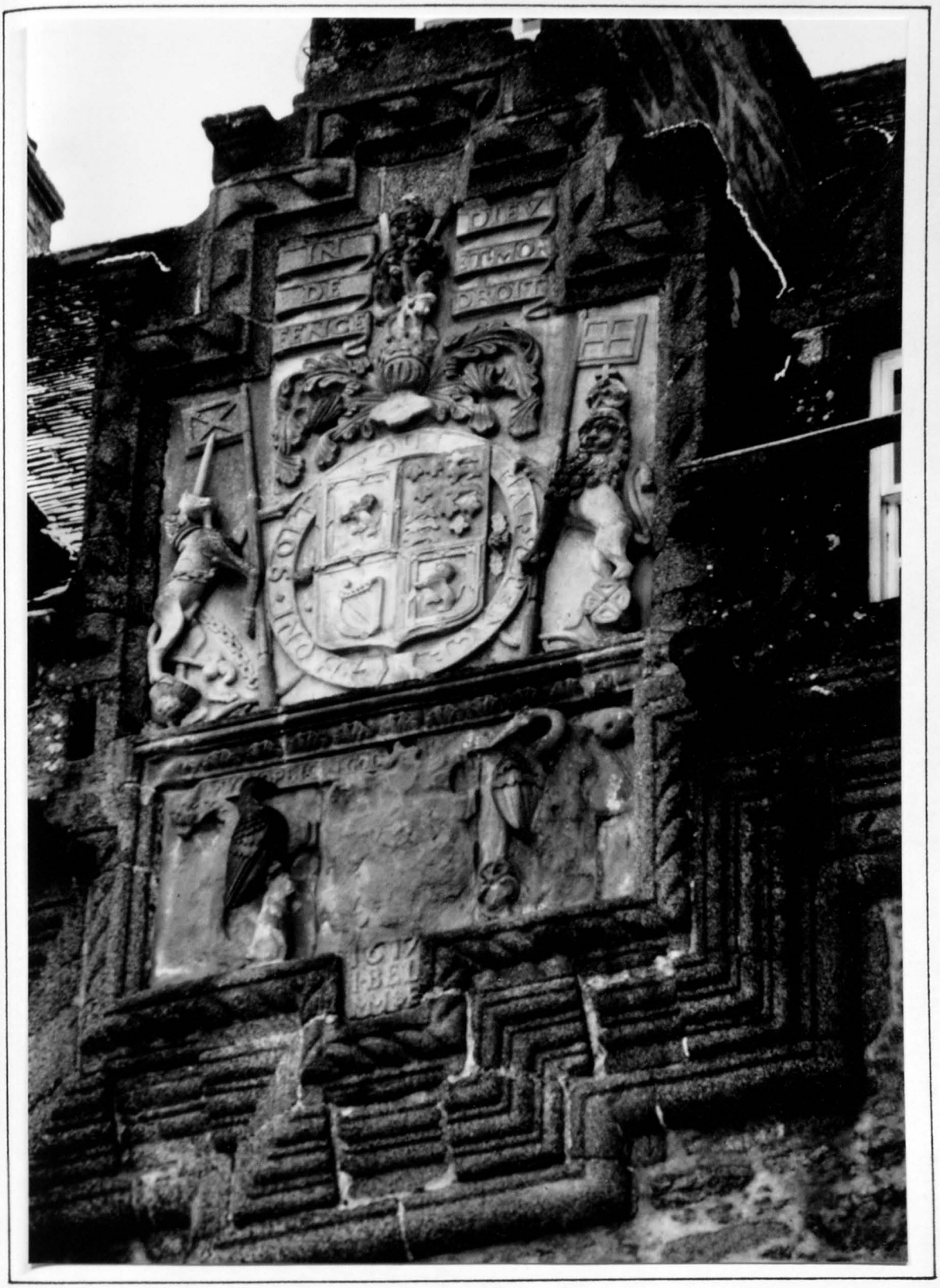


PLATE 125

Heraldic Table, Castle Fraser, 1617
Consisting of the Royal Arms and those of Andrew, Lord Fraser.
Signed and dated by John Bell, master mason.

Photograph by courtesy of The National Trust for Scotland
National Trust for Scotland.

