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FAITH, FAMILIES AND FACTIONS:

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION IN ANGUS AND THE MEARNS

F.D.Bardgett

Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1987

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Frank Bardgett

Fortrose, July 1987.

ABSTRACT

It is increasingly recognised that the Scottish Reformation was a diverse movement. Different regions of the country displayed a considerable variety of responses to protestantism. The gentlemen of Angus and the Mearns were credited by John Knox with playing a leading role in the Reformation crisis of 1559-60; and their shires, situated on Scotland's east coast, had been exposed to infiltration by protestant doctrines and literature from an early period. This thesis examines the origins of the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns from c.1530; and traces the implementation of reformed ideals from 1560 to c.1585. Initial research concentrated on establishing the names, life-spans and successions of the significant lairds and magnates, and also for both pre- and post-Reformation clergy from c.1530 to 1590. The factual material thus discovered is presented as appendices by which it is possible to trace the personal careers of individuals, the disposition of specific benefices, and the service and administration of parishes by reformed clergy.

The apparent paradox of a pre-1560 protestant heartland becoming by the 1580s part of "Scotland's conservative north" is examined and found to be linked with the leading role of lairds in establishing and maintaining the new church. Throughout the thesis a particular focus of interest is the inter-relationship between personal faith and practical politics in a largely kin-based society. Emphasis is placed on the element of choice available to lairds of Angus and the Mearns in determining the value of the competing claims - whether spiritual, personal or political - upon their loyalty. By examining the impact of ecclesiastical developments on the local factions of the shires, it is concluded that a distinction must be drawn between the enthusiastic protestantism of that circle of Mearns' lairds involved with John Erskine of Dun, and the less spiritually-committed acceptance of the Reform in mid- and southern Angus. In thus attempting an integrated political and religious study, the general conceptual framework developed by sociologists of religion has been born in mind; interaction of culture and doctrine is, where possible, demonstrated. It is demonstrated that, at a parochial level, the new kirk harmonised with the wider Scottish culture - and, indeed, was integrative of its host society.

Particular attention has been paid to various private family muniments relating to the area. Much use was made of the Crawford papers at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, by which an important division separating the Lindsays of Edzell from the Lindsay earls of Crawford has been established. Other important sources have been the few surviving literary works, examined for evidence of their underlying theological affinities, and the national Register of assignation and modification of stipends by which the careers of ministers and readers are traced.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADCP
Acts of the lords of council in public affairs 1501-1554, ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh 1932).

APL
Arbroath Public Library

APS
Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland ed.T.Thomson and C.Innes: 12 vols. (Edinburgh 1814-75).

AUL
Aberdeen University Library

Brechin tests.; also Edin. tests. and St.A. tests.
Ms registers of Brechin, Edinburgh and St Andrews testaments, SRO.

BUK
Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland ed. T.Thomson (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs, 1839-45).

Calderwood, *History*
History of the Church of Scotland by Mr David Calderwood (Wodrow Society 1842-9).

CSP(F)
Calendar of State Papers Foreign (various series).

CSP(S)
Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots 1547-1603, i (1547-1563) ed. Joseph Bain, (Edinburgh 1898) and subsequent volumes.

Diurnal
A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have passed within the country of Scotland, since the death of King James the Fourth till the year 1575 (Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs 1833).

ER
The Exchequer rolls of Scotland xvi (1529-36) ed. George Powell McNeill (Edinburgh 1897) and subsequent volumes.

IR
Innes Review

JEH
Journal of Ecclesiastical History

JRL
The John Rylands University Library of Manchester

Knox's History
John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland ed. W.C.Dickinson (Edinburgh 1949).

Knox, Works
The Works of John Knox ed. D.Laing (Edinburgh 1846-64).

L&P Henry VIII
Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII ed.J.S.Brewer and others (London 1864-1932).

LHT
Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland eds. T.Dickson and Sir J.Balfour Paul (1877-1916).

MTH
Montrose Town House, Montrose

NLS
National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

NRA(S)
National register of archives (Scotland)

NRH
New Register House, Edinburgh

PRO
Public Record Office, London

RCRB
Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1295-1597 (Edinburgh 1866).

REB
Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis ed. J.I. Chalmers (2 vols Aberdeen 1856).

RFVA
Draft calendars of materials in the Vatican archives: held at Glasgow University, dept. Scottish History, derived from Ross Fund materials. These include:

ASPA	Acta Sancti Paenitentiarae Apostolicae
Reg.Lat.	Registra Lateranensa
Reg.Sup.	Registra Supplicationum
Reg.Vat.	Registra Vaticana
SRR	Sacra Romana Rota

RMS
Register of the Great Seal of Scotland: Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, 1513-1546 ed.James Balfour Paul and J.M.Thomson (Edinburgh 1883) and subsequent volumes.

RPC
The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland i ed.J.H.Burton (Edinburgh 1877) and subsequent volumes.

RSCHS
Records of the Scottish Church History Society

RSS
Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland:Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum ii (1529-42) ed. D.H.Fleming (Edinburgh 1921) and subsequent volumes.

SFBC
Year-book of the Society of Friends of Brechin Cathedral

SHR
Scottish Historical Review

SHS
Scottish History Society

StAUL
St Andrews University Library

STS
Scottish Text Society

SRO
Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh

SRS
Scottish Record Society

WRH
West Register House, Edinburgh

CONVENTIONS

1. Place-names are given (where possible) in the form in which they occur on the Ordnance Survey Landranger series maps, sheets 44, 45, 53 and 54. John Ainslie's 1 inch to 1 mile Map of the county of Forfar (Edinburgh 1794) has also been consulted at the NLS map room, Edinburgh.

2. Personal names have been, reluctantly, modernised in the interests of standardisation. It does seem unlikely that the "Lichtoun" lairds of "Ullishaven" would recognise themselves as the Leightons of Usan, but current conventions give the author little latitude. He has, however, refused to use the varieties "Somer" or "Summer" for the ancient house of Symmer of Balzeordie. "Cardyne" denominates the laird of that ilk; otherwise, "Garden" is used.

3. In transcribing documents from manuscripts contractions have been expanded, with additional characters placed in [square brackets]. "&" has been rendered "and"; "y" is used for the sixteenth century character called thorn and "z" for yogh. Names are normally capitalised, and punctuation introduced where this seems obvious. Original usage of "w", "v" and "u" has not been altered. In numerals, "j" has been transcribed as "i". G.G.Simpson, Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650 (Aberdeen 1983) has been of great assistance.

4. Documents cited from printed works are given as printed and may not, therefore, adhere to the conventions above.

5. In the interests of clarity and authenticity dates which occur within the overlap between the old and new calendars are given as, for example, "January 1559/60". This form serves to preserve the text of the original while acknowledging our present methods of counting time.

6. The currency used was expressed as merks, pounds, shillings and pence and is cited as Scots and not English.

   1 merk = 13s. 4d.
   12 d. = 1 s.
   20 s. = £ 1 Scots.

   For an up-to-date guide to Scottish currency, weights and measures, see: The Concise Scots Dictionary ed.M.Robinson (Aberdeen 1985) pp.817-9. This work has also been consulted for the spelling of occasional Scots words used in the text.

7. "Sir" is used to denote a knight; "sir" for a catholic priest.

8. All collections of mss. are at the SRO unless otherwise stated.

9. Cross-referencing is achieved by reference to chapters and note numbers, even when the point at issue is to be found in both the original text and note.

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PREFACE

Preface

"The gentlemen of Angus and Mearns" were credited by John Knox with a leading role in the crisis of May 1559 that led to the Reformation in Scotland. His account of the events leading to the parliament of 1560 has several references to these protestant gentlemen, sometimes described as the "professors", sometimes as "the Congregation of Angus and Mearns". It was they who, by their threat of armed support for their preachers, first challenged the queen regent, Mary of Guise, in the field. During the confrontation at Cupar Muir these gentlemen, aided by others from Fife, "kept themselves close in knot, nigh to the number of a thousand spears."[1] Who were these "gentlemen" ? How deep was their commitment to the protestant Reformation ? How did it come that an area listed amongst those most fervent for the Reform in the 1550s can be described as part of the religiously conservative north of Scotland by the 1580s?[2] The objective of this study is to seek answers to these questions and to the issues underlying them: what were the causes of the Reformation of religion, and what was its effect on the society of the sheriffdoms of Angus and the Mearns ?

Use of the very words "religion" and "society", however, raises issues both of definition and of substance: issues increasingly addressed in the context of the Scottish

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1. John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland ed. W.Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh 1949) i pp.160,172-3,178,181.
2. Wodrow Society Miscellany (Edinburgh 1844) i pp.54; Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Church History (Edinburgh 1985) pp.191-6.

reformation.[3] Ian B. Cowan's book The Scottish Reformation is subtitled "Church and Society in sixteenth-century Scotland", and argues that the Reformation brought about a considerable change in the church's partnership with society.[4] Gordon Donaldson defines one central question for historians of the Scottish Reformation: he asks "was it frustration or fulfilment which the presbyterian programme offered to the traditional structure of Scottish society ?"[5] While bearing Professor Donaldson's question in mind, this study seeks primarily to study a broader problem: how far were the doctrinal and institutional changes of the protestant reformation related to political and other developments in these particular shires of Scotland ?

For "society" refers to a total community: to the complete nexus of all the groups, families and institutions of a given area. The church as an institution, must, therefore, be an integral part of a given society. Moreover it is difficult to conceive a society whose individual members - whether churchmen or not - were not influenced in some degree by religious faith. Sixteenth-century Europe has been described as profoundly religious.[6] The values and teaching of the Christian faith were interwoven with daily life from morality to economic theory, from constitutional thought to principles of causation, in a way foreign to the twentieth-century mind.[7] It is to be expected, therefore,

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3. Alan D.Gilbert, The Making of post-Christian Britain (London 1980) helpfully introduces the general issues of the place of religion in society: pp.2-40.
4. Ian B.Cowan, The Scottish Reformation (London 1982) p.182.
5. G.Donaldson in a review, SHR lxv (1982) p.83.
6. Owen Chadwick, The Reformation (London 1972) p.22.
7. I.Cowan, Reformation chapter one for religion in Scots society.

not only that the new elements of religious thought would have their impact on the traditional structures of society but that the other sectors of Scottish life and thought would also exercise their influence over the kirk. This study, then, does not seek to discuss a fictitious polarity between "church" and "society". Rather, it attempts to discuss the history of Christian faith within the local political and ecclesiastical environment of the east coast shires of Angus and the Mearns.

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CHAPTER ONE

STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Stability and change in the early sixteenth century

To the modern motorist, Gowrie, Angus and the Mearns can appear to be no more than the areas to be traversed between the end of the M90 at Perth's Friarton Bridge and Aberdeen. To the holiday maker, the woods and glens of the Braes of Angus are less well known than Royal Deeside, over the hills. Even one of its own historians has described the ancient cathedral city of Brechin as "quiet and unobtrusive", enjoying only a "little place" in the general history of Scotland.[1] Perceptions of this area between Dundee and Aberdeen were different in the 15th and 16th centuries. To at least one Englishman, control of southern Angus was a key to the control of Scotland during the wars of the mid-sixteenth century.[2] Nationally significant battles were fought near Brechin in 1453 and 1570.[3] Yet the lairdly families that comprised society in these two shires were on the whole from kin-groups that are less well-known in Scottish history. Jenny Wormald suggests that: "The long-established pattern of society was radically and irrevocably altered" when these local lairds "began to move out of the localities and claim a place in central government".[4] That this was a process that was well-developed in Angus and the Mearns during the reign of James V will be demonstrated. How stable, then, was society in these important shires in the decades before the Reformation: what were the forces for continuity - what

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1. D.B.Thoms, "The Cathedral Kirk of Brechin" SFBC no.11 (1958) p.13.
2. See chapter 2 n.113: 2 Mar.1547/8, CSP(S) i 203.
3. In 1453, between James II's supporter the earl of Huntly and the earl of Crawford, an ally of the Douglases: see, David Hume, History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus (London 1820) i 292-3; for 1570, see chapter 8 notes 78-92.
4. Jenny Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community (London 1981) p.33.

were the pressures for change ?

In discussion of the links that bound together the society of these lands between the Grampians and the east coast, it must not be forgotten that Angus and the Mearns were separate counties. Each was a distinct sheriffdom: that of Angus, based on the royal burgh of Forfar, and that of the Mearns, on Kincardine. Somewhat smaller than its southern neighbour, most of the Mearns was separated from Aberdeenshire by the Dee and from Angus by the North Esk. In simple distance closer to Aberdeen than Dundee, the core of the Mearns - the triangle of lands formed by Dunnottar, Inverbervie and Fettercairn - lay nevertheless largely south of the Mounth. Cut off by the forests of Durris and Fetteresso and by the Red Moss from Deeside, the society of the Mearns looked rather to Montrose and Brechin, though the greater families of the earls Marischal and the Douglas lairds of Glenbervie did also have extensive northern interests. This distinction between the lands north and south of the Dee has been emphasised by Dr Ailan J. White, who affirms the distinctive regional identity of Aberdeenshire - in the early sixteenth century fostered by the Gordon earls of Huntly.[4]

The fact that both Angus and Mearns, though small in overall area, can be divided into separate geographical sectors that were yet united in a single economy, demonstrates something of the complexity and intricacy of their society. Politically, too, the pattern of kin-groups and land-holding was labyrinthine. It cannot be said that any single magnate or clan

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4. Allan J. White, "Religion, Politics and Society in Aberdeen" (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1985) p.89.

was dominant. In the Mearns, although the chief house of the Keith earls Marischal was at Dunnottar and the earl was sheriff of Kincardineshire, Keith lairds were few in number. Besides, the spread of their lands throughout Scotland seems to have diluted their local influence so that the lesser lairds of Douglas of Glenbervie, Arbuthnott of that ilk, the Strathauchin/Strachan and Wishart families, and the Straitons of that ilk/of Lauriston retained considerable independence. Barclay of Mathers, in the south of the county, was the deputy-sheriff.[5]

In Angus, too, the social tradition was one of long-established minor families. The important barony of Dun, on the Angus-Mearns border between Brechin and Montrose, was held by the Erskines of Dun. South of Brechin lay lands of the Carnegies of Kinnaird; south of Montrose, those of the Woods of Bonnyton and Craig, the Melvilles of Dysart and Baldovie, and Leighton of Ullishaven/Usan. East of Forfar were the Guthries of that ilk and the Gardynes of that ilk, with their kin throughout the county. In south-eastern Angus there were branches of the Strachan family: at Monifieth, the Durhams of Grange were tenants-in-chief, with the Maules of Panmure as their neighbours. Less independent than these, though still long-established, were the Auchinleks of that ilk,

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5. REB ii no.ccccix: an inquest-jury held 4 March 1554/5 under William, earl Marischal and David Barclay of Mathers his deputy, gives a fair picture of the major lairds of the county on the eve of the Reformation. They are listed as: Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk, John Wishart of Pittarrow, John Strachan of Thornton, George Straiton of that ilk, David Wood of Craig, David Barclay of Mathers, Robert Graham of Morphie, John Strachan of Monboddo, Walter Bisset fiar of Easter Kinneff, Andrew Stewart of Logie Cowie, Robert Melville of Harvieston, William Hay of Ury, Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, David Strachan in Wemysmanton, John Middleton in Kilhill and Robert Keith in Barnhill.

Monorgund of that ilk and Symmer of Balzeordie - of which family, according to A.J. Warden, all the chiefs between 1531 and 1643 enjoyed the common first name of George.[6] None of these families, with the exception of Erskine of Dun, can be said to be part of a kin-group with significant septs outside of Angus or the Mearns.

Even at the higher levels of Angus society, it was local names that predominated. Holding the hereditary office of constable of Dundee and the baronies of Dudhope and Dundee was a Scrymgeour; the provost of Dundee, apart from a few exceptional years throughout the period of the Reformation, was a Haliburton. The Lyon family held the baronies of Glamis, Tannadice and Baikie and were Lords of Glamis. The kin of Lord Gray, sheriff of Forfarshire, proliferated throughout Angus from Fowlis on the Perthshire border. Only along the Braes of Angus were there substantial united holdings of land controlled by the same kin sufficient to give their chief a national importance. The Lords Ogilvy of Airlie and others of their name (descendants of the lesser family of Ogilvy of that ilk in the Glen of Ogilvy), together with the Lindsay earls of Crawford based at Finhaven/Finavon, controlled the entire length of Strathmore from Alyth to Edzell. Both these magnates had kin outside of Angus and Perthshire - the Ogilvies of Findlater, and the Lords Lindsay of the Byres. Significant omissions from these lists of land-holders are the national names of Stewart, Douglas or Campbell: only single members of these power-groups can be found in Angus and the Mearns.[7]

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6. A.J.Warden, Angus or Forfarshire iii (Dundee 1884) p.360.
7. The Stewart Lords of Innermeath owned Redcastle on the Angus coast: the Stewart/Douglas earls of Buchan had their seat at Auchterhouse but held few lands in Angus. The regality of Kirriemuir belonged to the Douglas earls of Angus - but the only Douglas laird in either shire was Glenbervie in the Mearns. Campbell of Lundie was the only one of his name in the region.

This intricate, localised society was a small one in twentieth century terms. A contemporary estimate calculated the population of Arbroath, one of the fifteen or so richest burghs of Scotland, to be no more than some two hundred households.[8] It is thought that Dundee itself can have had no more than 5000 to 6000 inhabitants in 1560.[9] Gordon Donaldson suggests that the sixteenth century population of Scotland was around 700,000: an average of 700 men, women and children a parish or 150 households.[10] In such a society, personal relationships could be close and well-known. The birth, "geir" and status of each was known and defined. The importance of family in Scotland in this period is emphasised in modern writing: it took on further significance in the small lairdly families of Angus and Mearns. Thus Margaret Haliburton, wife of Thomas Maule of Panmure and daughter of George Haliburton of Pitcur, was said by commissary Maule in his seventeenth century account of his family, to have -

> "delytit mikil to talk of auld histories, knewe the heale genealogie of hir father's hous, as also of her mothers,..."

Her father-in-law, too, Sir Robert Maule of Panmure, was said to be[11]

> "...expert in countine of genealogies..."

Evidence of the same passion among the families of the Mearns can be found in the details recorded in the "Genealogie of the barons in the Mearns of late memory deschending lineally unto the year of God 1578", whose original is in the Barclay-Allardice muniments.[12] Continuity of

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8. Arthur Boece, clerk of Brechin, giving witness during a consistorial process, October 1517: the inhabitants were husbandmen, craftsmen and a few merchants: The Letters of James Vth ed. D.Hay (Edinburgh 1954) p.54; RCRB 1295-1597 pp.514,518.
9. T.M. Devine and S.G.E. Lythe, "The economy of Scotland under James VI - a revision article." SHR 1 (1971) p.95.
10. Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.220.
11. Dalhousie mss. GD 45.26.53 pp.69,64.
12. The Third Spalding Club Miscellany (Aberdeen 1940) ii p.213f.

line of descent from father to son - often with the same Christian name - in the same lands, was appreciated both as a key to understanding personal identity and as indicative of the continuity of society with the values of the past. Social rights, duties and status - even dress as defined by the sumptuary laws - were inherited together with land and name.

The observing and witnessing of legality and due form were socially important neighbourly and family responsibilities that served to protect and enhance ties between man and land, and lord and man. The institutions of church and state could also serve to tie potentially rival families into one integrated and stable society. Feudal duties owed to the crown included attendance at sheriff courts for service on juries. These could be for a criminal assize: but more usually were for finding on questions of fact. Juries were empanelled to investigate boundary disputes, to discover liability for dues, to attest lawful inheritance during the process of infefting an heir.[13] When in 1530 the instrument recording John Erskine of Dun's assythment for his killing of sir William Froster was drawn up, witnesses subscribing the deed included William Fullerton of Ardoch and George Erskine of Whitefield - a leading friend, and a cadet of the house of Dun.[14] When in 1541 David earl of Crawford gave John Erskine of Dun sasine in an annual rent from the customs of Montrose and Aberdeen as part of a marriage settlement, the witnesses to the precept were David Lindsay of Edzell, fiar of the

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13. See for example, the jury of the Mearns given above, n.5. Also REB ii no.cxxii, 25 May 1535, records an inquiry by the sheriff court of Forfar into holdings "past memory of man" and encroachment on the common of Brechin.
14. Spalding Club Miscellany (Aberdeen 1849) iv p.26. [Spald.Misc. hereafter.]

earldom, and Andrew Lundy of Benholm, an ally of Dun.[15] The more important the issue, the higher was the status of the witnesses required. Hence during his dispute with Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin over the lands of Downie, the eighth earl of Crawford petitioned the Lords of Council that the issue, which concerned his inheritance, should not be settled by a common jury.[16] Whether gathered for the public occasions of jury service, sheriff court and wappenshaw, or for witnessing a private charter or instrument, men of status in the counties expected to exercise corporate and communal responsibilities and were well accustomed to each other's company. The nexus of land, name, kin and their associated myths and genealogies was a potent factor for stability in the social networks of Angus and Mearns.

Economically, Angus was a crossroads where both north-south and east-west routes met. Close to the heart of the ancient Kingdom of Alba, part of non-Gaelic Scotland from the 14th century, Angus connected the northern agrarian lowland counties of Aberdeenshire, Buchan, Moray and Nairn to the southern lowlands of Fife and the Lothians.[17] An ancient trading route crossed the Dee at Banchory, reached Fettercairn via the Cairn o' Mount, and continued on to Edzell and Brechin. Less obvious to the modern motorist was the route from Ballater that led over the hills from the north-west via Glen Muick and Glen Clova down the South Esk. Cattle from the Highlands were driven down these roads from the west and north to the fair of St Palladius at Fordoun and the great Trinity Fair at Brechin

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15. Spald.Misc. iv p.38
16. 30 Sept.1533; WRH, Inventory of Scottish muniments at Haigh, NRA(S) 0237 box B. [Cited as Haigh Inventory hereafter.]
17. Dundee and District ed. S.J.Jones (The British Association 1968) pp.152,154-5.

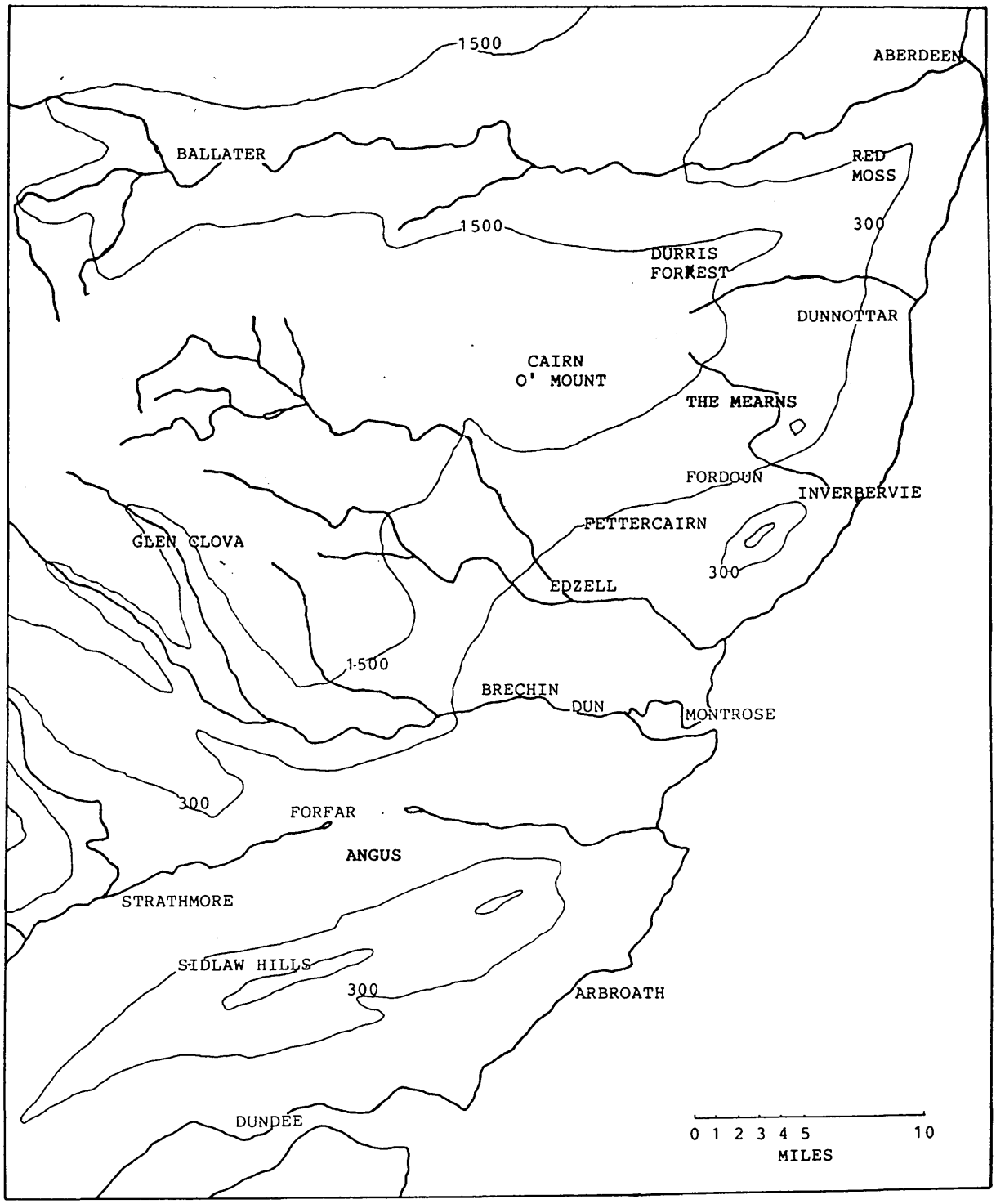
in increasing numbers as the sixteenth century progressed.[18] Situated at the point where these routes merged and were restricted by the waters of the basin of Montrose to the east and the proximity of the highlands behind Edzell, Brechin's castle controlled the movement of trade and troops between north and south - and hence was the site of conflicts between earls of Huntly and southern magnates in both 1452 and 1570.

Trading routes across the ocean to Europe were also important to the Scottish economy of the sixteenth century. Grain and timber were imported from the Baltic to supplement dearth at home; luxury cargoes of wines and clothes from France were balanced by increasing exports of coal, salt, hides and wool. After Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen were the wealthiest burghs of Scotland for most of the century. Dr I.F. Grant's classic study of the economic development of Scotland before 1603 emphasised how much exporting in this period was of simple rural produce: of rough woollen cloth, of sheep-skins and cattle-hide. The accounts of the royal customs levied on exports from Dundee and Montrose feature these items, with the addition of salmon and herring from the fishings off the North and South Esk as a speciality of Montrose.[19] The prosperity of Dundee was closely connected, therefore, with its rural hinterland from whence came both the necessities of life and goods for trading. The coastal fringe of Angus and the valley of Strathmore were suitable for growing barley and oats - some land was even capable of a wheat harvest. The less fertile Sidlaws and the Grampian foothills were grazed by cattle and

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18. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh 1960) pp.123-134.
19. T.M. Devine and S.G.E. Lythe, "The economy of Scotland" p.91f; figures in ER vols.xvi-xxi (1529-1588) have also been studied.

MAP 1.1
ANGUS AND THE MEARNS:
ROUTES AND RELATIONSHIPS



sheep. Angus, and in particular Dundee, was therefore a trading centre between east and west: lairds seeking timber for building, or French silks, or sugar, oil or wine, looked to Dundee's merchants to supply their needs.[20]

Many, therefore, were the factors that made for continuity and stability in the society of Angus and Mearns in the early sixteenth century. Economic interdependence integrated rural hinterland with the royal burghs of the coast; and provided links with the wider communities of Scotland, Britain and Europe. Geography and localism interacted to produce a kin-group community distinct from Scotland as a whole, families bound together in intricate relationships of lordship, clientage and marriage. The services of the mediaeval church and the institutions of shire government; the handing on of name and land from generation to generation - these institutions and ideals linked the gentry families of the two counties. The central political ideals of Scotland were also held in common. R.A. Mason's thesis identified these as being a belief in the commonweal, the "auld libertie, privileges and fredomes in all estatis as it hes bene in all tymes bigane". Ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of these freedoms was entrusted to the king, as the fount of justice, the defender of the nation and the apex of the feudal structure of land-tenure.[21] If local life in the counties was experienced as communal, it was so only within the

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20. This paragraph owes much to discussion in I.F.Grant, The social and economic development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh 1930) p.305f: p.353 for a table comparing the relative importance of the burghs. Also, ER xviii pp.47,51 etc.
See map 1.1, which illustrates these paragraphs.
21. R.A. Mason, "Kingship and Commonweal: political thought and ideology in Reformation Scotland" (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1983) chapter six passim; p.192 for the extract from APS.

context of an independent national community led, ruled and symbolised by its hereditary judge and prince.

It is notable that those who articulated this national patriotic conservatism had strong connections with Angus and Mearns. Mr William Lamb, parson of Conveth and Logie-Montrose, a native of Montrose, wrote a work in defence of the independent crown of Scotland against the claims of Henry VIII of England, arguing that he knew of no reason why, as a Scot, he should be ashamed of his nation. Lamb cited Hector Boece as the "principale historiane" of Scotland, who though best-known as principal of Aberdeen, was himself from Dundee initially. Boece was a close friend of Patrick Paniter abbot of Cambuskenneth, patron of the Montrose Hospital: and in Mr Arthur and Mr Patrick Boece he had kin in the chapter of Brechin.[22] The only other surviving work reflecting Scottish national defiance of English claims is The Complaynt of Scotland, probably by Robert Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee. Despite its well-developed local identity, society in Angus and Mearns looked to the idealised Crown as the ultimate guarantor of its stability.[23]

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22. For Mr William Lamb, Mr Arthur and Mr Patrick Boece, see appendix A, section a, nos.191,034,035.
23. R.A. Mason, "Kingship and Commonweal" discusses the works of Lamb, Wedderburn and, to a lesser extent, Boece. Lamb's Ane Resonyng is now edited by Roderick J. Lyall (Aberdeen 1985):see pp.3,57,75, 86. For Wedderburn's authorship of The Complaynt of Scotland: A.M. Stewart, (STS, Edinburgh 1979). Hector Boece wrote the Lives of the bishops of Mortlach and Aberdeen and Scotorum Historiae. His work is discussed by A.A.M. Duncan, "Hector Boece and the medieval tradition" in Scots antiquaries and historians (Abertay Historical Society, Dundee, no.16) p.1f. Jennifer M. Brown also discusses the Scottish ideal of kingship in "The exercise of power" in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century edited by her (London 1977) pp.33-35. For a shortened version of Mason's argument, see his chapter "Covenant and Commonweal: the language of politics in Reformation Scotland" in Church, Politics and Society:Scotland 1408-1929 ed. Norman Macdougall (Edinburgh 1983) pp.108-9. [Cited Church, Politics and Society hereafter.]

Although society in Angus and Mearns maintained strongly-held traditional values, so that it can be described as deeply conservative, yet in the early sixteenth century it was subject to considerable forces working for change. These were in part economic. Jennifer M. Brown/Wormald suggests that in the later fifteenth century the gentry of lesser rank were narrowing the social gap between themselves and the traditional magnates in wealth and its concomitants - dress and size of retinue. The peerage, in consequence, struggled to assert their leadership of society in terms of the same symbols of power.[24] The best evidence for these trends in Angus and Mearns are the numerous stone houses and castles that still feature in the landscape and are described in detail in the volumes of MacGibbon and Ross: evidence of increasingly ostentatious expenditure by middle-ranking heads of families.[25] The magnate status of the earldom of Crawford required considerable expense to maintain a proper dignity and superiority over these lesser families.

Some indication of the luxury items acquiring currency during the sixteenth century can be found in the Crawford muniments. When Dame Katherine Campbell, dowager countess of Crawford, made her will in 1578 at the end of a career that began with marriage to the master of Ogilvy before 1539, she left to James Lord Ogilvy her eldest son a silver basin, a gilded silver cup and cover,

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24. Jennifer M.Brown, "Introduction" to Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century p.7: also Geoffrey Stell, "Architecture: the changing needs of society" ibid. pp.181-3.
25. D. MacGibbon and T. Ross, The castellated and domestic architecture of Scotland from the 12th to the 18th centuries. (Edinburgh 1887). Vol. ii contains, for example, the 16th century castles of Balbegno, Allardice and Muchalls in the Mearns: Brackie, Glamis, Claypotts, Fintry, Ethie and Gardyne in Angus.

and a bed valance in gold cloth with taffeta and silk. David Lindsay of Edzell, her eldest son by the ninth earl of Crawford, was left similar gifts of a silver basin, a gilded silver cup from Paris, her "greatest chenzie of gold" and a bed pand in green, embroidered with black velvet and white silk, curtained with green Spanish taffeta. Other legacies included for her daughters, gowns in black velvet and damask, ornamental gold bracelets and necklaces.[26] Earlier in the century, when the Ogilvies sacked Finavon Castle on the succession of the ninth earl of Crawford, the summons of spulzie listed the goods seized by the raiders. Apart from 1,100 sheep, 120 oxen and nineteen horses, Crawford lost the furnishing for twenty-four beds, the silver, silk, velvet, satin and damask furnishings of the chapel, a hundred barrels, tuns and puncheons - presumably full of wines: twenty-four pieces of artillery, two great iron yetts, a hundred spears, and over 1000 assorted trees - valuable for their fruit, and for timber of birch and ash. He also claimed for the destruction of sixteen great windows of glass in oaken casements, and for twelve double doors of oak.[27]

Provision and maintenance of such imported and expensive items required considerable supplies of cash for the payment of merchants and craftsmen. With the heightened level of expectation in living standards in the early sixteenth century, came a growth of a cash economy alongside the traditional calculation of revenues in kind. This was facilitated by two practices: the feuing and the wadsetting of land. S.G.E. Lythe suggests that "the process

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26. Glenis A.Matheson and F.Taylor Handlist of personal papers from the muniments of the earl of Crawford and Balcarres (Manchester 1976) 3.1.14-17. Cited hereafter as "Craw. mss." with code numbers if in the Handlist and box numbers for other mss. at the JRL.
27. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.71-2.

[of feuing] became decisive and widespread" during James IV's reign.[28] This involved the granting of a hereditary right of tenancy for an initial lump sum and fixed annual payments. In effect, the grantor lost possession of lands so feued in exchange for an increased cash income - provided the latter was not eroded by inflation. By obtaining feu-charters to crown lands, lairds could increase their own patrimony: for example, James Crawmond of Aldbar and his wife Isabel Erskine gained the feu of lands in the lordship of Brechin and Navar on 25 January 1527/8, probably through the influence of Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, secretary to James V.[29] Margaret Sanderson has described in detail the process of the feuing of the lands of the church.[30]

When combined with an agreement that the lands sold or feued might revert to their original owner on payment or repayment by him of a large sum, the sale or feu operated as a wadset or mortgage: the grantor obtaining a cash loan on the security of a hereditary right in land. The financial pressure on the eighth earl of Crawford is shown by charters whereby he sold lands to his close kinsman David Lindsay of Edzell in exchange for sums paid to enable him to redeem them from others.[31] As ninth earl of Crawford, Lindsay of Edzell was himself to spend much effort attempting to regain lands lost by the earldom since the death of the duke of Montrose.[32] A magnate such as the earl of Crawford, however, had vast resources and credit on which to draw: a lesser laird who by ill-judgment or

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28. S.G.E. Lythe, "Economic Life" in Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century ed. Brown p.68.
29. RMS iii 542.
30. Margaret H.B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the 16th century (Edinburgh 1982).
31. RMS iii 1910,1951: charters dated 28 Nov. 1538 and 15 Jan. 1538/9.
32. Lord Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays (London 1849) i p.201.

mismanagement fell into debt could be driven from his lands. John Ramsay of Canterland was forced in 1541 to grant Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin his barony of Canterland in exchange for the smaller property of Logie-next-Cowie.[33] George Arrat of that ilk and his son the fiar, Thomas, had their shadow-half lands of Arrat and Leightonhill apprised, with right of reversion, by the sheriff court to fulfil a judgment against them for spoliation. They were forced to raise funds to regain their lands by further alienations to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. More sales of land were necessary in 1565: the family seems never to have recovered its fortunes.[34] Similarly, David Lindsay of the Haugh of Finavon, having granted his lands of the Haugh to the dowager countess of Crawford to release a horning due to a debt, found himself excluded from return when Dame Katherine granted the lands to her son Walter and denied that she had conceded Lindsay conditions for reversion.[35] Such loss of patrimonial lands was the ultimate disaster of the sixteenth century. Faced with financial and social pressures, active hostility and a particular crisis, the minor land-holder confronted catastrophe.

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33. RMS iii 2347.
34. RMS iv 1305 - 3 Oct. 1558, the grant of appreciated lands. RMS iv 1355 - the feu to Carnegy, original 10 Jul. 1559. RMS iv 1942 - a sale, originally 24 Sept. 1565.
35. RSS iv 2897, 12 Dec. 1554: gift of escheat of Lindsay of the Haugh. WRH, The Haigh inventory ii p.76, 2 Apr. 1555, for Dame Katherine's infeftment in the Haugh and its associated office of Keeper of Finavon castle: then ibid. 8 Jun. 1558, suspension at instance of David earl of Crawford and Dame Katherine of a reversion of the lands of Haugh, ibid. p.79, 12 Jun. 1559, charge for removing against Lindsay of Haugh at instance of Dame Katherine and ibid. p.82, 14 Feb. 1561/2, summons at her instance against Lindsay of the Haugh for violent and masterful withholding and occupation from her of her liferent in the Haugh. Finally, ibid. p.86, 5 July 1564, executions on decreet of removing against Lindsay of Haugh and ibid.i p.100 for Walter Lindsay's infeftment (s.d.).

The process of feuing, with its associated risks and benefits, had further implications for society. First, it weakened the ties between lord and man. A tenant whose lease was subject to periodic renewal had obviously stronger grounds for loyalty to his patron than one who held by a heritable feu-charter. It is noticeable that several of the barons of Angus who had obtained feu-charters to church lands, supposedly on condition of their defending the church against heretics, themselves supported the Reformation in 1560. Further, the tendency to feu small parcels of land in order to raise money hastened the partition of baronies into separate ownership, or indeed, into the multiple ownership of sub-infeudation. By 22 May 1563, the lands of Findowrie had been feued by the bishop and chapter of Brechin to William Dempster of Careston and his heirs for an annual payment of thirty shillings, and by Dempster to David Fenton fiar of Ogil for ten pounds ten shillings yearly. Fenton then sold to Robert Collace of Balnamoon who thus inherited the duties required by both the previous feu-charters. The sale was part of a contract whereby Collace wadset half of the Mains of Balnamoon to Fenton against reversion for 500 merks, while Fenton tacked back these lands in exchange for annual payments of victual. In effect, Fenton gave Collace possession of Findowrie in exchange for victuals from the Mains of Balnamoon.[36] The result for the nominal ownership by the bishop and chapter of their former lands of Findowrie and the consequent attenuation of their links with the original feuar can easily be seen. Margaret Sanderson concludes that the feuing of kirklands gave rise to the great age of the portioner, the bonnet-laird and the feuar who gained both property and independence with

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36. REB ii no.ccxxxviii.

their lands.[37] Feuing, whether by magnates or the church, tended to lessen traditional loyalties: to slacken the bonds that held society together. Wadsetting similarly divided baronies and increased the likelihood that a man of any substance would hold lands from several, perhaps politically opposed, superiors. Economic developments were a decided threat to the values of traditional society.