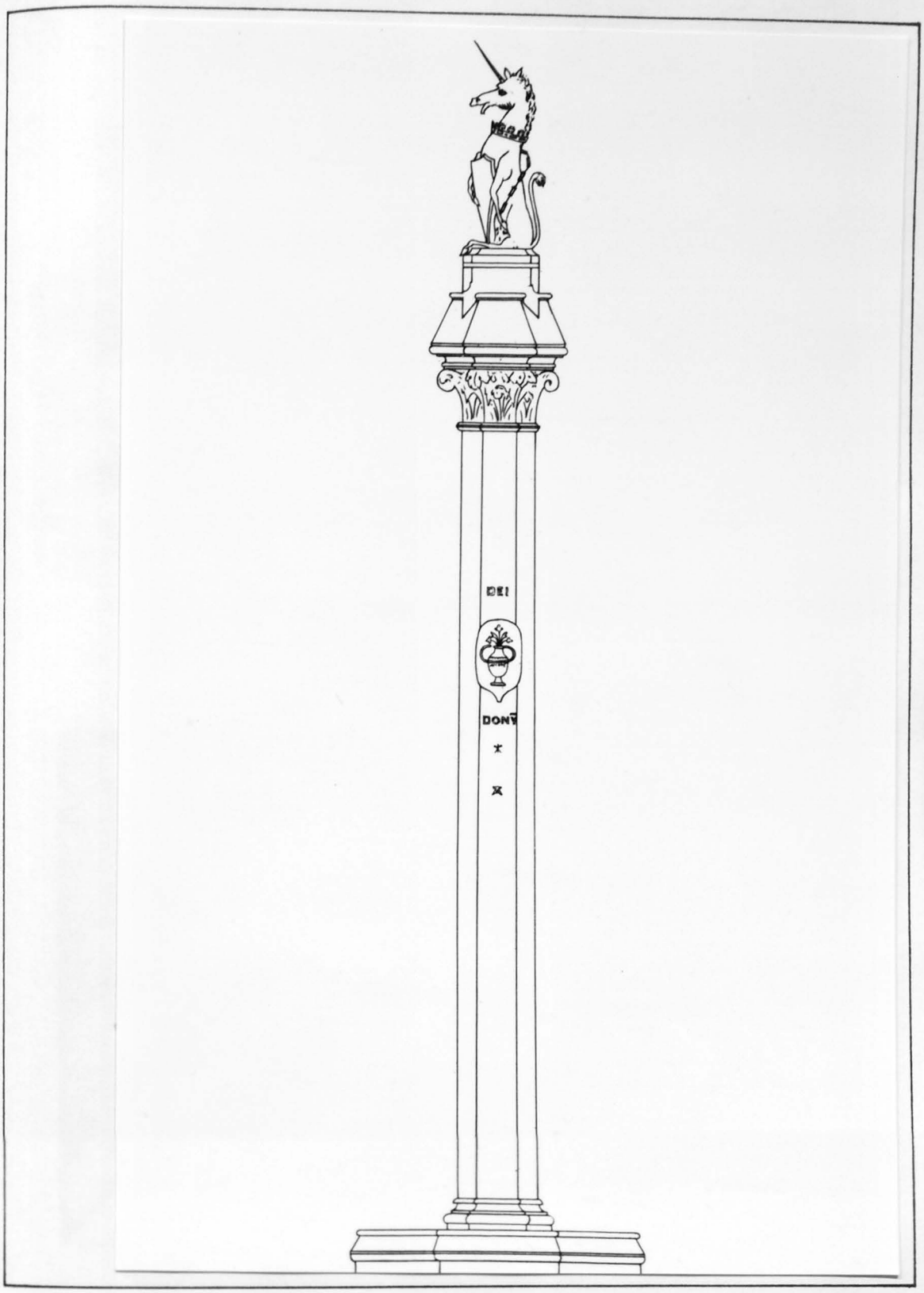
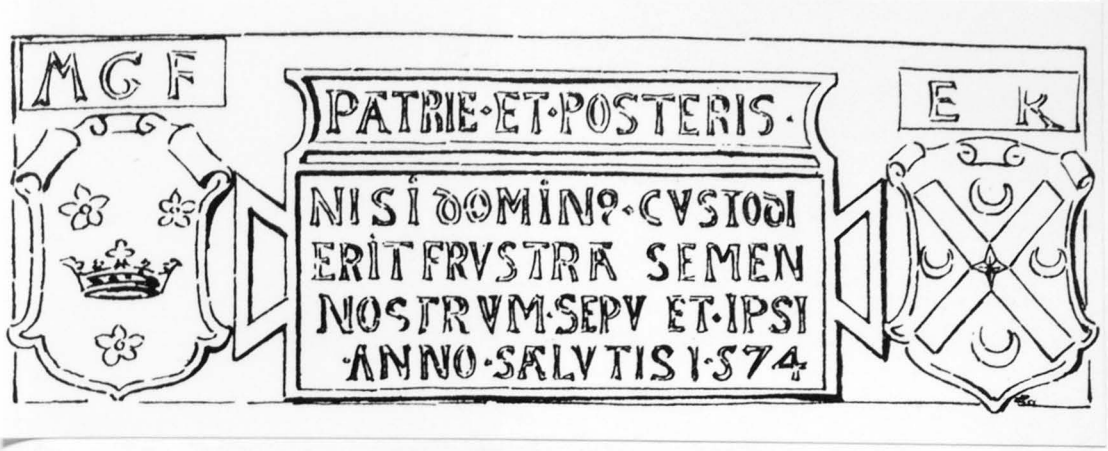


PLATE 126

Mercat Cross Shaft, Dundee, 1586

The shaft, carved with the Arms of the Burgh, is the work of John Mylne. Cross restored in 1880 and given new base and finial.



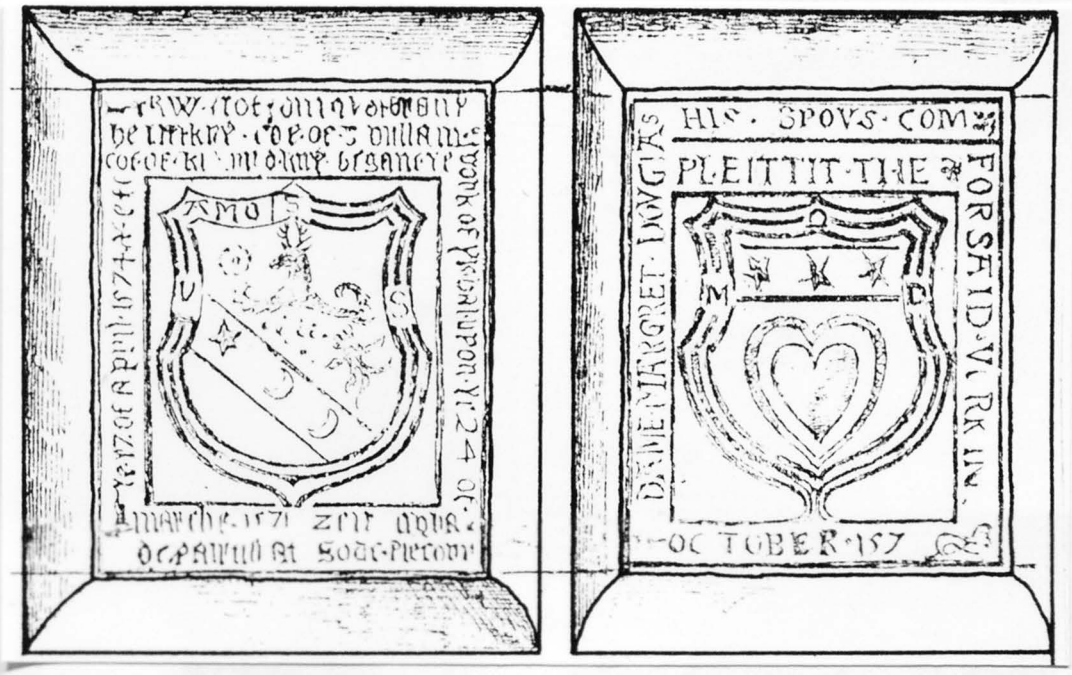


PLATE 127

Carved Panels from Kirkwall, 1574, and Branxholm Castle, 1576

above: Panel from Tankerness House, Kirkwall, Orkney

below: Double panel from Branxholm Castle, Roxburghshire.

MacGibbon and Ross, Vol. V, Fig. 1215, p. 95, Vol. IV, Fig. 775, p. 204.
Orkney Islands Council and the Buccleuch Estates.

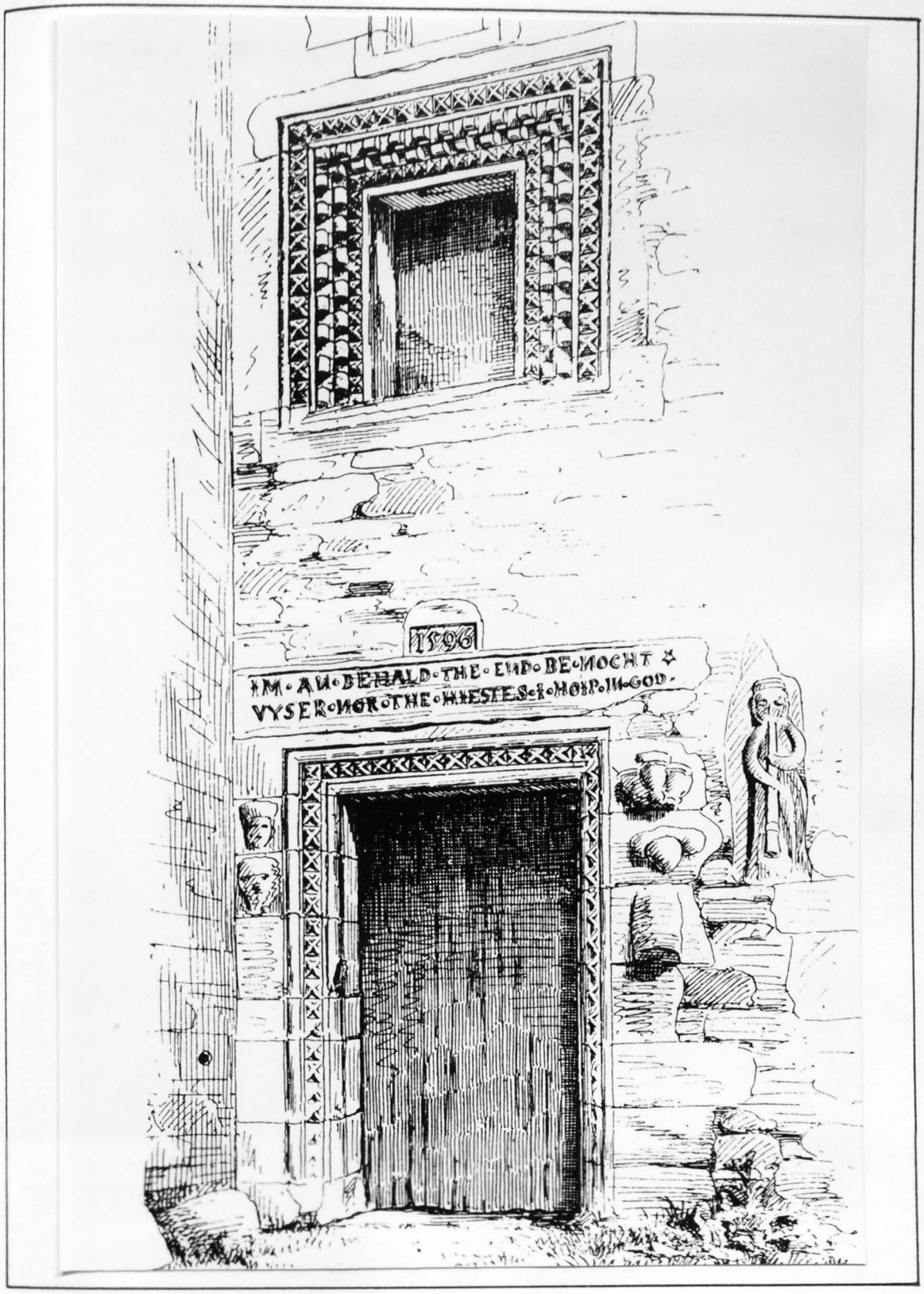


PLATE 128

Dunderave Castle, Argyllshire, 1596

The elaborate housing above the entrance once held the Arms of Macnaughton.

Macgibbon and Ross, Vol. III, Fig. 570, p. 617.

In private ownership.