In early sixteenth century Angus, by far the greatest disruptions of landownership were caused by the crown. During his reign, James V, recently described as "probably the most unpleasant of all the Stewarts",[38] forfeited all the tenants of the Douglas regality of Kirriemuir and the entire lordship of Glamis. In addition, the legitimate heir of the earldom of Crawford was bypassed in favour of the junior house of Edzell. The king also exploited to his advantage a disputed succession in the lordship of Gray. The combined effect of these intrusions into the regular process of inheritance in such a conservative society must have been considerable - the crown thus successfully asserting its power over both the major earldoms of Angus and both the leading lords of parliament - one of whom (Lord Gray) was the sheriff-principal. That the lordship of Glamis was not added to the lordship of the Isles as the permanent forfeiture of the five reigns James III to James VI[39] was no fault of James V: the life of the heir was saved only by the king's death.

The conflict between James V and the Douglases has been studied in detail by Dr M.G.R. Kelley. He suggests that by the end of the fifteenth century, the centre of gravity of the

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37. M.Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society p.190.
38. J.Wormald, Court,Kirk,and Community p.12
39. J.Wormald, Court,Kirk,and Community p.29

earldom of Angus had come to be based south of the Forth.[40] No Douglas laird of importance held lands within the county. Considerable lands did remain, however, administered by the most substantial Angus tenants of Douglas, the Ogilvies of Inverquharity, as bailies of the regality of Kirriemuir. The regality had its head-court in the open air on Court Hill, Kirriemuir: it comprised numerous scattered lands not only in the immediate vicinity but also in Glen Prosen by Glen Clova, and around Monifieth in the fertile coastal plain east of Dundee. By the sixteenth century, all was held by feuars - several of whom, for example the Grahams of Fintry, the Fotheringhams of Powrie, the Maules of Panmure and the Wisharts of that ilk, held other substantial properties in their own right or from other superiors. The forfeiture of the earl of Angus between 1528 and 1542/3 affected the lands of some of the major lairds of the county.

The territories of the regality in Strathmore and Glen Prosen were least troubled by the forfeiture. Ogilvy of Inverquharity appeared in Parliament in 1528 to avow his loyalty to James V. Although his lands of Balnagarrow and Chapelton were granted to William Wood of Bonnyton and his possession of parts of Wester and Easter Lednathie was challenged by Graham of Fintry, Ogilvy retained his lands virtually intact. Indeed, in 1541/2, James erected him as a tenant-in-chief in the two new free baronies of Inverquharity and Crieff. Further, Wood surrendered his temporary gains: and Ogilvy won his case concerning the Lednathies against

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40. M.G.R. Kelley, "The Douglas earls of Angus: a study in the social and political bases of power 1389-1557" (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1973) i p.99. The description of the regality that follows and discussion of the effects of the Angus forfeiture owe much to this thesis.

Fintry.[41] William Graham, laird of Fintry, also held territories from Angus. Married to Katherine Beaton, the sister of David Beaton abbot of Arbroath, Fintry was protected from the forfeiture by his brother-in-law's service to the crown. His lands were regranted as the free barony of Mains of Strathdighty, 8 January 1529/30: and further granted to himself and his son David as fiar in July 1541. Fintry's possessions ranged from the lands of Fintry by the Dighty Water, north of Dundee, to Balnaboth, Dalinch and the forest of Glen Prosen. They included the Outfield and Kirktoun of Kirriemuir, and the Courthill itself. Fintry's cousin, John Graham of Claverhouse and Ballargus, also had his lands held from the regality regranted without loss.[42] Beaton's allies the Grahams were the only two major vassals of the regality of Kirriemuir not to suffer interruption of ownership of their lands at the hands of James V.

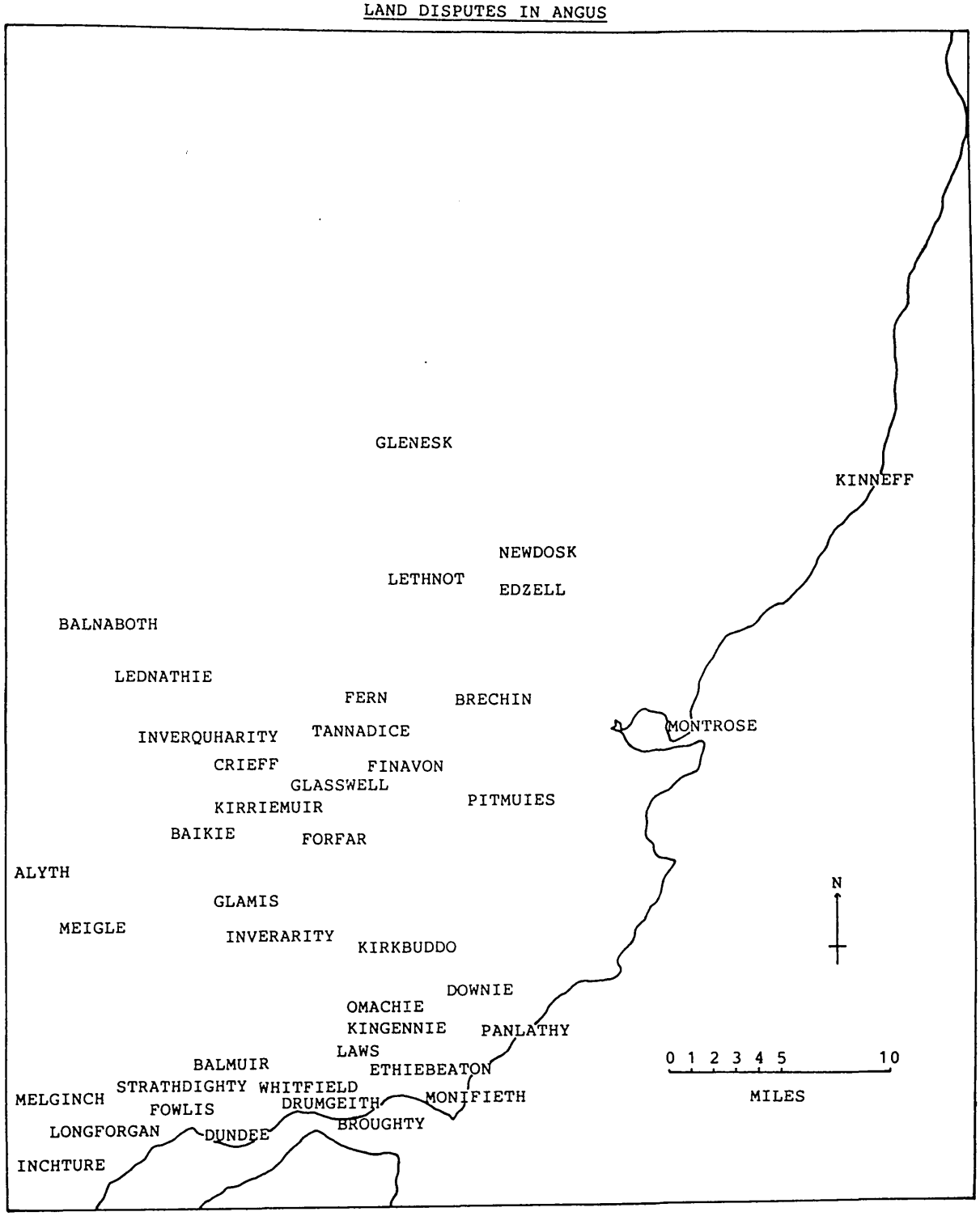
The section of the regality most comprehensively granted to new tenants lay in the prosperous lands of the parish of Monifieth, and inland of Barry. Despite his protested loyalty, the earl of Crawford and his subtenants in Ethiebeaton - William Carmichael of Dundee and James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee - lost their lands to Sir John Stirling of Keir in September 1528. The king's secretary, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, gained Laws, Omachie and a third of Monifieth itself from Henry Ramsay of Laws, Robert Lauder of Bass and John Arbuthnott of Brichty

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41. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.491-96. The new baronies comprised:
Inverquharity - the dominical lands, the Lednathies, Newton, Herdhill, Kinnordy, Balbrydie and Lifty;
Crieff - Crieff, Lunich, Little Migvie, Culhawk; -
RMS iii 2601, RSS ii 4503.
See map 1.2, which locates lands in Angus whose possession was disputed during the reign of James V.
42. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" p.490. RMS iii 885,2402; 2404.

MAP 1.2

LAND DISPUTES IN ANGUS



respectively, also in September 1528. He also gained the outlying lands of Panlathy from Robert Maule of Panmure in November. Other royal servants also benefited from the forfeiture. William Wood of Bonnyton gained Kingennie from Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie and the Pitmuies (by Guthrie) from Dempster of Careston in September of 1528. By December 1540 he had also obtained Finlarg when its original tenant (who had had a regrant from Sir John Campbell of Lundie) died at the horn. David Wood of Craig, the comptroller and Bonnyton's brother, received Whitfield in the place of Lord Forbes. Andrew Wood of Largo replaced John Wishart of Logie-Wishart in Ballindarg: and Henry Kemp in Thomaston, Walter Ogilvy of Glasswell in Glasswell. James Akinhead obtained Balmuir, north of Dundee, from Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie. All of these latter charters were dated 5 September 1528.[43]

It is unlikely that these Kirriemuir tenants were actually evicted from their lands: rather, that the new crown tenants used their charters to extract leases and payments from the existing possessors. In introducing his "familiars" (all the three Woods with Akinhead) and his "familiar servants" (Stirling of Keir, Erskine of Haltoun, Kemp of Thomastoun) to the regality, James seems to have been rewarding them with opportunities for gain, rather than adding to their own patrimony. Although Haltoun, Bonnyton and Craig were properties in Angus, they were in the north by Montrose, and had no geographical or other relationship to the forfeited estates.

Thomas Erskine of Haltoun in fact had resigned back to John Arbuthnott his estates in Monifieth by January

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43. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.478-483.

of 1528/9: Robert Maule was restored by him in Panlathy by that February. The speed of these transactions may even suggest that Erskine had claimed the gift of these lands as an act of protection of their tenants in order to resign in their favour. No further details or composition are recorded in the Great Seal entries apart from the secretary's personal resignations.[44] Arbuthnott was kin to the house of that ilk in the Mearns, close neighbours and friends of the house of Dun of which Thomas of Haltoun was a cadet.[45] Robert Maule was to marry Isobel Arbuthnott in 1541 and his grandson later married a daughter of John Erskine of Dun. As Maule was at odds with the Graham lairds, a friendship with the secretary as early as 1528/9 is certainly credible, although he had protection from cardinal Beaton in 1532/3.[46] Perhaps it is is a mistake, however, to make too sharp a contrast between Erskine's treatment of Arbuthnott and Maule and his handling of his other acquisitions from the Angus forfeiture. Henry Ramsay of Laws had recovered his lands by 1540, when he resigned them in the ordinary course of events to his heir, reserving his liferent. Certainly Erskine obtained payments from Lauder of Bass for the return of Omachie in 1538: Lauder also bought Ethiebeaton from him, which the

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44. RMS iii 725,751. Mr Thomas Erskine of Haltoun [later Sir Thomas, of Brechin and Navar] was a younger son of the John Erskine of Dun killed at Flodden, and tutor and uncle to John the heir of Dun. Secretary to James V during his minority from 1524/5, he had the gift of the office for life in 1536 - in fact holding it until Arran became governor. Spald.Misc. iv 13; ibid ii 177,179.
45. Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk witnessed a charter given by Erskine of Dun in 1531: RMS iii 1217; and received protection with Sir Thomas of Brechin in 1533/4: ADCP p.420.
46. Robert Maule's marriage to a daughter of Arbuthnott of that ilk: Dalhousie mss. GD 45.26.53,p.64. His grandson's marriage: Thomas Crockett, "The Life of John Erskine of Dun 1509-1590" (Edinburgh D.Litt. 1924) p.143n. For opposition to the Grahams, GD 45.27.16 records Maule's acquittal in 1530/1 for wounding William Graham of Fintry at Barry, while GD 45.26.53 p.63 mentions Fintry attacking him while he was golfing on Barry links around 1527. His protection with the cardinal: RSS ii 1508.

secretary had obtained from Stirling of Keir in 1531/2.[47] Erskine's interest in these sections of the regality may have come from his relationship with Alexander Durham of Grange, who had married a Jonet Erskine by 1525. Both Alexander Durham and his heir William were to receive protections with the secretary in 1533/4.[48] These lands restored by Erskine - Ethiebeaton, Laws and Omachie, with Arbuthnott's third of Monifieth - marched with the Grange, though the lairds of Grange themselves were tenants-in-chief of the crown and not vassals of the regality.

The Woods of Craig and Bonnyton maintained their hold on the acquisitions of 1528 rather more firmly than Thomas Erskine. William of Bonnyton certainly restored Kingennie to Ninian Guthrie, and Pitmuies to the laird of Careston during 1529: but, after various transactions, he held Finlarg from 1540 to the end of the reign. David Wood of Craig ended the reign with Whitfield incorporated in his free barony of Hunstoun. These were the only two gains that had not been restored by the end of the reign.[49] Fotheringham of Powrie and Walter Ogilvy had regained their respective lands in 1529/30: and John Wishart by 1534/5 at the latest.[50] In any case, after James V's death, parliament restored the earl of Angus to his heritage and all charters disposing of the lands of the earldom, including those erecting free baronies, were systematically annulled. Whitfield reverted to Lord Forbes in 1543/4:

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47. RMS iii 2206, 1823, 1824, 1132. See also RSS ii 4077.
48. RMS iii 304; ADCP p.420.
49. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.482-5, which adds Garden of Leys' acquisition of Ballinshoe. This latter territory, however, was acquired by the Wood brothers in transactions with the earl of Crawford and not from the Angus forfeiture. Garden then obtained the lands by exchange: RMS iii 782, 783, 1056, 1200.
50. RMS iii 913, 902, 1459.

Ethiebeaton back to the Carmichaels. Unscrambling land transactions after a period of nearly twenty years was a complex business, however. Dr Kelley concludes that, though Angus handed an undiminished inheritance on to his nephew; "For the Arbuthnotts of Easter Brichty, and the Scrymgeours, Ogilvies and Murrays of Glasswell, the period 1543-1557 was one of long and acrimonious disputes over the ownership of their estates."[51]

While in retrospect the forfeiture of the regality of Kirriemuir seems to have had no major long-term effects on landholding in Angus, it is probable that contemporaries would have viewed James V's dealings in land in a different light. From these transactions there were few - if any - who gained. At best, those who won favour with the Woods, Erskine and the others and had a speedy regrant could still have had to pay some composition for the privilege of keeping their lands. Those unfortunate enough to be forced to litigate for decades suffered a substantial drain on their resources. Even the supposed beneficiaries ended with their prestigious free baronies quashed. Perhaps Thomas Erskine of Haltoun followed the best policy - that of relative leniency, using the opportunity to build up a following rather than permanently to obtain lands or substantial funds while he was still close to the beginning of his career. Indeed, one of the more socially disturbing consequences of the episode must have been the elevation of men who were otherwise little more than bonnet-lairds - cadets of minor houses - to the status of arbiters of the fortunes of those who might have thought themselves their superiors. The injustice of the original forfeitures, too, would not

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51. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.613-622: citation, p.617.

have been forgotten. None of those who lost their lands had actively opposed James V: their sole fault was to be legal vassals of his personal opponent, the earl of Angus.

Injustice was even more blatantly the hall-mark of the forfeiture of the lordship of Glamis in 1537. On the death of John, sixth Lord Glamis, his widow Jonet Douglas remarried Alexander Campbell of Skipnish. As the sister of Archibald, sixth earl of Angus, however, she was the object of persecution by King James. Included in the general proscription of 18 January 1528/9, she had licence to pass overseas later in the year. In July 1531, however, a gift was made of her escheat; on 1 January 1532/3 she was accused of murdering Lord Glamis her first husband by poison. Two entire juries were fined for refusing to appear to hear the case. Finally, she was found guilty of art and part of treason by intercommuning with Archibald and George Douglas, traitors and rebels - and was burned on Castlehill in Edinburgh. Her son, the next Lord Glamis, when faced with torture, soon confessed to being part of a conspiracy with his mother to poison King James himself: he and his brother, still minors, were held in close imprisonment under sentence of death and his estates were forfeit. The tragedy was deepened by the death of Campbell of Skipnish, falling while attempting to escape from Edinburgh Castle.[52] Dr Kelley's account suggests that the only criminal involved was the king, motivated to hatred of Lady Glamis during grief after the sudden death of his queen, Madeleine.[53]

That contemporary opinion also considered

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52. J.Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage (9 vols.,1904-14) viii pp.278-283 gives a coloured but accurate account of the episode.
53. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" p.585. See also, RSS ii 983n.

that the various accusations made against Jonet Douglas, Lady Glamis, were unjust is suggested by the refusal of Angus and Perthshire lairds to answer summons to her assize. The juries of both 2 and 26 February represented cross-sections of Angus society. From the first jury, William Fullerton of Ardoch, David Stirling of Braikie and the laird of Dunkenny were associated with the Erskines of Dun and Haltoun, Stirling also being former provost of Montrose. Henry Ramsay of Laws was one whose lands had been forfeit and obtained by Thomas Erskine of Haltoun.[54] Perhaps those associated with King James' trusted secretary might have been expected to serve the king's interests ? Their failure to do so surely speaks of their reluctance to be involved in such shady justice. So, too, does the failure of William Lord Ruthven and Laurence Lord Oliphant to appear when cited to the second jury: refusal to cooperate with King James V in his campaign against the Douglases might have been thought dangerous to men of standing and lands. In all, thirty-two lairds were fined for refusing to attend the sheriff-court at Forfar. It is noticeable that for the final trial at which Lady Glamis was condemned, only John Crichton of Ruthven and David Barclay of Mathers were summoned from Angus or

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54. R. Pitcairn, Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland [1488-1624] (3 vols. Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs) i 158 lists both juries. For Ardoch, see n.14 above.
For Stirling, RMS iii 9: obtains lands 10 Jan 1513/14, ibid 1146, provost of Montrose 20 Jan. 1531/2; had protection with Erskine of Brechin, ADCP p.420, 1533/4; witnesses a charter for Erskine of Dun, RMS iii 1462, 20 Mar.1534/5.
John Lamby of Dunkenny also had protection with Erskine of Brechin in 1533/4, ADCP p.420; he was licensed to go abroad with John Erskine of Dun and Thomas, the secretary's eldest son, in April 1542. Spald.Misc. iv p.43. He was a vassal of James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie: RSS iii 2542. For Laws, ns.43,47 above.

Mearns.[55]

James V's treatment of the lands of Glamis differed in some respects from his disposition of the lands of the regality of Kirriemuir. In particular, he retained the dominical lands and the castle for his own use. "This Naboth's vineyard indeed seems to have had a weird fascination for James V."[56] The Scots Peerage records that a royal establishment was permanently maintained at Glamis from 1538, the king being frequently in residence. He seems, however, to have brought his own alternatives to replace the twelve silver flagons whose total of eighty-four pounds of metal was melted down for the royal mint.[57] James also disposed of some of the outlying lands of the lordship.

Following the Glamis forfeiture, a total of thirty-seven charters are recorded in the registers of the Great and Privy Seals and in the Strathmore muniments, with dates ranging between 1538 and October 1542. Of these, seven were regrants of lands formerly held from Glamis and now from the crown.[58] Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine had his lands in the barony of Inchture confirmed and united as a free barony; other lands in Inchture were regranted to George Boyd of Pitkindie. In Longforgan, Gilbert Gray of Scheves had Muretoun and Garlat regranted for his good service and for composition. Walter Mure alias Esse had his lands of Muretoun in the barony of Tannadice confirmed: similarly, David Garden of Leys,

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55. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i 190. The full jury was: John earl of Atholl, John earl of Buchan, Robert Lord Maxwell, William master of Glencairn, John Hume of Coldenknows, William Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael, John Crichton of Ruthven, James Kerr of Mersington, Gilbert earl of Cassillis, William Lord Sempill, John Melville of Raith, James Towris of Inverleith, David Barclay of Mathers, John Edmonstoun of that ilk, William Maclennan tutor of Bondby.
56. J.Balfour Paul, Scots Peerage viii p.282.
57. Ibid.
58. RMS iii 1872, 1911, 1929, 1933, 1941, 1977, 2046.

Andrew Seton of Parbroath and William Lyon of Easter Ogil were regranted lands in the baronies of Tannadice, Baikie and Belhelvie. In a further charter, David Wood of Craig, the comptroller, had a charter to Little Cossans from the abbot of Jedburgh thus replacing Lord Glamis as the feuar.[59]

David Wood of Craig was, after King James himself,one of the chief beneficiaries of the Glamis forfeiture. He received a grant of the office of coroner for Angus and Kincardine as formerly exercised by Lord Glamis, and the lands and barony of Drumgeith. Craig was factor of the Glamis estates for the crown, at any rate by 1540. His kinsman, Andrew Wood of Largo, obtained the Inch of Inchkeith, in the Firth of Forth.[60] The majority of grants, however, went to minor members of the royal household. The list includes James Watson the king's surgeon, as well as John Hay his baker. Those whose charters describe them as the king's "familiar servants" include Patrick Bruce, Henry Kempt of Thomastoun,Gilbert Moncreiff ("for service in France"), Walter Moncur and Walter Murray. James' former servant David Blantyre obtained a feu-charter of the lands of Knockenny at the foot of Hunter's Hill in Glamis itself.[61] This seems to have been a lapse in the policy of retaining direct possession of Glamis for the crown: the majority of charters concern the outlying baronies. A larger than usual grant, of the dominical lands of Baikie with others in the barony, went to David Beaton - a

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59. RMS iii 2741.
60. RMS iii 1956, 1751, 1888: Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 9.190. The Strathmore writs are made available by consent of the Glamis Estate and the archivist of Dundee University Library, Mrs Joan Auld.
61. RMS iii 2110, 2026, 2618 and RSS ii 2585; RMS iii 1800, 1842, 2651, 2372.

natural son of archbishop David Beaton, James' ambassador. Further lands in Baikie were gifted to James Scrymgeour and his French wife Marie Dargent, who also had a charter to their liferent.[62]

The other major beneficiary of the forfeiture besides Wood of Craig was James Kirkcaldy of Grange, the treasurer, who obtained the barony of Kinghorn in Fife.[63] Indeed, after the death of James V, Kirkcaldy had the distinction of having Kinghorn excluded from the Act of Parliament that revoked the Glamis forfeiture.[64] John the seventh lord successfully reduced, however, a charter to lands in Glamis in favour of Kirkcaldy's brother-in-law: and he took legal measures to regain Kinghorn as well. Matters were complicated by the forfeiture of Kirkcaldy's son William to whom the treasurer had passed on the barony, for with his escheat the lands fell to the crown. Mary of Guise extorted 2,000 merks from Lord Glamis as payment for the restoration of his lands.[65] The bulk of James' gifts to his household were revoked by the Lords of Council in one single action in 1543.[66] Further legal action was required to recover possession of the loch-mills of Forfar from James Wood, the heir of William Wood of Bonnyton; and a suit between Lord Glamis and Lord Gray over a third of the Mains of Huntly in the barony of Longforgan was to last until 1575.[67] By 1550, however, Lord Glamis

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62. RMS iii 1931, 2093 and RSS ii 2977.
63. RMS iii 1718, 1878, 1989 and RSS ii 2576, 3280.
64. APS ii 409: Strathmore writs, box 1.15.
65. Strathmore writs box 9.194; ADCP pp.551-2; RMS iv 294 and Strathmore writs box 1.18.
66. ADCP p.529; RMS iii 1800,1751,1888,2796,2026,2619,1842,2221,1990, 2372,2109,1714,2618,2110. Separate reductions can also be found in the Strathmore writs: eg. box 9.191-2.
67. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885.2 no.63; box 9.198 - 1551, for the settlement with James Wood. Ibid. 885.2 no.64 and box 1.19 for Lord Gray.

was able to infeft his son as fiar of a restored patrimony - apart from the silver flagons.[68]

The third of James V's interventions with the inheritance of Angus lairds was a spin-off of the Glamis forfeiture - for which, it must be remembered, there were no real grounds. Since the marriage of the second Lord Gray into the house of Lyon, the Lords Glamis had maintained a claim to the inheritance of Gray. When the third Lord Gray died without legitimate issue in 1541, there were, therefore, three claimants. Patrick Gray of Buttergask claimed as the nearest heir of line named Gray. Andrew Straiton of Lauriston and Lord Glamis both had claims by marriage: but Glamis being currently forfeit, his claim fell in to the crown. Patrick Gray of Buttergask, whose father had been named as ultimate heir in the third Lord Gray's charters, undoubtedly had both right and kin on his side.[69]

King James took the opportunity of this dispute to infeft Gray only on payment of 10,000 merks.[70] He had previously showed his power by obtaining the half-barony of Longforgan on resignation of Lauriston having engineered the latter's infeftment there as an heir of Gray. From the Gray inheritance Straiton of Lauriston obtained charters to lands in Wester Kinneff which was erected as a free barony for him, presumably as his reward for cooperating with the king. Further, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin -

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68. RSS iv 658 and Strathmore writs box 9.195: in Forfarshire: the lands and baronies of Glamis, Baikie, Tannadice, Cardean, Drumgeith; in Perth: half Longforgan and Inchture; in Fife, Kinghorn; in Aberdeenshire: Belhelvie, Courtstone and Drumgowan. Nevertheless, some lands had been alienated to meet the restored lord's costs: half Kinghorn was sold under reversion to John Carnegy, later of that ilk. RMS iv 294, 473.
69. J.Balfour Paul, Scots Peerage viii 277-8: iv 278-281.
70. ADCP p.516.

who had had no share of the Glamis forfeiture - obtained the constabulary of Montrose on resignation of Lauriston or the Crown as heirs of Gray via the Glamis forfeiture. Erskine also bought the superiorities of lands in Kinneff from Lauriston for annexation to his "holding company", the barony of Easter Brechin.[71] It may be, indeed, that we should see the hand of James's secretary behind this attempt to exploit the succession of Gray of Buttergask as fourth Lord Gray; an attempt that had as little justice behind it as the Kirriemuir or Glamis forfeitures, though on a lesser scale. Erskine kept the constabulary of Montrose for his nephew Erskine of Dun: Gray, however, had the other charters reduced after James' death. For this privilege, he was forced to pay to Arran the 3,000 merks still remaining from the 10,000 previously demanded by James, and in consequence sold several parcels of land under reversion to Dundee burgesses.[72]

Of all James V's interventions with Angus property-rights, that with the longest-lasting results was the alteration of the line of inheritance of the earldom of Crawford. Since the death of David, duke of Montrose and fifth earl of Crawford in 1495, the earldom had been in decline.[73] His heir had been unable to claim the dukedom: and instead, William third Lord Graham had been advanced to the earldom of Montrose in 1503. John, sixth earl

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71. ADCP p.531; RMS iii 2407, 2430; 2497.
James also made John Lord Innermeath sheriff of Forfar for a year and at pleasure, in 1541 - thus removing the office from its hereditary holders the lords of Gray, supposedly while the lordship was disputed. This, too, could be interpreted as a threat. RMS iii 2346. For Easter Brechin, see note 94 below.
72. ADCP p.531; RMS iii 2698, 2700, 2749, 2830, 2932.
73. Scots Peerage iii p.23.

of Crawford, having sold the sheriffdom of Aberdeen,[74] was among those slain at Flodden: his heir, Alexander, died only four years later in 1517. David eighth earl suffered the revocation of his and his father's instruments of sasine by Parliament and his estates were subjected to nonentries since the death of the Duke of Montrose. In consequence, he was forced to sell and wadset lands. Seventeen such charters are recorded in the register of the Great Seal: William Wood of Bonnyton was the main beneficiary.[75] Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, having had a gift of the nonentries payable by Crawford on the lands of Downie, used the gift to have the lands apprized to him for nonpayment. He did not seek, however, to invoke the full vigour of law and was content to settle with the earl by charters of excambion.[76]

To these troubles of the eighth earl were added the increasingly reckless behaviour of his heir, Alexander, master of Crawford. Perhaps in misguided attempts to restore the fortunes and vigour of the earldom, the master extorted by force heavy dues from his tenants in Glenesk, Menmuir, Tannadice and Fern. Exceeding his rights as lord of Glenesk, he attacked and seized his father's "room" of Dalbog. The earl appealed to the crown for protection and a settlement (1526) was reached under the arbitration

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74. ADCP p.478: to Errol, under 600 merks reversion. Huntly bought these rights 3 Feb. 1538/9 from Crawford for 1,400 merks and was granted the sheriffdom 3 Mar.1540/41: RMS iii 2296. In 1595, the eleventh earl attempted to regain the sheriffdom by payment of the £550 Scots agreed in a settlement of 28 Sept. 1532: WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 108: JRL, The Craw. mss. box C.
75. RMS iii 1056, 1055, 1248, 1252 and the Haigh Inventory i 57,58 for Wood's charters. RMS iii 617 [a double confirmation], 1249, 1250, 1334, 1465, 1525, 1645, 1835, 1936, 2020, 2888 for the others. J.Wormald, Court,Kirk and Community p.10,11 for discussion of increasingly stringent application of feudal law by the crown.
76. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 53-54; JRL, Craw.mss. box B; also, RMS iii 1336,1942. Erskine gained Newbiggin, Muirdrum and a third Dunsyn in Downie together with Bractullo in Inverarity while restoring the Mains of Downie and half of Carlungie.

of the archbishop of St Andrews. When this broke down, the master was tried at Dundee, 16 February 1530/31, before the Court of Justiciary under Sir John Campbell of Lundie, justice-depute. Charges included:[77]

> "rapine, rape, murder, common brigandage, the occupation of lands belonging to the Earl [sic - lordship] of Brechin for five years, the beseiging his father's castle with the intention of murdering him, the surprising him at Finhaven, laying violent hands on him, and imprisoning him in his own dungeon for twelve weeks, and on another occasion carrying him by force to Brechin where he confined him for 15 days, besides breaking open his coffers, pillaging his writs, and seizing his rents and revenues."

Further charges asserted similar attacks on Lindsay of Edzell, including "hamesucken" committed at Edzell itself, in company with others including one "evill Sandy". Alexander Lindsay, called in Angus historiography "The Wicked Master", having been found guilty of these offences, was forced in 1537 to surrender his lands and rights as heir of Crawford in favour of Lindsay of Edzell, and was dead within the year.[78] On the death of the eighth earl, David Lindsay of Edzell was granted sasine in the entire earldom.[79]

This apparently simple tale of the "Absalom of his century", one who "exceeded all his compeers in prodigality, recklessness and crime",[80] by no means ended with the "Wicked Master" obtaining his just deserts at the hands of a "sutor of Dundee".[81] By his wife Jean Sinclair, the master had had a son, David

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77. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 80: JRL, Craw. mss. box B. Also, Lord Lindsay, Lives of the Lindsays i 194-5. J.Low, Edzell Castle,past and present (Montrose 1900) pp.36-38.
78. J.Low, Edzell Castle p.36-38. Lord Lindsay, Lives i 197; the Haigh Inventory i 69-70, 80: Craw. mss. box B.
79. RMS iii 3231, 2 May 1546.
80. J.Low, Edzell Castle p.36: citing Lord Lindsay.
81. JRL, The Craw. mss. 81.1.11, Edzell family genealogy of 1623. Ibid, 81.1.8: another Edzell late sixteenth-century genealogy calls Alexander Lindsay "ye evill maister".

Lindsay, to whom the then childless ninth earl surrendered back the fee of the earldom on condition that the young man bound himself to serve the earl, to accept his advice and not to alienate land without his consent.[82] In the transactions preceding Edzell's infeftment, the ninth earl had already obtained a grant of the superiority of his own lands of Edzell in fee with others in Glenesk from the eighth earl during his life and thereafter from the crown as a free barony.[83] He further advanced the fortunes of his own house, by retaining the superiorities of the baronies of Glenesk, Fern and Newdosk in his own hands when the future tenth earl - the "wicked master's" son - was infeft as fiar of Crawford. At the time, the new master was forced to accept these conditions as part of the contracts surrounding his marriage to cardinal Beaton's daughter,[84] but later he was to complain that Edzell had thus secured for himself revenues of up to 600 merks a year "quhilkis ar better nor ye haif of ye said Erldome".[85] Considerable legal actions took place between the earl and the master,each at different times having the other excommunicated for breach of promise. The ninth earl died in 1558, having spent his last months in ward in Edinburgh Castle at the instance of the master for nonfulfilment of supposed promises to deliver the reversions of the earldom. Only in 1570 did the tenth earl finally come to terms with the loss of superiority of the Edzell lands in the contract by

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82. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 45: JRL, Craw. mss.box E, 9 Aug.1546.
83. RMS iii 1951.
84. WRH, Inventory of Kinfauns Muniments NRA(S) 0369, i 4, for the marriage contract by which Edzell was obliged to put David Lindsay into the fee of the earldom. Also, the Craw. mss. 81.1.5: "Thairefter David erle of Craufurd laird of Edzell agreit w[i]t David maister of Craufurd oy to David erle of Craufurd fayther to the evill maister of Craufurd and mareit the cardinellis dochter q[uhi]lk wes restorit to the haill erledom of Craufurd except the landis of Glenesk Ferne and Newdosk q[uhi]lk war resevant to the lands of Edzell.
85. WRH, The Haigh Inventory, i 100: JRL, Craw. mss. box C.

which the then David Lindsay of Edzell married his daughter Helen without tocher.[86]

Nor were these disputes between the leading branches of the Lindsays without result in Angus at large. Immediately on the succession of the ninth earl, the cause of the apparently dispossessed son of the "wicked master" was taken up by James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie - after Crawford, the most powerful magnate of Angus. Supported by William Wood of Bonnyton, Thomas Leighton of Usan, George Arrat of that ilk, David Garden of the Leys and others, the Ogilvies and the master's son besieged Finavon Castle, finally seizing its contents after an action lasting "two days or thereabouts".[87] While the earl delayed at court securing the royal letters necessary to evict the trespassers, his own lands of Glenesk bore the brunt of a continued campaign as they were harried by "sax hundreth persones fut and horse" on 15th Oct. 1543.[88] Various suits by the tenants concerned and the curate of Finavon against the raiders continued well into the 1550s. Despite the attempts of Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford, her sons by the ninth earl attempted to reopen their inherited case for damages against the Ogilvies in the

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86. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 92-5; ii 53,64-5,69. The warding was originally for Dunbarton Castle, but Mary of Guise transported the order on account of the earl's illness, the castle being "a cald ruinous place." JRL, The Craw.mss. 1.1.13. The contract of marriage of 1570 lists the previous contracts attempting to solve the disputes as 10 April 1546 (the Beaton marriage); 15 April 1546 (the master's bond to the earl), and 16 March 1555/6 (which led to the warding mentioned above.) Ibid. i 99: The Craw. mss. box C.
87. The Haigh Inventory i 88: royal letters charging those listed to desist under pain of treason from the seige - 4 Oct. 1543. Ibid. i 72-3, summons of spulzie listing the goods taken (see n.27 above), 15 Oct. 1543. Ibid. i 88: letters of the Council ordering the Ogilvies to surrender Finavon to the earl, 15 Oct. 1543. JRL, The Craw. mss. boxes C and B.
88. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 93, ii 63: JRL, Craw. mss. boxes C, E.

late 1570s.[89] The immediate problems of county-wide violence seem to have been solved by the arbitration of friends. James Lord Ogilvy for the master and John Erskine of Dun for the earl agreed to meet with up to a dozen followers each, "for stanchin rowbry" and "dressing of al materis". As James Lord Ogilvy was cardinal Beaton's closest associate in Angus, the marriage of the master of Crawford to the cardinal's daughter and the splendid dowry paid over to the earl in consequence should also be viewed as part of the settlement for the "spulzie of Finhaven."[90] The ninth earl was in need of funds, not only because of the spulzie and the mortgaged state of the earldom he had obtained: King James had infeft him as earl of Crawford only on condition that he should resign back to the Crown or pay a fine of 100,000 merks. Governor Arran added to the earl's problems of 1543 by attempting to enforce the obligation.[91]

The demand by James V for such a huge sum from David Lindsay of Edzell makes it clear that much of the blame for the violence, legal strife and for divisions still festering into the 1570s should be laid at the door of the king's own malevolence and acquisitiveness. It is also possible that competition between his household officers Sir Thomas Erskine and the Woods of Bonnyton and Craig played a part. David Lindsay of Edzell had been one of the secretary's friends from the early 1530s; after the death of James

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89. Dame Katherine, first married to the Master of Ogilvy and hence mother of James, later Lord Ogilvy, married secondly David, ninth earl of Crawford and was mother also of his heirs in Edzell. Thus being in the invidious position of parent to both sides of the feud, she attempted in her will to make her legacies conditional on a termination of legal actions - but without success. JRL, The Craw. mss.box 3.1.18, "the eik of my lady Craufurd testament subscrivit w[i]t hir hand", 10 Aug.1578.
90. WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 52. For James Lord Ogilvy, see n.93.
91. Spald.Misc. ii 197-9.

V, Erskine attempted to keep from Arran the documentation necessary to prove the extent of Crawford's obligations to the Crown.[92] It had been the comptroller, Wood of Craig, who had benefitted from the Glamis forfeiture, while Erskine had obtained lands from the earldom at Downie. Certainly, the Woods and their allies took the opposite side to the house of Edzell in 1543, while Erskine of Dun acted as arbiter for the ninth earl.

It is in fact possible to distinguish two separate factions in Angus and Mearns in this period: those associated with the houses of Dun and Edzell on one hand, and those with cardinal Beaton and the house of Airlie on the other. When both Sir Thomas of Brechin and David Beaton were sent abroad as ambassadors during the negotiations for James's marriages, their friends, clients and servants received royal protection from adverse legal suits or judgments while their "lord" was absent. There is considerable correspondence between the sides at the spulzie of Finavon, and the earlier lists of the mid-1530s.[93] Sir Thomas and the cardinal

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92. ADCP p.420: Spald.Misc. ii 197-9.
93. ADCP p.420 lists the Erskine connection on 13 March 1533/4.The long list includes the following lairds from Angus and Mearns: John Erskine of Dun, George Arrat of that ilk, Alexander Fullerton of Kinnaber, Alexander Fullerton portioner of Craigo, Robert Graham of Morphie, Alexander Lyall of Balmaledie, David Barclay of Mathers, Andrew Lundie of Benholm, David Falconer of Haulkerton,John Wishart of Pittarrow, Mr Alexander Strachan of Thornton, John Lamby of Dunkenny, David Lindsay of Edzell, James Crawmond of Aldbar, David Stirling of Braikie, Alexander Durham of Grange, Thomas Leighton of Usan, George Symmer of Balzeordie, James Fenton of Ogil, Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk, Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, Robert Auchinlek of that ilk, James Durham in Ardestie, Patrick Gardyne of that ilk. Of these, only Leighton of Usan and Arrat of that ilk supported the postulant master of Crawford - and Arrat seems to have suffered in consequence. See n.34 above. Protections for the clients of David Beaton,abbot of Arbroath, are listed in RSS ii 1508 (16 Feb.1532/3), ibid.2166 (31 Aug.1536) and ibid.2307 (10 July 1537) and ibid.4117 (13 July 1541). The following lairds of Angus and Mearns (apart from Beaton's own kin) [This note continues at the foot of the next page.]

were, of course, associated with the same national policies as trusted servants of the same king. Nevertheless their power-bases were very different:[94] and, at least in 1543, their clients could come to blows. It is a remarkable consequence of James V's patronage of lesser men from the shires that one can suspect the former Mr Thomas Erskine of Haltoun and David Wood of Craig of Inchbrayock as the powers at court representing the opposing interests of the two Angus magnates, the earl of Crawford and James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie.