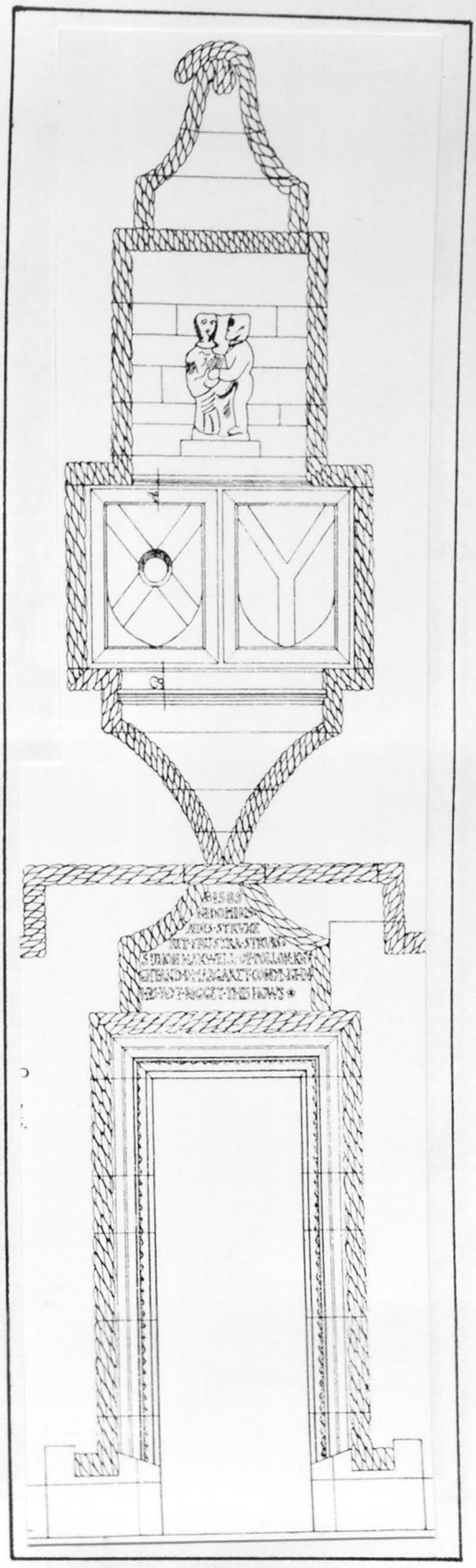


PLATE 129
Hagg's Castle, Glasgow, 1585
Architectural detail from main façade.

Details from Scottish Domestic Architecture, 1922, plate 20.
Glasgow District Council.





PLATE 130

Newark Castle, c1598, and Cullen House, c1602

above : Classical details at Newark Castle, Port Glasgow

below : Original entrance to Cullen House, Banffshire

Billings, 1852, Vol. IV, plate 24, R.C.A.H.M.S. neg. no. BN/1095/32

Historic Scotland and private multi-ownership.

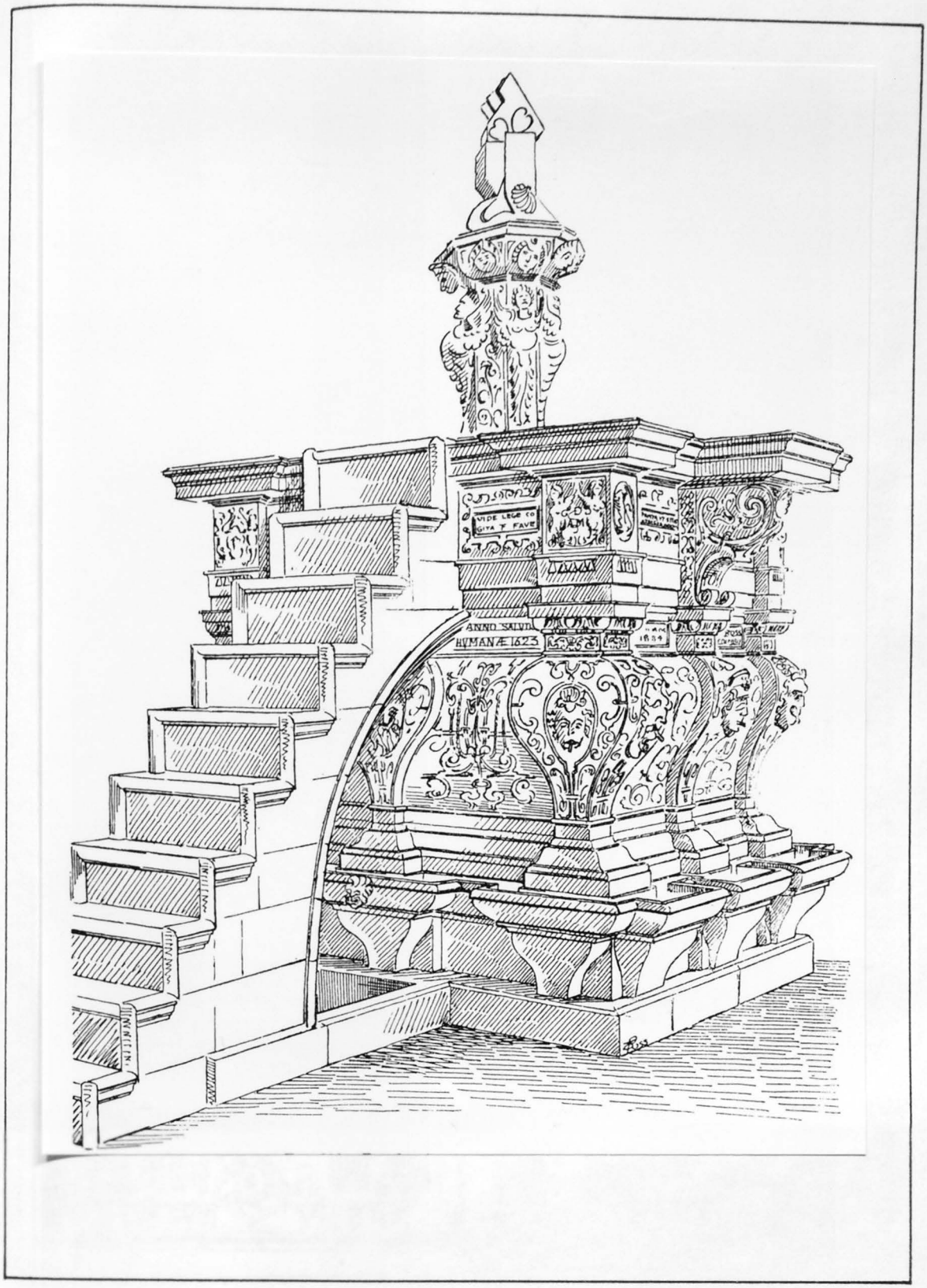


PLATE 131

Fountain Sundial, Dundas Castle, 1623

Elaborate structure which incorporates heraldry and cyphers amongst Mannerist decoration.

MacGibbon and Ross, Vol. 1, Fig. 286, p. 334.

In private ownership.