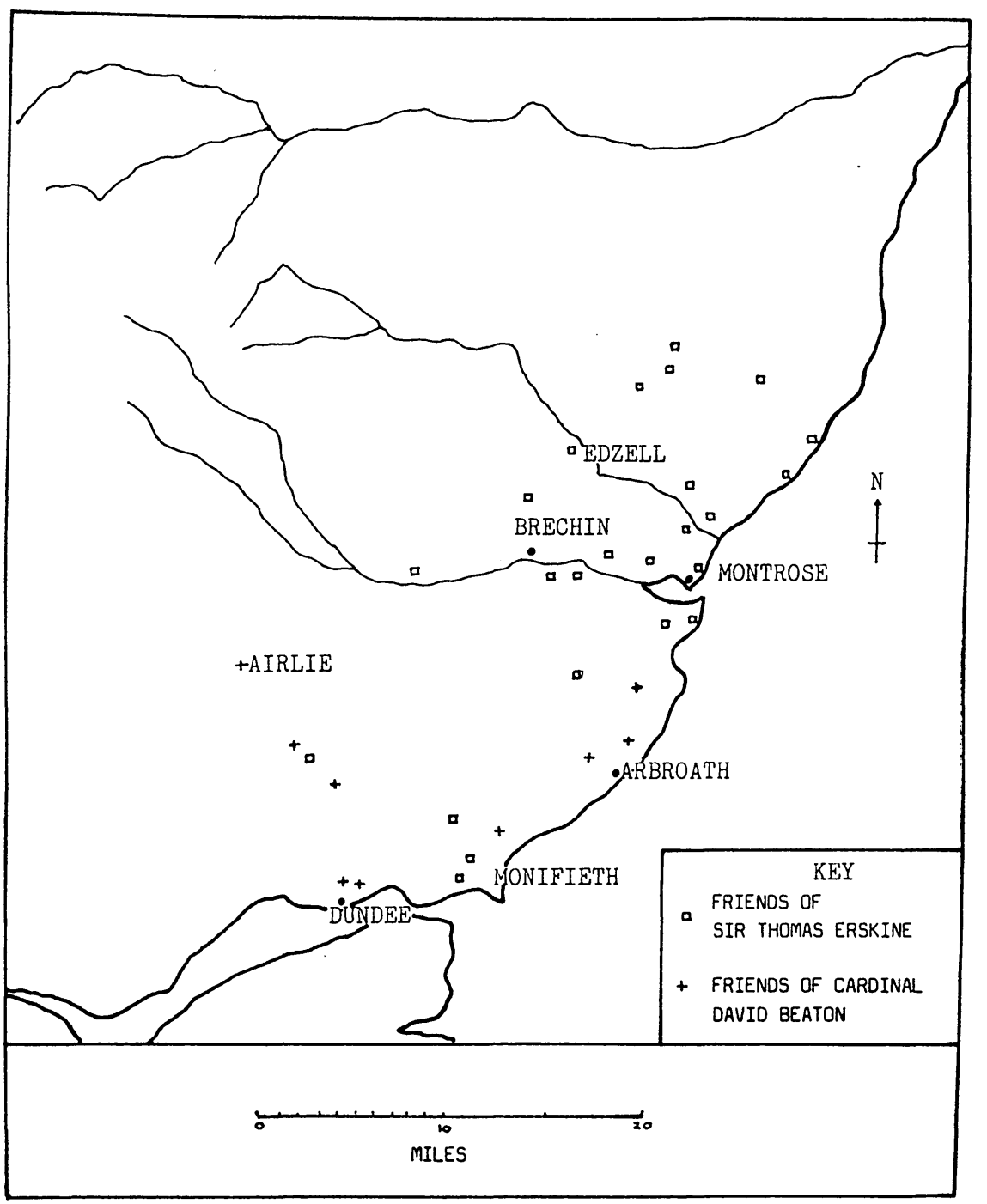
The composition of these lairdly factions of Angus and Mearns serve to warn us that powerful loyalties existed in the sixteenth century beyond that of kin. Rivalry could exist between the major branches of a clan: in this case, between the earls of Crawford and the Lindsays of Edzell. In the previous century, Thomas Ogilvy had fought with the earl of Crawford against his brother Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquharity at the battle of Arbroath, being rewarded with a grant of Clova from Crawford and Cortachy from James

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[93.continued]
occur in one or more of these protections: James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, James Ogilvy of Cookston, William Graham of Fintry, John Graham of Claverhouse, Robert Maule of Panmure, Alexander Ouchterlony of Kellie, David Ogilvy of that ilk, David Garden of Leys, Henry Fithe in Boysack. Of these, Airlie, Cookston, Leys and Boysack were principles in the spulzie. The remaining principals, the Woods could not, of course, obtain protections from Beaton, as they were already "protected" as royal servants. They are clearly supporters of Beaton, however. Craig held his lands and others from Beaton as archbishop of St Andrews: RMS iii 2741; also, Vatican archives, ASPA vols.91, 101, 103 for papal confirmations of these feu charters. See Map 1.3.

94. Beaton was from Fife: as the above lists indicate, his following in Angus and Mearns was much restricted before 1543. His kin in the counties were the Beatons of Westhall and Melgund. Erskine increased his influence in Angus and Mearns by obtaining the fee of the royal Lordship of Brechin and Navar, including Brechin Castle, 4 Feb. 1533/4; and had assorted other gains erected as the barony of Easter Brechin, 8 Aug.1537: RMS iii 1148, 1345, 1700. Erskine lost office on James' death, thus giving an opening to his enemies.

MAP 1.3
PATTERNS OF ALLEGIANCE



III.[95] John Ogilvy of Inverquharity found his own loyalties torn in the period of the Reformation between his chief, Ogilvy of Airlie, and his duties to the earl of Angus as bailie of the regality of Kirriemuir. Inverquharity did not appear as a principal in the spulzie of Finavon: nor did he receive a protection with the abbot of Arbroath. James Ogilvy of Cookston's support for the abbot was based on more than sheer kin-loyalty to Airlie: otherwise known as Ogilvy of Balfour, in 1539/40 he had a grant of Balfour in the barony of Kingoldrum from the regality of Arbroath. He held the post of chamberlain of the abbey of Arbroath.[96] Also among the participants in the spulzie holding lands from Beaton were the Gardens of Leys, elder and younger, whose grants had been confirmed in 1542. They, too, had had protections as friends of Beaton in the 1530s. These ties to the cardinal cut across their ties to Gardyne of that ilk, a member of Sir Thomas Erskine's connection.

The twin factors of marriages and grants of lands seem to have cemented or created relationships between those connected to David Beaton. Beaton's own long-established mistress Marion was a daughter of the house of Airlie. She was infeft by him in the barony of Melgund: their son David inherited from her, having failed to secure a permanent hold on the Glamis barony of Baikie.[97] As well as Ogilvy of Cookston/Balfour, David Wood of Craig had grants

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95. Sir J.Ramsay of Bamff,"Ogilvys of Auchterhouse,Ogilvys of Airlie, Ogilvys of Inverquharity,Ogilvys of Clova" The Genealogist xxxv, (1919) pp.162f. Ogilvy of Clova also held Alyth from the earldom of Crawford. RMS iii 693.
96. RSS ii 3423 and Vatican archives ASPA vol.103 for royal and papal confirmations of the feu-charter. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv 248 for his witnessing a charter as chamberlain.
97. RMS iii 1931, 3108, 3150; M.Sanderson, Cardinal, chap. three on Marion Ogilvy.

of church lands from the cardinal/archbishop.[98] William Wood of Bonnyton, on the other hand, was married to an Ogilvy: all three Woods of Bonnyton, Craig and Balbegno could be described as "near kinsmen" of Ogilvy on the strength of this marriage.[99] Further, the strong ties of the Grahams of Fintry and Claverhouse with David Beaton seem to be based on Fintry's marriage to Katherine Beaton. David Ogilvy of that ilk was to be curator for David Graham, Fintry's heir.[100] Marriage in the sixteenth century was not primarily a bond of love, but a contract entered into by the deliberate will of both families bearing in mind their own political aims: the grant of a daughter was somewhat similar to a grant of land and sprang from the same motives. The element of choice was crucial to these connections between men. Indeed, it is important to note that Angus lairds of this period, faced with the often conflicting bonds of kin, marriage, jurisdictions and land-tenure, had a much wider area of freedom than is generally realised in deciding which connection had a priority claim upon them.[101] The greater their scope for choice became, the more urgent was the problem of loyalty, which was also a question of identity - to which family or grouping did the individual belong ?[102]

James V's policy of reliance on minor lairds had a marked impact on the society of Angus and the Mearns. His employment of such men as Erskine of Haltoun, Wood of Craig and

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98. See n.93 above.
99. RMS iii 782, 783: CSP(S) i 533 - report of 28 Aug.1559.
100. See n.42 above; RMS iii 2604.
101. Jennifer Brown, "Bonds of Manrent of Scotland before 1603" (Glasgow Ph.D. 1977) pp.163f. suggests that marriage was the least binding of bonds - and hence probably undervalues it.
102. Sir Thomas Erskine's connection was mainly geographical: the independent lairds of Mearns found strength together.See map 1.3: also ns.11,29,44,54 above and appendix 2 [lairds]. Also: Margaret Sanderson, "Kin, freindis and servandis" [of Beaton] in: The medieval church of St Andrews (Glasgow 1976) ed.D McRoberts.

Wishart of Pittarrow - respectively his secretary, comptroller and treasurer - combined with his avaricious pursuit of advantage against such as Lords Glamis and Gray and the earls of Crawford, thoroughly to disrupt the society of Forfarshire in the 1530s and 1540s. As a direct result of royal policy during these decades, there was very considerable dislocation in the normal patterns of inheritance. (The Mearns was rather more fortunate.) These problems reached their climax with the violence of the spulzie of Finavon, and seem to have encouraged the existence of factions among the lairds of the shire. Royal patronage gave power and its symbols - jurisdictions and lands - into the hands of lesser men while the magnates were stripped of office and even disinherited by means of dubious or nonexistent legality. Yet it was to the crown that traditional society looked for justice and for the protection of hereditary rights. By mid-century, the forces of change - both political and economic - were directly attacking those that made for stability in Angus and the Mearns: traditional attachment to crown and kin, the importance of hereditary landed tenure. In consequence, basic questions of loyalty, security and identity were asked of those who supported one or other of the factions. These questions were both political and religious. The English wars were to add a further complication to the question of identity. For those sufficiently bold, the rise of heresy and the coming of the Reformation was to offer one solution to the dilemma of belonging - the myth of a revived and purified nation bound together in a single congregation under God. Most apparently considered that maintaining their own estates in such troubled times was a sufficient aspiration.

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CHAPTER TWO:

FAITH, HERESY AND WAR

Faith, heresy and war

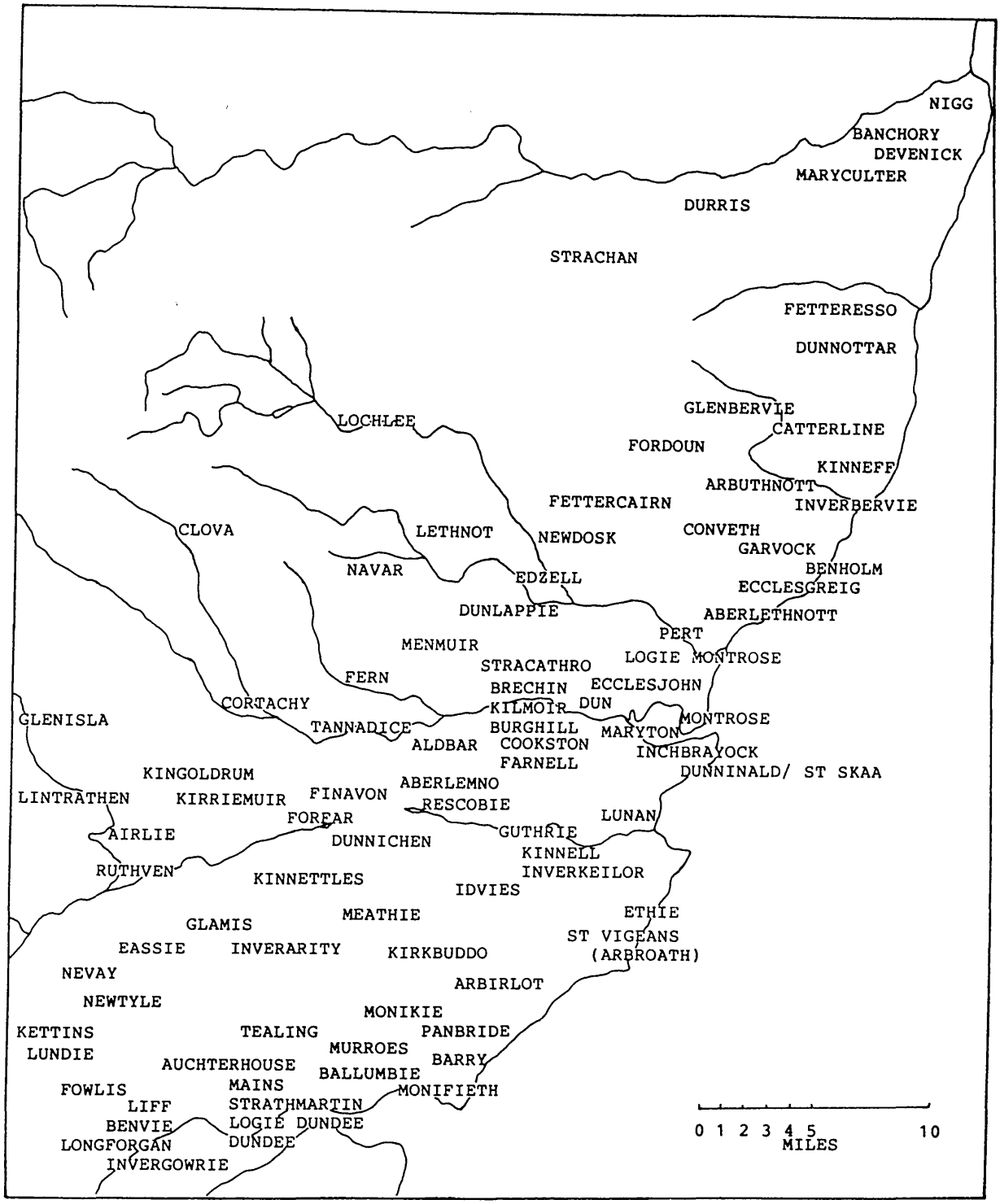
If the political map of early sixteenth century Angus and the Mearns was complicated and confused, so too was the ecclesiastical map. Four bishops exercised jurisdiction over the parishes which were enclosed by these two shires. The archbishopric of St Andrews had deaneries of the Mearns, of Angus and of Gowrie, besides possessing the regality of Rescobie. The bishopic of Dunkeld had in Angus proper the four out-lying parishes of Tealing, Menmuir, Fern and Auchterhouse besides a considerable presence on the Perthshire/Angus border. Within the diocese of Aberdeen were some of the south Deeside parishes of the Mearns. Interwoven with all of these were the twenty-three parishes which made up the small diocese of Brechin.[1] To the clergy of these parishes was given the cure of souls: responsibility for the spiritual concerns of lairds troubled by the questions of loyalty and identity raised by their times. In a period when the matter of personal salvation at the Day of Judgment still carried great weight, the clergy of these parishes comprised within the two shires the first estate of traditional Scots society and carried the responsibility for the maintenance and propagation of the Christian faith. Estimating the strength or weakness of that faith is notoriously difficult, as the necessary evidence of individual views is largely lacking. Nevertheless it is important to attempt an assessment both of the vitality of faith and of the integrity of the institutions provided for its nurture in these increasingly disturbed decades that preceded the Reformation.

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1. The parishes surveyed for the purpose of this thesis are shown on map 2.1, and listed, together with their respective dioceses, in appendix A.1. See also: D.E.R. Watt, "The organisation of the medieval diocese of Brechin" SFBC no.19 (1970) which, however, allocates Cookston incorrectly to Brechin.

MAP 2.1

PARISHES IN ANGUS AND THE MEARNS



Part one: the church's institutions and personnel at 1540.

The parish has been the prime unit for the provision of ministry by the Christian church. It was to their local clergy that parishioners were taught to look for the sacraments that marked out the important stages of life; the local festivals of the church regulated the passage of the year. Yet by the mid-sixteenth century a variety of factors had combined to weaken the parish ministry, the foundation institution of the western church. The root of this cancer has been traced to the system of appropriation, whereby the revenues allocated for the maintenance both of the parish church itself and of its clergy were annexed and diverted to other uses: to cathedral buildings and staff, to monasteries or CONVENTS, to universities or other such non-parochial ecclesiastical institutions. It has been calculated that there was no other European country in which this annexation of revenues from the parishes was as developed as in Scotland.[2] Such diverse evils as the dilapidation of buildings and the rapacity of the lower clergy have been deduced as consequences of the system of appropriation.[3]

Of the ninety-one parishes of Angus and the Mearns, only fifteen in 1540 were "free" - that is, had their parson's stipend unappropriated to any other institution.[4] An additional twenty-six had parsons who were also prebendaries of other bodies - of the cathedrals of St Andrews, Brechin and Dunkeld; of the

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2. I.B.Cowan,"Some aspects of the appropriation of parish churches in medieval Scotland" RSCHS xiii (1959) p.203-222.
3. Ibid. p.215-222 especially.
4. This and subsequent figures from the appendices to this thesis. 1540 was chosen as the earliest year when a near-complete survey of parish clergy is possible.

EX BIBL. UNIV.

collegiate churches of Guthrie, Fowlis, Methven and others less local, of university colleges such as St Salvator's. Forty-one, therefore, had parsons whom it was possible to identify as individuals and who might be expected to play some personal role in the life of their parish. Of the rest, three - Clova, Lochlee and the royal burgh of Inverbervie - were annexed as daughter-churches or chapels to other parishes. The burghs of Arbroath and Forfar were incorporated within the parishes served respectively by their neighbours the abbey of Arbroath and the priory of Restenneth. A full thirty-three parishes were appropriated to monastic institutions - seventeen to Arbroath alone. Six had their parson's stipend allocated to the maintenance of either a bishop or the canons of cathedrals as mensal or common churches. The remaining seven were annexed to a friary (the Holy Cross at Peebles), to the Knights Hospitallers at Torphichen, and to the university colleges of King's at Aberdeen, and St Salvator's and St Mary's at St Andrews.

Professor Cowan has emphasised that the "free" parishes did not necessarily obtain a higher quality of service than those who lacked their own individual parson.[5] Around 1540, nine of the fourteen known parsons of the fifteen free parishes were likely to be non-resident. The parsonage of Tannadice was held by Mr Henry Lumsden, chamberlain to cardinal David Beaton, while that of Inverarity was held by Mr William Gibson, the cardinal's suffragan bishop. Mr William Lamb was parson of both Conveth and Logie Montrose: though he was a native of the near-by burgh of Montrose, and retained links with the area, he had spent several years abroad and his chief interest was a career in government service. Both Mr Thomas Barclay

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5. I.B.Cowan, The Scottish Reformation (London 1982) p.65f.

and Mr James Strachan - parsons of Nevay and Fettercairn - served as rectors of St Andrews university: the latter was also Official of the diocese of Aberdeen and active as an agent at the court of Rome. At Durris, Alexander Dick was in addition archdean of the diocese of Glasgow; at Benvie, David Luid was a leading notary in the burgh of Dundee and a client of the constable of Dundee, the patron of Benvie parsonage. In the Mearns parish of Arbuthnott, a minor was parson. John, son of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin the chief secretary to James V, had been presented to the benefice while a teenager: he held in addition the parsonage of Turriff, but failed to obtain the deanery of Brechin. The parsonage of Eassie was subject to considerable dispute among a variety of supplicants at Rome - who may have come no closer to the parish than Rome itself. Of the remaining four, sir John Auchinlek, parson of Cookston, was associated with Learmonth of Dairsie, provost of the burgh of St Andrews. This leaves sir Thomas Boswell, parson of Newdosk and John Foulis, parson of Edzell - both of whom do seem to have had at least a presence in their parishes - and James Leighton, parson of Dunlappie, who was kin to the neighbouring laird Leighton of Usan.[6] Although many of these men were undoubtedly diligent in their own spheres of service, it seems that few indeed understood their employment in to be the parishes from which they drew their livings.

Thirteen parsonages were held by canons of cathedrals. Both Kinneff and Rescobie were annexed to the archdeanery of St Andrews, which had recently been tranferred by George Drury to a boy, Robert Pitcairn, who was to hold both

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6. See appendix A.a for details of the parsons mentioned in this paragraph: nos.211,142,194,022,337,084,209,103,014,038,126,200.

parsonages for over fifty years. Pitcairn also succeeded Drury as commendator of Dunfermline. The parsonage of Tealing was annexed to the archdeanery of Dunkeld, where Mr David Meldrum succeeded Mr William Meldrum before 1530. Mr David was probably also a youth when he gained the benefice, which he was to hold for roughly thirty years. It is likely that both Drury and Mr William Meldrum chose their own successors, evading the legal patrons of their benefices by the device of resigning-in-favour of a successor and supplicating at Rome for the provision of the younger man. Certainly George Drury successfully operated this procedure despite the opposition of James V, and reserved a right to resume his parsonages should the nominated boy die unexpectedly early. Besides Tealing, Fern was appropriated to a prebendary of Dunkeld - Mr Archibald Boyd was parson between 1528 and 1564.[7]

Nine of the twenty-three parishes of the diocese of Brechin were annexed to prebends of the cathedral. Indeed the small parishes of Burghill and Kilmoir, lying just outside the city, seem to have had little existence of their own apart from the canonries named after them - which were held in 1540 by men who were in fact active members of the chapter and who probably lived locally. Mr John Cockburn, canon of Kilmoir, served as an agent of the bishop and, later, as a commissary of Brechin. Also living locally was sir Andrew Wood, nominated to the prebend of Lethnot in 1539 by the resignation of his uncle Alexander Wood - brother of the comptroller, David of Craig. Patronage of the prebend lay with the earldom of Crawford - and after 1542, with the house of Edzell. Andrew Wood's

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7. See appendix A.a nos.087,274,231,227,040; also, I.B.Cowan, "Patronage, Provision and Reservation" in The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland ed.Cowan/Shaw (Edinburgh 1983) p.75f.

provision at Rome was therefore challenged locally by the ninth earl of Crawford, who appears to have prohibited the payment of teinds by his tenants. It seems likely that the parishioners of Lethnot saw more of their parson's legal agents than of the man himself.[8]

Royal and papal influence had successfully intruded another parson into the prebend of Finavon - where the patron was also supposedly the earl of Crawford. Mr John Stewart, son of Alexander bishop of Moray and dean of Brechin, obtained the canonry in 1534 by resignation of Mr Henry White, who in exchange gained the deanery of Brechin. In 1544, Mr John was escheated for assisting the English as allies of the Lennox Stewarts to burn Arran and Bute. Meanwhile Henry White had surrendered the deanery, to which the parsonage of Farnell was appropriated, to Patrick Stewart the archdean of Lothian. A further parson presented to a parish without the consent of the lay patrons was Mr Robert Erskine, who held the prebend of Glenbervie in addition to that of the deanery of Aberdeen and the priory of Inchmahome. Mr Robert, brother of Sir Thomas of Brechin, James V's secretary, had been nominated by the king while the patron, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, was under ward. In view of the fact that Glenbervie and the Erskines of Dun were nearly neighbours, Douglas's instrument opposing the provision was probably more to reserve his rights than to indicate dissatisfaction with the nominee - in any case, the objection came fifteen years too late. The archdeanery of Brechin was held by another Erskine associate, Mr David Pitcairn (Strachan's parson) - together with his kinsman and chosen successor, Mr James Pitcairn, who had obtained provision as a minor in

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8. See appendix A.a nos.226,066,370,371.

1526 but had resigned the prebend back to his patron Mr David reserving rights of regress.[9]

Several of the Brechin canonries referred to above have illustrated the dynastic influences at work in the processes of the obtaining of benefices. Another example is that of the precentorship, the prebend of Stracathro: Mr James Scrymgeour, chanter of Brechin, laird of Fardle and in addition vicar-perpetual of Monikie, gave Mr Thomas Scrymgeour reversionary rights in the canonry around 1541 - but continued to subscribe as a member of the chapter until 1547. The close kin of the earls of Errol maintained rights in the parsonage of Idvies - a prebend of the collegiate church of St Mary-on-the-Rock. At Kirkbuddo, however, the parsonage was held by a kinsman of the patron: the church was a prebend of Guthrie collegiate church, and was held by sir James Guthrie. The other major factor at work in these provisions was the influence of Rome itself - occasions of local patrons' rights being overridden have been noted. Mr Alexander Turing had obtained the chancellorship of Brechin in exchange for the provostry of Methven collegiate church by supplication at Rome: the treasurership of Brechin in 1540 was disputed at Rome between several candidates. Two more prebends of the collegiate church of St Mary-on-the-Rock at St Andrews - those of Fetteresso and Benholm, were held in 1540 by apostolic protonotaries and agents at Rome, Mr James Brown and Mr John Thornton. Two final names are needed to complete this survey of prebends held by known individuals in 1540: the subdean of Brechin was Robert Steel, and the parson of Banchory-Devenick (a prebend of Aberdeen) was possibly

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9. See appendix A.a nos.331,330,333,361,104,272,273.

George Marshall.[10]

The process by which candidates were preferred to benefices cannot have helped to create unity of purpose within the chapter of Brechin. Indeed, on several occasions bishop John Hepburn refused to allow collation of duly papally-provided candidates for canonries, and the men concerned only joined the chapter - if at all - after prolonged litigation.[11] The provision of Mr John Stewart to the prebend of Finavon was disputed by the nominee of the earl of Crawford, the latter's kinsman Mr David Lindsay. It was Lindsay who subscribed with the chapter in 1541 when they gifted funds to the cathedral chaplains for an annual requiem mass at St Katherine's altar for the soul of the late dean, Mr Henry White. This charter gives a fair indication of the canons normally available for the business of the chapter: beside the bishop, there were Mr James Scrymgeour (precentor), Alexander Turing (chancellor), David Pitcairn (archdeacon), Robert Steel (subdean), James Arrat (treasurer), with Cockburn (Kilmoir), Meldrum (Burghill) and Lindsay (Finavon). Missing from this list are the two Stewarts - Patrick (the dean) and John (Finavon): and Mr Robert Erskine (Glenbervie). The chapter, lacking only its more obviously political members, was therefore virtually complete for this act of pious remembrance of a distinguished former colleague according to the traditional rites of the church.[12]

The seeming unity of the chapter in 1541

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10. See appendix A.a nos.310,312,157,350,042,348,326,222; appendix A.1 for succession of parsons in parishes.
11. Collation was initially refused to the following: Mr George Hepburn (chancellor) A.a no.173; Mr Charles Fotheringham (treasurer) no.122; William Meldrum (canon-vicar) no.232.
12. REB ii no.cxxvii. White had been a lord of session.

may be a tribute to the energies of John Hepburn, the bishop. Provided in 1516 to the see, Hepburn would prove to be a conservative member of the Scottish episcopate. Equating opposition to tradition-sanctioned abuses with heresy, he unavailingly sought friar William Arth after the latter's sermons at Dundee. The burgesses of Dundee also challenged his authority when they shielded friar Alexander Dick, a refugee from Aberdeen; George Wishart, however, fled from Montrose when the bishop objected to his activities as the burgh's schoolmaster. Another heretic with connections at Montrose was forcibly rescued from the bishop's own cells in Brechin, and Hepburn had to appeal to the privy council to support his authority. This consistent support of the traditional practices of the church made Hepburn a natural colleague of cardinal David Beaton: he had already attended the trial and execution of Mr Patrick Hamilton in 1528. The bishop's defence of his rights in matters of collations and provisions has already been noted: it was entirely consistent with his conservatism that he should also have refused to pay his share of the "contribution" of 1546. John Hepburn was a traditional cleric in another sense too: no less than four of his sons were legitimated in 1542/3, one of whom was to become the first protestant minister of Brechin.[13] While Hepburn was bishop of Brechin he remained a barrier against reform of the institutions of the church from within: his die-hard opposition to change in the long-run helped to drive those seeking spiritual renewal to seek it outside of the Roman church.

Where a corporate institution had annexed a parsonage, the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had provided for a

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13. See appendix A.a nos.176 and 175; Sanderson, Cardinal p.113-4. The various heretics named in this paragraph are discussed later.

vicarage-perpetual to be nominated as a secure stipend for the vicar to whom responsibility for ministry was delegated.[14] Nevertheless, no less than twenty-five of the parishes of Angus and the Mearns had vicarage teinds annexed along with their parsonages.[15] Churches whose parsonages were either free or those of individual college or cathedral prebendaries did not in any case have secure stipends reserved for their vicars. Of the ninety-one parishes of the two shires, therefore, a total of only thirty-six perpetual-vicarages can be identified. Study of the personnel of these around 1540 shows that the abuses of pluralism and non-residence current amongst the parsons were also to be found amid the ranks of vicars, though probably to a lesser degree. Of the thirty-six, two of these vicarages - those of Brechin and Panbride - were held by prebendaries of Brechin cathedral. Mr James Scrymgeour, laird of Fardle, chanter of Brechin, was also perpetual vicar of Monikie. At Longforgan and Murroes, vicars Mr George Scott and Mr George Cook were scribes in the royal service. Mr William Gibson, noted above as parson of Inverarity, was also vicar of Garvock. Another of cardinal Beaton's principal agents, Mr Andrew Oliphant, was vicar of Fowlis. One of the key Scottish procurators at Rome, James Salmond, held the vicarage of Durris. An Arbroath notary, sir William Pettilock, held the vicarage of Ruthven - a parish annexed to Arbroath abbey. Mr Robert Lawson's main associations while he drew stipend from the Mearns vicarage of Ecclesgreig seem to have been at St Andrews. These do not seem to be cases of those serving at the altar being unable to live by it and hence seeking more lucrative employment: rather, these vicarages had been acquired either by their

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14. I.Cowan, "Vicarages and the cure of souls" RSCHS xvi (1969) p.112
15. This figure from appendix A.1. It was still possible for a non-penitentiary to have title, not to the teinds, but to an annual stipend.

possessor or his patron in order to secure a permanent stipend from the accessible wealth of the church, or to reward deserving service.[16] These vicars, though parish clerics in name, were chiefly or wholly involved with their own careers.[17]

Perhaps more actively involved with ministry in their parishes were those vicars who were members of local families. The vicar of Dundee, Robert Wedderburn, came from the well-known Dundee family of that name. The parishes of Newtyle and Inverarity - both within the earldom of Crawford - were served by Lindsays. John Erskine of Dun's chief agent was Fullerton of Ardoch, and the vicar of Dun was one sir George Fullerton. Graham of Fintry's chief "place" in Angus was Mains Castle: vicar of Mains parish was sir Patrick Graham. Mr William Garden, vicar of Auerlemno, was the brother of Garden of Bractullo. Nevertheless, local origin was not necessarily of benefit to a vicar's spiritual responsibilities. Mr Hugh Lindsay at Inverarity was involved on the side of the master of Crawford in the aftermath of the spulzie of Finavon; Mr William Garden was escheated for supporting his brother the laird in the mutilation of a personal opponent.[18]

The remaining vicars-perpetual, men of lesser families who had failed to secure an influential patron, illustrate other of the well-known failings of the pre-Reformation clergy. At Strathmartin and Lintrathen, sir David Edward and Mr John Carpentyne apparently lived in concubinage and had had sons legitimated. William Drummond was not only vicar of Dunnichen but also

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16. I.Cowan, "Vicarages" p.127; Oliphant: Sanderson, Cardinal p.105.
17. See appendix A.a nos.310,304,070,142,261,298,271,197.
18. See appendix A.a nos.358,205,207,133,149,140.

chaplain of Boath in Brechin catheral. Another pluralist seeking to earn a living wage was sir James Ged, vicar of Ethie and Inverkeilor - both churches annexed to Arbroath abbey. Among those dealing in annual rents at Montrose was sir Andrew Mitchell - the vicar of Catterline further up the coast.[19] Only nine of the vicars-perpetual known to be drawing stipends in Angus and the Mearns around 1540 have not been named in one or other of these paragraphs. With the bulk of both parsonage and perpetual-vicarage revenues being either appropriated to other institutions or held by careerists, it is apparent that the traditional means provided for the cure of souls in each parish had been almost entirely diverted to other - often essentially secular - ends.

Study of the lesser parish clergy - the vicars pensioner, curates and chaplains whose stipends were sometimes held "at will" - does little to alleviate this picture of an institution that no longer served the ends for which it was created. These clerics, however, were often somewhat transitory, being of lesser education and status than the parsons and institutions who employed them. They occur therefore much less frequently as signatories to the lairdly charters, writs and instruments which are a key source of evidence for the existence of clergy before the Reformation. Neither do vicars pensioner feature prominently in that other major source of evidence for clergy, the Vatican archives. Substantially dependent on the patronage of their parson, they had few rights to claim at Rome or resources for litigation. Perhaps, therefore, it is not surprising that several of the known vicars-pensioner active in 1540 in Angus and the Mearns

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19. See appendix A.a nos.096,059,086,141,238.

should fit categories already exemplified, for they are known to us by evidence from the same sources as the regularly-beneficed clergy. Approximately thirty-seven of the ninety-one parishes under discussion were served by vicars-pensioner: but the names of only nineteen can be identified. Of these, sir David Christison (at Lunan) and sir James Auchmowty (at Arbroath) were familiars of cardinal David Beaton, in whose hands lay the patronage of those parishes. Further, sir John Wigton of Ballumbie was the unfortunate man first imprisoned by Beaton and then recruited by him to attempt the murder of George Wishart during the latter's preaching at Dundee. Mr David Nicolson, vicar-pensioner of Maryculter, was probably better known as the sheriff-clerk for Aberdeenshire and had already served for some years as a notary before he gained the Maryculter pension and a life-gift of the clerkship. Mr Hugh Lindsay, vicar-perpetual of Inverarity, at different times also held the pensions of Inchbrayock and Conveth.[20] Even these smaller sources of revenue could have an attraction to one bent on founding a career on clerical stipends. Patronage, pluralism, and careerism could find opportunities with both lesser and greater stipends.

The abuses catalogued above have, of course, been long known to historians and, indeed, were acknowledged and discussed in sixteenth century Scotland itself.[21] What is important is to recognise just how far the parochial institutions had been corrupted by the alienation of stipends from their proper use. For some decades before the Reformation, many - probably the majority

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20. See appendix A.a nos.062,016,364,256,207.
21. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.72-88: especially his discussion of the opinions of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.

- of benefices still unappropriated were competed for and secured by men whose prime interests were political or personal and who had neither training, desire nor intention to serve as priests within their parishes. The ancient institution of a ministry supported by teinds and dues from the priest's own parishioners had, after centuries of decline, reached its nadir, and had become an acknowledged hindrance rather than a support to the faith it purported to serve.

During the centuries of the decline of the parish ministry, the Catholic Church had accommodated itself to a galaxy of ways by which faith might be expressed. Indeed, the failure of the parish had been hastened by the rise of its alternatives, to which its revenues were devoted. Over the years, as each branch of the monastic rule had come into favour, it had attracted further funds appropriated from the parishes. The representatives in Angus and the Mearns of these groupings of the religious cannot be shown to have played a major part in the spiritual life of their shires in the mid-sixteenth century. The two major monasteries - Coupar Angus and Arbroath - certainly retained a respectable size of convent through the sixteenth century until the Reformation.[22] Their leadership, however, was in the hands of men increasingly concerned with national politics. David Beaton's first major step in his career was made around 1525, when he gained the commend of the abbey of Arbroath. In her chapter on his care of the abbey, his recent biographer Dr

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22. In 1513, Arbroath was nominally the home for "forty monks, who live there in good report and most religiously worship God." - cited, Arbroath Abbey (HMSO 1982) p.33. Between 1545 and 1560, the number of monks at Arbroath subscribing chapters remained constant in the range 18-20: Northesk mss., GD 130 box 15 bund.C and box 1 bund.3; Strathmore writs box 21 bund.6 no.6. Subscriptions at Coupar between these dates were in the same range. C.A. Chrs. ii 197,230.

Margaret Sanderson concludes that his association "with the church as a religious institution was largely nominal".[23] Similarly, Donald Campbell's election to the abbacy of Coupar around 1526 on the instructions of the crown (superceding a prior election by the convent of one of their own number), was the beginning of a career during the course of which he attended parliament assiduously, and became a Lord of Session and Keeper of the Privy Seal.[24]

Abbots David Beaton and Donald Campbell were, if not spiritually inclined, at least efficient administrators of the temporal lands and fabric of their charges, so that the institutions remained intact with their convents.[25] The same cannot be said of the third monastic institution of the two shires. The Augustinian priory of Restenneth had been annexed as an abbatial mensal cell to the abbey of Jedburgh in 1476: only two canons were in residence by 1501.[26] During the rest of the century, there is only evidence for one canon: sir James Blyth, canon of Restenneth, discharged the burgh of Montrose for their annual payment of dues to the priory for the year 1542.[27] While the right to the commendatorship of the priory was disputed at Rome among several Scottish protonotaries, the prior of Blantyre, the treasurer of Dunkeld and the abbot of Balmerino, possession in Scotland remained in the hands of the abbot of Jedburgh. The lands and kirks of the priory were feued, the chief object being apparently to maintain the "place"

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23. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.27.
24. C.A. Chrs. ii 276-278; C.A.Rent. i 100-113.
25. M.B.Sanderson "The feuing of the kirklands" (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1972) for Coupar, pp.71-77; for Arbroath, pp.77-80. Also, M.Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society pp.46-49; Sanderson, Cardinal p.25; C.A. Chrs. i lxii.
26. D.G.Adams, Celtic and Mediaeval Religious Houses in Angus (Brechin 1984) p.33.
27. ER xvii 469.

of Restenneth as a convenient dwelling. A steward and common servants were so employed by 1561: no other personnel can be traced other than the commendator's factors who continued to collect the annual dues.[28] Despite the moribund nature of the priory as a religious institution, its income was stated in 1561/2 to be an annual cash sum of nearly £1,000 Scots besides fifty chalders of victual.[29] This included the fruits of the parishes of Dunninald, Aberlemno and Forfar, all three of which were wholly annexed to the priory.

Professor I. Cowan has suggested that[30]

> "monasticism in Scotland on the eve of the Reformation was in a better shape than has sometimes been allowed."

Indeed, lacking other evidence, it may be assumed that the convents of Coupar and Arbroath were quietly celebrating the offices and living under the modified discipline of the period that had greatly relaxed the corporate nature of monastic life. Yet even so, these communities with their magnate-commendators were consuming the fruits of no less than twenty more of the ninety-one parishes of Angus and the Mearns. The gentle spirituality of approximately forty monks was financed at the expense of ministry to these parishes.