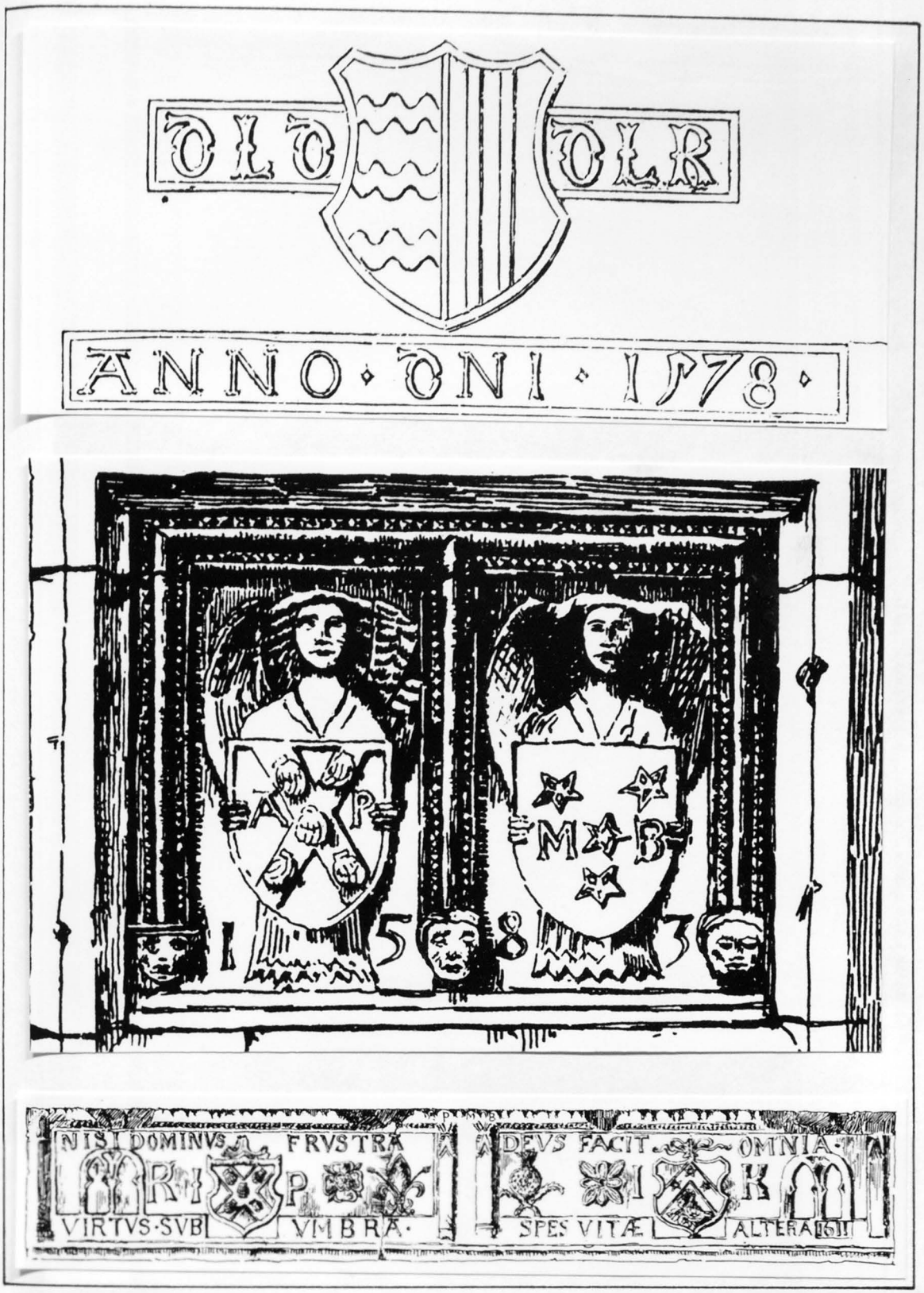


PLATE 132

Carved Heraldic Panels, 1578, 1583, and 1611

Top: Fireplace lintel, Stobhall, Arms of Drummond. Centre: Exterior panel, Gala House, Arms of Pringle. Bottom: Fireplace lintel, Gala House, again Pringle.

Macgibbon & Ross, Vol. II, Fig. 811, p. 363, Vol. V, Fig. 1391 and 1392, pp. 278, 279.
Earl of Perth and unknown owner.



PLATE 133

Plaster Overmantle, Craigievar Castle, c1626

The Royal Arms of the two Kingdoms and the Arms of Forbes and Woodward, accompanied by some of the Nine Worthies.

Photograph by courtesy of the National Trust for Scotland
National Trust for Scotland.



PLATE 134
Arniston Table Carpet, c1590
Embroidered by Katharine Oliphant using coloured silk and wool on canvas. Size 213·4 X 91 cms.
Photograph by courtesy of Mrs M. Swain MBE
Mrs A Dundas-Bekker of Arniston.



PLATE 135

Wood Carving from Muness Castle, c1610

See Plate 118 for another example of work bearing the Arms of Andrew Bruce, 2nd son of Lawrence Bruce of Cultmalundie.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland

National Museums of Scotland, KL76.



PLATE 136
Door from Terregles, 1601
With the initials V L H for William Lord Herries.

Fraser, 1873, Vol. 1, p. 530.
Traquair House.



PLATE 137
Door from Amisfield Castle, 1600
Bearing the quartered Arms of Charteris and Maxwell.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland. KL41



PLATE 138
Killochan Panels, 1606
Composed of four panels, of foreign manufacture, and a central heraldic panel, carved by a native craftsman.
Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland, KL 124.

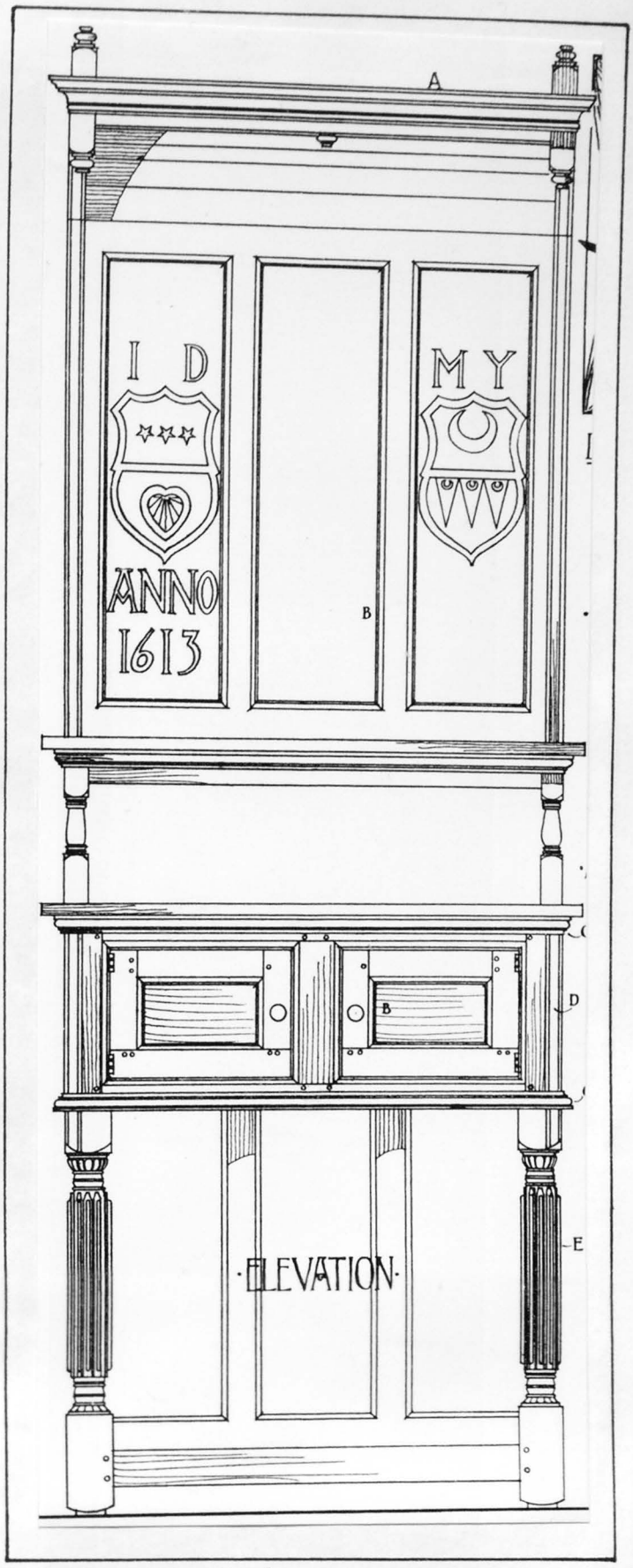


PLATE 139
Oak Dresser, 1613
Originally made for
Tilquhilly Castle, Kincardineshire. Arms of Douglas and Young.
Details of Scottish Domestic Architecture, 1922, plate 102
Invery House.



PLATE 140
Carved Heraldic Panel, 1621
Quartered Arms of Lindsay, Earl of Crawford.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland, KL 103.



PLATE 141

Seafield Loft, Cullen Auld Kirk, 1602

The front panelling carries the Arms of Ogilvie and Douglas. The pillars below are decorated with former pew ends, one is dated 1608.

Photograph by courtesy of Country Life

Cullen Auld Kirk



PLATE 142

Canopied Pew, Burntisland Kirk, 1606

Erected by Sir Robert Melville of Rossend Castle whose Arms appear on the back of the pew – gules, three crescents, an estoile between, argent.

Photograph by courtesy of R.C.A.H.M.S, neg. no. F/59
Burntisland Kirk.