Especially favoured recipients of lay charity in the sixteenth century were the orders of friars. Three such

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28. StA. Formulare i no.39; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vols.2013 f.94r, 2054 f.50r, 2065 f.253r, 2096 f.266r, 2111 f.38v,244v, 2117 f.262v, 2133 f.279v, Resignations no.130 Res.A. 46 f.207v; Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia vol.170 f.204v; CH 6.6.1 (Register of charters by the abbots and commendators of Jedburgh) fs.28r,3r,4v etc; E 48.1.1 (Bk.Assumpt.) fs.217v-221r; sir John Kerr 1530-1541 - ER xvi p.52 to xvii pps.64,191,309,404; sir William Todrik, 1541/2 to 1542/3: ER xvii p.470, xviii p.56; sir Alexander Wilson 1554-5: ER xviii p.288 and sir James Blyth - see n.27 above.
29. E 48.1.1 (Bk.Assumpt.) f.218r.
30. I.Cowan, Reformation p.43.

orders were found in Angus and the Mearns: a small Carmelite friary at Inverbervie; Dominicans at Montrose and Dundee; and, also at Dundee, a friary and a nunnery of the Franciscan rule. Such houses did not obtain their revenues by the appropriation of teinds: rather, they looked to the personal charity of those who appreciated their preaching, and who sought them out for spiritual guidance and confession in preference to the parish clergy. For example, Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure - said to have become very repentant for the sins of his youth - granted the Dundee grey friars an annual rent of twenty shillings to endow a requiem mass with placebo and dirige each St Nicholas' Day for the souls of his grandfather, father, and first wife; and also for himself and his second wife after their deaths. In his testament, confirmed 1514, he bequeathed the Franciscans a further legacy "pro salute anime mei". In 1504 he had obtained from the Vicar General of the order letters of confraternity so that ...

> "he, his wife and whole children should participate in their whole prayers, suffrages and divine Service ..."

Also associated with the order under letters of confraternity was David, duke of Montrose. His family, the earls of Crawford, maintained a family vault in the Dundee Franciscan church, being styled its "protectors and defenders, under His Highness the King".[31]

Although the Dundee Franciscan friary was the head of the order in Scotland, the size of its convent in the sixteenth century is uncertain after the subscription of eight friars and five lay brothers in 1482. The wealthiest of the grey friar communities in Scotland, the convent's annual income apart from ad hoc

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31. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.26.53 f.61; W.M.Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars (Edinburgh 1909) ii pp.138-141.

gifts was a by-no-means ample £135 19s 7d.[32] The other friaries of Angus and the Mearns were also small institutions. At Inverbervie, no more than two Carmelites at any one time can be identified. In 1538 brothers John Lindsay and John Anderson were witness to a burgess taking sasine: Lindsay subscribed as prior. By 1545, Anderson was prior: he and brother John Smith resigned a tenement and garden in the burgh to William Bonar, a burgess. Anderson and Smith were still subscribing in 1557.[33] Two seems to have been the number of the Franciscan nuns at Dundee. The Dominican house there, founded in 1517, had only a prior and two brothers in 1555-57. Somewhat larger was the Dominican community revived at Montrose under the guidance of Patrick Paniter.[34] Though their charter allowed for a total at least twelve friars, eight were known to be in residence in 1531. Six Montrose friars received pensions after the Reformation.[35]

The Scottish friars have been considered perhaps the most vital sector of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century and a considerable danger to the reformed faith.[36] Certainly the calling involved greater self-sacrifice than a lax monastic rule, while maintaining the discipline and encouragement of a corporate life. The Carmelite house at Inverbervie, though small, may well have played an important part in a burgh whose parish church was lacking revenues, being a chapel of neighbouring Kinneff. The friars of

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32. Bryce, Grey Friars i p.219,224,229,236,220.
33. AUL, The Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bunds.v,vi.
34. D.G.Adams, Religious Houses p.28,33; and see paragraph relating to n.42 below. [Reference to notes comprehends their referents.]
35. E 46.4 f.48r (Subcollectors of Thirds: Forfar,1563) [unlike TB] specifies John Christison, John Adamson, William Gibson and Robert Jackson as friars of Montrose: TB p.228 adds John Dodds and John Ferguson.
36. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.48.

Montrose under prior John Litstar had sufficient resources to litigate successfully against both the earl of Crawford and Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird in order to reclaim annual rents.[37] The houses at Montrose and Dundee were of sufficient size to be effective in their burgh communities. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that these "centres of excellence" depended parasitically upon the weakness of the regular parish ministry, which was thereby further deprived of the resource of spiritually-inclined men and parishioners.

To fill the place of the neglected and under-financed parish ministry, the wealthy faithful supplied their own chaplains, while the less well-off found funds further to endow existing altars. It is in connection with these non-parochial priests that evidence of continuing catholic faith is best to be found. In the linked practices of endowing masses for the dead and the employment of private chaplains, the gentry of Angus and the Mearns found channels to express both their own faith and their sense of the solidarity of present society with the past. Both Lord Gray and Guthrie of that ilk founded colleges of priests based on their parish churches of Fowlis and Guthrie around 1450 and 1475 respectively. These were furnished not only with a chapter of canons but also with lavish extra aisles and decorated wall-paintings and rood-screens.[38] Though no such colleges existed in the Mearns, Sir Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk had the Arbuthnott aisle added to his parish church in 1505. Associated with this aisle were the illuminated manuscripts of the Arbuthnott missal, the psalter and the office of St Mary, which latter contained

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37. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/bunds.7 and 13.
38. M.R.Apted and W.Norman Robertson, "Late Fifteenth Century Church Paintings from Guthrie and Fowlis Easter", Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland xcv (1961-2) p.262f. Also, I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.61.

also the obituary of the Arbuthnotts from 1314 to 1551. The chaplains of the Virgin Mary at Arbuthnott in the first half of the sixteenth century were sir Alexander Allardice and sir Andrew Arbuthnott: the first from the neighbouring Mearns family of Allardice of that ilk, the second an illegitimate son of Arbuthnott.[39] The Erskine family had two chaplains at Brechin similarly employed to pray for the soul of the deceased Sir Robert of Erskine, knight.[40] David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford, had added an aisle to Edzell parish church: he left instructions in his will that he was to be buried therein, alongside his first wife Janet Gray. [41] Such aisles and their chaplains, dedicated to the saying of votive masses for the founder and his kin, adorned with the patron's coat of arms, were a powerful expression of faith in traditional catholic teaching.

Perhaps the most elaborate of such extra-parochial establishments founded in Angus and the Mearns was the Hospital of Montrose as re-created and endowed by Mr Patrick Paniter, secretary to James IV. A former hospital, dedicated to St Mary the Virgin, had fallen into decay in the fifteenth century: so too had the house of the Dominican friars at Montrose. Paniter, a native of the burgh, obtained the preceptory of the hospital and recovering its lands from the Erskines of Dun, financed the rebuilding from his own funds and by obtaining indulgences for those who contributed from Pope

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39. Mrs. P.S-M.Arbuthnot, Memories of the Arbuthnots of Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire (London 1920) p.28; also, WRH, Inventory of writings belonging to the Right Hon. John, Viscount of Arbuthnott, Lord Inverbervie, NRA(S) 5, nos. 258, [for sir Alexander Allardice, Feb. 1531/2]; 260, 369 [for sir Andrew Arbuthnott, 17 May 1532 and 1558]. See appendix A.a nos.003,007.
40. REB ii nos. cxxix, cxxxiv.
41. J.G.Low, Edzell Castle, past and present (Montrose 1900) p.41; JRL, The Craw.mss., 1.1.14: 2.1.1.

Julius II. Distrustful of the secular clergy, he next persuaded Leo X to annex the hospital to a revived Dominican friary. By this means, the burgh would obtain the service of preaching, and the hospital would acquire the ruins of the old friary to be used, in effect, as a quarry. Finally, he obtained the creation of a perpetual vicarage funded from the hospital lands to have cure over those lands. Patronage was to be in his hands during his life and the feuars' thereafter: the vicar of the hospital was to say mass for the souls of Paniter's maternal uncle and brother. The objectives of this imaginative extra-parochial scheme were explained to the Pope as being to promote divine worship and preaching within the diocese of Brechin, and to allow Paniter to acquire personal merit. Paniter's preference for the friars-preachers as opposed to secular clergy was emphasised in the various requests sent to Rome. Surprisingly, little was said regarding care for the poor.[42]

Denis McKay, in his comprehensive survey of parish life in pre-Reformation Scotland, emphasises the key role played by these lesser clergy known as chaplains - priests employed by families, by lairds, by burgh guilds and corporations to sing in the choir and to say mass on behalf of their patrons and their kin, living and deceased.[43] Indeed, he concludes that ...[44]

" the commonest service held in the parish church was a requiem."

Examples of new endowments of such chaplains continue well into the sixteenth century. In 1537, sir James Leslie, chaplain of the Barclay Stall in Brechin, mortified an annual rent from his tenements to endow

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42. See appendix A.a no.265; APS ii 395. For the surrender of Spittalshields by the Erskines: MTH, Montrose mss. M/W1/9.
43. Innes Review x (1959) "Parish life in Scotland,1500-1560" pp.240-2.
44. Ibid.p.262.

prayers for the souls of James V, Norman Leslie and Elizabeth Ross his own parents, for the deceased sir Patrick Leslie his brother, for himself, his predecessors and successors, his friends and benefactors and all the faithful departed. Provision was made by Leslie for ringing the passing bell, for services of placebo and dirige and for the common bellman to pass through the town to exhort the people to prayer.[45] Such legacies expressed a sense of unity both with the family and the wider Christian community as well as a continued belief in the specifically catholic doctrine of purgatory. They are also a testimony to a continuing and lively practice of the Christian faith within a burgh community.

The creation in 1541 of the chaplaincy of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls altar at Brechin cathedral exemplifies both the objectives of such endowments and an increasing exploitation and perversion of them. The vicar-pensioner of Edzell, sir David Brown, founded the chaplaincy for prayers for the souls of James V and his successors, kings of Scotland; for Brown's own parents David Brown and Catherine Ramsay, for the deceased sir Walter Brown - a former vicar-pensioner at Edzell; for himself and his deceased patron, Mr William Meldrum archdean of Dunkeld and canon-vicar of Brechin. The further conditions attached to this mortification of annuals show that Brown was determined to do what he could to prevent exploitation of his gift. He laid down that the chaplain must be resident in Brechin, and have no other benefice. He himself was to nominate the first holder - to be sir William Brown. After their deaths, patronage was awarded to the dean and chapter of Brechin - who, however, were

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45. REB ii no. cxxiv.

specifically denied licence to dispense with a chaplain, or to nominate one not in priest's orders.[46]

David Brown was wise to insist on these conditions, for chaplaincies too could suffer from the evils of non-residence, pluralism and careerism. The chaplaincy of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Baikie - a quasi-parochial establishment - came to be held as an additional benefice by the vicars-perpetual of Rossie. The tenure of both benefices by Mr George Pettilock and Mr David Henderson stretched from before 1537 to 1568. The chaplaincy of the Virgin at Kettins was held in 1547 by Mr John Matheson, the chancellor of Caithness. The chaplaincy of Barras in the Mearns was gifted in 1541 to Mr Andrew Patrick - the long-serving vicar-pensioner of Arbuthnott. Mr Henry Scrymgeour, scholar and professor of law at Geneva in the 1560s, seems to have held a chaplaincy in Dundee parish church from his youth.[47] It is unlikely that any of these "chaplains" personally served their cures; indeed, it is probable that the patrons did not intend them to and were simply seeking to reward service or, in Scrymgeour's case, to provide a youth with a bursary to see to his education.[48]

The support given to the extra-parochial friaries and chaplaincies by lairds such as Patrick Paniter, Maule of Panmure and Lindsay of Edzell is indicative of their wish to find ways of realising their Christian faith and their desire to find salvation. It is significant that they often chose to do so by means of their own private institutions, where their sense of the solidarity of kin found

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46. REB i no.114.
47. See appendix A.a nos.270,172,224,267,308.
48. John Durkan discusses further the role of chaplains in his "Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland", RSCHS xx (1980) p.91f.

religious expression in the requiem mass. Not only the non-residence of the parish clergy formed a barrier to a laird finding similar fulfilment in his parish church. Supervision of most of the parishes in Angus and the Mearns was in the hands of men from outside the shires. The bishop of Brechin was a Hepburn; David Beaton of St Andrews and Arbroath was from Fife. Even when a laird had retained patronage of his local church, his rights could be overcome by litigation at Rome. When Arthur Boece, treasurer of Brechin, and Charles Fotheringham, parson of Edzell, used the device of resignation-in-favour in order to exchange benefices, their successful supplications at Rome over-rode the rights of the patron of Edzell, the earl of Crawford.[49] When Mr John Hay provost of Guthrie died in 1530, John Garden supplicated for provision at Rome, claiming that the patronage fell to the Pope under the Lateran statutes. The nominee of Guthrie of that ilk, whose family had founded the collegiate church and endowed it, had to face litigation at Rome to secure his title. It is questionable whether Mr James Strachan, who held Guthrie from 1536 to 1577, obtained the provostry by his undoubted skills as a procurator at Rome or by nomination by Guthrie as a local candidate.[50] A devout laird could be forgiven for concluding that the system of providing priests to benefices worked mainly in favour of the skilled Scots lawyers at Rome, to whom local interests were of little account. Many must have felt a deep grievance that they were obliged to pay teinds to support an unresponsive official hierarchy - while at the same time requiring to support a "private sector" of their own choice with further resources. The church's institutional structure had become counter-productive.

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49. See appendix A.a nos.034,122.
50. See appendix A.a nos.139,337.

Part two: the birth of Protestantism.

The history of the church in Angus and the Mearns during the mid sixteenth century can be viewed as a history of faith nurtured within the church in conflict with the institutions of the church. Lairds and others by 1540 no longer looked to their parish clergy for spiritual guidance: they actively sought out either friars, or their own selected chaplains. Others resented their loss of control over matters that touched them deeply - the salvation of themselves and their kin; and, less worthily, the payment of teinds to men others had nominated. The case of David Straiton in Woodstone is instructive. John Knox reported that Straiton's "heresy" sprang from:

> "haterent against the pride and avariciousness of the priests".

Instead of paying teinds on fish caught in his boats, he was said to have caused his servants to cast the tenth fish back into the sea for the prior of St Andrews to collect at his leisure. Following excommunication for non-payment, he was accused of heresy. This led him to inquire further into his beliefs by discussion with other local lairds - John Erskine of Dun and his own nephew George Straiton apparent of Lauriston - and by hearing portions of the Scriptures read. As a result, he refused to recant at his trial and was hanged and burnt in August 1534.[51] Straiton's "heresy" was in fact simple anti-clericalism: a refusal to submit to the financial and legal disciplines of the church. He was sustained in his opposition by an acute sense of the inappropriateness of the hierarchy to the cause from which it claimed authority, by the fellowship of like-minded equals, and by a growing personal knowledge of Scripture. There was

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51. Knox's History i p.24-25; J.M.Scott, Martyrs of Angus and Mearns (Arbroath 1885) pp.78-98.

nothing distinctively "Lutheran" or especially doctrinal in his individual revolt, which had its origins in his experience of the abuses of the official church.

Straiton's anticlericalism was widely held. The mood sprang from a mixture of reactions: from lay resentment of the privileges of the "first estate", from the exactions of teinds and minor dues to which the clergy were entitled, from a growing conviction that neither privilege nor stipends could be justified by any compensating value to the community. During the 1530s, it was a mood encouraged by James V, who sought to exploit it for his own purposes. The connection between James' sponsorship of Sir David Lindsay's satirical attack on the clergy and the crown's endemic poverty was made by M. Mahoney, who concluded ...[52]

> "By his [James V's] support of anti-clericalism, he attempted to force the clergy into meeting his demands for taxation."

The particular mechanism by which the king sought to raise funds from the clergy was the creation of a College of Justice, for which James claimed £72,000 over four years - although little enough of these funds reached the newly-created senators of the College. Some credit for the creation of the College has been given to Pavia-trained Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin: it is tempting to speculate that Sir Thomas may also have been associated with the anticlerical aspects of his master's policies.[53]

Heresy, like beauty, is very much in the eye of the beholder. Though David Straiton was convicted, friar

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52. M.Mahoney,"The Scottish hierarchy 1513-1565", IR x (1959) p.49-52.
53. W.S.Reid."Clerical Taxation: the Scottish alternative to the dissolution of the monasteries." Catholic Historical Review xxxv (1948) p.140. £1,400 per year was also granted.

William Arth's Dundee sermon against abuse of the process of excommunication was found orthodox by Mr John Major - whose opinion the friar had sought when accused of heresy by John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin.[54] Personal status and political power had a great deal to do with the classification of opinions. Though Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's criticisms of the clergy were severe, they won royal approval; on the other hand, Richard Carmichael, a young chorister, was compelled to burn his bill for words said in his sleep.[55] Dr Sanderson notes that most of those known to have been convicted of heresy were of "humble social standing", Mr Patrick Hamilton - and David Straiton - hence being exceptional.[56] Because the evidence for heresy is thus conditioned both by whom it was practicable to accuse and by the scanty nature of surviving documents, it is difficult to assess the extent to which distinctively protestant opinions had taken root in Angus and the Mearns before the mid-century English wars further complicated the picture.

Criticism of the clergy might count as the faithful - though hurtful - words of a friend like friar Arth, who in England refused to renounce the authority of the Pope. Study of the Scriptures - the reading of the New Testament - had been popularised throughout the learned world of Europe by Erasmus, who remained within the Roman church to his death. Although a volume of modern research has been devoted to tracing the influence of Luther and other of the European theologians in pre-Reformation religious dissent in Scotland,

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54. Knox's History i p.15-17.
55. Knox's History i p.19.
56. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.78. Dr Sanderson incorrectly modernises Straiton's name as "Strachan": p.80.

much remains speculative.[57] Opinions, unlike diseases, are not necessarily transmitted by contact. Students - especially students of theology - are not necessarily clones of their professors. While it is possible to deduce that literature and opinions stemming from the Lutheran continent were infiltrating east-coast Scotland during the 1530s, attribution of fully-fledged "Lutheranism" to particular individuals is well-nigh impossible. The modern desire to describe John Erskine of Dun as "Lutheran" from as early as the 1530s must therefore be questioned.[58]

Possibly educated at Aberdeen,[59] the laird of Dun has been noted as one of those who, around 1534, studied the New Testament with Straiton in Woodstone. Also in 1534, Erskine gave surety for the release of four laymen including Fullerton of Morphie-Fraser, imprisoned for their part in releasing sir George Gilbert from the bishop of Brechin's prison. Gilbert was held on a

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57. J.K.Cameron "An early example of Scots Lutheran piety" in D.Baker, (ed.) Studies in Church History (Oxford 1979) p.133f.
G.W.Locher, Zwingli's influence in England and Scotland (Brill, 1981) p.214f.
J.K.Cameron,"Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation", RSCHS xxii pt.i (1984) p.1f.
G.Wiedermann,"Martin Luther versus John Fisher: the debate on Lutheran Theology at St Andrews". RSCHS xxii pt.i (1984) p.13f.
G.Muller,"Protestant theology in Scotland and Germany in the early days of the Reformation", RSCHS xxii pt.ii (1985) p.103f.
D.Shaw,"Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation", RSCHS xxii pt.ii (1985) p.103f.
G.Wiedermann,"Alexander Alesius' Lectures on the Psalms at Cambridge,1536" JEH xxxvii no.1 (1986) p.15f.
58. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.84; James V Letters p.327: "From Germany is the shortest passage by sea to Scotland, and there are wide firths penetrating to the heart of the country by way of which the foul teaching is imported with the merchandise." [James V to Paul III, 5 Jan.1536/7.]
59. Crockett, "The Life of John Erskine of Dun" pp.8-9. Aberdeen, possibly as a result of its new commitment to renaissance scholarship, seems to have been a centre for un-orthodox thought in the early sixteenth century: A.A.M.Duncan,"Hector Boece and the Medieval Tradition" in Scots Antiquaries and Historians (Abertay Historical Society, Dundee 1972) p.6; I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.93.

charge of heresy in that, while in Germany, he had married.[60] In 1535, Dun's nearest burgh Montrose was listed as one of the east coast ports through which heretical books were imported; in 1538, George Wishart fled from Montrose after being accused of heresy by John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, for teaching the New Testament in Greek.[61] There is little here to demonstrate that the laird of Dun was a convinced "Lutheran" in any sense beyond that of the hostile invective of sixteenth century polemic. What can be said is that John Erskine's circle, aided both by protestant literature and humanist learning, were progressing along the route Luther himself had followed - from loyal opposition to the flawed institutions of the Roman church towards a new, more internal spirituality, based on personal study of the Scriptures and girded by a reformation of doctrine.[62]

In assessing the weight of this evidence for a centre of Lutheran heresy based at Dun in the 1530s, it is important to remember that the laird of Dun was in political terms junior to his uncle, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, secretary to King James V: a man described by Buchanan as "papisticae factioni deditissimus."[63] If supportive of anticlericalism, he took care, like his master, to be so from the stance of a "faithful friend" of Rome. While the secretary's influence was undoubtedly sufficient to guard his nephew against any active hostility from either of the

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60. ADCP p.426-8. Gilbert is omitted M.Sanderson's Cardinal app.3. A sir John Gilbert, possibly his brother, was vicar of Montrose hospital and closely associated with the laird of Dun, provost and constable of the burgh: see appendix A.a nos.143,144,145,146.
61. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" pp.21-27,34.
62. Sanderson, Cardinal pp.72-93 discusses the difficulty of quantifying the extent and doctrinal depth of early Scots "Lutheranism". R.Gill, Theology and Social Structure (Oxford 1977) pp.68-9 distinguishes four levels of theology and its effects, arguing that non-professional strata are less accessible to study.
63. Spald.Misc. ii lxxxiv cites this reference.

bishop of Brechin or archbishop James Beaton of St Andrews, it should also be assumed that John Erskine lacked the independent standing needed to support novel theological views. The evidence should be pressed no further than to conclude that he was devout, inquiring, personally acquainted with the Scriptures and with the oppressive aspects of the official church of his day. It is wholly improper to deduce, as Hewison did, that the accident of his killing a priest in the bell-tower of Montrose had any necessary connection with his later career as a leading reformer.[64] The laird of Dun no doubt continued to attend Mass; he was to marry his French second wife according to catholic rites accompanied by court festivities at Linlithgow in the January of 1538/9.[65]

What applies to the laird of Dun, also applies to the group of lairds from north Angus and the Mearns that formed part of the circle of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin - the lairds of Kinnaber, Craigo, Morphie, Mathers, Benholm, Haulkerton, Pittarrow, Thornton, Arbuthnott, Auchinlek, Edzell, Kinnaird and others.[66] While these lairds (who had all secured royal protection on 13 March 1533/4 on the secretary's departure abroad as ambassador) looked to Sir Thomas as their patron, it could not be in their interests to foster religious dissent of a character directly opposing the policies of the king he served. It may be significant that Andrew Straiton of Lauriston, brother of David in Woodstone, was not on the list of lairds associated with the lord of Brechin only months before

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64. Hewison, The Covenanters (Glasgow 1908) i p.14, suggested that Dun "at home had done effective work" [for the reforming movement] "by dispatching a priest". Erskine's instrument of assythment for killing sir William Froster, see: Spald.Misc. iv p.27f.
65. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.37.
66. ADCP p.420: see chapter 1 ns.93-4.

David Straiton's trial for heresy. If so, the burning of David Straiton - who unavailingly appeared to expect mercy from King James - may have served not only as a warning to the young laird of Dun but also to bring Straiton of Lauriston under the umbrella of the king's secretary. By 1541, Andrew Straiton was to marry Isobel, daughter of one of the key friends of the house of Dun, Lindsay of Edzell: his claim to the disputed lordship of Gray seems to have been handled by Sir Thomas to their mutual advantage.[67] Lacking a lead from the lairds of the area, the dammed-up waters of frustrated faith were held back from flooding into the newly-dug protestant channels of the 1530s. Only in the burgh of Dundee, where individualism had greater scope, was a growing stream of heresy apparent.[68]

This picture was to change rapidly with the death of James V, on 13 December 1542, after which "the hearts of men began to be disclosed".[69] On the national scene, the earl of Arran became governor and found his own protestant-inclined beliefs convenient in attempting to strike an alliance with Henry VIII's England. During the few months of Arran's competition against David Beaton for control of the government of Scotland, a window of opportunity was opened for proto- and crypto-protestantism to try its wings as a political grouping. This was the period of which Knox

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67. See appendix B no.268 and chapter 1 ns.69-72.
68. I.E.Flett assessed the strength of protestant thought in Dundee in his "The conflict of the reformation and democracy in the Geneva of Scotland" (St Andrews M.Phil.1981) chapter one. Fifteen Dundee merchants were convicted of heresy in 1538/9, at which time James Rollok, John, James and Gilbert Wedderburn fled from the burgh to safety abroad: ibid. p.18-9. It had been to Dundee that friar Alexander Dick had fled and found protection in 1533: Flett demonstrates, however, that traditional civic catholicism continued without interruption: ibid. pp.10-11.
69. Knox's History i p.40.

wrote, when ...[70]

> "Then might have been seen the Bible lying almost upon every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands."

Thus men whose own religious opinions alone would never have served to bring them into open conflict with the church were brought to do so by a turn of the political wheel. Whether protestantism was taken up for spiritual or cynical motives hardly matters. Under the severe rule of James V, supported by a conservative episcopate, protestantism as a political option remained embryonic. Once born, however, the movement could not be returned to the womb. Further, under Arran's sponsorship, criticism of the church moved into new ground. Whereas David Straiton's criticism of the lives of the clergy and the oppressive legalism of the church was, if heresy at all, an attack on the margins of catholic belief, Arran deliberately raised a question at the heart of the protestant revolt from Rome - the doctrine of purgatory. Sadler, the English ambassador to Scotland, reported on the first of April that the governor had talked "all dinner-while" on the need to reform the church. On the ninth, he reported that Arran believed:[71]

> "that houses of religion were first founded to pray for souls in purgatory and if there were no purgatory (as was his opinion) their foundations were vain ..."

Though a considerable simplification of traditional catholic practice, Arran's views summarise conventional Scots lay piety of his period. As has been noted, the requiem mass was the most frequent of church services and the bulk of lairdly and burgh charity, legacies and endowments was directed at sponsoring such prayers. If, however, the prayers of the living - whether of laymen, priests, monks or friars,

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70. Knox's History i p.45
71. L&P Henry VIII xviii (1) nos.348,391.

could not avail to shorten the time spent in purgatory by their deceased kin, not only the existence of the houses of religion targeted by Arran for expropriation was put in jeopardy; the host of private altars and chaplaincies were threatened with a loss of purpose and meaning. The basic "unspoken assumption" of current catholic practice was under attack...[72]

> "that the more the clergy were multiplied and the more masses were said, the healthier society would become."

Within Angus and the Mearns, the death of James V meant the loss of power of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, ousted by Arran from the post of secretary. A period of confusion followed, during which the lairds of the two shires sought security in new groupings under new patrons. Sir Thomas, who despite his loyalty to King James' pro-French alliance had maintained personal links to both the English government and the exiled Douglases,[73] now attempted to recover power by joining the onslaught on his former ally Beaton.[74] March of 1542/3 proved somewhat late to change sides. The English were unconvinced of Erskine's sincerity and Arran refused to reinstate him. Further, backed by an interdict imposed on the diocese of St Andrews and the proximity of Easter, Beaton was allowed to enter into ward in his own castle of St Andrews by the end of the month: Erskine's threats to expose the cardinal must have earned Beaton's

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72. J. Durkan, "Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland", RSCHS xx (1980) p.91.
73. Spald.Misc. ii 193: undated letter of James to Erskine: "... weit ye that it is murmuryt hyr that ye sould a spolkyn with Gorge and Archebald Dougles in Ingland [ ] quhylk wase again my command .... And mayre atouyer the cuntre sayes that ye weyll tayk sylver to put by my matrys..." Sir Thomas received plate worth £109 10s 11d as a gift from Henry VIII during the embassy of 1535: L&P Henry VIII ix 45,48,53,73.
74. L&P Henry VIII xviii pt.i nos.152,154.

enmity at just the time when the latter's star was again ascending. Out of favour with both of the contending parties of the state, Sir Thomas proved unable to withhold the obligations undertaken by David Lindsay of Edzell in August of 1543: October saw the raid on Finavon Castle, undertaken by cardinal Beaton's clients in Angus with the tacit consent of the governor.[75]

The total lack of support gained by Lindsay of Edzell from his friends shows the completeness of the collapse of the party of the former secretary. New dispositions of alliance were made. In the Mearns, the majority appear to have cultivated the protection of the earl Marischal: and in doing so, allied themselves for the moment with the English, protestant faction in Scotland. Among those reportedly enthusiastic clients of Henry VIII in December of 1543 were both the earl Marischal and the master of Marischal, with the "northland men".[76] The strength of this faction can be estimated from the remission they obtained as a body in June 1544 for crimes which included breaking the acts restraining the disputing of the Scriptures and reading prohibited books.[77] Among those with the Keiths in 1543-44 from the former Erskine party were Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk, David Barclay of Mathers (deputy-sheriff of Kincardineshire), Alexander Strachan of Thornton and John Wishart of Pittarrow. John Erskine of Dun's friend George Straiton apparent of Lauriston was named. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie was listed - a valued and close kinsman of the Douglas earls. So too were several of the lesser Mearns lairds: Wood of Balbegno, Ramsay of

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75. M.Sanderson, Cardinal pp.160-176 discuss in detail the national politics of 1543. The spulzie: chapter 1 ns.27,87-90.
76. The Hamilton Papers ii 234.
77. RSS iii 820.

Balmain, Melville of Harvieston and Falconer of Ballandro. Together, these lairds represented the most powerful section of the shire.

How far was this union of Mearns lairds a protestant alliance ? Certain consistencies can be found. John Wishart of Pittarrow's house in the Mearns had wall-paintings satirically attacking the craft and ambition of the Papal Curia.[78] Pittarrow himself was to be a staunch supporter of the reformed kirk after 1560, though disliked as collector of the thirds. Similarly, Arbuthnott of that ilk and Douglas of Glenbervie were present at the Reformation parliament of 1560: the latter was an elder of the kirk. George Straiton of Lauriston also attended the Reformation parliament: he retained close links with John Erskine of Dun through his life.[79] The leader of these lairds, William earl Marischal, though later a supporter of the government of Mary of Guise - being reported at Mass with her in 1552 - at this time was one of those who attended George Wishart's preaching at Dundee. Indeed, he is said to have offered Wishart a northern base for ministry.[80] The link between the Mearns lairds and the Keiths seems somewhat temporary, however: the creation of the particular events of 1543. The close ties between the lesser tenants-in-chief of the Mearns have been noted before: after Arran's brief flirtation with political protestantism their links seem to have included a predilection towards heresy.

In Angus, there was less unanimity. To the basic conflict between Arran and cardinal Beaton, two further

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78. The Hamilton Papers ii 406; C.Rogers, Life of George Wishart (Grampian Club, London 1876) p.20.
79. Attendance at the 1560 parliament: APS ii 525/6.
80. The Hamilton Papers ii 406; C.Rogers, Life of George Wishart (Grampian Club, London 1876) p.22.

factors had been added. Henry VIII had released from England both the exiled earl of Angus, lord of the regality of Kirriemuir, and various of the Scots lords taken prisoner at the Solway, including Patrick Lord Gray, sheriff of Forfar. Angus and Gray were intended by King Henry to be, and were to prove to be, his agents in securing support for Henry's "British", pro-protestant policies. Also returned to Scotland to protect his family's reversionary interest on the crown was the earl of Lennox - whose dynastic rivalry with Arran and the Hamiltons brought him into alliance with Angus at much the same time as Beaton re-established his hold over Arran, in the late autumn and winter of 1543.

Together with the earls of Marischal, Lennox, Cassillis, Glencairn and Rothes, English reports listed lords Gray, Glamis and Ogilvy as Angus' chief kinsmen and friends during August, September and October of 1543.[81] The latter three apparently refused to come to the infant Mary's coronation unless the treaties with England were enforced. Ogilvy's position, however, seems in hind-sight rather more obscure. Lord Gray was actually his son-in-law: and the name of Angus counted for much in the shire of which Gray was sheriff. On the other hand, Ogilvy was hereditary bailie of Beaton's abbey of Arbroath and stood first in the list of the cardinal's supporters in Forfarshire. In consequence, two contradictory reports have come down to us regarding Lord Ogilvy's actions in September. Sadler reported on 5 September 1543 that he had heard that Lords Gray and Ogilvy had sacked the abbey of Arbroath. He added, significantly, that he could not tell whether this was true.

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81. The Hamilton Papers ii no.55: L&P Henry VIII xviii pt.2 no.174.

On the other hand, Ogilvy was also credited with preventing damage to the fabric of the abbey by the author of the Diurnal of Occurrents.[82]

This "sacking" of Arbroath abbey, though exaggerated in repute by sources based in Edinburgh to the south, formed part of the final struggles by Arran against the resurgent Beaton. Linked in the Diurnal's account with the assault on Arbroath was the "greit heresie" in Dundee. The "heresie" took place on 31 August, shortly after the official signing of the English treaties which provoked a riot in Edinburgh against the governor. Arran was later to confess to having inspired the attack on the two friaries at Dundee.[83] Indeed, the "riot" had all the signs of planning. A leader could be identified, Mr Henry Durham, undoubtedly related to doctor Michael Durham, the late King James's V physician, one of those who had influenced Arran towards protestantism.[84] The objectives of the "heresie" were also clear. No altars or churches belonging to the burgh were touched: instead, the mob invaded the friaries, one of which - the Franciscan - was outside the burgh's walls. Iconoclasm was the order of the day: the ornaments, images, vestments and candlesticks were destroyed. The mob also carried away the clothing, cowls and food-supplies of the houses in an effort to prevent further habitation.[85] Lord Gray's attack on Arbroath was reported in Edinburgh on the fifth of September, ironically while the Governor was meeting the cardinal in secret at Callander. It too shared the limited

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82. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.175; L&P Henry VIII xviii pt.2 no.133; Diurnal p.29: "they ... wald haue destroyit Abirbrothok kirk, war not the lord Ogilbie."
83. I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.25; Hamilton Papers ii 38.
84. Ms. Dundee town charter chest, cited in I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" pp.37-8; Knox's History i 48.
85. Ms. Dundee town charter chest, cited in I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" pp.37-8.

objectives of the Dundee "heresie", being restricted by Lord Ogilvy strictly to the parish churches of Arbroath - to St Vigeans, the abbey's own parish church, and to the Lady Chapel, which functioned as the parish church of the burgh.[86]

Though permitted and inspired by political considerations, perhaps as a counter-balance to Edinburgh's opposition to Arran, these events in Dundee and Arbroath were of considerable religious significance. Iconoclasm cannot be equated with twentieth century vandalism: rather, it expressed the radical opposition of converts against the symbols they had previously venerated. The symbol retained its power to evoke sentiment: only now the sentiment was negative: hatred instead of worship. As reports of reformation spread from city to city, iconoclasm developed its own cultic traditions equipped with the Old Testament terminology of "casting down" idols.[87] It marked a rejection of the doctrine of the Mass as a sacrifice, a rejection of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament by transubstantiation of the elements, a rejection of the veneration of images and of the doctrine of purgatory. The Dundee iconoclasm marked the introduction to burgh protestantism (previously characterised by satirical anticlericalism or else by private piety) of an activism previously associated with the reformation in the Swiss cities and with Zwingli, and probably imported by George Wishart.[88]

The alignment of political forces

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86. RSS iii 636: gift of escheat of John Ouchterlony, 17 Feb.1543/4.
87. T.F.O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (2nd ed. N.J. 1983) pp.41-43; D.McRoberts, "Material destruction caused by the Scottish Reformation", Innes Review x (1959) p.131; D.Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences" RSCHS xxii pt.2 (1985) p.123.
88. D.Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences" RSCHS xxii pt.2 (1985) p.123; contrast, J.K.Cameron, "Scots Lutheran Piety", Studies in Church History (1979) p.147.

during James V's reign had not been conducive to religiously-based political groupings. Events between 1543 and 1550 were to prove the exact opposite. The various campaigns by Scottish and English armies during the "Wars of Rough Wooing" have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere and need not be repeated here. In general, English objectives remained stable throughout the period: to punish the Scots for reneging on the treaties of Greenwich, to advocate the marriage of Mary, queen of Scots,to Edward, prince of Wales,and hence the ultimate object of a united, protestant, realm - a "Great Britain".[89] Any ally of the English was expected to support this complex of objectives and hence was brought within the scope of a protestant alliance. As the major Scots opposition factions - those of Angus and Lennox - followed Arran's earlier example in availing themselves of English support, all active clients of these earls were at least exposed to the option of protestantism. Further, the military and diplomatic activities of the English occupation force at Broughty Castle confronted several Angus lairds with an English offer of alliance that they could hardly refuse. In consequence, the number of lairds and others from Angus directly or indirectly associated with heresy in this period is considerable.

The sanctuary given by Dundee to friar Alexander Dick has already been mentioned. Leading those who shielded him against the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in 1532 was

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89. M.H.Merriman, "The assured Scots: Scottish collaborators with England during the rough wooing", SHR xlvii (1978) pp.10-34; also, "The struggle for the marriage of Mary, queen of Scots": (London Ph.D.,1975). M.L.Bush, "The rise to power of Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset" (Cambridge Ph.D. 1964); also, The government policy of Protector Somerset (London 1975); also, M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.160-230. For the literature/propaganda associated with the campaigns, R.J.Lyall (ed.) Ane Resonyng by William Lamb (Aberdeen 1985).

James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee c.1504 - 1546 and additionally provost on occasion in the 1520s.[90] Through his mother, Scrymgeour was kin to Patrick Lord Gray, and the two neighbouring lairds were close associates. Scrymgeour stood surety for Gray in 1536, and was joint surety with him in the books of council for the sum of 10,000 merks payable for his infeftment in the lordship.[91] Taken prisoner at the Solway, Scrymgeour was privately ransomed and had licence to travel through England to France for the benefit of his health in April of 1543. One of those who were given royal protection in connection with the constable's expected absence from Scotland was Mr Henry Durham - the leader of the attack on the Dundee friaries. Apart from his heir, John Scrymgeour of Glaister, and other Scrymgeours, Dudhope also listed among his friends and kinsmen Alexander Durham of Grange, James Durham in Ardestie, Patrick Gardyne of that ilk, John Ramsay of Laws, John Baldovie of that ilk, Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, Andrew Oliver of Gagie and a number of burgesses of Dundee.[92] These lairds were from estates in the hinterland of Monifieth, in south Angus. Durham of Grange's first wife had been an Erskine: during the 1530s he had been a client of Sir Thomas of Brechin. His heir William was to be one of Angus' leading protestants. Gardyne of that ilk was a further refugee from the party of James V's secretary.[93] With their patron supportive of the anticlerical element in Dundee from the 1520s and a close ally of Patrick Lord Gray, Scrymgeour's party was undoubtedly implicated in

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90. See appendix 2 no.238: ADCP p.372; RMS iii 435,996. I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.21 suggests that Scrymgeour also sheltered Alexander Alane in his escape from Scotland via Dundee in 1528.
91. RMS iii 1423; Pitcairn, Trials i/i 177*; ADCP p.516,531.
92. Hamilton Papers i 252; ibid.i 523; RSS iii 194. For the protections, issued 2 April 1543: the Dalhousie mss, GD 45.15.1.
93. RMS iii 304; ADCP p.420.

the Dundee "heresie" even if the now-aged constable was himself abroad.

Patrick, fourth Lord Gray was himself one of the most inveterate of the Scots allies of the English, supporting their cause from 1543 to 1548, with occasional interruptions.[94] As his following was considerable, he was much sought after by the various English and Scottish factions, one correspondent going so far as to assert ...[95]

"Gif ye haif the lord Graye ye haif fra Taye north."