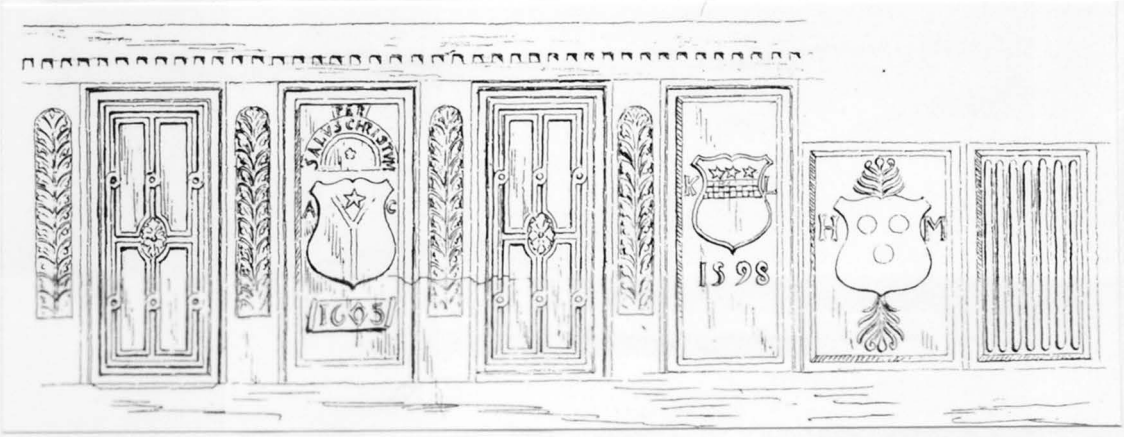


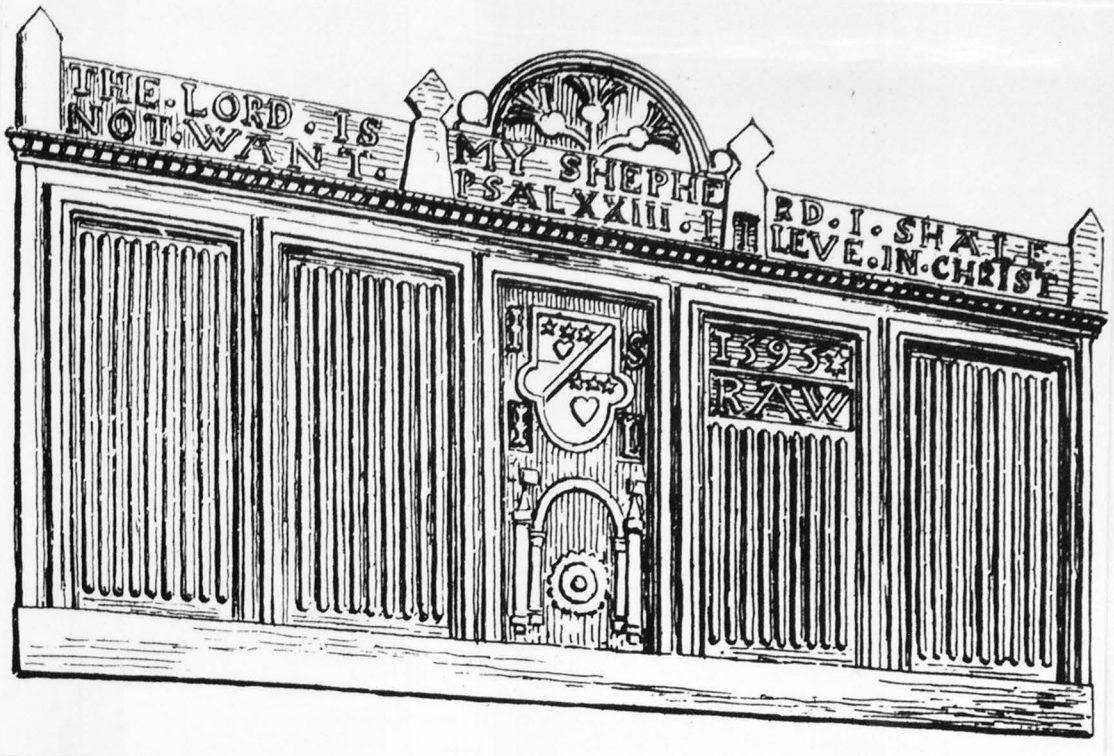
PLATE 143

Heraldic Pew Panels, Crail Kirk, 1595–1605

Above: Arms of John or James Lumsden of Airdrie

Below: Arms of Cunningham, 1605, Lindsay 1598, and Myrton.

Hay, 1957, plate 31c, Macgibbon & Ross, Eccles. Arch. Vol III, p. 268
Crail Kirk



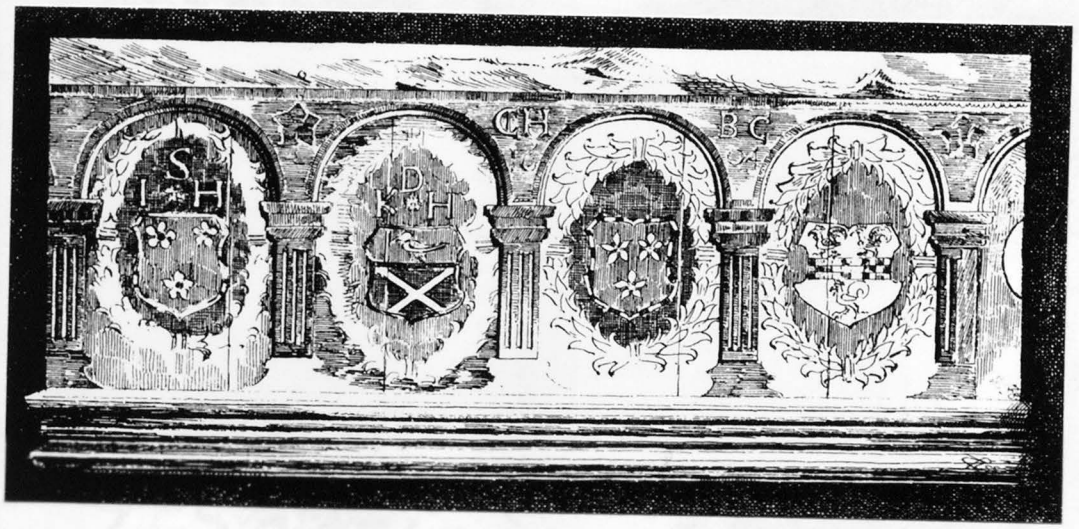


PLATE 144

Pewbacks from Midcalder, 1595 and Prestonpans, 1604.

Above : Oak, carved with the Arms of Sandilands, Midcalder Kirk

Below : Painted pewback, heraldry of Hamilton, Howieson & Cockburn.

Macgibbon and Ross, Ecclesiastical Antiquities, Vol. III, pp. 285, 603.
Midcalder Kirk and now Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh.