More than three hundred men (according to John Knox) had attempted to defend him from cardinal Beaton and governor Arran in November 1543. Gray had with him George, earl of Rothes and Mr Henry Balnaves.[96] Prominent among their supporters was Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, with his sons. Other Angus lairds included Lyall of Balmedy, Mortimer of Flemington and Gilbert Reid in Colliston.[97] Further friends of Gray were listed in the joint remission they had with him for remaining from hosts called for September and November of 1545. As well as Whitelaw of Newgrange and Gray of Dunninald, were named Wenton of Strathmartin, Fotheringham of Powrie and Charteris of Kinfauns. On 19 March 1546/7, Charteris with Powrie, Strathmartin, Maule of Panmure and Scrymgeour of Dudhope were chosen by Gray to act for him in the dispute against Lord Ruthven concerning the provostry of Perth. Eight days earlier, at the castle of St Andrews (at the time occupied by

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94. Sir Francis Mudie gives a detailed narrative of Gray's involvement during these years in "The Rough Wooing", Broughty Castle (Abertay Historical Society no.15,1970).
95. Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine ed.A.I.Cameron (SHS no.27) p.113.
96. Knox's History i pp.53-55.
97. RSS iv 2234.

those who had slain cardinal Beaton) Gray had, together with Norman Leslie the master of Rothes, James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Mr Henry Balnaves and Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange, obliged himself to hand Broughty Castle to the English and to attempt to recover Perth to hold it on behalf of Edward VI.[98] Gray's connections - whether based on kin, shared political or shared religious interests - were broad indeed, and included many of the most powerful lairds of southern Angus.

Among these supporters a number of lairds are known to have been associated with Gray in "assuring" to the English. Said to have "enticed and seduced" him "to the faith and opinion of England" was Alexander ("Sandy") Whitelaw of Newgrange. By 3 March 1548/9, Whitelaw had been escheated for assisting the English take possession of Broughty Castle, and then for assisting their burning of Dundee and Forfar; for acting as a messenger to and from the English and disponing subsidies on their behalf; and for going into unlicenced exile in England. Whitelaw was married to Egidia Gray, (sister of Gray of Buttergask): in his absence, she was to be prosecuted for assisting the enemy, as was Jonet Hume, wife of Andrew Gray of Dunninald after the latter's decease. Six further Grays and other servants of Lord Gray had remissions in 1549 for their part in withholding Broughty Castle.[99] In 1548, after English policy had turned towards repression, Gray complained to Luttrell that his associates were being harassed by both sides and requested that

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98. RSS iii 1541; RPC i 64; CSP(S) i 4.
99. RSS iv 138; Justiciary Courts, JC 1.6 f.8r-v, JC 1.6 f.10v; and Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 344*. Examples of Whitelaw's correspondence on behalf of "his master" Lord Gray are CSP(S) i nos.60,110,111, 119,202,208. RSS iv 416 for the remissions to the Grays etc.

Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie should not be attacked from Broughty:[100]

"consyderand that he is my frende and is assurit".

John Scrymgeour of Glaister and Dudhope, constable of Dundee, has been mentioned as having succeeded his predecessor James as an ally of Lord Gray. As provost of Dundee, he had signed the articles of 27 October 1547 by which the burgesses bound themselves to be "faithful setters forth of God's Word" and also true and faithful to the English king. Earlier that year, he had refused to obey orders of the Scottish council to arrest John Scott and seize his press, then operating in Dundee. When Lord Gray, during one of his pro-Scottish phases, was entrusted by Arran with the defence of Dundee, John Scrymgeour was one of those jointly named with Gray in the licence. Nevertheless, Arran had the constable's lands of Dudhope sequestered in 1552 in order to extort composition for a remission for treasonable support for the English: Scrymgeour was forced to sell some lands in consequence.[101]

A second group of "assured" lairds in Angus were those whose lands lay around Broughty, and hence were in direct danger of burning unless they made their peace with Sir Andrew Dudley, the English garrison's commander. In this category come William Durham of Grange, Thomas Maule apparent of Panmure, Henry Lovell of Ballumbie and David his brother, James Anderson in the [North] Ferry, Mr Alexander Auchinlek in Murroes, and David Ramsay at the Bridge of Monifieth.[102] The relations between these lairds and

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100. Scottish Correspondence p.279.
101. CSP(S) i 71; RPC i 69; CSP(S) i 322; RSS iv 1797; RMS iv 431, 1616,1729.
102. RSS iv nos.87,93,112,2132,688,58.

the English were by no means identical, however. Robert Maule of Panmure and his heir Thomas were seized from their own house of Panmure and taken prisoner to Broughty by "Inglismen" and "certain Scotishmen then favourers of Ingland". The laird was shot in the leg during the episode and sent as prisoner to the Tower of London, Lord Gray obtaining the release of Thomas Maule.[103] Lovell of Ballumbie appears to have been a more willing ally of the English. Sir Andrew Dudley reported on 20 December 1547 that he had been well received in Dundee by Gray, Durham of Grange and Lovell of Ballumbie. Lovell was one of the "gentlemen of Angus" who were instrumental in bringing the earl of Argyll to negotiate with Dudley, so that Argyll (on receiving 1000 crowns) promised support for the king's "godly purpose" instead of besieging Broughty further. Later in 1548, Lovell was prepared to give a note of surety to the Broughty garrison for the re-entry into ward if required of a prisoner they had released.[104]

Other magnates linked with Angus and the Mearns apart from Gray had dealings with the English during this period. On the 24 May, 1544, Lennox and his Scots allies sallied from Glasgow to test their strength against Arran: Lennox was defeated, and fled to England leaving the earl of Glencairn as his deputy in the west. With Lennox at Glasgow Moor were the earls Marischal and Crawford, as well as George earl of Errol. Marischal's links with protestant Mearns lairds, his hearing of George Wishart at Dundee and his support of Lord Gray have already been noted. Arran had given David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford, few reasons for supporting him. Crawford was known in England as one bound to the earl

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103. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 f63v.
104. CSP(S) i 107,148; Scottish Correspondence p.273.

of Angus.[105] In 1548, Crawford, Marischal, Rothes and Errol were among those reported by Patrick Lord Gray to favour the English "godly purpose, thai beande honestly entyrtaynit".[106] Another who later obtained a remission for his support of Lennox in 1544 was Robert Graham of Morphie, who had had Erskine of Dun as his curator in his youth: he had been one of those protected during Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin's absence. Later, he was to attend the Reformation parliament and become an elder of the reformed kirk.[107] James Wood of Bonnyton also had a remission for his part at Glasgow Moor, as did Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird who thus continued his opposition to Arran. Carnegy's remission also covered the offences of absence in England without licence and intercommunication with the English in order to subvert royal authority. Among the eighteen others for whom Carnegy secured pardon for these offences were Reid of Colliston, Mortimer of Flemington, the vicar of Strathmartin (a Mortimer) and Mr Alexander Forrest, parson of Logie Montrose.[108]

In addition to these, John, earl of Buchan, whose chief house was at Auchterhouse, had a remission for assuring. John, Lord Innermeath, whose lands in Angus included Redcastle, assisted the English at Broughty and was accused of spoiling the lieges and fire-raising. Lord Glamis, one of Lord Gray's earlier accomplices, was fined for refusing to be part of the assize to try Innermeath - who had the earl of Crawford as his surety.[109]

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105. Diurnal p.32; RSS iv 7,2373,2504; Hamilton Papers ii 251. The ninth earl had also refused to attend the host raised to recapture the castle of St Andrews: WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.53.
106. CSP(S) i 323.
107. RSS iv 2452; Scott of Brotherton mss, GD 70.351; ADCP p.420; APS ii 525/6; JRL,The Craw. mss. box P bund.vi no.16.
108. RSS iv 2608; RSS iv 2339. See appendix A.a nos.245,118.
109. RSS iv 2110; RSS iv 536, Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 344*.

Glamis was presumably cognisant and approving of friar John Roger's preaching in the parish church at Glamis in 1543-44, before the latter's arrest and subsequent death at St Andrews castle.[110] Fraser of Durris, Wood of Balbegno, Wishart of Logie Wishart and Strachan of Thornton required remissions for remaining from the various hosts levied during the wars. Agnes Ogilvy, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy, relict of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin's son Thomas and wife of Keith of Canterland, had a remission for resetting Norman, master of Rothes, after the murder of cardinal Beaton.[111]

English reports from Broughty often indicated frustration that this volume of potential support never seemed to fulfil its early promise. In his report of 22 March 1547/8, Sir John Luttrell had optimistic plans of winning the entire war by a campaign in Angus. If only 300 light horse might be provided, Patrick Lord Gray could bring in the entire shire - for "they might be daily burned". With such support, Perth could be taken; and then, Fife, surrounded by "frontier wars" in Lothian and Angus. "And if Argyle be entertained, how could the Governor abide ?"[112] Although the garrison at Broughty was from the first in touch with many of the gentlemen of Angus, "who favour the word of God", most appeared to be waiting "to see how the world go". Others of these gentlemen only feigned protestantism to save their crops from burning. It was one thing to ask for a supply of English Bibles and testaments, of "other English books of Tyndale and Frithe's translation", and quite another to render oneself open to a charge of treason.[113] Wyndham, the

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110.M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.280.
111.RSS iii 3047; iv 188,2738,2544; iv 1281.
112.CSP(S) i 203.
113.CSP(S) i 56,73,74.

English naval commander, put it bluntly to Somerset: the men of Angus would speak fair words but would perform nothing unless compelled by fire and sword.[114]

There were those in Angus who cannot be linked with the occupying force at Broughty. The lairds of the central parishes, Guthrie of that ilk and Gardyne of that ilk with their respective kins do not appear after Gardyne's protection as one of Scrymgeour's friends in April 1543. Cardinal Beaton's kin by marriage, the Grahams of Fintry and of Claverhouse, and his tenants Ogilvy of Balfour and Garden of Leys do not appear to have assured, though Fintry's castle of Mains was left unburnt when the Broughty garrison destroyed neighbouring Powrie.[115] Although the former leader of Beaton's friends in Angus, Lord James Ogilvy of Airlie, had been close to Lord Gray and involved in the iconoclasm of 1543, his name soon disappeared from the lists of clients in English reports: he, together with Lord Glamis and the earl Marischal joined Argyll's forces besieging Broughty in November 1547, shortly before his death.[116] The master of Ogilvy had earlier been killed at the battle of Pinkie, fighting with a contingent from Angus under the earl of Angus. Also slain at Pinkie were John Allardice of that ilk, Alexander Fullerton of Kinnaber, Richard Melville of Baldovie, William Ramsay of Balmain - all lairds from the Angus/Mearns border - as was Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie and Andrew Haliburton of Pitcur.[117] Knox suggested that

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114. CSP(S) i 185.
115. Sir F.Mudie/D.M.Walker, Mains Castle & the Grahams of Fintry, (Abertay Historical Society no.9,1964) p.6. Fintry, with Maxwell of Tealing and Baldovie of that ilk were associated with Lord Gray and Scrymgeour of Dudhope in a commission to defend Dundee against attack, 27 August 1548: CSP(S) i p.163.
116. CSP(S) i 94.
117. Scots Peerage i 18; Barclay-Allardice mss.,GD 49.47; RSS iv 150 and ibid. 1420; T.McCrie, The Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh 1824) i p.10.

many of those who were "professors of the evangel" fought under Angus at Pinkie: Melville and Ramsay may well have been among those he had in mind.[118] After his participation in the battle of Glasgow Moor, Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird seems to have made his peace with Arran, being nominated by the governor to be a Lord of Session in 1547, and acting as intermediary between Huntly and the governor in 1548. Also reported on 17 March 1547/8 as one who knew the mind of Mary of Guise, Carnegy was successfully to make his own way as a legally-trained government servant: he was involved in no more defeats after that of 1544.[119]

John Erskine of Dun, though certainly a protestant by the middle 1540s, did not seek to ally himself with the English. In April and May of 1542[120] the laird of Dun had licences with his cousin Thomas (eldest son of Sir Thomas of Brechin), his own son John, his kinsman Mr William Erskine and John Lamby of Dunkenny to travel abroad.[121] From the diary of James Melville, it is learnt that with John apparent of Dun went Richard Melville younger of Baldovie, and that it was to study first under Maccabeus and then Melanchthon that they travelled.[122] From this tour stems John Erskine of Dun's reputation as a "Lutheran": though conventionally and conveniently assumed, it is actually unclear whether the laird of Dun accompanied the two younger men to the schools. The fact that

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118. Knox's History i 99; Melville's son Richard had been sent to the continent with John apparent of Dun to study under Melanchthon; Ramsay had been with those Mearns lairds who discussed the Scriptures: Melville, Diary p.12; RSS iii 820.
119. ADCP p.567; CSP(S) i 212; Scottish Correspondence p.223; Fraser, Southesk i p.26.
120. Crockett,"Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.43 agrees with HMC, fifth report p.639 no.58 in rejecting the date of 1537 attributed by the editor of Spald.Misc. iv 30 to this journey abroad.
121. Spald.Misc. iv 30,43.
122. The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville ed. R.Pitcairn (Wodrow Society 1842) p.12. [Hereafter, Melville, Diary.]

Thomas Erskine disappeared while abroad, being taken prisoner in unknown circumstances, suggests that the party met not only with learning but with mixed fortunes - which may explain why John Erskine of Dun returned to Scotland via England after only a year's absence, a licence being requested for him of the English government on 19 April 1543. This seeming link between one of Scotland's leaders of the reformed kirk and continental scholars is tantalising: perhaps the most that can be deduced from the known facts is that Dun's spiritual travels were now taking him in a specifically protestant direction, and that he brought back with him a Frenchman, Pierre de Marsilier, to teach Greek at Montrose grammar school.[123]

Much more certain are John Erskine's links with George Wishart, the former Montrose burgh schoolmaster. Having returned to Scotland in the summer of 1543, with the Greenwich treaty commissioners, Wishart rented a house at Montrose "next unto the church except one" and began a preaching ministry, undoubtedly under the protection of Erskine of Dun, who had been infeft by his uncle as hereditary constable of the burgh on 9 Feburary 1541/2.[124] Dun's growing prominence as a focus for protestant dissent, together with his uncle's continued hostility to Beaton and Arran, led to John Erskine being imprisoned in Blackness at the same time as the cardinal and the governor burnt many "lymmeris" at Dundee in January 1543/4.[125] The English invasion presumably having led to his release, the burgh of Montrose petitioned that the laird of Dun, together with Leighton of Usan and David Wood of Craig, be commanded to enter the burgh with

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123. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.44; Spald.Misc. ii 205; Hamilton Papers i 359.
124. Rogers, Life of George Wishart p.19; Erskine of Dun mss., GD 123.59.
125. Diurnal p.31; this event is omitted by M.Sanderson in Cardinal.

"their armed folks" to defend it against the English fleet.[126] By 25 October, 1544, he was in sufficient favour with David Beaton to merit a invitation to ride with the cardinal to parliament. That other prisoner of 1543, Patrick Lord Gray, had also around this time accepted an "invitation" to form part of the cardinal's household.[127] Yet in 1545, Erskine was once again associated with George Wishart when the preacher retired northwards for recuperation after his ministry to plague-stricken Dundee: it was against Dun's advice that he left the security of Montrose for the journey to the south that led to his arrest and eventual execution.[128] Perhaps something of Wishart's own fearlessness had communicated itself to John Erskine.[129] At any rate, the laird of Dun's first steps as a national leader of the nascent Scottish protestant movement were taken in association with this apostle of the Swiss evangel. In later years, John Erskine's theology was to show little difference from the first Helvetic Confession of 1536, translated into Scots by Wishart.[130]

Though the laird of Dun had undoubtedly reached a protestant theology by 1545, he was to take a leading part in defending Angus against the English. He had been expected to support the invading protestants: they considered him one of the "most

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126. NLS, ms.5407 f.2.
127. Spald.Misc. iv p.45; Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.49; M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.187.
128. Knox's History i 64.
129. Crockett describes Dun thus: "John Erskine's vacillations command our interest, if they fail to secure our respect, and one pictures him as a man of somewhat easygoing nature, not ungenerous, readily receptive to new impressions, genuinely pious, but intellectually disposed to discipleship rather than leadership." "Life of John Erskine" p.51.
130. Roger, Life of George Wishart reprints Wishart's version of the Confession. For Erskine as a theologian, see chapter 7 passim, below; especially 7 ns.105-111.

faithful, godlie and wise men" north of Dundee.[131] The French, too, heard a rumour that Dun was to join Cassillis and Marischal in assuring.[132] In fact, he lent the burgh of Dundee three cannons in order to resist an attack by the English fleet in December 1547, and (in exchange for a feu of lands in Logie Montrose) gave funds for the rebuilding of St Andrews castle after it had fallen to the French.[133] In June of 1548, the burgesses of Dundee were again ordered to serve under Dun's command in order to resist the invaders.[134] After the arrival of the French troops in Scotland, John Erskine (who had married a French wife) acted as a liaison officer during the campaigns at Musselburgh, Haddington and Roxburgh. Having been wounded, he retired to Montrose in time to take personal command of local forces that repulsed a landing by eight hundred Englishmen from admiral Clinton's fleet.[135] John Erskine's father and grandfather had been killed at Flodden; several of his friends and neighbours from north Angus were killed at Pinkie: patriotic defence of his country was the tradition of his house. Mr William Lamb, parson of Conveth and personally known to Dun, was to produce an argued defence of Scotland's traditions and independence.[136] Only when Mary of Guise

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131. I.E.Flett,"The Geneva of Scotland" p.41.
132. Scottish Correspondence p.184. CSP(S) i 176 suggests that "D[un]" assured with Gray around 27 Feb.1547/8. In fact inspection of the original of this document - PRO, SP 50.3 - suggests that "Dun" is too short a word to fit the hole in the manuscript after the initial "D" which is all that remains of the name of Gray's supporter. "Dudhope" would fit the space and known allegiances at the time.
133. CSP(S) i 107; NLS, (Chartulary of the priory of St Andrews) ms.17.1.3b; my thanks are due to Dr John Durkan for this reference.
134. RPC xiv 5.
135. Crockett,"Life of John Erskine of Dun" gives a detailed account of this period of Erskine's life, based on the contemporary narratives of Buchanan and Jean de la Beague.
136. Ane Resonyng ed.R.J.Lyall (Aberdeen 1985), pp.x-xiv and see appendix A.a no.194.

attempted to garrison with French troops the fort Dun had constructed near Montrose did Erskine object - his rights as constable seemed threatened. This variance had been smoothed over when he gave the Queen Mother a bond of manrent on 30 September 1549.[137]

It has been said that ...[138]

> "As a distinctively popular movement, protestantism had no deep roots in Scotland."

It is, however, questionable how far one ought to look for "popular movements" in sixteenth-century Scotland. Modern research confirms the view that violence and direct action - though prevalent - were restricted both by tradition and law, and often unleashed to further deliberate ends.[139] Society comprised of groups of lairds bound together under the general leadership of magnates: groups which were often, but not exclusively, based on kin. In assessing the strength of religious dissent in Angus and the Mearns before 1550, it is important to recognise that the scattered and apparently isolated incidents of a preaching here, a Bible-reading there, had greater significance than may at first sight appear. As Dr Sanderson has suggested,[140]

> "... the kind of activities of which people were accused were not the sort of thing one did on one's own."

The iconoclasm at Dundee, the preaching at Glamis, Wishart's tours, were important both religiously and politically: their motivation was similarly dual. Between years 1543 to 1550, all the magnates of Angus

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137. PRO, State Papers, SP 13.68.
138. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.89.
139. J.M.Brown, "Bonds of Manrent in Scotland before 1603" (Glasgow Ph.D., 1977) p.3-4; J.M.Brown, "Introduction" in Scottish Society in the fifteenth century (London 1977) p.1-5; K.M.Brown, "The nobility of Jacobean Scotland" History Today (December 1984)p.15.
140. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.79. By contrast, Professor Cowan concentrates only on the known heretics and not on those who sponsored, facilitated and protected them: Reformation chapter 5.

and the Mearns - the earls of Crawford and Marischal, the lords Gray, Glamis and Ogilvy - were at some time directly linked with protestant dissent. The constables of both Dundee and Montrose supported known heretics. Rather than the movement traditionally recognised under the single leadership of John Erskine of Dun,[141] a more fractured, more political protestantism can be traced which spasmodically coalesced around the earl Marischal, the Gray-Scrymgeour axis, the burgh of Dundee and the laird of Dun. Under the stimulus of persecution from cardinal Beaton and bishop John Hepburn, and under the pressure of choice compelled by the English wars, the movement developed from the anticlericalism of the 1530s towards a full-blooded protestantism in touch with Lutheran Germany, the Swiss and the English.

Before 1550, the movement was held in check by the arrival of powerful forces of conservatism from outside the region - Beaton and Arran in person in 1543/4; the armies of Arran and Argyll during the period of the occupation of Broughty. Argyll had assistance from his uncle, Donald Campbell abbot of Coupar, who on occasion provided troops to counter raids from Broughty and lent his house at the abbey for negotiations.[142] The traditional patriotic resistance to an invader displayed by Erskine of Dun helped to keep the movement divided. So too, did the atmosphere of suspicion that surrounded assuring to the English. Lord Methven's analysis of the "assured Scots" for the benefit of Mary of Guise can certainly be

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141. There seems to be no reason to assign Alexander Strachan of Brigton [of Kinnettles] to any group led by Erskine of Dun: Brigton, however, is three and a half miles from Glamis Castle. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.102.

142. CSP(S) i 176,192. The abbot of Coupar had subscribed Beaton's "secret bond" and joined the Privy Council on Arran's reconciliation with the cardinal: Hamilton Papers i 632, ii 33.

sustained from study of the English clients in Angus. Methven reported that some of the assured had new opinions of the Scriptures, others acted out of fear to obtain safety; still others sought to make personal gain out of the national danger.[143] M.H.Merriman agrees with another sixteenth-century assessment, that of John Lockhart, that the "godlie" who supported the English were a small minority.[144]

Once again, however, it must be stressed that Arran's "godly fit" and the English occupation provided the essential opportunity for protestantism to become a viable political option. After 1542, both leaders and followers began to use religious attitudes to identify friends and opponents. This was an essential stage if a reformation of the church was ever to be accomplished. Growing lairdly impatience with the existing institutions of the church began to be organised and channelled along the protestant path, using English resources, conventicles and field-preaching. A bypass to the route of "reform-from-within" was opened once Wishart had testified with his life to the possibility of radical change. It is impressive simply how many lairds in Angus and the Mearns took part in political groupings associated with religious dissent: a clear majority in the Mearns, probably around half in the shires together. This was a "protesiantism" that took its structure not from shared doctrines or religious practice - these were to come later - but from collective political opposition to forces that defined themselves as religiously orthodox. Lairds already asked questions regarding their own identities, loyalties and security by the political and economic pressures of their period were now in addition asked questions

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143.Scottish Correspondence p.240-241.
144.M.H.Merriman, "The assured Scots" SHR xlvii (1968) p.34.

regarding their salvation. Already experienced in providing for their own practice of religion, used to choosing their own religious "experts", they began to find answers to their own and the nation's crisis from the new preachers - who happened to be protestant. The addition of a political dimension to the prevalent anti-clerialism was in any case a powerful mixture. By 1550, protestantism - still somewhat inchoate, fragmented and latent - had achieved a wide base in these two east-coast shires, and was fast consolidating itself. The growing movement had new aspirations of its own and was on the verge of developing new institutions for itself, outside of the structure of the existing church.

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CHAPTER THREE

"THE NYCHT IS NEIR GONE": THE 1550s

"The nycht is neir gone": the 1550s

With the ending of the English wars and the succession of Mary Tudor in place of Edward VI, a period of uneasy calm descended on Scotland. Between 1547 and 1554, the earl of Arran gradually surrendered the government to Mary of Guise. Archibald, earl of Angus, died in 1557; the earl of Lennox remained in exile in England. A new generation of political leaders was being born: Lord James Stewart, in particular, Mary queen of Scots' half-brother, was beginning to find a following. In Angus, too, a turn of the kaleidoscope produced a new political pattern. Pinkie had removed many lairds: the deaths of cardinal Beaton and James Lord Ogilvy beheaded one of the Angus factions soon after the dissolution of that of Sir Thomas Erskine. The national kin-groupings of the Campbells and the Hamiltons explored possibilities in the shire. Meanwhile, the ending of the wars had united protestantism with traditional Angus patriotism and, for a time tolerated by the government, heresy gathered strength - especially among the Mearns lairds linked to John Erskine of Dun.

One expression of patriotism in this period was to call for reform of the church. The same love of Scotland that motivated John Erskine of Dun to fight against the English invaders was behind Mr Robert Wedderburn's appeal to the "first estate" to reform itself.[1]

> "Quhar for (o my sone speritualite) i exort the that thou cause al thy membris concur to gyddir to mak reformatione of the sklanderous abusione that ringis amang them ande ther eftir, thou sal treit vnite and concord be/tuix the uniuersal leigis of scotland ... to that effect that ze my thre sonnis noblis clergie & lauberaris may pas in ane faythful accord to resist the cruel inuasions of zour dissaitful and incredule ald enemeis."

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1. The Complaynt of Scotland, by Mr Robert Wedderburn ed.A.W.Stewart, (STS 1979) p.127. Stewart's view on the authorship is adopted.

Wedderburn's The Complaynt of Scotland, written in the context of the English invasions, viewed the "thre plagis" that had almost brought the country to "extreme ruyne" - "fra veyr fra pest and fra hungir" as God's judgment upon the sinfulness of all the three estates of the commonwealth.[2] Through the literary medium of "Dame Scotia" he appealed in turn to the "Dame's" "eldest three sons" to reform those evils that deformed each estate.[3]

> "O ze my thre sounis amang zou considerand that zour hartis & zour verkis condiscendis on ane purpos bot rather til euil nor to gude. O my thre sonnis sen god kennis that zour hartis ar euil, and that men kennis that zour verkis ar euil i exort zou that ze gar zour hartis consaue the co/mandis of god and that zour verkis be conformand to the sammyn & than doutles god sal schau his mercy ..."

The vicar of Dundee's main criticism of his own estate of the realm was that the lives of the clergy did not match their teaching. God had given them authority and pre-eminence in order that they might instruct the ignorance of the rest of the commonwealth: failure in this regard was therefore worthy of double punishment. Though "Dame Scotia" had little specifically wherewith to reproach the clergy, they were blamed for the vices - sensual appetite, avarice and arrogance - of the commons and nobility. The pupils followed the example of their teachers and ignored the teaching. The spread of heresy was the result.[4]

> "... doutles thy abusione and the sinister ministratione of thy office is the special cause of the scisma and of diuers sectis that trublis al cristianite, & quhou beit that the rute of thir scismes and sectis be/in germane denmark and ingland zit nochtheles the branchis of them ar spred athort al cristin realmis in sic ane sort that tha hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris for diuers men desiris ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrk be caus of the abusione and euyl exempil of the kyrk men..."

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2. Complaynt p.136.
3. Complaynt p.135.
4. Complaynt p.126.

Wedderburn viewed the life of Scotland as one entity: to him the political, economic and religious lives of the nation were simply aspects of a single commonwealth. Malfunction in one area brought consequences throughout the system, for God's just and providential rule underpinned the whole. Reform of the church to him was not simply a technical or ecclesiastical concern: it was at the root of the evil days currently experienced. Viewing heresy as a result of current abuses, The Complaynt logically opposed the policy of burning heretics as treating the symptoms and not the cause of the disease.[5]

> "And this plag and scisma sal neuyr be reformit for na statutis, lauis, punitions, bannessing, byrnyng, hayrschip nor torment that can be deuisit quhil on to the tyme that the speritualite reforme ther auen abusion."

The argument of The Complaynt provided a coherent scheme of cause and effect based on presuppositions of the nature of society (a commonwealth) and the sovereignty of God.[6] Conservative and backward looking in his vision of an ideal nation, Wedderburn cited extensively from the Greek and Roman classics, from French, Italian and Scottish literature and legend. His major source was the Bible, which was cited throughout the work and viewed as authoritative.[7] His was a learned version of the mentality which, in the less educated, placed great weight in portents and other supernatural phenomena that could indicate the judgments of God as surely as the course of history.[8]

It is likely that Mr Robert Wedderburn's tract originated in opposition to memories of Mr George Wishart's

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5. Complaynt p.126.
6. R.Mason, "Covenant and Commonweal" Church,Politics and Society ed. N.Macdougall (Edinburgh 1983) p.108-112.
7. A.W.Stewart's introduction to The Complaynt pp.xxi,xxvii.
8. See Diurnal p.321; Knox's History i 124.

preaching in Dundee. Wishart had earlier viewed plague as the hand of God, revealed in judgment. He, however, had interpreted the plague to strike Dundee in 1545 as the divine punishment that he had predicted when he was forced to abandon preaching in the burgh. Though Wishart had linked plague with rejection of God's Word,[9] others of the protestants with English links had seen a wider pattern in events. John Elder in a private letter concluded that the pest, hunger, fire and sword of 1545 were God's punishment on those who had gone back on their sworn word and cast aside the solemn treaties of Greenwich.[10] Wishart, Elder and Wedderburn shared the same view of causation: that God's judgments were active in the world. Their description of current events was the same. Wedderburn, however, sought to consider the protestant heresy as one of the plagues of judgment; Wishart viewed his preaching as part of the cure sent by God to remedy the nation's evils. The Complaynt was published in France in 1550 and dedicated to Mary of Guise.[11] It sought to use a shared Christian world-view and authorities revered by all shades of learned opinion in order to support a policy that linked reform of the church with patriotic revival of the nation and with opposition to England.

In the struggle between Mary of Guise and the earl of Arran for political supremacy, both sides looked for allies. At various points between 1548 and 1558 both sides followed a policy of religious toleration and of reform of the church from within. Wedderburn's The Complaynt fits a context when the abuses of the first estate were generally recognised: when the debate had moved

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9. Knox's History i pp.60-63.
10. L&P Henry VIII xx (2) no.573.
11. A.W.Stewart's introduction to The Complaynt p.x.

to the character of the coming reform, rather than whether reform was necessary at all. The defeat at Pinkie threw Scotland into dependence on France: Arran, discredited, obtained the French duchy of Châtelherault and began to surrender power to Mary of Guise. Yet even in eclipse, the duke's political authority was not wholly removed. He secured the archbishopric of St Andrews for his half-brother John and the abbey of Arbroath for his son, Lord John Hamilton. Archbishop John Hamilton as legatus a latere was responsible for a series of reforming councils of the Scottish church - councils which seem to have owed little if anything to Rome, had connections with projected Catholic/Lutheran reforms in the diocese of Cologne, and might - had circumstances been favourable - have led to a Henrician-style reformation in Scotland.[12] Meanwhile, Mary of Guise deployed French gold and influence to conciliate and win over nobles who had previously favoured the protestant cause, including the earl Marischal and John Erskine of Dun.[13] After the murder of cardinal Beaton and the ending of the English wars, events conspired to put church reform on the political agenda, and to give certain reformers limited political credit.

It may be that Mr Robert Wedderburn was one of those reformers who had attracted the notice and patronage of Mary of Guise. Earlier, he had been associated with the burning of an

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12. G.Donaldson, James V to James VII pp.78-84; J.H.Burns, "The Political Background", IR x pp.210-215; J.K.Cameron, "Catholic Reform" in RSCHS vol.20 (1979) 111-115; T.Winning "Church Councils in sixteenth-century Scotland", IR x pp.311-337.
13. Marischal was part of the queen-mother's entourage for her visit to France in 1550 and received financial support from her: NLS, Balcarres papers 29.2.5 f.142. Erskine was one of the commissioners sent to France in 1557 to negotiate the marriage of Mary queen of Scots, and had signed a bond of manrent with the queen-dowager in 1549: G.Donaldson, James V to James VII pp.80,89. See also chapter 2.76-80 for Marischal and 2 n.120-37 for Dun.

effigy of cardinal Beaton, had been suspected of assisting the castilians at St Andrews, and was presumably acquainted with his brother John's production of the Gude and Godlie Ballatis.[14] The vicar of Dundee's positive approach to reform suited the mood of the burgh in the early 1550s. I.E.Flett's study of the burgh found examples of traditional piety - a concern for the up-keep of altars, for observance of the feast days. On the other hand, Flett also discovered that funds that previously would have been devoted to wax candles for the altars were increasingly channelled to the poor in the 1550s. The iconoclasm of 1543 had not been without some lasting effect. Burghal piety was beginning to discover new, more cost-effective means of expressing itself as belief in the sacrifice of the Mass and the treasury of the saints waned. Further, the magistrates defended their own schoolmaster Thomas Macgibbon when the abbot of Lindores, attempting to assert his own rights in the school, objected that Macgibbon's teaching was unorthodox.[15]

Although the date of the various songs and pieces now collected as The Gude and Godlie Ballatis is uncertain, several must have been current in this period and sung in Dundee - expressive of a continuing anti-clericalism. The strongly polemical songs "Hay now the day dallis" (with its refrain, "The nycht is neir gone"), "Preistis, Christ beleue", "Remember man, remember man" and "The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde" seem to date from this period.[16] Dundee's role as a centre for the import of European

14. I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.52. A.F.Mitchell argues that The Complaynt shows evidence of knowledge of some of the songs:- The Gude and Godlie Ballatis ed.A.F.Mitchell (STS 1897) p.xxxix.
15. I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.50-56.
16. The Gude and Godlie Ballatis ed.A.F.Mitchell pp.192-207. In 1552 parliament passed an act against the singing of "ballattis, sangis, blasphematious rymes": APS ii 438f.

reformed works was probably increased by the return from exile of James Rollock, conservator of Scots trade at Campvere.[17] In Dundee the years from 1550 to 1558 seem to have seen an entrenchment of protestant sentiment in the burgh, which was beginning to affect the conduct of affairs. As these years were ones in which it was not the policy of church or state to persecute religious dissent, actual trials for heresy did not occur. Lack of convictions does not imply a waning of the reform movement. It is difficult to believe that the impact of reformed doctrine was not behind the new oath laid down for the Dundee baxter craft on 23 November 1554, notable for its emphasis on preaching and omission of traditional Marian devotion.[18]

> "1. In the first ze sall fear, serve, and obey the Almichtie God, maker of heawine and earth, se sall frequent vith reverence To the hearing of his holy vord, and to the participatioun of his blessed sacramentis."

Yet whether the doctrines so expressed were protestant, or reformed catholic in the style of archbishop John Hamilton, remains unclear. The climate of affairs was in favour of eccelesiastical reform: protestantism itself was gaining ground in the popular mind, but Dundee's protestants still lacked the essential political strength to surface as an openly-organised congregation.

The development of religious dissent in Dundee was not without significance for the rest of Angus. The relationship between the landward lairds and the burgh merchants was symbiotic. If the Dundee merchants made their best profits by exporting wool-fells, it was from the estates of the Braes of Angus that they first purchased these. David Lindsay, ninth earl of

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17. I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.53.
18. A.Maxwell, Burgh Laws p.322 cited Flett, op.cit. p.65.

Crawford, charged that 1,100 sheep had been rieved from his lands during the spulzie of Finavon.[19] His successor, David Lindsay of Edzell, owned 1000 sheep jointly with his wife Dame Helen Lindsay on her death in 1579:[20] Of necessity, the Lindsays of Edzell - as with the earls of Crawford, the Ogilvies of Airlie and the other large landowners - required regular dealings with trusted burgesses of Dundee. The Crawford muniments reveal that Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford, had wider connections. She left to her son Lindsay of Edzell the silver cup she had instructed Robert Clark, burgess of Montrose, to purchase for her in Paris while she attended the court of the queen-regent. She acknowledged debts owed by her to James Robertson, merchant-burgess of Edinburgh for delivering certain merchandise she had ordered: other sums were owed to an Edinburgh "ipothecar".[21] Clark was to become one of the regular bailies of Montrose, a close associate of provost John Erskine of Dun and probably related to him by marriage.[22] Robertson may have been one of Edinburgh's protestants associated with the earl of Morton in the 1570s.[23] Although the religious opinions of these particular

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19. See chapter 1 n.27.
20. The inventory for Dame Helen listed this 1000 as follows: JRL, The Craw. mss.,5.1.4.

Mains of Edzell:	80+	yowes [ewes]		
	60	wethers [castrated males]		
	40	hogs [birth to 1st clipping]		
	50	gimmers and dinmonts [1st to 2nd years]		
Mains of Ardoch:	60	yowes	Mergy:	60 yowes
	120	wethers		80 wethers
Crofto:	80	wethers	Glenesk:	60 yowes
	50	yowes		80 wethers

21. JRL, The Craw. mss., 3.1.16. Herbert Gledstanes, a frequent notary for Edzell charters, is among those listed by Sir Francis Mudie as part of the "Protestant pro-English party" of Dundee in the 1540s. JRL The Crawford mss., 1.1.14: Broughty Castle (AHSP 1970) p.17.
22. Burgh records, B.51.1.1 (protocol books Richard and James Guthrie) fs.2r,4r [John Erskine of Dun acknowledging a debt to William Erskine and his wife Isobel Clark]; also fs.41v,62v.
23. M.Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh 1981) p.155.

burgesses cannot be discovered before 1560, it would have been along similar routes and by similar relationships that dissenting literature and opinions were imported by Dundee and Montrose merchants[24] and disseminated to the lairds of Angus and Mearns from these "power-stations" or "stations of high tension".[25] It is notable that the lairds most obviously associated with religious dissent in Angus and the Mearns during the 1540s were grouped in clusters around these east-coast burghs.[26] Mr Robert Wedderburn testified to the popularity of heresy in his experience when he wrote that, around 1550, the new sects "hef maye fauoraris nor aduersaris".[27]

Among Mary of Guise's gestures of conciliation were the moves taken in 1550 to release the various Scots held captive in the French galleys following the fall of St Andrews castle. John Knox had been freed somewhat earlier, in 1547.[28] His preaching tour of 1555 and 1556 had a significant impact on the direction to be taken by church reform in Scotland. The main thrust of

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24. Knox's History i p.25: "the knowledge of God did wonderously increase ... chiefly by merchants and mariners, who, frequenting other countries, heard the true doctrine affirmed....Amongst whom were Dundee and Leith." Knox referred to the late 1530s and 1540s.
25. In France, "the towns were power-stations of the Reformation", being heirs of the lines of communication developed over the years between the different regions: M.Prestwich, "Calvinism in France, 1555-1629" in International Calvinism (Oxford 1985) p.81; which also cites C.H.Haskins's metaphor taken from the transmission of electricity, p.77. Dr M. Lynch argues that the development of the reformed religion within Scottish burghs could be a "stop-go" process, subject to delay and compromise. Nevertheless, burgh caution in altering the traditional cult did not necessarily compromise the role of burgh merchants as purveyors of ideas and literature: M.Lynch, "From privy kirk to burgh church: an alternative view of the process of protestantisation" in Church, politics and society ed.N.Macdougall, (Edinburgh 1983) pp.93-94.
26. Around Dundee: Lord Gray, Scrymgeour of Dudhope and Dundee, constable of Dundee, Lord Glamis, Strachan of Carmyllie, Durham of Grange, Lovell of Ballumbie. Around Montrose: Erskine of Dun, Melville of Baldovie, Straiton of Lauriston.
27. Complaynt p.126.
28. W.Stanford Reid, Trumpeter of God (Michigan 1974) p.68.

Knox's teaching, according to his own account, was the idolatry of the Mass, and hence the necessity for those "who had a zeal to godliness" not to compromise their faith by occasional conformity. Knox tells us that it was John Erskine of Dun who called a gathering over supper in his lodging at Edinburgh to debate this question: that those that were present were convinced by his reasonings, and that John Erskine followed up his initiative by hosting Knox for a month at Dun, "whereunto resorted the principal men of that country". The close connection evident between John Knox and John Erskine of Dun during Knox's 1555-6 tour was to remain a feature of their careers. It seems likely that Knox was responsible at this time for Erskine's final break from the Roman church - and that the laird of Dun brought several of his neighbours out of the old church with him. Knox paid two visits to Dun in these years: of the second, he reports[29]

> "From thence he departed the second time to the Laird of Dun; and teaching them in greater liberty, the gentlemen required that he should minister likewise unto them the Table of the Lord Jesus, whereof were partakers the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns; who, God be praised, to this day constantly do remain in the same doctrine which they then professed, to wit, that they refused all society with idolatry, and bound themselves, to the uttermost of their powers, to maintain the true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, as God should offer unto them preachers and opportunity."