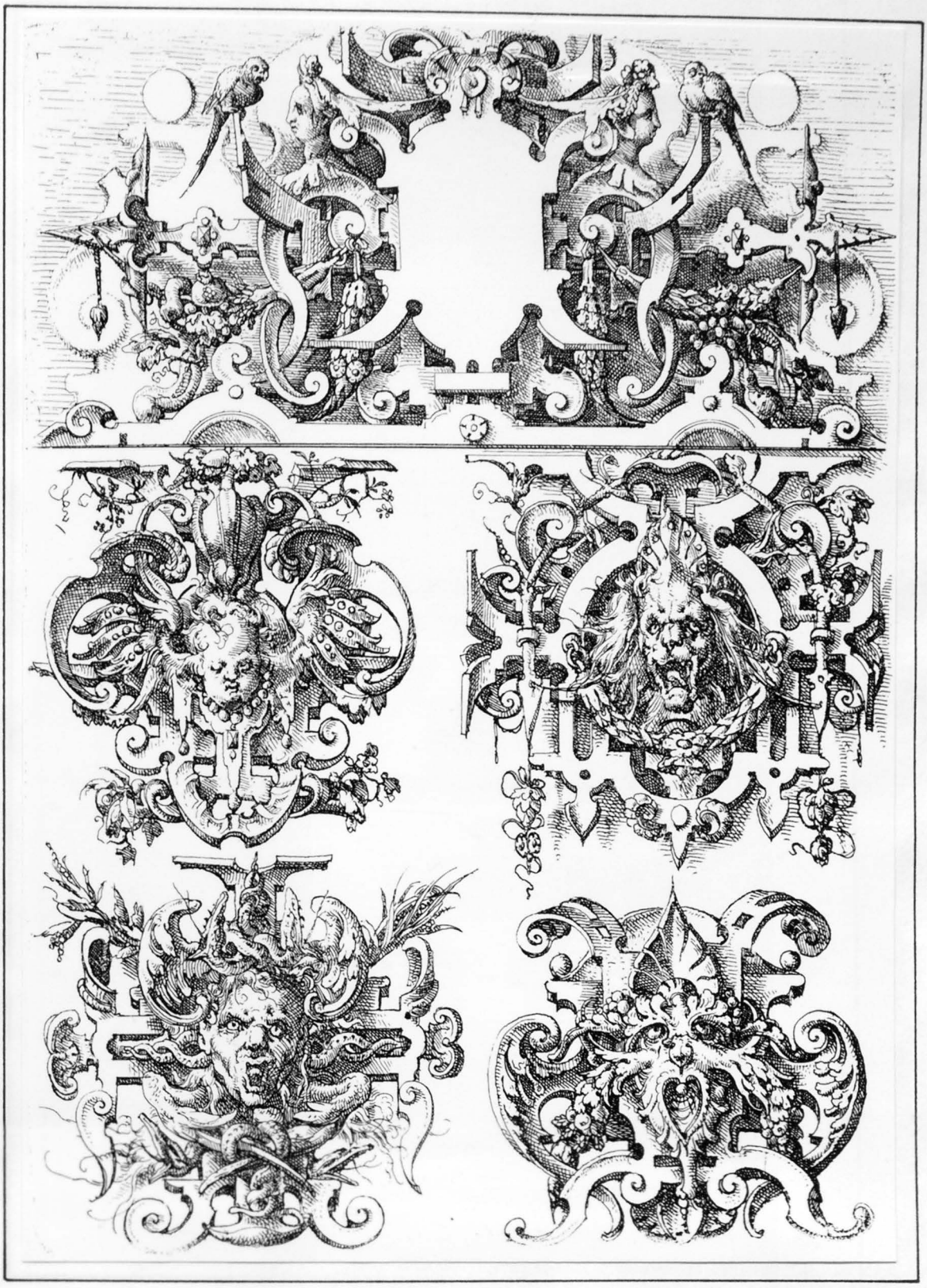


PLATE 145
Strapwork and Grotesques, 1598
Plate 186 from 'Architectura' by Wendel Dietterlin, published in Nuremberg.

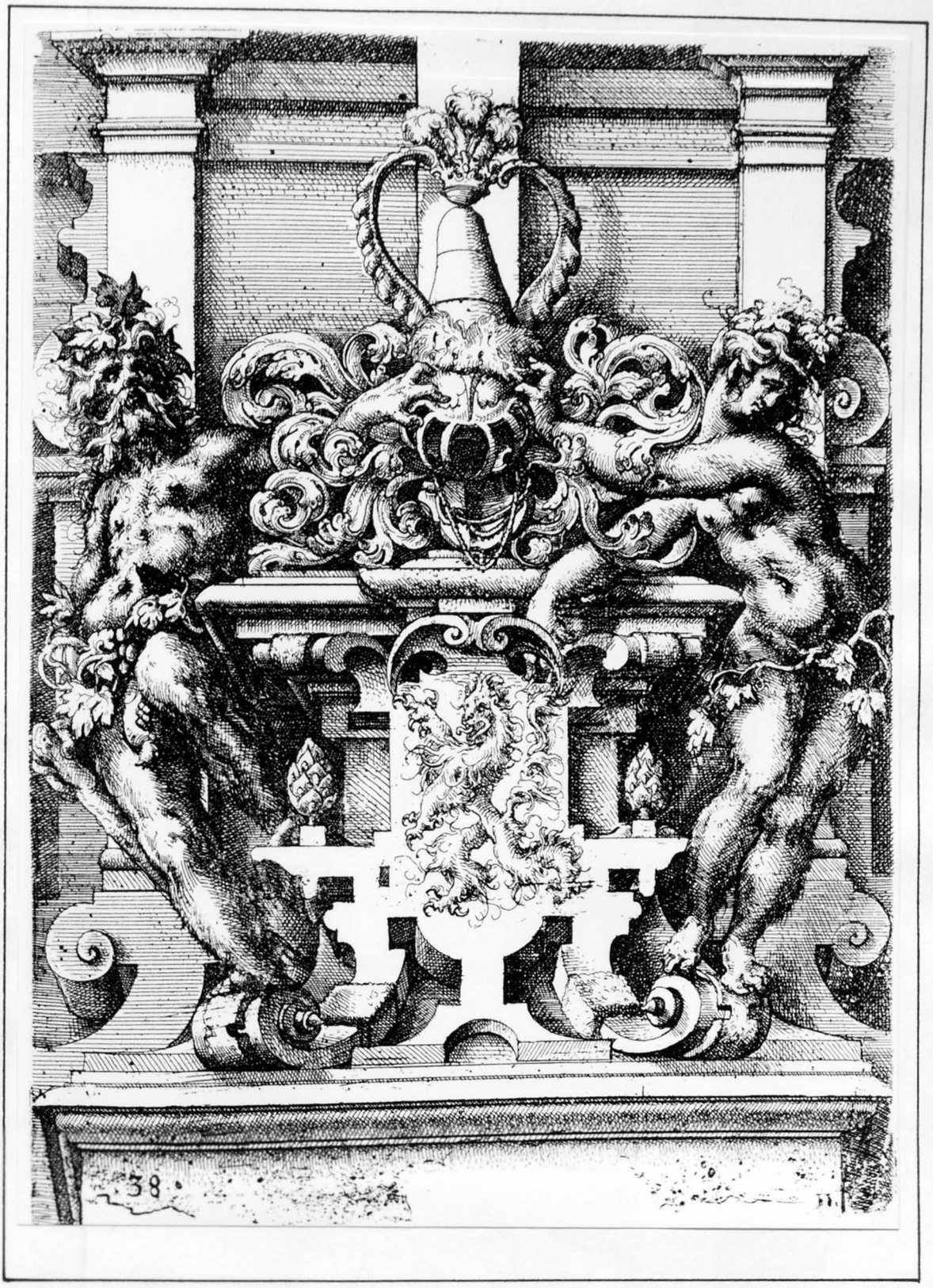


PLATE 146
Heraldic Composition by Dietterlin, 1598
Consisting of shield, helm, crest, and supporters, within an architectural framework.
Plate 38 in Architectura by W. Dietterlin.



PLATE 147

Polychrome carving of an Unicorn from Linlithgow Palace. The banner held by the beast is painted with the Union Flag, Saltire predominant. Painted c 1608.

Photograph by the National Museums of Scotland
National Museums of Scotland. KL 177.