Knox's success in winning these "gentlemen" to his radical viewpoint had added significance in view of the growing likelihood of reform sponsored from within the church: conversion of Erskine of Dun and other protestant leaders to an understanding of the Mass as idolatry pre-empted any possibility that they would be prepared to settle for compromise reforms on the lines of Cologne.[30]

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29. Knox's History i 120-122.
30. Dr M.Lynch suggests that in general in the 1550s, "the initiative had passed ... to a Catholic reform movement". International Calvinism p.226. He somewhat discounts this success of Knox's.

That the Mass was idolatry was no new opinion of John Knox's. While serving as a minister in Edward VI's England in 1550, he had defended his preaching against the Mass before the Council of the North, convened at Newcastle upon Tyne. He developed his thesis by way of contrasting the Lord's Supper with the Mass. Whereas the former was in token of remembrance for the death of Christ, the single sacrifice for sin, the Mass was held to be itself a sacrifice that could persuade the Almighty to remit sin. According to Knox, the Lord's Supper was a gift from God to man - whereas the Mass was a sacrifice offered by man to God. In the Supper, the participants acknowledged themselves redeemed from sin and death: through the Mass, the worshippers sought forgiveness. For the Supper, all (including the president) sat, dressed alike, and ate and drank together; in the Mass, the priest was distinguished by his position at the altar and by his vestments - he alone participated in the elements. Knox concluded that the Mass was idolatry - being an invention of man, set up to worship God - and also an abomination, in that it falsely claimed to remit sins.[31]

Knox's view of the Mass was one with his view of the Roman church - that it was the church of the antichrist. This was the view he had argued in his first public sermon, given while serving as chaplain to the castillians at St Andrews castle. In it he defined views he was to hold life-long, that there could be no compromise between the "immaculate spouse of Jesus" and the "synagogue of Satan" led by the Pope, "the man of sin". Arguing that the Roman church was that empire, predicted in the book of Daniel, that was to devour the saints, Knox passed on to condemn as unscriptural such

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31. Knox, Works iii 64-75: "A vindication of the doctrine that the Mass is idolatry".

practices as celebration of holy days, fasting and vows of celibacy. In 1555, he concentrated on establishing the polarity of the Lord's Supper from the Mass: yet this polarity took its force from the basic identification of the existing religion as an anti-church.[32] At a deeper level yet, the argument against both church and Mass took force from its eschatological framework: the antichrist was a creature of the Last Days, his rule the final challenge to the saints before Christ's victorious return. Living as they were in a world where the traditions of centuries were facing challenge, people of the sixteenth century were prone to understand their times in terms of this final crisis. The works of both Mr Robert Wedderburn and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount contain this eschatological perspective.[33] Though Knox

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32. K.Fɹrth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain (Oxford 1979) p.114-118 discusses the basic text in Knox's History i 186f.
33. Fɹrth, Apocalyptic Tradition p.111-113 discusses The Complaynt by Wedderburn and Lindsay's Monarche. Further evidence of interest in eschatology in Angus comes from an entry in the protocol style book of sir Alexander Ramsay (1530-1563). An entry dated 1561 transcribes a vernacular Scots poem headed "Of ye extreme Iugement". The work takes the form of a youth questioning "Father Experience"; the first stanza runs thus:

"Father, said I, wyt yir licence
Sene ye haif sic experance,
Yit ane thing at zow wald I speir
Quhen sall that dreidfull day appeir
Quhilk ye call iugement generall
Quhat thingis affor that day sall fall
Quhare sall appeir that dredfull iuge
Or quha may faltouris get refuge ?"

Experience, after answering that no-one knew the day or hour of judgment, divided the ages into three on the basis of Daniel and Isaiah: 2000 years from Creation to Abraham, 2000 years from Abraham to Christ, 2000 years from Christ to Judgment.

"And so remainis to cum but weir
Four hundreth togidder wIilt nyntene zeir
And then the lord Omnipotent
Sall cum till his greit iugement."

The last verses, however, add the promise of Christ that the Last Days would be shortened for the sake of the elect - allowing the author/copyist to view the turmoil of his own times as part of the predicted end-time tribulation, yet without such a sense of the imminence of the Coming as to prevent normal life. Banff Charters, GD 83.1092 pages 23-25.

did not lay emphasis on eschatology apart from its use in lending weight to his appeals for patient endurance,[34] it formed a most satisfactory conceptual basis for his analysis of the current state of Scotland and its church - and for his proposed radical remedies.[35]

It was to this view of the world and the Roman church that Knox persuaded the laird of Dun and the gentlemen of the Mearns in 1555 or 1556. Its implications were clear: they could no longer participate in the ceremonies of the unreformed church, and were bound instead both to create their own parallel institutions and to seek to destroy those of the antichrist - they were committed to participation in the cosmic struggle against "principalities and powers". In consequence, they commissioned Knox to celebrate the Lord's Supper for them as a token of their new-found unity and commitment, and he, recognising them as a congregation of believers, agreed.[36] Before 1555-56, the protestant movement in Angus and the Mearns been a diverse mixture of popular anti-clericalism linked with lairdly political factions; a mixture of simple Biblically-based piety and occasional discussion-groups over supper. Knox provided both the conceptual cement to link these together and the prophetic, charismatic authority to spur on his hearers to commit themselves to positive action.[37]

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34. See addenda to chapter 7 for a detailed comparison of the use made by John Erskine and John Knox of eschatological thought.
35. Knox shared his identification of the Pope with the antichrist with those English protestants for whom this equation "provided the central organising principle for a whole view of the world". P.Lake, "The Significance of the Elizabethan Identification of the Pope as Antichrist" JEH vol.31 (1980) p.161.
36. R.L.Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation (Michigan 1980) pp.104-5.
37. J.Ridley, John Knox (OUP 1968) p.231.

Who, then, were these "gentlemen" - "the most part of the gentlemen of the Mearns" - who had thus become foundation-members of the "congregation of Angus and the Mearns" ? As Knox fails to give their names, only speculation is possible. He does, however, add the information that at the time he wrote part one of his History (1566) the same men were still constant in their faith.[38] Certainly, the Mearns lairds of this period present the appearance of a close-knit group. After the earl Marischal, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie (inherited 1513: died 1570) was probably the most influential in the shire. In 1544, he had a remission for breach of the acts forbidding disputing about the Scriptures and for reading certain imported books. In 1563, he was to attend the General Assembly as commissioner for the Mearns; and earlier that year, had committed himself to consult John Erskine of Dun as superintendent on the stipends to be paid to the minister and readers out of the teinds of Glenbervie owed to Mr Robert Erskine, the parson. Glenbervie's ties to the Erskines were not just neighbourly: his daughter Margaret married John of Balhaggartie, heir of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, in 1550. When on 28 Febuary 1557/8 Archibald Douglas infeft his heir William as fiar of Glenbervie, John Erskine of Balhaggartie was a leading witness to the charter, which was drawn up by John Erskine of Dun's own notary Mr Andrew Elder and attested by the sheriff-clerk for Kincardine, Robert Milne - both of whom were to serve in the reformed church. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie supported the Reformation in parliament in 1560: he seems a suitable candidate for consideration as one of Knox's auditors in 1555-6.[39]

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38. W.Croft Dickinson, Knox's History i xci.
39. See appendix B no.043; RSS iii 820; CC 1.1a; RD 1.6 f.106r; Prot.Book Cristison nos.449,441; RMS iii 1254 and see appendices A.a no.097 and A.c nos.049,155; APS ii 525/6.

Closely associated with Douglas of Glenbervie was Alexander Falconer of Haulkerton (fiar 1544, inherited 1557) who had married Douglas' daughter Elizabeth around 1544. Both Glenbervie and Alexander's father, David Falconer of Haulkerton had had protections as friends of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin in 1533-4: John Erskine of Dun had chosen David Falconer to represent him at an arbitration in 1546. Alexander Falconer was first witness at his brother-in-law William Douglas' infeftment as fiar, and was appointed overman, together with James earl of Morton, to Archibald Douglas' executors in the latter's will of September 1570. Although no direct evidence of either Haulkertons' association with the reformed kirk exists, their links of choice and of kin with Douglas of Glenbervie and Erskine of Dun make both David and Alexander Falconer candidates for having partaken of the Lord's Supper at Dun in 1555-6.[40]

George Straiton of that ilk and of Lauriston (inherited c.1546, dead by 1575) has already been mentioned as one of those who read the Scriptures with Erskine of Dun and David Straiton before the latter's execution. He too had had a remission in 1544 for offences associated with heresy and was to participate in the parliament of 1560. In 1568, he was to support the strongly protestant regency of Moray against those who preferred the claims of Mary queen of Scots.[41] On 27 Febuary 1560/61, George Straiton of that ilk, John Erskine of Dun and Alexander Falconer of Haulkerton were chosen by John Wishart of Pittarrow as judge-arbiters nominated by him to settle a boundary dispute.[42] Such judges were chosen both for their local

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40. See appendix B nos.056,057; RSS iii 820; Erskine of Dun mss, GD 123.1; RMS iii 1254; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.12 f.34v.
41. See chapter 2 ns.51-2,77: appendix B no.269; APS ii525/6; Fraser, Douglas Book iii p.212.
42. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory (NRA(S) 5 no.378.

knowledge and as trusted friends of the parties - of both parties, where possible. Clearly a respected member of this tight fellowship of Mearns lairds, Straiton seems to have joined Erskine of Dun in making the transition from the time of questioning they shared in the 1530s to an explicit protestant commitment in the 1550s.

About the allegiance of John Wishart of Pittarrow (inherited 1525, died 1585), there is little room for doubt. Wishart was another of Sir Thomas of Brechin's party who had been remitted for opinions tending to heresy in 1544; he was one of the few northern lairds who supported Lennox and Angus at Leith in 1543/4. Frequently invited to witness charters issued by such as Douglas of Glenbervie and Erskine of Dun, Wishart was prominent among the Lords of the Congregation in 1559-60, associated with Lord James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, and in favour with the ultra-protestant English ambassador Randolph - being described by the latter as[43]

> "a man mervileus wyse, discryte and godly, with owte spotte or wryncle".

In that Sir John's career had involved a more active opposition to cardinal Beaton and governor Arran, his protestant credentials might be said to be more consistent even than Erskine of Dun's. Whereas the latter was to find his vocation in the reformed church, Wishart as Comptroller and Collector-General of the Thirds was to follow his father as a servant of the crown, under the patronage of the Lord James.[44]

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43. See appendix B nos.288,289; ADCP p.420; RSS iii 820,857,948; RMS iv 908; Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4 bund.no.2; CSP(S) i nos.480,550,959.
44. Mr James Wishart of Pittarrow was Justice-Clerk and Advocate, 1513 x 1524: ADCP pp4,211. Sir John was a Lord of the Articles and a member of the Council by the summer of 1560: CSP(S) i 879; RPC xiv 300.

Other lairds can still be added to this list of possible communicants in 1555/6. Alexander Ogston of Fettercairn was to be a commissioner to the Assembly in 1563 and a king's man in 1568; he married Margaret Strachan, relict of William Ramsay of Balmain who had been involved with heresy before 1544.[45] Robert Graham of Morphie (infeft as a minor, 1511: died 1593) was under the tutorship of John Erskine of Dun as a young man and one of Sir Thomas's friends in 1533/4; he fought for Lennox at Glasgow Moor in 1544. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie agreed to be a surety for him in 1556; he signed the Band of the Scottish Nobility "to set forward the Reformation of Religion" in April 1560 and became an elder of the new kirk.[46] John Strachan, eleventh laird of Thornton, had been part of Sir Thomas Erskine's following, had absented himself from the host at Pinkie but attended the 1560 parliament, having had a feu-charter to lands in the parish of Conveth from Lord James Stewart as prior of St Andrews. He consistently supported the protestant regents during the civil wars.[47] John Allardice of that ilk (inherited as a minor 1547) might have been brought to Dun by his curator, John Wishart of Pittarrow: he was to marry Beatrix Keith, daughter of the earl Marischal in 1558.[48] The deputy-sheriff of the Mearns, David Barclay of Mathers, had close ties to the Erskines, being married to a Jean Erskine and acting as bailie for Sir Thomas of Brechin in 1550. He had been associated with heresy before 1544 and with Douglas of Glenbervie as a surety for the laird of Morphie in 1556. As he had been succeeded

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45. See appendix B no.223; CC 1.1a; Fraser, Douglas Book iii 212; and see chapter 2 n.118.
46. See appendix B no.092; Scott of Brotherton mss GD 70.351; ADCP p.420; RSS iv 2452; Reg.Deeds RD 1.1 f.262v; CSP(S) i 751; JRL, The Craw. mss. box P bund.vi no.16.
47. See appendix B no.266; ADCP p.420; RSS iii 2938, iv 2544; RMS iv 1941; APS ii 525/6; Fraser, Douglas Book iii 212.
48. See appendix B no.003; RMS iv 1337.

by his son George in 1563, however, it cannot be said that he exactly fulfils the criteria given by Knox for those at Dun in 1555/6.[49] Other likely candidates are Henry Fullerton portioner of Craigo and William Fullerton of Ardoch - both close neighbours of Dun, the latter John Erskine's chief factor and to be associated with him in the administration of the church in Angus and the Mearns as a collector of the thirds there.[50]

Few of the lairds of the Mearns remain to be considered. William Ramsay of Balmain's heir David, though a king's man in 1568, was still a minor in 1555.[51] William Lundie of Benholm had been linked to the Erskines, but the estate during the 1550s had been inherited by an heiress and a minor, Elizabeth Lady Benholm.[52] Little is known of Walter Wood of Balbegno and William Rait of Hallgreen, but both may have retained conservative sympathies: perhaps because they seem not to have found a place among the kin and friends of the lairds so far discussed. Wood of Balbegno, of course, was kin to David Wood of Craig who himself held lands in the Mearns in addition to his own property south of Montrose, having the feu of lands in the barony of Newlands from the abbey of Arbroath in the time of cardinal David Beaton. Craig, the former comptroller, was commissioned in 1552 to raise troops in Angus to serve in France; he was to support Mary queen of Scots until his death in 1566.[53]

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49. See appendix B no.016; ADCP p.420; RSS iii 820; Dalhousie mss GD 45.16.960;Reg.Deeds RD 1.1 f.262v.
50. See appendix B nos.072,069; DAC prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.18v; Reg.Deeds RD 1.9 f.226r.
51. See appendix B no.233.
52. See appendix B nos.163,164.
53. See appendix B nos.293,230,297; AUL The Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.v: no.286; RMS iii 2741 for five feus of kirklands; RPC i 132; RPC i 380-1; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.11 f.158r.

The position of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk seems to have remained conservative rather longer than many of his neighbours. In the Arbuthnott aisle and its associated chaplaincy, his house had a substantial and recent investment in orthodoxy. The history of the Arbuthnotts written by their distinguished protestant member, Mr Alexander Arbuthnott principal of King's College, Aberdeen, makes this clear. Robert's father, David of that ilk, was described by Mr Alexander in the following terms:[54]

> "yis was ane single mane and of gryt estima[t]ion in ye Mernis, quho be his wysdome, magnificence, liberalitie, godliness, honor[able] houshalding, nomber off dependeris, and be mony notable deidis he nowreit and advancit ye hous..."

The building of the aisle was the chief claim advanced by principal Arbuthnott for his forefather's godliness. "... quhow zelus he wes in decorning and biging of halie bigingis" was shown both by the edifice itself (which can still be admired as part of the modern parish church of Arbuthnott) and by the fact that the funds for the construction were found by the laird himself, without call upon his tenants. Further, he mortified a yearly rent of £10 Scots to the chaplain,[55]

> "leist so gorgus ane building suld haif apperit to haif bein buildit in vaine or be ye negligence of ye keiparis mycht haif decayd..."

As well as the example of his father's piety, Robert Arbuthnott also had a kinsman who had become a Dominican friar following the defeat at Flodden "for devotionis caus to leif ye warld".[56] A commitment to the Reformation could seem to Arbuthnott to involve an un-filial attitude at odds with traditional veneration of kin.

The career of the laird of Arbuthnott in

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54. AUL, ms.2764: "Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticae familiae descriptio historicae" (trans. Mr William Morrison) fs.78-9.
55. AUL ms.2764 "Arbuthnoticae familiae" fs.80-82.
56. AUL ms.2764 "Arbuthnoticae familiae" f.77.

the 1530s and early 1540s in fact conformed to that of his neighbours: he was part of the party of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, and he had a remission for illegal discussion of the Scriptures in 1544. His connection with the Keiths, however, seems to have been through his marriage to Christine Keith c.1536, rather than from any religious convictions. On 10 February 1544/5, he had a charter to the kirklands of Arbuthnott from cardinal Beaton "for defence of the church against Lutherans and others". Christine Keith's will when she died in 1553 left £6 to the priests on the day of her funeral and an additional 40s for processions and masses: the lady of Arbuthnott died, in fact, in the traditional faith. It was probably not until 1560 or soon after that Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk joined the congregation of the Mearns.[57]

Finally, the position of the Keiths remains to be discussed. William, earl Marischal, had been one of the focal points of the protestant movement at the time of George Wishart. He had been one of the Scottish lords of whom, with Patrick Lord Gray, the English expected most in 1547-8.[58] Nevertheless the earl was reported at Mass with the queen-regent in 1552.[59] Probably personally favourable to at least some aspects of protestantism, the earl had estates widely spread throughout Scotland that could be endangered by unwise actions. Besides, his second son Mr Robert Keith had been granted the abbey of Deer in 1544 and appears to have remained catholic by conviction during his life. The earl's eldest son and heir, however, William master of Marischal, was a close associate

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57. ADCP p.420; RSS iii 820; RMS iii 1545, 3065; AUL ms.2764 bund.vi: no. 351; and see appendix B no.005.
58. See chapter 2 ns.76-80.
59. Hamilton Papers ii 406.

of James Stewart prior of St Andrews. The master was part of the inner circle of the Lords of the Congregation.[60] Had either the earl or the master of Marischal been present at Dun in 1555/6, Knox would certainly have recalled it: in fact, he recounted that the earl was "allured" to hear him preach in Edinburgh, and was so "contented" that the earl asked him to write a tract for transmission to Mary of Guise. This was the "pasquil" she later handed on to archbishop James Beaton of Glasgow. It was Alexander earl of Glencairn, however, not the earl Marischal, who was bold enough to hand Knox's message to Mary.[61] In 1555 and 1556, the lairds of the Mearns were prepared to entertain Knox and his message in the safety of their own shire: it was another thing again to venture open support for such a hot-head as Knox at court, even though the regent was wooing the support of the reforming lords.

When Knox returned to Geneva, he left behind within the Scottish movement for religious reform a small number of influential men who were committed protestants. He had celebrated the Lord's Supper not only at Dun, but for the earl of Glencairn in the west and at Calder House in Lothian. He had had contact not only with Glencairn and Marischal, but with Argyll and his heir Lord Lorne; with Lord Erskine, with Lord James Stewart, half-brother to Mary queen of Scots. These men were among the most powerful in the kingdom. Already linked to each other by ties of marriage,[62] after 1555 they became a political faction whose programme included a reform of the church on protestant lines. Leadership was in the hands of the younger men - Lord James, Glencairn, Lord Lorne. Those

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60. RSS iii 830; CSP(S) iii 221; CSP(S) i 1057.
61. Knox's History i 122-3.
62. Lord E.Percy, John Knox (London 1937) p.230-231.

protestants most deeply committed in the 1540s - Marischal and Gray - were reluctant again to be drawn into conflict. John Erskine of Dun and Mearns lairds like Wishart of Pittarrow therefore represented valuable continuity.

As the Lords of the Congregation - as they were to become known - developed from an association of like-minded men, becoming first a faction and then a military force, they developed further links with each other. John Erskine of Dun seems to have been a guiding figure among the small group of families that formed the privy kirk of Edinburgh: he was also to be found dining at St Andrews with the sub-prior there, John Winram.[63] Growing ties between the prior, Lord James Stewart, and Wishart of Pittarrow have been mentioned. Ecclesgreig and Fordoun parishes had their parsonages appropriated to the priory: these were the parish churches for the lairds of Mathers, Lauriston and Pittarrow. After the Reformation, they were to be served by canons of the priory.[64]

Overshadowing the growing influence of Lord James Stewart in the Mearns was that of the Campbells of Argyll in Angus. This was associated with two people: abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar and Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. The link between these two Campbells was long-standing. In 1539 Dame Katherine Campbell's first husband the master of Ogilvy, together with his father, had given his bond to serve and defend the abbot and convent of Coupar in exchange for a grant of the bailiery of Coupar to the house of Airlie and the lands of Clintlaw and Auchindorie to the

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63. Knox's History i 119,120; Copiale Prioratus Sanctiandree ed.J.H. Baxter (Oxford 1930) pp.xxvi-xxvii.
64. See appendix A.c nos.082,019.

master and his new wife.[65] The couple had a further lease to Meikle Forter in 1540.[66] When both James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie and his son died in 1547, Dame Katherine became both tutrix to the heir and executrix of the estate. Acting with her as curators were Thomas Ogilvy of Wester Craigs, abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar and John Lord Erskine.[67] From 1547 to 1563, James fifth Lord Ogilvy was to remain a minor, subject (though to a decreasing extent) to the guidance - both economic and political - of his mother, the abbot, and his uncle Thomas of Wester Craigs.

Of these two Campbells, abbot Donald had the closer ties to the earl of Argyll - being in fact brother to Colin, second earl and hence uncle to Archibald the third earl.[68] It was in the company of Argyll that Donald Campbell had signed cardinal Beaton's Linlithgow Bond: the abbot had been associated with Argyll's attempts to besiege the fort of Broughty, on one occasion inspiring a raid of 150 horse and foot raised by himself.[69] Between 1549 and 1554, Châtelherault attempted without success to obtain papal provision of the abbot of Coupar to the bishopric of Dunkeld, from which see the earl of Argyll held Castle Campbell in Dollar Glen.[70] In 1554, however, abbot Donald became Keeper of the Privy Seal - a post he held until 1562.[71] Archibald, earl of Argyll, appears to

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65. Airlie mss.,GD 16.7.1; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 74; RFVA, ASPA vol.105, May 1540.
66. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 74.
67. Airlie mss, GD 16.24.178.
68. C.A. Chrs. ii 276.
69. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.167; CSP(S) i 176.
70. RSS iv 310; ADCP p.595,600,623-5; RPC i 86f; RSS iv 1679,2142. During this period, Donald Campbell had also been in consideration for the archbishopric of Glasgow: R.K.Hannay, "Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers" SHR xxii (1925) p.34.
71. RMS iv 941,1436.

have steered a middle course between first cardinal Beaton and governor Arran, and then between Mary of Guise and Châtelherault, whose sister he had married. In consequence his uncle, having been brought into the ranks of the officers of state under Arran, retained the Seal under the queen-dowager.[72]

Dame Katherine was the daughter of Finlay Campbell of Corswell and sister to John Campbell of Cawdor, in Nairn. As her sister married Alexander Lord Fraser of Lovat and her brother was commendator of Ardchattan, in Argyll, she retained widespread connections with the Campbell interests even after her remarriage, (1550) to David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford.[73] During the 1550s her husband was a "lame-duck" earl, at odds with the master of Crawford his adopted son, and technically holding only a liferent of the earldom.[74] While the earl had the liferent, however, David Lindsay master of Crawford was starved of funds - he claimed to have "nocht ane merkis land be yeir of ye haill erldome" to call his own.[75]

The conflict between the ninth and tenth earls of Crawford can be traced in the Crawford muniments. The master having come of age in 1551, he sought to reduce his prior settlements with the earl as over-burdensome, especially the donation to the house of Edzell of the superiority of the baronies of Fern, Edzell and Newdosk and the lordship of Glenesk. A contract was agreed whereby the master would cease these actions for reduction provided the earl would

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72. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.187,190; G.Donaldson, All the Queens Men (London 1983) p.40.
73. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 74,75,86; RMS iv 987, 539.
74. See chapter 1 ns.79-92.
75. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 100.

redeem wadset lands to the sum of 2,700 merks. This agreement of 14 April 1551, however, specified that the earlier contracts of 10 April 1546 (the master's marriage to cardinal Beaton's daughter), 15 April and 9 August 1546 (bonds of service by the master to the earl) would be ratified. These included a warranty by the earl to infeft the master in the whole earldom - he therefore neglected to register the 1551 agreement with the books of the Lords of Council. The master thereupon sued the earl for breach of contract and had a cursing pronounced against him for breach of oath. In return, the earl claimed that the master had broken the terms of his bonds of 1546 not to alienate property without consent and not to pursue the earl at law: by 1556, both parties had the other excommunicated. By 27 March 1557, the master had secured orders from the lords warding the earl in Dumbarton Castle for failure to fulfil the registration promised in 1551: Mary of Guise transported the warding to Edinburgh Castle, as Dumbarton was "a cald, ruinous place". The contract was finally registered on 16 March 1557/8; but the earl was to die that year, leaving Dame Katherine as tutrix to their sons, including David Lindsay of Glenesk, heir of Edzell.[76] During the years 1558-1560, Dame Katherine therefore held in her hands the affairs of the house of Edzell as well as retaining influence over the house of Airlie through her son the Lord James and his most active curator, abbot Donald of Coupar.

It is tempting to describe the shire of Angus during the 1550s as suffering a temporary power-vaccuum: Airlie and Glamis were held by minors, as was the earldom of Angus itself by 1557. Crawford and the Lindsays were locked in legal warfare. Patrick,

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76. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 100, ii 65, i 95, ii 68-9 and 65; also, JRL, The Craw. mss 1.1.13.

Lord Gray, whose death for treason had been sought by the French towards the end of the wars of "The Rough Wooing", was only released from ward in 1554 by Mary of Guise, and faced a variety of law suits brought by burgesses of Dundee who sought at his hands reparations for damage by the English. In 1557 while with the army on the English border, he was again taken prisoner and hence he was in effect absent from the shire for most of the 1550s.[77] John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, having had his estate of Dudhope sequestered, appears to have retired to his own lands of Glaister, in Argyll; John Scrymgeour, younger, became constable.[78] It was the provost, however, James Haliburton tutor of Pitcur, who increasingly exercised control over the burgh. For politics, like nature, abhors a vaccuum. The temporary eclipse of the natural leaders of Angus society simply gave an opportunity for others to take their place. Abbot Donald Campbell and Dame Katherine Campbell, with their links to Archibald earl of Argyll, were offered an opportunity for increasing Campbell power in Angus in the years 1557-1560.

Bishop John Hepburn of Brechin died in the spring of 1557,[79] thus providing Donald Campbell with his third opportunity to add a bishopric to his abbacy. Duly nominated for the vacant see by Mary of Guise, he made arrangments for the necessary finance to "expedite" bulls from Rome conferring papal authority. The

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77. He had been sent into ward in 1550 when Mary of Guise paid a visit to France - Scottish Correspondence p.341; Ogilvy of Inchmartine, Monorgund of that ilk and Maule of Panmure were released by Mary in 1554 from their obligation that he would not escape. BL, Egerton ms 1819 f.10; ADCP p.628; RMS iv 384,407,1020; see also: Broughty Castle, Sir Francis Mudie and others (Abertay Historical Society pub.no.15, 1970) p.32.
78. Broughty Castle, Sir Francis Mudie and others, p.32.
79. See appendix A.a no. 176.

sources of these funds are of interest. Undoubtedly the abbot's sudden need for cash was behind the precipitate feuing of the estates of Coupar noted by Dr Sanderson, though the process may have been overtaken - perhaps perverted from feuing to occupiers to feuing to the abbot's kin - by the onset of the Reformation.[80] While negotations were proceeding with prospective feuars, however, the abbot borrowed 500 merks from his kinswoman Dame Katherine, and her husband the ninth earl of Crawford.[81] By 11 February 1557/8, he was able to provide half of the twelve hundred crowns he had contracted with Timothy Cagnoli, Edinburgh's resident Italian banker, to make available in Rome to Mr James Thornton, Campbell's agent there. The remaining £858 Scots the abbot obliged himself to pay, and named as his sureties John, Lord Erskine and Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird.[82] On 23 July 1558, Cagnoli issued a discharge for the balance of these funds.[83]

It would appear, however, that an element of the funding for the bulls was ear-marked for disbursement only when and if the Pope should agree to provide Donald Campbell to Brechin. Once the abbot had provided the full amount required, Cagnoli, acting under contract, placed an amount equal to the contingency fund in the hands of a third party - James Baron, burgess of Edinburgh. Baron was authorised to pay out these resources to the abbot in the event of Mr James Thornton notifying him that they were not required. Baron[84] discharged Cagnoli for this reserve on 16 March 1558/9 to a total of

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80. M.H.B.Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the 16th Century, (Edinburgh 1982) pp.90-93.
81. Reg.Deeds RD 1.2 f.359r.
82. Reg.Deeds RD 1.2 f.380v. For Cagnoli, CA Chrs. ii 204.
83. Reg.Deeds RD 1.3 f.57r.
84. Reg.Deeds RD 1.3 f.228r.

£1,327 13s 4d Scots. In May of 1559, Campbell's junior agent at Rome, John Row, wrote that the Pope, though increasingly difficult to interview, was not disposed to grant the bishopric while Campbell retained his abbacy, and was displeased by the abbot's recent adoption of secular clothing.[85] By July of 1559, Thornton had authorised repayment of the funds: presumably the Pope had finally rejected the nomination of Donald Campbell.[86] Some monies were repaid direct to the original subscribers, the earl of Argyll and Dame Katherine Campbell.[87] Thwarted at Rome, the abbot of Coupar was to continue his quest for the bishopric of Brechin through protestant channels.

Since 1540, considerable changes had taken place in the chapter of Brechin. Mr James Hamilton, a natural brother of the duke of Châtelherault, had obtained the deanery in 1545. His ambitions do not seem to have lain in Angus, however: having been an unsuccessful candidate for the archbishopric of Glasgow in 1547, he obtained the parsonage of Cadder - the subdean of Glasgow's prebend - in 1550. In 1553, Mr James was provided to the bishopric of Argyll, retaining the parsonage of Cadder, in exchange for the deanery of Brechin. The other party to this benefice exchange was the bishop-nominate of Argyll, Mr William Cunningham, brother of Alexander earl of Glencairn. Hamilton thus gained the political tool of a bishopric - even if an inconsiderable one.[88] Cunningham gained control, under the old bishop, of the chapter of Brechin - and was vicar-general of the diocese after Hepburn's death.[89] By the summer of 1557, therefore, the temporalities of Brechin were in the hands of John

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85. C.A. Rent. i 108-9 prints the letter.
86. Reg.Deeds RD 1.3 f.472r.
87. Reg.Deeds RD 1.3.f.343r.
88. Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls": SHR xxii p.37
89. See appendix A.a nos.164,079.

Erskine of Dun as bailie to the earl of Argyll, while spiritual control was in those of a brother of the earl of Glencairn, of all the protestant earls the most loyal to the cause.[90]

Several links can be established between dean William Cunningham and Dame Katherine Campbell, châtelaine of Edzell. When David Lindsay, ninth earl of Crawford, appointed Dame Katherine as his executrix the notarial instrument was witnessed by both abbot Donald Campbell and the dean of Brechin.[91] Dean Cunningham issued an instrument releasing Dame Katherine from excommunication on 10 October 1559; unfortunately the document relates only that the penalty had been imposed for "certain ecclesiastical offences", so the historian's curiosity is thwarted.[92] It is unlikely that the dean could have been ignorant of a feu-charter agreed by the chapter on 20 November 1557 that granted various lands to Dame Katherine and her husband.[93] Other members of the chapter related to the house of Edzell and its long-standing friends, the Erskines of Dun. The parson of Finavon, Mr David Lindsay, had had his rival's claims bought out by the ninth earl of Crawford. Mr David had been one of those who witnessed the precept whereby Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin infeft John Lord Erskine in his feu of the lordship of Brechin in exchange for the barony of Balhaggartie in Mar.[94] James Pitcairn was to set his archdeanery in tack to Arthur Erskine, Lord Erskine's brother, and had previously witnessed charters drawn up for

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90. Mahoney, "The Scottish Hierarchy", IR x (1) p.41 comments of this conjunction: "In December of the same year, Glencairn, Erskine and Argyll signed the "Godlie Band". There is thus the suspicion that Cunningham was closely associated with the leading reformers."
91. JRL, The Craw. mss., box E ii; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.76.
92. JRL, The Craw. mss., 3.1.6.
93. RMS v 884.
94. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.960.

John Erskine of Dun.[95]

The appointment of Mr William Cunningham, therefore, strengthened existing ties between the chapter of Brechin and the houses of Edzell and Dun. Certainly the most important of these was Mr Robert Erskine's tenure of the prebend of Glenbervie. Mr Robert was a brother of Erskine of Brechin: uncle of John of Dun. He had obtained Glenbervie by 1526, and his considerable career had included the provostry of Trinity College, Edinburgh, and the deanery of Aberdeen. In 1552, he added the parsonage of Arbuthnott to his collection of benefices, retaining the deanery and Glenbervie. Mr Robert was no stranger to Edzell: he had witnessed the bond of the master of Crawford to the ninth earl in 1546; his subscription occurs in 1549 and 1554 on tacks of teinds to the earl and Dame Katherine by David Lindsay, parson of Finavon. He was one of the chapter who had agreed the tack of lands to the earl and his wife in 1557. Mr Robert's participation in the affairs of the chapter of Brechin seems to have increased in the 1550s, and on occasion he was appointed to act for John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, in granting legatine confirmation of feu-charters associated with the diocese.[96]

Apart from the arrival of dean Cunningham, the most significant newcomer on the chapter of Brechin was John Hepburn, natural son of bishop John Hepburn. Born around

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95. See appendix A.a no.273.
96. See appendix A.a no.104. Mr Robert Erskine's attitude towards church reform is questionable. As dean of Aberdeen, he subscribed the chapter's petition to the bishop in 1559 that sought to implement reforms agreed at provincial councils. It is difficult, however, to see how Mr Robert could have been serious in signing a document that called for clerics to be resident in their parishes, to preach, and to avoid the company of suspected heretics. Spald. Misc. iv p.57: - a copy of the dean and chapter's counsel was retained in the Dun Papers.

1530, he was described at Rome as a scholar, of Brechin diocese, in 1541: and as under the age of eighteen years when his agents supplicated for his provision to the perpetual vicarage of Montrose in 1543. By 1549, he was subscribing with the chapter as treasurer of Brechin, and in 1556 the young man matriculated at St Salvator's College at St Andrews. Mr John Hepburn was obviously a significant presence at Brechin: he - despite his youth and junior prebend - presided over the chapter in the absence of dean Cunningham when the feu was granted to David Lindsay, ninth earl of Crawford. At the Reformation, he was accepted as the first minister of Brechin by the assembly of December 1560: by 1563, he was to be one of the first commissioners of the Assembly, with authority to plant kirks in Moray and the north.[97] By 1558, under the leadership of dean Cunningham and Mr John Hepburn, the chapter of Brechin was no longer the conservative - even reactionary - body it had been under the old bishop.

Whereas Campbell and Erskine influence had increased on the chapter of Brechin, a Hamilton had gained the abbey of Arbroath. Lord John Hamilton, Châtelherault's second son, had had bulls providing him to the abbey issued in Rome in 1551. Nevertheless, their service was delayed until 1553, so that they reached Scotland in January of 1553/4. R.K.Hannay speculates that Mary of Guise sought to prevent John Hamilton obtaining the abbey until his father had finally stepped down as governor of Scotland in her favour.[98] The arrival of a Hamilton in place of James Beaton at Arbroath signalled changes in the use of the patronage of the abbey. Whereas Ogilvy of Balfour had been graniter, now this post was granted to John Carnegy, natural son

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97. See appendix A.a no.175 and A.c no.107.
98. Hannay, "Some Papal Bulls", SHR xxii p.41.

of Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, and gifted administrator. John Carnegy had a grant in 1554 of the barony of Ethie, previously feued by the abbey to his father. During the 1550s, he also added to his lands held from the abbey the baronies of Seaton and Dunnichen.[99]

These gains by John Carnegy were only part of a wider association by his father Sir Robert, with the Hamilton interest. Since his opposition to the governor at Glasgow Moor in 1544, Robert Carnegy had had a successful and profitable career as a lawyer and diplomat in government service. Created a Lord of Session on 4 July 1547, he had been Justice-Depute for the trial of the earl of Rothes for the murder of cardinal Beaton - at which an assize acquitted the earl. In 1548, Carnegy shuttled between Scotland and England, negotiating between Huntly and Arran, and arranging the release by the French of various of the St Andrews castilians. Having facilitated Huntly's escape from England, he became keeper of the Great Seal and had the profits of the Seal while Huntly, the chancellor, was abroad. In 1551, as treasurer-clerk, Carnegy was in charge of the Scottish deputation to finalise the peace-treaties. In 1553 and 1554, he was a Scottish commissioner named to treat with English counterparts for pacification of the borders. His diplomatic skills were most tested, however, when he became an intermediary between Arran and France in the negotiations whereby Arran was granted the dukedom of Châtelherault in exchange for resigning as governor. For a time Arran's agent in France for the duchy, Carnegy appears to have retained the confidence of both Mary of Guise and the Hamiltons. In 1557, he was appointed ambassador to England by the queen-dowager,

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99. RH 4.96 (prot.bk.Pettilock) f.19v,89r; Northesk mss, GD 130 box 1 bund.3, box 2 bund.4; RMS v 197.

while remaining treasurer-clerk.[100]

On this latter occasion, Sir Robert made his will before leaving Scotland: a document, dated 1 April 1557, that is of considerable interest.[101]

> "I Robert Carnegy of Kynnard, tending, god willing, to tak my jornay in Ingland in the Quenis seruice, makis my testament in this maner: In primis, I leve my saull to God, and four hundretht merkis aucht to me be my lord Merschell, to my douchter Cristiane...." [He appointed as his executors his wife, Margaret Guthrie, and his son Mr David Carnegy of Colluthie.] "... to quhom I commit the dispositioun of my gudis to be distribut amang all my barnis that ar noder mareit nor benefyit. In witnes of the quhilk I have writin and subscriuit this writ wytht my hand, at Edinburcht, the first day [April 1557] and in case of discord betuix my barnis or executoris, quhilk I pray God auert, I leve my lordis of Sanctandrois and Orknay ouermen and jugis amangys thame; quhom I maist humelye beseyk to accept that charge."

Sir Robert's will is unusual in being written by a layman in person: perhaps because of this circumstance, it begins abruptly with the briefest of the standard clauses bequeathing the soul to God. Traditional wills included phrases praying for the intercession of the Virgin and the saints - as late as 1570, the earl of Montrose's last will would be so worded.[102] No pious legacies to priests and clerics at the time of the funeral are mentioned - as they had been by Christine Keith, Lady Arbuthnott in 1553.[103] Committed protestants, however, tended to include references to their trust in Christ for salvation, and made legacies to the poor.[104] The laird of Kinnaird's will suggests that he was a practical man, not committed to catholic

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100. ADCP p.567; C.Rogers, Memorials of the Strachans (Grampian Club no. 27, 1877) p.27-9; CSP(S) i212; Fraser, Southesk i 26-7 and 28-9; ADCP p.609; CSP(S) i376,379; RPC i 150; Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.no.1.
101. Southesk Misc. box 3,bund no.32; Fraser, Southesk i p.50.
102. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.4 f.178r.
103. See chapter 3 n.57.
104. Edin.Tests.CC 8.8.3 f.172v-175r: testament of William Durham of Grange. Testamentary evidence is discussed in chapter 9 ns.11-22.

orthodoxy, but with a conventional faith in God as judge and ultimate disposer of the affairs of men. Sir Robert Carnegy left as overmen to his executors John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and bishop Robert Reid of Orkney, both men supportive of catholic reform in the 1550s.

Besides his connection to the Hamiltons and his service of the government of Mary of Guise, Sir Robert also had links with John, Lord Erskine - one of those who had heard John Knox in 1555-56. In 1550, Lord Erskine had increased his presence in Angus by acquiring the feu of the lordship of Brechin and Navar - part of the royal estates - from Sir Thomas Erskine. Although the lordship was extensively sub-infeudated, it conferred actual possession of the castle of Brechin, the offices of chamberlain and bailie of the lands for the crown, and patronage of the Maisondieu of Brechin.[105] Sir Thomas had already accepted William Carnegy as preceptor of the Maisondieu and approved feucharters of the lands of the hospice to Sir Robert; Lord Erskine was to accept both Mr David and Mr Robert Carnegy as preceptors during the 1550s. The latter was in addition subdean of Brechin, occuring from 1556.[106] Both Lord Erskine and Sir Robert were involved in 1558 with the financial measures taken in the attempt to secure the bishopric of Brechin for abbot Donald Campbell.[107]

One further document related to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird merits discussion. In a dispute in 1555 against David, master of Crawford, Sir Robert chose as his arbiters John Wishart of Pittarrow, John Erskine of Dun, James Wood of Bonnyton

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105. RMS iv 434,440; Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.960; Strathmore writs, (NRAS 885) box 197.5.
106. See appendix A.a nos.058,054,055,057.
107. See chapter 3 n.82.

and Alexander Livingston of Dunipace.[108] Apart from his protestant neighbours, the laird of Kinnaird chose another of the queen-dowager's minor government servants - Livingston of Dunipace, a lord of the College of Justice, keeper of the Great Seal and director of chancellery.[109] More conservative in religion than his co-arbiters, Dunipace had granted lands and an annual rent to the friars of St Andrews in 1552.[110] Livingston's interests in Angus and the Mearns were in fact quite extensive. He had been involved in settling the uproar caused when John Leighton of Usan had murdered his mother (Helen Stirling) and her serving girl: Leighton of Usan was married to Jonet Livingston.[111] Further, the eleventh laird of Thornton, John Strachan, was married to Livingston's daughter Margaret; and Livingston obtained lands in the Mearns from Thornton's neighbour Straiton of that ilk during the 1550s. The laird of Dunipace also had links with the Erskines - when Sir Thomas of Brechin and Lord Erskine had signed their charters of excambion at St Andrews, Dunipace was one of the witnesses, together with Barclay of Mathers, the bishop of Orkney and Lord James Stewart, the prior of St Andrews.[112]

Between the deaths of Adam Wallace (1550) and Walter Milne (1558), no-one in Scotland was executed for heresy. Professor Donaldson suggests that toleration was "congenial enough to Mary of Guise, who was probably by inclination neither a zealot nor a persecutor".[113] In any case, it was in the queen-regent's interests

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108. Reg.Deeds RD 1.1 f.175r: 20 July,1555. The master chose Douglas of Kilspindie, Ogilvy of Wester Craigs and Crichton of Ruthven.
109. RSS iv 65,554. Livingston was a regular witness to royal charters until August 1560: RMS iv 1388.
110. RSS iv 693,1620.
111. RSS iv 263,272,607,787; RMS iv 570.
112. RMS iii 2893; iv 814,815,816; and see note 105 above.
113. G.Donaldson, James V to James VII p.86.

to conciliate as many sections of Scottish society as possible in order to win approval for the marriage of her daughter Queen Mary to the dauphin of France. The death of Edward VI and the subsequent reign of the catholic Mary Tudor in England had removed the opportunity for an English alliance and spared Scots protestants the necessity of choosing between their faith and their nation. Mary of Guise's need to win over national support for her assumption of the regency also dictated a gentle approach to lairdly consciences - Châtelherault had played the protestant card before, and could conceivably do so again. The years from 1550 to 1554, and from 1554 to 1558 were therefore years marked by a kind of political consensus in Scotland.

Mary was able to call upon the traditional willingness of lairds from Angus and the Mearns to serve the crown. John Erskine of Dun was employed on the commission for Queen Mary's marriage, just as his uncle had earlier assisted the negotation for King James V's weddings. Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird served as treasurer-clerk and ambassador, abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar was keeper of the Privy Seal, Alexander Livingston of Dunipace was director of chancellery. The service offered by these lairds was, however, service to the crown - and not necessarily to Mary of Guise herself. Donald Campbell remained essentially a Campbell and closely followed the policies of the earl of Argyll. The abbot also had links with the Hamiltons, under whom he had originally received office - as did Robert Carnegy. Châtelherault may have surrendered the government: but he remained first person of the realm, and retained substantial influence throughout Scotland, including Angus. Neither had he finally given up the struggle against Mary of Guise - though from 1554 he was hampered by the need to preserve his funds from France and by his son

the earl of Arran's presence in France, where his protestantism had brought official displeasure by 1557. When Mary of Guise looked for her own party in Scotland, she looked to her French advisers, officials, diplomats and troops.[114]

In the meantime, under archbishop Hamilton's leadership, moves were made to attempt a reform of the church. Viewed by the lights of such as Mr Robert Wedderburn, this could fit the generally patriotic consensus tone of these years: reform was admittedly overdue, and in any case suited the politics of both the Hamiltons and Mary of Guise. The undesired consequence, however, was to give the explicitly protestant reformers something of a free hand. John Knox was able to complete a programme of preaching even more extensive and theologically radical than Wishart - and leave Scotland a free man. After 1556, the country was not to be free from unauthorised protestant preaching: both Angus and the Mearns had what passed for regular ministries. In any case, it must be remembered that the situation before 1555 had greatly changed since the 1540s. Knox had intended a mere fleeting visit before taking up his call to the congregation at Geneva - he had found himself, almost accidentally, the focus of national interest.[115] "Privy kirks" - illegal protestant congregations - probably existed in Dundee, the Mearns and Edinburgh continuously after his tour. James V had tolerated - even sponsored - anticlericalism to suit his purposes. His widow now tolerated the more dangerous phenomenon of protestantism: it served to pressurise the hierarchy to commit themselves to reform, and it

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114. Donaldson, James V to James VII p.86. J.Durkan, "James, Third Earl of Arran: The Hidden Years", SHR lxv (1986) p.161f.
115. Lord E.Percy, John Knox pp.228-9.

retained valuable friends for her. Nevertheless, protestant expectations were running high. Until 1558, patriotism, protestantism and policy developed side by side in uneasy harmony. After 1558, Mary of Guise was to provoke a union against her of patriots, protestants and her political opponents, the Hamiltons: she was left with very few active supporters indeed.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE REFORMATION CRISIS

The Reformation Crisis

The Scottish Reformation, when it came in 1559-1560, came in the shape of a political crisis: of a coup - even a counter-coup - by the Lords of the Congregation against the French queen-regent, Mary of Guise. In triggering this coup, the lairds of Angus and the Mearns were to play a leading role. The situation had certain paradoxes. Angus and the Mearns were by no means socially radical shires: yet they supported a religiously radical cause. Despite the ambiguities and shifting alliances of the wars of "The Rough Wooing", these lairds had a tradition of loyalty and service to the Scottish crown: yet in 1559, they took a lead in instigating armed opposition to the regent. These oddities were in fact more apparent than real. Whereas during the wars against England patriotism had been in conflict with protestantism, in the late 1550s both came together as an example of the phenomenon (not unknown in late twentieth century British politics) of radical-conservatism; as opposition to the pro-French policies of the queen-mother.

In John Knox's retrospective narrative of the events of 1557-1558, the seemingly-close relationship between the leading protestants and Mary of Guise is striking. A perceptible coolness dividing the friars from the queen-regent was mentioned by those lords who wrote in Knox in March 1556/7, summoning him to return to Scotland.[1] Summons against the protestant preachers were discharged: little was done to punish the tumult on St Giles' day in Edinburgh.[2] According to Knox, Lord James Stewart, the prior of St

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1. Knox's History i p.132.
2. Knox's History i pp.126-7,127-9.

Andrews, negotiated on behalf of the regent with the earl of Argyll, promising in her name a thoroughgoing reform of the church and "more other promises than we list to rehearse" in exchange for parliament's assent to an act conferring the crown of Scotland jointly to Mary queen of Scots and her husband, Francis.[3]

The climax of this cooperation between the protestant faction and Queen Mary of Guise came at the time of the 1558 parliament called to confer the crown matrimonial on Francis. In advance of this, the regent made it known that she would tolerate continued unauthorised preaching at public protestant assemblies - except in Edinburgh and Leith. During the parliament, proposals for reform were not brought forward at her request. Finally, in letters to Calvin,[4]

> "we did praise and commend her for excellent knowledge of God's word and goodwill towards the advancement of his glory...."

At the same time, "both by word and writing" those who suspected the regent's sincerity were sharply criticised. It seems likely that Knox himself, still at Dieppe, was one of those so rebuked. His narrative, in the interests of emphasising Mary's hypocrisy, may well have also over-emphasised the naivety of the "simple and pure of heart" who thus trusted her.[5] After allowing for his anger, passion and occasional chronological errors, the picture that remains is that of the regent successfully winning support for the French marriage and the coronation of Francis by a policy of divide and rule: by making promises to both the clergy and the protestants, by playing off the interests of the duke against those of Lord James Stewart.

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3. Knox's History i p.141.
4. Knox's History i p.158.
5. Knox's History i p.141.

The policy being followed by the Congregation was a bold one - nothing less than a reformation of the church in Scotland with or without the consent of the regent. Since 1557, the protestant leaders had consulted together and acted in concert.[6] Their policy had two sides to it: on the one hand, they continued to seek reform at the hands of the queen-regent; on the other, they sought to extend the areas open to protestant preaching by direct action. Several of the petitions of this period emphasise that their preferred course would be a reform sponsored by the government. The "First Oration" prefaced its specific petitions thus:[7]

> "... we, knowing no other order placed in this realm, but your Grace, in your grave Council, set to amend, as well the disorder ecclesiastical, as the defaults in the temporal regiment, ..."

When in December of 1558 archbishop John Hamilton summoned the protestant preachers to face the church courts at St Andrews, the Congregation appealed for a hearing before the regent:[8]

> "Beseeching your Grace as you ought of duty, and as you are placed of God above his people, take our cause, or rather the cause of God, to be tryed most justly according to the holy Scriptures, before yourself; and put inhibition to the said Bishop to proceed further untill tryall be taken, as said is:"

On that occasion, trust in the regent was not entirely misplaced: at her request, the case was continued and not for the time pursued when the summons expired in February 1558/9.[9]

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6. Their programmes and demands grew bolder as time passed: whereas in 1557, they claimed only vernacular prayers and readings from Scripture in the parish churches, with "doctrine, preaching and teaching" to be "used privately, in quiet houses", by 1558 their "First Oration" sought public preaching with both baptism and the Lord's Supper to be ministered in public in the vernacular. Knox's History i p.138,149-152.
7. Knox's History i p.150.
8. Petrie, Compendious History century xvi pt. 2 pp.191-192 citing a ms. then in the Dun Papers; see Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.81.
9. "Histoire of the Estate of Scotland", Wodrow Soc. Misc. p.61-2.

Benefitting from the period of toleration, the momentum of the protestant movement gathered pace in Angus. Although Knox's preaching tour of 1555/6 had concluded with his return to Geneva, other preachers continued the work. Knox's History mentions Paul Methven at Dundee, and "divers others in Angus and the Mearns".[10] One of these others was John Brabner, who by October 1560 was to receive a suit of black clothes as a gift from the council of Aberdeen,[11]

> "for his labours, cuir and diligence in time bygane in preching, teching and administratioun of the sacraments without any recompension."

That Brabner was not elected minister at Aberdeen may be explained by the fact that he seems, even by the standards of his day, to have been an extremist,[12]

> "ane vehement man for inculcating the Law and pain thereof..."

Methven, however, who at this time was preaching in Fife and Angus as well as Montrose and Dundee itself,[13]

> "was ane more myld man, preaching the Evangel of grace and remission of sins in the blood of Christ..."

Methven and Brabner were held to be the "chiefest ministers in the country"; among those who heard their preaching was the old laird of Panmure, Robert Maule. Indeed, his kinsman and biographer, commissary Maule, narrates that the laird had them in his company and that at this time, shortly before his death, he embraced the reformed religion. Also credited with the laird's conversion was his youngest son Robert, "ane godly person" who "did mightily walk beside his Father, instructing him in the chief points of Religion" and reading

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10. Knox's History i p.125.
11. A.White, "Religion, politics and society in Aberdeen" p.168.
12. Commissary Maule: Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 f.65.
13. Knox's History i 148; GD 45.26.53 f.65; for Methven at Montrose, Justiciary courts, JC 1.7 f.134r = Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 406/7*.

the Scriptures to him, the laird being himself illiterate.[14] Presumably Robert Maule of Panmure was one of those who, according to Knox,[15]

> "began openly to abrenounce their old idolatry and to submit themselves to Christ Jesus, and unto his blessed ordinances;"

The laird's conversion did not, however, prevent him from being buried (1560) in the choir of the kirk of Panbride, "before the High Altar at the North Wall".[16] The new religion could bring comfort and assurance of salvation to the penitent: in this simple form, it could also co-exist with the respect for rank and veneration of kin that marked the relationship between the Angus lairds and their parish churches.

There were other illegal preachers in Angus and the Mearns besides Paul Methven and John Brabner. When finally the preachers were accused before the courts, John Erskine of Dun became cautioner for the appearance of friar John Christison to underly the law for offences connected with heresy allegedly committed at Perth.[17] Christison had been a grey friar in the Montrose house: by April 1560, he was to subscribe documents as the minister of Glenbervie and was to serve the church there for twenty years.[18] The friar may well have been a regular preacher in the Mearns, and introduced to Perth in order to assist the capture of the burgh for the reformed cause. While any of the comparatively large number of ministers in Angus and the Mearns may have begun their preaching careers before 1560, no further names from this period can be known

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14. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 f.65. Maule's use of "country" is, unfortunately, ambiguous. Did he mean Scotland or Angus ?
15. Knox's History i p.148.
16. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 f.65.
17. Justiciary courts, JC 1.7 f.134r = Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 406/7*.
18. See appendix A.c no.029.

for certain - beyond that of John Erskine of Dun himself, one of the earliest of those who "exhorted their brethren".[19] A few of his close associates may be picked out as possible candidates: Mr Thomas Anderson, "a man of mean gifts bot of singular guid lyff" was schoolmaster at Montrose and its minister by 1563. Mr William Gray was similarly schoolmaster at Logie Montrose and minister at Dun itself. Both Richard Melville, laird of Baldovie, and his brother Mr James were approved as ministers and preachers by the assembly of December 1560, and may well have exercised ministry before that date.[20]

Dundee continued to be the power-house of protestantism in south Angus. Methven had been regularly preaching since July 1558;[21] in January of 1558/9, the burgh council issued edicts which, if they did not formally "establish" the new kirk, served to underpin it by the creation of a proper moral climate.[22] As for the physical environment, the sacking of Dundee by the English had done much to remove the traditional symbols of the catholic faith - the various altars and chapels of the burgh. The chapel of the Virgin in the Wellgate, for example, was described as waste when feued in 1563; in 1550, its patron the constable had presented as chaplain Mr George Scott, vicar of Glassery and Longforgan, former writer of accounts to James V. Patrick Lyon, burgess of Dundee and brother of Lyon of Haltoun of Eassie, was presented in April 1559 to the chaplaincy of St Adwall, Virgin and Martyr, within the parish kirk of

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19. Knox's History i p.148.
20. See appendix A.c nos.003,086,146,143.
21. "Histoire of the Estate of Scotland", Wodrow Soc. Misc. p.67.
22. Excessive drinking was to be punished and brothel keepers banished. Children were prohibited from creating a disturbance in the kirkyard during services and, if under five, were excluded from the church itself. An emphasis on sexual discipline was characteristic of the first protestant council of Edinburgh in 1560. Maxwell, Old Dundee pp.78,81,75; M. Lynch, Edinburgh p.91.

Dundee. He later could only prove his possession of the chapel by evidence of his having lifted and disponed its annual rents. Chaplain of St James the Apostle was Mr Thomas Scrymgeour, chanter of Brechin - a kinsman of the chapel's patron. In general, presentations to chaplaincies in Dundee during the 1550s seem to mark a new stage in the secularisation of the church's assets while the chapels themselves were abandoned.[23] Active opposition to those who may have sought to maintain the old faith within the burgh may be indicated by the failure to pay dues to Mr John Hamilton, vicar of Dundee from 1558. In January 1560/61, he claimed that he had had from his benefice "not ane penny yir thrie zeiris bypast".[24]

The period from January to March 1558/9 saw an increase in tension between those advocating catholic and those for protestant reform, the regent now coming openly on to the catholic side. Perhaps as a response to archbishop Hamilton's summons against the preachers, the "Beggars' Summons" was issued, dated from first January 1558/9. This propaganda tract, based upon a prior English model, purported to be a claim by the ...

> "blynd, cruked, beddrelles, wedowis, orphelingis and all uther pure ..."

... of Scotland against the friars. In pseudo-legal language, it gave warning to the friars to remove from the hospitals they occupied, which, it was claimed, belonged of right to the poor.[25] The source of the "Summons" is unknown. The organisation of duplication and distribution of this tract, however, resembles the later circulation

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23. See appendix A.a nos.304,217,312; Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3890 and 3891 for Our Lady in Wellgate being waste.
24. Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.357v and appendix A.a no.165.
25. Knox's History ii 255; Rev.Brother Kenneth, "The popular literature of the Scottish Reformation" IR x p.305.

by the protestants of all the French military commanders. John Erskine of Dun had first hand knowledge of a hospital which had been annexed to a friary - Mr Patrick Paniter had reclaimed lands feued to Dun in order to re-endow the Montrose Hospital as a friary; after the Reformation, John Erskine obtained possession of the building as a poor-house.[26]

Although similar warnings to the friars had been published before, the significance of that known as the "Beggars' Summons" was that it set a time-limit. By law, superiors wishing to rid themselves of tenants had to give forty days notice before the term-day of Whitsun. May 14, 1559, was therefore the day by which the friars had been warned "to flit and quit".[27] With the long-drawn out negotiations regarding the French marriage and the matrimonial crown concluded, all sides sought a solution to the growing religious crisis. Archbishop Hamilton summoned a further Provincial Council of the Church, which met in March. Easter fell on 26 March, and provided the first major test of the new determination of both the protestants and the regent to decide the course of church reformation.

During Lent, royal proclamations were read at selected burghs, including Dundee and Montrose, threatening death to any who did injury or violence to priests, attempted to disturb the traditional services, or ate flesh during the period of fast.[28] When Easter itself came, the regent and her household flamboyantly and unitedly celebrated in traditional manner: while Paul

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26. Knox's History i p.166; see appendix A.a no.265.
27. Knox's History ii p.256.
28. LHT x 416.

Methven equally publicly preached at a communion-season at Dundee, administering[29]

> "the sacrament of the Altar in a manner far different from the divine and laudable use of the faithful Catholic Church."

The subsequent criminal charges brought against Methven specified that he had served a congregation that included burgesses from both Montrose and Dundee; which fact, together with the arrival of friar Christison from Montrose at Perth, suggests that the protestant leadership of Angus and the Mearns were staging a planned counter-offensive against the regent's new role as a defender of the faith. If so, they were successful: Perth's burgh authorities continued to tolerate protestant preaching despite the regent's commands. Perth had been viewed by Scots and English as one of the key strategic towns of Scotland during the late 1540s. A challenge to the regent's authority had been given. Her response was to summon the preachers to underlay the law at Stirling on May 10 - just before Whitsunday - accused of breach of the lenten proclamations. To support their clients,[30]

> "the town of Dundee, the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, passed forward with their preachers to Saint Johnston [Perth], without armour, as peaceable men, minding only to give confession with their preachers."

In the past, such conflicts had been resolved amicably. In the new climate of resolve of spring 1559, this conflict became critical.

Who were these "gentlemen of Angus and Mearns" who thus provoked the train of events that led to the Scottish Reformation ? "The faithful of Dundee", it was reported, "exceeded all the rest in zeal and holiness, preferring the true religion to all things temporal".[31] The anonymous chronicler named Dundee as the

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29. Knox's History i pp.158-9; Justiciary courts, JC 1.7 f.134r.
30. Knox's History i p.160.
31. "Histoire of the Estate of Scotland", Wodrow Soc. Misc. p.54.

chief area in Scotland where open protestant services took place following the summer of 1558. Leading his list of the other areas of "greatest fervency" were the Mearns and Angus - in that order. The unity of the lairds of the Mearns has already been commented upon. Following Knox's tour of 1555/6, he had maintained a private correspondence with John Wishart of Pittarrow.[32] Pittarrow was a leader among those who, in May of 1559, garrisoned Perth in order to defend their Easter preachers.[33] He was to be continuously with the forces of the Congregation until their victory in the spring of 1560.[34] With Pittarrow and Dun himself, Knox's narrative shows that John Ogilvy of Inverquharity was among the Congregation at Perth, on one occasion accompanying John Erskine of Dun to negotiate with the regent.[35] Inverquharity was bailie of the regality of Kirriemuir, and hence owed allegiance to the earl of Morton, tutor to the young earl of Angus. Morton, though he had signed the "First Band" in 1557, required the regent's continued support in order to defeat the claims of the countess of Lennox to the earldom of Angus and hence failed to accompany the Congregation in the field. His bailie, however, was present.[36] Mr James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, with William Lord Ruthven, provost of Perth, completes the role of those from Angus leading the congregation in May 1559.[37]

How far were the motives of these early

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32. Knox's History i p.136.
33. Knox's History i p.173.
34. Knox's History ii p.497 (index).
35. Knox's History i p.176.
36. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss., GD 205 box 4 bund.6; NLS., ms.5308 no. 1262; G.R.Hewitt, Scotland under Morton (Edinburgh 1982) p.3.
37. Both refused the regent's orders to seize and arrest the protestants preaching in their burghs. Haliburton persuaded Methven to "avoid the town for a time" - Dundee was frequented by the French troops stationed at Broughty Castle. Knox's History i p.159; I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.48.

protestant leaders religious and how far political ? The relationship between these areas of life and thought in Angus and the Mearns differed little from that in the rest of sixteenth century Europe. The whole of life was imbued with religion: Mary of Guise's Easter sacrament was equally a political and a religious symbol.[38] If politics is about competition for the exercise of power to determine issues, then the "politics of principalities and powers" may be as well religious as secular, depending on the motives of the groups concerned - and, indeed, were frequently both at once.[39] The question, therefore, should be re-phrased: how far did men take part in the political activity of the Reformation from religious motives, and how far from secular ones ? How far did they allow their faith to override their more temporal concerns - or vice versa ? John Erskine of Dun seems a clear example of one whose protestant faith was the main-spring of his activities in this period. Associated closely with French army during the English wars, he had given Mary of Guise his bond of manrent in 1549; Knox described him as[40]

> "most addicted to please her in all things not repugnant to God."

Dun's ties to Mary of Guise must have made him an enthusiastic listener to the regent's promises of reform once the French marriage was negotiated: together with Lord James Stewart - also associated by Knox with this policy - he had been a commissioner to France in 1557. Dun had a gift from the regent of £500 from the treasury's "readiest

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38. R. O'Dea, The Debate on the English Reformation (London 1986) p.133.
39. G.R.Elton's dictum must therefore be misleading: political decisions and actions are inevitable, but it is gratuitous to consider that they are necessarily secular. "The progress and spread of reformed Churches ... depended in the last resort on one thing only - the secular politics of principalities and powers." Reformation Europe (London 1963) p.140.
40. State Papers, SP 13.68; Knox's History i p.160.

fruits", possibly to assist with his incurred expenses.[41] Dun's political influence - such as it was - came from his receipt of patronage from the regent. Lord Erskine, his chief, constable of the castle of Edinburgh, maintained a deliberately low profile as a loyal servant of the crown, outside of faction - he sought thereby to regain the earldom of Mar, to which he had a hereditary claim.[42] John Erskine of Dun had much at stake when, for the sake of his religion, he determined to continue his support for the preachers he had maintained, despite their horning and the royal letters[43]

"inhibiting all men under pain of rebellion to ... support them."

Like the laird of Dun, James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, had taken a lead in the defence of Angus from the English at Broughty. As a reward for his services, he had been granted an annual pension of £500 a year by Mary of Guise.[44] He, too, stood to lose much from his refusal to arrest or hinder Paul Methven. Indeed, taking their careers as a whole, Mr James Haliburton and the lairds of Dun, Pittarrow and Inverquharity do seem to have allowed their faith to dictate their political attitudes from the 1550s. Having increasingly enjoyed a limited freedom of conscience and religious practice under Mary of Guise's policy of toleration, they sought both to defend this freedom and to extend it to others. It must be remarked that these lairds - presumably with their closest friends and converts like Maule of Panmure - still formed a minority of the politically-powerful houses of Angus, if not of the Mearns. The tenth

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41. Kinnaird, Southesk muniments: ms. in royal letters' log-book.
42. Peerage v 613; G.Donaldson, Mary Queen of Scots (London 1974) p.129. Lord Erskine also appears to have retained a catholic faith to at least July 1556, when he (on his succession) surrendered the commend of Dryburgh to marry: Mar and Kellie mss., GD 124.9.13-21.
43. Knox's History i p.161.
44. RPC xiv 9; RSS v 2897.

earl of Crawford took a conservative religious stance all his life; by May of 1558, both the duke of Châtelherault and the earl of Argyll were still apparently staunch supporters of the regent - the Campbell and the Hamilton interests in Angus were therefore not yet by the side of the congregations of the Mearns, of Montrose and of Dundee.[45] In consequence, it was "but a very few and mean number of gentlemen" who renewed the occupation of Perth on May 22 in the face of the advancing army of the French and of nobles loyal to Mary of Guise.[46]

The crisis of May was not only political - it was also theological. In Scotland, as in England,[47] the theoretical right of the civil power to legislate for the church was much discussed in a continuing debate over several decades. Both constitutional and theological principles were involved; by 1559, much had already been written in Europe on these topics as both catholic and protestant theologians attempted to express their understanding of the proper church/state relationship. The position taken on this issue by the Congregation in May 1559 is therefore a guide, not just to their theological understanding of Mary of Guise's authority and their right to resist it in arms, but also to their general position within the spectrum of European protestant opinion. "Ane letter wrettin to the Queinis Grace and Regent, be the professouris of Christis Ewangell, in the Realme of Scotland", dated 6 May 1559, is the document that most clearly provides answers to these questions.[48]

Although John Erskine's signature is now appended to this document, the editor of the Spalding Club Miscellany

45. Knox's History i p.164,173.
46. Knox's History i p.164.
47. R.O'Day, The Debate on the English Reformation p.166-172.
48. Spalding Misc. iv p.88-92.

noted that it was added in a separate hand from the rest of the manuscript, which itself was apparently a transcript of the original.[49] Yet the tract was included at an early date in a collection of Erskine's own material: besides the near-contemporary attribution to the superintendent, its content is similar in approach to later writings known to be by Erskine. Further, the relationship suggested in the tract between the author(s) and Mary of Guise seems parallel to that between Erskine of Dun and the queen-regent.[50] It may be accepted, then, that though Erskine may not have been the sole author of "Ane letter ... to the Queinis Grace...", it comes from a context in which he was a leading influence.

The thrust of "Ane letter..." was to persuade Mary of Guise to withdraw her opposition, increasing in the spring months of 1559, to unauthorised protestant preaching. To counter the regent's appeal to law, the "professouris" challenged her right to infringe the liberty of the kirk. Under God, two jurisdictions were distinguished: the temporal, which God had given into the hands of princes and kings; and the spiritual, where he reserved authority exclusively to Christ.[51]

> "... ffor thocht all kingdomes bayth temporall and spirituall pertenis to God, yit hes God distributit the ministerie diuerslye, that is the temporall kingdomes in the gouerment of mortell men, and makis thame princes of the erthe, for the mentenance of commown welthis and ciwill polaceis. Bot the gouerment of the spirituall and hewinlie kingdome, the kirk of God we mein, he hes onlie committit to his sone Christ, ffor he is the heid thairoff, all wther ar her memberis vnder him."
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49. Spald.Misc. iv pp.88-92 and editorial note n.1,92.
50. The author(s) offer the Regent, should she withdraw - Spald.Misc. iv p.92:
> "maist humblie in all obedience detfull to your maiestie, in peace, in weyre, in bodye, in guidnes and landis, we submit ws, sa that nathing sall want on our pairt that pertenis to your grace, quhairof ye haif had experience in tymes past,..."
51. Spald.Misc. iv p.89.

This section of "Ane letter..." has been cited elsewhere to show that, even in 1559, the Scots reformers were far from holding to the theory of the "godly prince" according to which Queen Elizabeth I of England claimed and exercised a God-given right to royal supremacy over the church.[52] It is important, therefore, to set this apparently radical passage within the context of the letter as a whole. Mary of Guise was not denied a role, under God, in religious matters: to have done so would have been wholly inconsistent with the policy pursued by the court protestants for several years. It had been to her as regent, exercising the powers of the crown, that they had been looking for the reformation of the church.[53]

> "... our haill expectatioun and howp wes that God sould mak your grace that instrument to set up and menten his word and trew wirschiping, to be ane defence of his pvir flok and congregation, and the downputting of all idolatre, abhominatioun, and superstitioun in this realme..."

The question was not whether the crown had a role in the church, but what the limits of that role were. The regent was admonished[54]

> "Sa vnderstand yourself maist noble princess in Christis kingdome to be ane seruand and na quein, hawand na preheminence nor authoritie aboue the kyrk, or onye power in that kingdome, to oppin your woce to command onye wther thing nor Christ hes techeit,..."

but even this strong wording recognised power in the crown to command what Christ had authorised. Power over men, being given by God, could be validly used only according to his purposes. It was the regent's attempt to silence preachers "licensed" (as was claimed) by Christ

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52. The Second Book of Discipline ed. J. Kirk (Edinburgh 1980) p.59; A.H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI (Edinburgh 1979) p.17; M.Lynch, in International Calvinism ed. M. Prestwich (Oxford 1985) p.242. For England, N.Jones, Faith by Statute (London 1982) pp.130-33.
53. Spald.Misc. iv p.88. See ns.7 and 8, above.
54. Spald.Misc. iv p.89.

himself that was denied: the 1559 tract did not so much challenge the authority to a "godly prince" as seek to nullify the regent's commands as fundamentally "un-godly", being ultra vires.

The position of the 1559 letter is not, therefore, incompatible with at least some views of the English royal supremacy. Even in the England of Henry VIII, the Bishops' Book of 1537 had held to the opinion that "things belonging to the office and administration of bishops and priests" did not belong to kings. By the reign of Elizabeth, defenders of the royal supremacy were concerned to emphasise not so much a personal royal headship, but the supremacy of queen-in-parliament.The alteration of the queen's title from "supreme head" to "supreme governor" was more than symbolic. [55] Dr Avis cites Richard Hooker as holding it "absurd" to suggest that[56]

> "... kings may prescribe what themselves think good to be done in the service of God; how the word shall be taught, how sacraments administered; that kings may personally sit in the consistory where bishops do, hearing and determining what causes soever do appertain unto those courts; that kings and queens in their own proper persons are by judicial sentence to decide the questions which rise about matters of faith and Christian religion; that kings may excommunicate; finally, that kings may do whatsover is incident unto the office and duty of an ecclesiastical judge."

Even for supporters of the royal supremacy, the authority of a "godly prince" within the church was not unlimited. Substantial difficulty was experienced in both England and Scotland in reconciling the practical power of the earthly prince with the theoretically-accepted sovereignty of God over the entire commonwealth and its civil rulers. In England, doctrines of the "godly prince" ranged from the

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55. P.D.L.Avis, The Church in the Theology of the Reformers (London 1981) p.163; P.Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford 1982) p.3; C.Cross in Church and Society in England (London 1977) pp.24-32.
56. P.Avis, The Church p.158. This paragraph owes much to Dr Avis' chapters on "The Godly Prince" and "The Royal Supremacy".

caesaro-papism of Henry VIII to the gloss of the puritan Thomas Cartwright who, in taking the oath recognising the royal supremacy, accepted the crown as the executive of the church. The short polemical tract of 1559 cannot be compared with the increasingly sophisticated debates of the 1570s and 1580s with any degree of precision.

If it is wrong to read "Ane letter..." as consistent only with Melvillian "two-kingdoms" formulations, it is at least clear that in the 1559 letter to Mary of Guise the Scots "professors" sought to establish that God's rule over the church was mediated by more than one channel. If, in the later words of the Scots' Confession of Faith, princes - [57]

> "are not only appointed for civil government but also to maintain true religion and to suppress all idolatry and superstition."

- God had also established the channel of the ministry as the sole authorised interpreters of his will. By the operation of his Spirit, Christ as King and Head of the church directly chose and appointed his under-officers. "Ane letter..." therefore insisted that the protestant preachers of 1559 were exercising a ministry validly given by God.[58]

> "Bot madam, our ministeris that ye hef inhebet ar send of God, the quhilk is manifest in that thai speik na thing bot the wordis of God, and als that thai ar ordinarlie callit according to the ordour that is requirit in the Scripturis of God..."

Such "ordinary calling", according to the first Book of Discipline was made up of "election, examination and admission".[59] The principle that was at issue, however, was one of legitimate authority. The 1559 reformers did not make the clear distinction of modern times between

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57. The Scots Confession of 1560 ed.G.D.Henderson (Edinburgh 1960) p.78.
58. Spalding Misc. iv p.90.
59. The First Book of Discipline ed.J.K.Cameron (Edinburgh 1972) p.96.

the secular and the religious as separate "worlds": rather, they were attempting to distinguish between different jurisdictions within the same commonwealth and society. If the preachers were Christ's own appointed procurators, then Mary of Guise had no right to discharge their office. The logic took its force from the conventions of Scottish feudal society, with its maze of jurisdictions royal, burghal, baronial and of regality, whereby a lord could re-pledge a case to his own court when one accused elsewhere belonged to his jurisdiction.

A further context for "Ane letter...to the Queinis grace" in contemporary European theology must also be noted. The 1559 emphasis on the proper jurisdiction of the church is to be seen as following in the footsteps of the reformer of Basel, Johannes Oecolampadius. Though his active career as a leading reformed theologian lasted only between 1523 and 1531,[60] Oecolampadius' emphasis on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church as distinct from the penal power of the state seems to have been welcomed in Scotland. In his discussion on the influence of early Zwinglianism in Scotland, Gottfreid Locher cites three references to the reformer of Basel.[61] To Locher's notices of works of Oecolampadius in the libraries of Clement Little and Adam Bothwell can be added an edition of In libros prophetarum (Geneva 1558) at one stage owned by John Erskine of Dun.[62] Similarly, not only Ninian Winzet testified by his opposition to Oecolampadius' influence in Scotland: so too did abbot Quintine

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60. Gordon Rupp, Patterns of Reformation (London 1969) pp.19-46.
61. Locher, Zwinglian Influences p.371.
62. John Durkan and Anthony Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow 1961) p.95.

Kennedy in his Ane Compendius Tractive of 1558:[63]

> "Hes not Oecolampadius (quhais opinioun men in thir dayis prayis sua hichlie) alterit thryse ?"

It was precisely on this issue of the autonomy of the church's jurisdiction that the views of Zwingli and Oecolampadius diverged, notably at the conference at Aarau, September 1530, though the two reformers were close friends. [64]

According to Akira Demura,[65]

> "The genuinely original contribution of Oecolampadius to the history of the Reformed Church polity, in our judgment, consists in his incessant assertion of the autonomy of the Church, namely, her complete independence of the temporal power in her execution of the disciplinary measures over her own members. This is to say nothing other than that the Basel Reformer was keenly aware of the essential distinction between the temporal and the spiritual jurisdictions, consequently of the incompetence and incongruity of the temporal authority in matters pertaining to souls and their eternal salvation. Though Oecolampadius was all too willing to admit that the temporal sword was also of divine origin and ordination, he insisted on the fundamental difference between the two swords that were not to be confused or even fused, each having its own competence and validity only within the area ordained to it."

Where Zwingli stressed the unity of the Christian commonwealth, Oecolampadius argued that the duty of the church to guard spiritual values should be distinguished from the role of civic authority to maintain order and tranquility. He sought to reintroduce the power of excommunication as the responsibility of the church, to be exercised in love for the restoration of the sinner. His letter to Zwingli of September 1530 made the point briefly:[66]

> "I am not going to exclude our Princes from the Church as the Anabaptists do. But their function is different from the

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63. Wodrow Misc. i p.159.
64. G.Rupp, Patterns of Reformation p.41.
65. A.Demura, "Church discipline according to Joannes Oecolampadius in the setting of his life and thought"(Princeton ThD 1964) p.330.
66. Translated and cited Demura, ibid p.97.

> Church's, for it can demand and impose a great deal which the purity of the Gospel does not acknowledge.... It seems clear that it is our duty to exhort our churches so that they may not neglect the keys entrusted by Christ for receiving and excluding."

Oecolampadius failed to win over the Swiss protestant Civic League to his views, and even the council of his own Basel could not grant complete autonomy to church courts. In the next decades, however, his emphasis on the spiritual nature of the church's jurisdiction was taken up successively by Bucer at Strasbourg and Calvin at Geneva.

Indeed, though the contemporary evidence already discussed suggests an influential role for Oecolampadius' thought in Scotland in the years 1558-9, "Ane letter..." may derive its forthright defence of the liberty of the kirk from Basel via Strasbourg. A passage in Bucer's De Regno Christi follows the main lines of Oecolampadius' earlier arguments:[67]

> "There is this difference, however, between the administration of the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of Christ, that the kings of the world, for the amendment of vice and the removal of unworthy citizens from the commonwealth, use, by God's command, beatings, whippings, prison, exile, and various forms of execution... But in the Kingdom of Heaven and of Christ, those who have wandered from the way of salvation, if they are curable, are led back to it with the chains of repentance, under the impulse of only the word and the Spirit."

Not only does this passage echo Oecolampadius' emphasis on the importance of spiritual healing, it also provides a possible source for the Scots "professouris" strong identification between the kirk and the Kingdom of Christ.[68]

> "... the spirituall and hewinlie kingdome, the kirk of God we mein..."

Although Calvin and Bullinger were prepared to make the same

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67. Melanchthon and Bucer ed. W.Pauck (London 1969) p.181.
68. Spald.Misc. iv p.89.

identification,[69] Bucer's eloquent, practical, comparison of the "kingdoms of the world" and the "kingdom of Christ" had as its core an assumption that the church was the focus of God's kingdom. De Regno Christi, written originally for Edward VI, completed 1550, was published in 1557 in Basel. Direct citations from it were included in the Scottish first Book of Discipline in 1560.[70] While it cannot be claimed that "Ane letter...to the Queinis grace" shows any such direct verbal dependence upon Bucer's book, the letter's emphases on the liberty of the kirk as the kingdom of Christ, the status of preachers called by Christ, and the responsibilities of kings to rule as under God, were to be found in De Regno Christi. The theological context for the letter of 1559, and hence for John Erskine of Dun at the eve of the Scottish Reformation, was surely that strand of reformed thought begun with Johannes Oecolampadius and continued by Bucer and his disciple, Calvin.[71]

> "The Word could not after all do it alone; policy and power determined where it should get a hearing."

Professor G.R.Elton's dictum[72] is well exemplified by the course of the Scottish Reformation. What had begun as a religious movement would have collapsed under the walls of Perth in 1559 if aid not had been forthcoming to it from those less

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69. Calvin, Institutes: "the church is Christ's kingdom", 4.2.4. Bullinger, Decades 4.7: "... the church ... is called the kingdom of God". (Parker Society 1851, 275.)
70. Melanchthon and Bucer p.170; First Book of Discipline p.133 n.20; J.K.Cameron "The Cologne Reformation", JEH xxx (1979) p.59.
71. Melanchthon and Bucer p.204 ("... a kingdom ... on earth, ie the church"), p.239 (on preachers), p.188 and n.13 (on princes); p.157 for Calvin. Connections between Oecolampadius and Knox are suggested in R.L.Greaves, Theology and Revolution (Washington 1980) p.123.
72. Elton, Reformation Europe p.124.

committed to the protestant cause. Saved on May 29 by the arrival of the earl of Glencairn with substantial forces from the west, the Congregation also won over to their side the earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart, prior of St Andrews. It was at the invitation of the latter that the lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, and Mr James Haliburton, were invited to attend at St Andrews "for reformation to be made there."[73] Subsequent events - the recapture of Perth, the taking and loss of Edinburgh, negotiations with the English; the eventual victory of the Congregation with the aid of an English fleet and army, and the opportune death of Mary of Guise - belong rather to the history of Scotland than of Angus and the Mearns.

Nevertheless, the ill-assorted coalition that had victory in Scotland in the summer of 1560 was reflected in the smaller mirror of Angus. The decision by the young Archibald, earl of Argyll, to join with the Congregation brought other Campbells to the cause.[74] In Angus, abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar and his ward, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, adhered to the Congregation. On May 19, the abbot of Coupar was reported to have "put on secular weed".[75] The abbey itself must have been in danger of the same treatment that was meted out to Scone. An element of bargaining probably took place as the abbot agreed to the Lords' conditions for taking Coupar under their protection.[76]

> "Imprimis that he incontinent reforme his place of Cowper Putting down and birnyng oppinlie all Idolis and Imagis and tubernacuilis tharin destroying and putting away all altaris.
> .....

73. Knox's History i pp.180-1.
74. "To Saint Johnston,... did convene ... the laird of Glenorchy [Sir Colin Campbell] and divers others who before had not presented themselves for defence of their brethren." Knox's History i p.188.
75. See appendix A.a no.050.
76. C.A.Chrs. ii 278 citing "Two Papers from Argyll Charter Chest", SHR xxi pp.142-3.

> And that na mess be thair done heiraftir nowthir privilie nor opinly. And that the superstitiouse habit of his monkis with their ordour ceremoneis and service as you call it be removit. And that na prayaris be usit in the kirk but in the Inglishe toung And thai according to the scriptouris of God."

Donald Campbell was also required to support the Congregation in all future conventions and parliaments, and at that time to pass forward with his men "to the forthsetting of the glorie of God".

The adherence of abbot Donald Campbell to the Congregation undoubtedly brought his kinswoman Dame Katherine Campbell and her eldest son, James Lord Ogilvy into the reformed camp. By June 1559, Ogilvy was reported amongst the army raised to retake Perth after St Andrews had been reformed.[77] By July, his name was listed with the victors at Perth.[78] In April of 1560, the English ambassador at Edinburgh reported:[79]

> "Friends daily increase: the last is Lord Ogilvy, a well disposed young gentlemen, - who came well attended, and will not diminish one of his number until he see the end of the matter."

The fifth Lord Ogilvy's support for the Reformation was uncharacteristic of his later life - a supporter of Mary queen of Scots, he was to become one of the catholic lords that troubled her son's reign.[80]

By September 1559, John Knox was able to report that Brechin was among those burghs where a protestant ministry was established.[81] This, too, was a consequence of Donald Campbell joining the congregation. The abbot had been seeking the bishopric of

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77. CSP(S) i 474.
78. CSP(S) i 480.
79. CSP(S) i 713.
80. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men p.191 (index) incorrectly considers the Lord Ogilvy present at the Reformation parliament to have been the fourth lord. See appendix 2 nos.198-200.
81. Knox, Works vi p.78; letter to Mrs Anne Locke.

Brechin for some years - by mid-summer of the year 1559 he had been rejected by the Pope. Nevertheless, bishops-nominate were not without rights in their dioceses. Although Donald Campbell's tenure of the see is not generally recognised in works of reference - or even in the present plaque of record within the cathedral - it seems that he did exercise some jurisdiction over the city and chapter. An extract from the court book of Brechin survives in the Airlie manuscripts, testifying that on 9 January 1559/60, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie was elected a freeman of the burgh and chosen as provost under the abbot of Coupar, the postulant bishop of Brechin.[82] Although accorded the trading privileges of a royal burgh, and a member of the Convention of Royal Burghs since 1555, Brechin was in fact a burgh of barony whose superior was the bishop.[83] Equipped with bailies and a common council, the citizens managed their own affairs. As superior, the bishop had the right to preside over the council and annually to appoint one of the bailies. Apart from the bishop, no separate provost had existed before James Lord Ogilvy was so "chosen". Although most other details of the reformation of Brechin in the autumn of 1559 remain obscure, the combined influence of the abbot of Coupar and James Lord Ogilvy seems to have been that which persuaded the council to conform.

It has been suggested that[84]

> "In Brechin the cathedral clergy at least - of whom only one conformed and served in the reformed church - must have provided an active opposition to the reformers..."

There is in fact only evidence that two of the chapter opposed the reformation. Indeed, given the conforming leadership of the bishop-

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82. Airlie mss., GD 16.25.49.
83. D.B.Thoms, The Council of Brechin (SFBC 1977) pp.20-30; G.S.Pryde, The Burghs of Scotland (Oxford 1965) pp.33,38; cf. Arbroath p.31.
84. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.116.

postulate and the dean, it would be surprising if more had gone against the tide of affairs.[85] Although only Mr John Hepburn (treasurer and son of the late bishop Hepburn) served in the new church, the dean, archdean, chanter, canon-vicar and the prebendary of Glenbervie can all be associated with lairds and kin who accepted the reform.[86] Of the remainder, Mr David Lindsay, prebendary of Finavon, appears to have died c.1560; Mr George Hepburn, the chancellor, seems to have been largely non-resident - by 1580, he was to feu not the chancellor's manse, but the waste land where it was once situated. The burgh's former schoolmaster, the canon-pensioner and vicar of Panbride, sir William Laing, and the subdean Mr Robert Carnegy were both associated with Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird - a crown servant not especially committed to catholic orthodoxy.[87] It seems most unlikely that any of these men would have provided serious opposition to the Reformation.

Opposition there was in Brechin, however. Once the Lords of the Congregation had purported to depose Mary of Guise from the regency, they began to act in her place - issuing writs under the privy seal in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots. Abbot Donald Campbell had been Keeper of the Seal since 1554 and would retain possession of the office until 1562.[88] One such writ was issued on December 14, 1559:[89]

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85. G.Donaldson emphasises the importance of leadership: Scottish Church History p.79, discussing rates of conformity in Orkney and Galloway. For dean William Cunningham: chapter 3 ns.88-93.
86. William Cunningham, Mr James Pitcairn, Mr Thomas Scrymgeour, Mr John Hay, Mr Robert Erskine: appendix A.a nos.079,273,312,169,104. [Mr John Hay was to be considered "godly, learned and wise" by ambassador Randolph in 1565: CSP(S) ii 192,196,198.]
87. See appendix A.a nos.206,173,191,057; for Sir Robert of Kinnaird, chapter 3 ns.99-112.
88. C.A.Chrs. ii 278-9.
89. Petrie, Compendious History,century xvi pt.2 p.215 - citing from the Dun Papers; T.Crockett "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.118.

> "Francis and Marie by the Grace of God King and Queen of Scots, Daulphin and Daulphiness of Viennois, To our lovets [blank] our shirefs in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute greeting. For so much as the Lords of our Counsall understanding the great hurt and iniquity, that in times past hath proceeded to the members of the Christs Church by maintaining and upholding of the Anti-christs lawes and his consistory, boasting and fearing the simple and ignorant people with their cursings; gravatures and such like others their threatnings, whereby they sate on the conscience of men, of long time by gone, Ordained that no consistory should be afterward holden, hanted nor used, Having respect that there be enough of Civil ordinary Judges, to the which our Lieges may have recourse in all their actions & causes; And not the less the said Lords are informed, that certain wicked persons within the City of Brechin, malevolent members of the said Antichrist, Contemptuously disobey the said ordinance, and cease not still to hold the consistory, and execute his pestilent lawes within the said City in contempt of Vs and our authority; Our will is therefore and wee charge you straitly, and command, that incontinent these our letters seen, yee pass and in our name and authority, command and charge the Commissary and Scribe of Brechin, and all other members of the said Consistory, and others our Leiges whatsoever having interess, That none of them take in hand, to hold any consistory for administration of the said wicked Lawes, or assist there to in any way from thence forrh [sic], Vnder the pain of death, As yee will answer to us thereupon .... Given at Dundy ..."

The identity of the Commissary and Scribe of Brechin thus identified as a "malevolent member of the said Antichrist" is uncertain. Mr John Cockburn, prebendary of Kilmoir, had been a close associate of bishop John Hepburn since the 1530s and had acted as commissary during the 1550s. As one of the few remaining old guard on the chapter, his continuing to maintain the courts of the church might have been expected. On the other hand, sir James Robertson subscribed as clerk to the chapter in 1553 and was commissary in 1555, and so better fits the definition of the opponent specified in the privy seal writ. Both men were still alive until Robertson's death c.1562. As the writ issued instructions not just to the commissary but to all the tribunal's members, it may not, in fact, be necessary to choose between Cockburn and Robertson - both may have resisted the

Reformation in 1559.[90]

One further document evidences opposition on the chapter of Brechin to the Reformation. On the twenty-ninth of November 1559, the Lords issued the following privy seal writ:[91]

> "Francis and Marie, King and Queen of Scots, Daulphin and Daulphiness of Viennoys, To our lovets [blank] messengers or sherifs in that part conjunctly and severally specially constitute greeting. For so much as it is understood by the Lords of our Privy Councell that be reformed, of the suspension of the Queen Dowrier's autority, the samine is by consent of the Nobility and Barons of our realm, now by God's providence devolved unto them: And their chieff and first charge and study is, and should bee, to advance the glory of God, by maintaining and upsetting true preachers of the Word, Reforming of Religion, and subversion of idolatry; And there are diverse of the clergy, who have not as yet adjoined themselves unto the Congregation, nor made open testification of their faith, and renunciation of idolatry; Our will is heerfore and we charge you straitly, and command that incontinently these Our letters seen, ye pass and in our name and authority command and charge all and sundry of the clergy, who have not as yet adioned themselves to the Congregation as said is, by open proclamation at all places needfull, That they compear before the saids Lords of Counsall in Sanctandrews the [blank] day of [blank] and there give open testification of their conversion with plain confession of their faith, and renunciation of all manner of superstition and idolatry; With certification unto them, if they fail, they shalbe reputed and holden as enemies of God and true Religion, and the fruits of their Benifices shall be taken away, one part thereof to the true preachers who administrate truly the word, and the remanent to be applied to the forthsetting of the Common well of our realm... Given ... at Glasgow..."

This threat resulted in a variety of priests appearing to join the Congregation and confess their faith before the kirk session of St Andrews on 3 February 1559/60.[92] The prebendary of Burghill,

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90. See appendix A.a nos.066 and 289. Crockett dated this document to 1560, but the 2nd and 18th year of the reigns of Francis and Mary was 1559, dating inclusively.
91. Petrie, Compendious History century xvi pt.2 p.215; cited T. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.103. This and the preceding writ are also printed in Keith's History (Spottiswoode Soc. 1844) pp.246-8. Keith dates both in 1559.
92. StAKSR i 10-11. In December, Lord James wrote "our letters through the country are duly obeyed" including in Angus. CSP(S) i 597.

however, sir Robert Abercromby, failed to give profession of his faith. On the twelfth of April 1560, the Lords of the Council purported to deny the fruits of Burghill to Abercromby and gave authority to a previous claimant of the benefice to uplift them in his place.[93]

> "... And yat schir Robert Abircrumbie lait intrusit persone of Buttergill quha be simony and vther unruleful moyenis purchest ye samin [notwithstanding] yat it was first disponit be ye quene dowriar regent for ye tyme to James Hepburne, he contempueslie disobeyit ye saidis chargis and proclamationis and continuis still in his wickit papistrie. Thairfore ye saidis lordis hes maid and constitut and ordainit and be ye ten[our]e heirof makis constitutis and ordainis the said James Hepburn yair ye newcar fact[our]e and ... intromet[our]e w[i]t[h] all the ... teindis and emolumentis of ye saidis personage of Buttergill."

The canon of Burghill may not have conformed at the Reformation - it seems likely, however, that the more pressing reason for the sequestration of his benefice was his dispute with James Hepburn, and hence probably with the new minister, Mr John Hepburn. Abercromby was to retain Burghill to 1587, despite this challenge by James Hepburn and another by John Leslie in 1566. Nevertheless, these two writs of 1559 and 1560 were probably sufficient at the time to secure the accession of the chapter of Brechin to the protestant cause.

The decision of abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar to support the Reformation, for all its substantial gains to the Congregation both nationally and in Angus, appears to have been motivated by the threat posed to his abbey and by clan-loyalty. Similar political motives persuaded the earl of Morton, from 1557 head of the house of Douglas during the minority of the earl of Angus, not to give the Reformation much active support, despite his personal

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93. See appendix A.a no.001: this entry includes the full text of the writ with its reference.

inclination to protestantism. Because of his youth, the new earl of Angus was unable to take sasine of his lands: during this interim, the crown was therefore entitled to the feudal duty of nonentries. These the regent waived, however, making a gift of them to Morton who in turn subscribed a bond of manrent to her, for himself, his heirs, his kin and his friends.[94]

Rather than levy these feudal casualties from the earldom's tenants to his own gain, Morton preferred to bind his friends closer by in turn waiving the dues in exchange for bonds of manrent to the house of Angus. A series of these are preserved in the National Library of Scotland. The bonds follow a similar pattern, beginning with the acceptance of an obligation to ride on the affairs of "our sovereign lady" and then to serve the earl of Angus as the subscriber's predecessors had done. As the service was promised explicitly in exchange for the gift of nonentries, so the bonds were limited to continue only until the entry of the heir of the earldom. First to subscribe these standard-form bonds were Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie and David Graham of Fintry, respectively on the ninth and tenth of December 1557. In February of 1557/8, David Tyrie of Drumkilbo, John Lovell apparent of Ballumbie and James Ochterlony of Kelly subscribed. In April of 1558, John Lyon of Cossins sealed a bond; on the twenty-second of July, both James Wood of Bonnyton and John Ogilvy of Inverquharity followed suit. Finally, Thomas Maule apparent of Panmure subscribed on nineteenth November 1558.[95]

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94. State Papers, SP 13.78; cited J.M.Brown, "Bonds of manrent in Scotland before 1603" (Glasgow Ph.D. 1977) no.522.
95. NLS, ms.25.9.6 nos.5,6,7; 1,2,3; 9; 10, 11; 14. Some extant bonds by minor tenants have not been listed; others are damaged. This collection is omitted in the thesis cited in note 94.

This collection of bonds of manrent give an interesting insight into the competing claims for loyalty upon Angus lairds immediately preceding the Reformation crisis. Sub-infeudation had spread the tentacles of the Douglas interest widely through the shire: whereas the laird of Drumkilbo owed service as a tenant of the regality of Abernethy, the other lairds were tenants of the scattered lands of the regality of Kirriemuir. Several - Panmure, Ballumbie, Powrie, Fintry - were tenants-in-chief of the crown in their own right. In the 1540s, the then lairds of Bonnyton, Fintry, Kelly and Panmure had been part of cardinal Beaton's clientele.[96] In the early years of the century, Kelly, Powrie and Fintry had been associated with the earls of Crawford. Lyon of Cossins was close kin to the Lords Glamis: John the eighth lord, however, was a minor. With the earldom of Crawford weakened by the dispute against the house of Edzell, Morton put his service to Mary of Guise to political profit by building friendship with important Angus lairds, who in turn were looking for good lordship.[97]

The consequences for the course of the Reformation of this extension of the Douglas interest in Angus are obscure. John Ogilvy of Inverquharity was not prevented from becoming one of the leading members of the Congregation; nothing is known, however, about the activities of the other Angus tenants in the years 1558-1559. Of Morton himself, a signatory to the "First Band", Knox wrote:[98]

"who promised to be ours, but did never plainly join".

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96. See chapter one, note 93.
97. See appendix **B** for clarification of the individual lairds mentioned above and throughout the thesis.
98. Knox's History i p.262.

It seems likely that, given the risks attaching to clear commitment to either side, Morton's clients in Angus would have valued their bonds to the house of Angus as convenient reasons for failure to support any other lord claiming their service. From this inactivity, the tenth earl of Crawford was probably the greatest loser. He was to join with Huntly in inviting Mary queen of Scots to return as a catholic monarch to Aberdeen; yet his course, too, during 1559/60 appears to have been one of inaction.[99]

On 10 September 1559, the young earl of Arran having newly arrived in Scotland from France,[100] joined the Congregation. By the nineteenth, his father the duke of Châtelherault had also joined. With the Hamilton interest turned against her, the isolation of Mary of Guise from the Scottish political nation was virtually complete. What had begun as defiance of her authority by Dundee, Perth and certain Angus lairds on religious grounds had swelled to become national resistance to French control of Scottish affairs and colonisation of Scottish lands.[101] In a last attempt to retain the duke, she employed Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird as a negotiator between them. Such agents were chosen because of their connections with both sides: it had been Lord James Stewart and the earl of Argyll who had first negotiated on the regent's behalf with John Erskine of Dun outside of Perth. In a public proclamation of her case, she described Carnegy as "of good credit and reputation".[102] Although there is no evidence that Carnegy followed the example of the

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99. History of the Church of Scotland by Archbishop John Spottiswoode ed.M.Russell and M.Napier (Spottiswoode Soc.1851) i 328-9.
100. J.Durkan, "The Hidden Years", SHR lxv (1986) p.163-4.
101. R.Mason, "Covenant and Commonweal" in Church,Politics and Society ed. N.Macdougall (Edinburgh 1983) pp.105-112 discusses the switch in the Congregation's appeal from religious to patriotic language.
102. Knox's History i pp.230,237.

queen-dowager's earlier representatives in deserting her cause, the close links his family was developing with Châtelherault's second son, the abbot of Arbroath, may well have had a higher priority in his mind than his bond of manrent to Mary of Guise - subscribed in the very different circumstances of 1548.[103] Lord John Hamilton, abbot of Arbroath, was one of those who ratified the Contract of Berwick of February 1559/60 and participated in the siege of Leith.[104] The accession of the duke to the Congregation brought the last of the major grouping with connections in Angus to the cause of Reformation. Arbroath abbey, like Coupar, was spared assault when the men of Angus and the Mearns forcibly reformed Lindores, Scone (by excess of zeal) and the Aberdeen priories in 1559.[105]

It is probable that the majority of the lairds of Angus passively acquiesced in the Reformation rather than being fervent supporters of it. Many had had previous links with heresy or with English allies; few if any had good reasons for defending the existing church - which all agreed needed reform. The reform of 1560 promised the opportunity for gain for the materially minded, and of spiritual benefits for the religiously inclined. Revolt against Mary of Guise was presented as the "defence of the realm";[106] men like Mr Robert Wedderburn had equally viewed reformation of the church as a patriotic necessity to avert the wrath of God from the

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103. State Papers, SP 13.59; cited J.M.Brown, "Bonds of manrent in Scotland before 1603" (Glasgow Ph.D. 1977) no.521. See chapter 3, ns.100-112.
104. Knox's History i p.308.
105. Knox's History i pp.188-91 (Scone); ibid p.186 n.4 (Lindores); W.Moir Bryce, Scottish Grey Friars i pp.322-4 (Aberdeen). Coupar and Arbroath must have been "reformed" by their own commendators; no evidence survives to indicate whether they were unroofed at this time or later. D.McRobert's case is somewhat overstated: "Material Destruction", IR x pp.143,150,159-160.
106. Scottish Correspondence p.427.

nation. Defence of religious freedom for protestant preaching dovetailed with defence of Scotland from French ambitions: traditionally loyal and patriotic Angus lairds could view the Reformation favourably as according with their former principles. After the initial crisis of May and the fighting around Perth and St Andrews, the part played by men from Angus and the Mearns sharply decreased. In July 1559, they were unable to assist when the Congregation in Edinburgh were threatened by the French;[107] the next occasion that they attended in force was with the Scottish host that met with the English before Leith in April 1560. Knox reported, however, that the "army was great" for a few days only. The feudal levies and light cavalry provided by lairds was little use for a siege of a fortified stronghold. Only Henry Graham, younger of Morphie, was to sign the "Last Band at Leith", 27 April 1560.[108] The active involvement of Mr James Haliburton with Dundee's armed bands and artillery at Edinburgh and Leith should not conceal the fact that few others from Angus and the Mearns are known to have been associated with the Reformation conflict in the spring of 1560.[109]

Professor Donaldson has described those who supported the Reformation at the parliament of 1560 as "the party of revolution", characterised by their past Anglophilism, constancy to the reforming cause, and cohesion as a group.[110] Examination of those from Angus and the Mearns at Edinburgh in August of 1560 reveals

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107. Knox's History i p.200.
108. Knox's History i pp.312,316.
109. For the roles of Dundee and its provost, Mr James Haliburton: I.E. Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.69-70. T.Crockett "The Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.111 notes that Erskine appears to have been in Angus during the early months of 1560. He was appointed master of the hospital of Montrose and factor to its fruits 22 Feb. 1559/60; HMC v p.640 no.65.
110. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men pp.31-47.

not one but several circles of associations. From those who subscribed bonds of manrent to the house of Angus in 1557/8 were the lairds of Powrie, Kelly, Inverquharity and Panmure. All four can be shown to have consistently supported factions associated with a protestant commitment during their careers.[111] The congregation of the Mearns was well represented by seven important lairds: those of Pittarrow, Thornton, Lauriston, Glenbervie, Allardice, Arbuthnott and Morphie. Pittarrow and Lauriston had been linked with John Erskine of Dun as members of the council of the Lords of the Congregation since October 1559.[112] Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie had been described in English reports in 1548 as "one of the chiefest of that surname, except the earl of Angus". Associated with heresy in the 1540s, linked by marriage to the house of Dun, Glenbervie was commissioner for the Mearns to the General Assembly of 1563.[113] Robert Graham of Morphie and John Strachan of Thornton had similar consistent records.[114] The name of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk was new to protestant circles -

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111. Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie (1547-c.1576 : see appendix B.063): member of General Assembly 1563; king's man in Angus 1569; his brother a reformed minister; associated of the Lindsays of Edzell. CC 1.1a [extract Assembly records]; Strathmore mss box 235.3; appendix A.c no.065; Reg.Deeds RD 1.11 353r.
James Ochterlony of Kelly (c.1554 - c.1577 : see appendix B.197): one of the friends of John Lord Glamis, chancellor of Scotland; Strathmore mss, box 235 bund.3 no.9 (8 Oct.1577).
Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity (c.1542-1587 : appendix B.217): justice-depute to try witches in Arbroath,1568; king's man in Angus; supplied troops for the seige at Leith, 1572; a Ruthven raider; Airlie mss, GD 16.25.4; Strathmore mss box 235.3; NLS, ms.5308 no. 1259; RSS viii 1713.
Thomas Maule of Panmure (1560 - 1600 : see appendix B.177): supported the English at Broughty; married his heir to John Erskine of Dun's daughter and two of his daughters to kin of Dun; a king's man and a friend of the Regent Moray and of chancellor Glamis; RSS iv 93; Dalhousie mss GD 45.26.53 page 70; Strathmore mss., box 235.3; GD 45.26.53 page 67 and Strathmore mss., box 235 bund.3 no.9.

112. CSP(S) i 550.

113. CSP(S) i 236; RSS iii 820;chapter 3 n.46; CC 1.1a.

114. See chapter 3 n.47 and for Morphie, above, n.106.

it has been suggested that his wife's faith remained traditional into the 1550s. His son and heir Andrew, however, was an associate of John Erskine of Dun, lending him £200 in 1555.[115] The commitment of these lairds to the reformed church after 1560 was to remain solid. The triangle of lands whose apex was Dunnottar was a heart-land of the protestant faith; yet, even so, the allegiance of northern Mearns, by Deeside, was less secure.

The position of the sole earl of the Mearns, William the earl Marischal, was much less clear cut than that of the lairds of the shire. His record in the 1540s was as an enthusiastic protestant - and in the 1550s, as a supporter of Mary of Guise.[116] During the crisis of 1559, he appears to have given cautious verbal support to the Congregation - perhaps in order to secure the release of his heir, a captive in England. By the summer of 1560, he could be described as "neutral" - yet he arrived for the parliament, and was at first welcomed by the English ambassador. By August, it was reported that the Lord James was to be "earnest" with him to overcome his doubts and delays - finally, he approved the new Confession of Faith, but left Edinburgh without accepting the proposed marriage of Arran to Queen Elizabeth - pleading sickness. Though personally a protestant, the earl Marischal had many links to the north of Dunnottar: he held lands from the earl of Huntly, and could be described as one of that earl's friends.[117] Also at the parliament of 1560 was the master of Marischal - a close associate of Moray, and much more in accord with the general sentiment of the

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115.See chapter 3 ns.54-7; Reg.Deeds RD 1.1. f.148r.
116.See chapter 3hns.58-61.
117.CSP(S) i 455,480,511,512,647; Hamilton Papers ii appendix xxxix; CSP(S) i 713,812,879,881,886,891; RSS vii 1022.

Mearns.[118]

All four of the traditional magnates of Angus attended parliament in August 1560. John Lord Glamis and James Lord Ogilvy were, however, still minors. The former was to develop a career as a protestant; the latter as conservative in religion.[119] Professor Donaldson notes that "Lord Ogilvy was followed by four Ogilvy lairds from his own district of Angus".[120] It seems more likely that Lord Ogilvy was present with his curator, the abbot of Coupar, Donald Campbell; and that Ogilvy of Inverquharity appeared with the earl of Morton.[121] Of the other Ogilvies, Patrick of Inchmartine (in Gowrie) was rather closer to Patrick Lord Gray than to Ogilvy of Airlie. Alexander of Clova, though an associate of Lord Ogilvy in the 1570s, was rather more in the company of Inverquharity around 1560. Little is known of David Ogilvy of that ilk - but his heir, Gilbert (succeeded 1560 x 1562) gave Morton a bond of manrent in 1565 and was a king's man in 1568, thus taking opposite sides from the chief of his name.[122] Once again, it must be emphasised that lairds

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117. The calendars of state papers include a whole series of personal requests from Lord James Stewart, later earl of Moray, on behalf of his brother-in-law, desiring better treatment at the hands of his English captors, who continually demanded that he re-enter captivity and sought a large ransom for his final release. CSP(S) i 1057,1134,1141; CSP(S) ii 105,153,155,161,177,179,180, 184,440,460; dates from 1 Jan.1561/2 to 5 Jan.1566/7.
118. The earl of Atholl had the ward of Glamis - but the latter's curators were Morton and Bellenden of Auchnoule: Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 9.201 and Reg.Deeds RD 1.5 f.22r. For Lord Ogilvy, see chapter 3 n.67.
119. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men p.41.
120. Campbell appears as curator to Lord Ogilvy 1558 x 1562: Airlie mss., GD 16.24.178, GD 16.12.289; besides sponsoring the young man as provost under him of Brechin.
122. Inchmartine's son and himself both married daughters of Lords Gray: see appendix B nos.213,214. Clova chose Inverquharity to act as arbiter for him in 1561: Reg.Deeds RD 1.4 f.166r and had witnessed charters for him in 1556: RMS iv 1122, RD 1.2 f.8r. Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk: Acts & Decs.,CS 7.70 f.23; Strathmore mss., box 235.3 and see appendix B nos.201,202.

had other loyalties apart from kin: in Angus especially, bonds of choice - of marriage-ties, of personal faith - could cut across the shared surname.

Both David, tenth earl of Crawford, and Patrick Lord Gray took equivocal positions during the summer of 1560. Indeed, they seem to have mutually supported each other in their dealings with the English. On February 10, 1559/60, Randolph reported that the earls Atholl, Errol, Montrose, Marischal and Crawford and lords Gray, Ogilvy, Drummond and Oliphant would do as the earl of Huntly advised them - and that the latter had begun to "reform religion in his country". Crawford and Gray came to parliament together with Atholl and Innermeath in July; by August, Randolph was complaining that Atholl and Marischal were making undue delays, that Crawford was finding objections, and that Gray promised support in due course. Atholl, Crawford and Gray were finally reported as agreeing to the proposed marriage between Arran and Queen Elizabeth - but Gray left Edinburgh before expressing this consent in writing.[123] This bloc of northern earls and lords appears to have been suspicious of the Hamilton and Douglas interests that were prominent in 1560 - by working loosely together, they retained a measure of independence.

Lord Gray's bitter experience of the English during the late 1540s may have made him peculiarly sensible to the need to retain links with all parties. His absence in England as a prisoner of the earl of Northumberland from 1557 to December of 1559 meant that he had been removed from Scotland during critical years. The English, indeed, recognised his political worth and deliberately

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123. CSP(S) i 647,872,881,885,891.

retained both him and the master of Marischal for four extra months: when released, it was on terms - a false step could mean that he was recalled.[124] Gray, therefore, had many reasons for cautious ambiguity in 1560. Letters to him from both Mary of Guise and Mary queen of Scots survive. In the first, (11 May 1560) the queen-regent recognised[125]

> "[that he was] of mynd as yit to perservere in the gude mynd towart zour souerane..."

She suggested that the actions of the other lords were hardly compatible with due obedience, that they made no headway in the siege of Leith, and concluded by asking whether Gray was prepared to further her cause ? By October, Queen Mary was writing to thank Gray for the "entire affection" he had had to her mother,[126] and to solicit the support of him and his friends in their duty and obedience to herself. Gray, then, despite his protestantism of the 1540s, maintained a friendly and [com]promising correspondence with Mary of Guise and her daughter, at the same time that he was agreeing to the Arran/Elizabeth match - which could have been perceived as a political threat by Mary. The English did in fact recall him to ward: in February 1561/2, the earls of Atholl, Marischal and Mar (James Stewart - later Moray) bound themselves as surety for his not escaping from Northumberland for six months.[127]

Representatives of Angus at the 1560 "Reformation Parliament" were a somewhat ill-assorted group. The magnates attended uneasily - as clients of their sponsors, or as mildly dissenting from the general ethos. There was an Ogilvy group -

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124. CSP(S) i 519,591.
125. CSP(S) i 787; BL, Egerton ms.1818 fs,11,15.
126. CSP(S) i 912.
127. CSP(S) i 1075; BL, Egerton ms.1818 f.17.

sheltering under a kinship that concealed different loyalties. There was a group of friends of Morton - a group based on the thinnest of feudal relationships and requiring to be patched together with written pledges. There were commissioners from the key protestant burghs of Dundee and Montrose; and also from Forfar. Compared with the seven lairds from the Mearns, interlocked by marriage, faith and shared political history, this was a disparate set. Where, too, were the other lairds of Angus ? Where were Gardyne and Guthrie of that ilk, Ogilvy of Balfour, Graham of Fintry, Wood of Craig or Bonnyton, Carnegy of Kinnaird ? John, commendator of Arbroath and Donald, abbot of Coupar, were in attendance - but they represented factions based outside of the shire.

The history of protestantism in Angus had been that of occasional personal piety linked with political factions that had religious colouring. A good many families had had connections with the movement - far more than attended the "Reformation Parliament" and who thus assented to the new Confession of Faith and banned the Mass on pain of death. Local catholic leadership was non-existent, or, as bishop John Hepburn had been, discredited both by persecution of heretics and by the growing catholic reform movement. The new faith seems, therefore, to have been accepted in Angus - and welcomed in the Mearns. Though both shires together formed the "epicentre of the explosion"[128] their reactions can be distinguished. Apart from Erskine of Dun at Montrose and in the Mearns, there was no clear local leadership to unite the Angus lairds. Just as the shire's faction led by cardinal Beaton had been smaller

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128.McRoberts, "Material Destruction", IR x p.151.

than that of secretary Erskine of Brechin, so neither the interests of Campbell nor Hamilton ever achieved more than a marginal hold on Angus loyalties.

The first fifty years of the century had been testing ones for the small independent families of Angus: James V's aggressive forfeitures, the English occupation and crop-burnings, the impact of new standards of living, of new concepts of the world - these made for caution, for solidarity. These lairds would do little to risk their hereditary estates - neither for a conceptual faith, nor for outside interests. Neither would they willingly oppose their neighbours in arms. In such a situation, all the cards were held by those who were united: by a covenanting faith, by sharing of the Lord's Supper, by the determination to succeed that follows once the point of possible withdrawal has been left behind. There were those who found that the polarisation explicit in the identification of the Roman church with the antichrist made sense of their experience of current events: of the turmoil of the world, of the abuses of the church, of their own sense of crisis and insecurity. Others found the role offered them as patrons, elders and leaders of the new faith attractive and in continuity with the traditions of their house. Others again saw opportunities to add to their lands. For all these reasons, the reformation had taken root in Angus and the Mearns.

Yet this religious revolution was based on a firmly conservative mood. At the simplest political level, the duke aimed to reverse Mary of Guise's coup in displacing him, the first gentleman of Scotland, from the regency. In a real sense, the political events of 1559/60 were not a revolution but a counter-coup:

an attempt to return to 1547, before Pinkie, to remove the French troops, French officers of state and the French regent. The language of the "revolution" was backwards-looking, to the ideal "commonweal". Even the eschatology of the period was post-millennial, expecting a decline into actual and spiritual warfare at the end of the age. Knox's aim was to return the church to the golden age of the past purity - that of the "primitive and apostolic church".[128] Mary of Guise's own supporters had advocated reform of the church as a patriotic measure. Discontent with the present had led to its rejection in favour of the virtues and ideals and leaders of the past. The parliament of 1560 proceeded to abolish the authority of the Pope in Scotland, forbade priests to say Mass, and accepted the new Confession of Faith. This radical-conservative mood, however, was a most insecure basis on which to construct a new "godly" society. Once positive and practical proposals were brought forward to build a future, the coalition fell apart. General assent was not forthcoming even at the 1560 parliament for the projected marriage between the earl of Arran and Queen Elizabeth of England; neither were the proposals of the Book of Discipline as generally welcomed as the Scots Confession. In any case, the return of Queen Mary to Scotland soon produced an entirely new political situation, and one much less favourable to religious radicals.

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128. Knox's History ii p.4.

CHAPTER FIVE

"THE FACE OF A PUBLIC CHURCH REFORMED": PAROCHIAL REFORMATION - THE FIRST QUARTER-CENTURY

"The face of a public church reformed": parochial reformation - the first quarter-century.

> "... and therefore nothing we desire more earnestly then that Christ Jesus bee universally once preached throughout this Realme, which shall not suddenly be, unlesse that by you, men be appointed, and compelled, faithfully to travell in such Provinces as to them shall be assigned ..."

The evangelisation of "all Inhabitants of this Realme" was the prime objective of those who provided spiritual guidance to the Scottish Reformation. In the Book of Discipline, drawn up between May 1560 and January 1560/61, the leaders of the new kirk set forward their plans for the planting and erection of "Kirkes ... where none are now."[1] In undertaking this task, they recognised their obligation to fulfil Christ's great commission - an obligation to which their eschatological perspective added urgency.[2] The means selected to achieve their goal was a new parish ministry of preachers or ministers, exhorters and readers working together with elected elders and deacons, and overseen by ten or so provincial officers of

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1. The First Book of Discipline, ed. J.K.Cameron (Edinburgh 1972) pp.115-6.
2. The Scots Confession of 1560 ed. G.D.Henderson (Edinburgh 1960) p.28 reprints the original (1561) title-page of the Confession of Faith and Doctrine, intended as a parallel to the Book of Discipline. The following verse from Matthew 24 was selected by the reformers to introduce the Confession:
   "And this glad tydinges of the kingdom shalbe preached throught the hole world for a witness to all nations and then shall the end cum." [Underlining added for emphasis]
   Theologians of mission of many centuries have understood a "universal once preaching" to be appropriate to the last days before Christ's Return at the End: an understanding which typically adds urgency to, rather than precluding, the making of detailed forward plans.

the kirk, called superintendents.[3] Having been accepted as a gifted preacher by the assembly of the kirk in December 1560, John Erskine of Dun was nominated as superintendent of Angus and the Mearns by the Great Council of Lords, and inducted to his province by John Knox in January 1561/2.[4] Though both the size of his province and the nature of his authority were to be modified, John Erskine remained to his death (1589/90) the chief administrator and spiritual leader of the reformed ministry of his two shires. His responsibilities were diverse, including the examination and admission of ministers, consideration of their stipends, provision of their manses and glebes, upkeep of the fabric of churches, liaison with the courts of the church (whether kirk sessions or General Assembly) responsible for punishment of moral transgressions, and maintenance of a personal preaching ministry. Examination of the extent of the reformed kirk's success in achieving a parochial reformation conducive to "the preaching of Christ Jesus" in Angus and the Mearns from 1560 to 1590 is inseparable from assessment of the career of the laird of Dun.

Assessment of the numerical strength of the new ministry during the 1560s is notoriously difficult,[5] the

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3. A considerable literature now exists discussing the origins of this office, its relationship with systems of episcopacy, and how permanent it was intended to become in Scotland. First Book p.49-54;Donaldson, Reformation cp.v; Cowan, Reformation p.129-131; The Second Book of Discipline ed.J.Kirk (Edinburgh 1980) passim in the Introduction; D.G.Mullan, Episcopacy in Scotland (1560-1638) (Edinburgh 1986) chap.2.
4. First Book p.119: the diocese or province was denominated "Of Brechin" in the Book of Discipline, but thereafter as "Of Angus and the Mearns". Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.126-7.
5. M.Lynch, International Calvinism "the counting of ministers...has much in common with the counting of sheep and has...the same hallucinatory effects." - p.248. The available sources are discussed by Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.99-110. C.Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation (SRS 1972) is indispensible but criticised by, inter alia, J.Kirk "The Kirk and the Highlands at the Reformation": Northern Scotland vi (1986) 1f.

main difficulty being that no central register specifically designed as a comprehensive list of serving clergy remains from before 1567. Between 1567 and 1568 a Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers was compiled and amended on an ad hoc basis by deletion and insertion until 1571-2. From 1567 to 1572, lists of ministers and others paid from the thirds of benefices supplement the information of the Register: these accounts of the collectors of thirds are the only general source for the years 1561-1566.[6] Discrepancies between what actually happened in the localities and what was officially known lessen the value of both these records. For example, James Fleming occurs as reader at Ruthven in 1563 according to the thirds and not thereafter in any central source. From a local notary's protocol book, however, it appears that in 1570 as vicar-pensioner and minister he performed a marriage in the parish kirk.[7] Similarly, Mr William Salmond first appears in central records as reader at Dunnottar in 1574, yet in 1569 he was officiating as -

> "vicar of Clunye Redar and exhortar thair howand pouer for ye ministratioun of ye sacramentis"

under authority of a writ from John Erskine of Dun dated 12 October 1569.[8] Conversely, Nicholas Spittal, former provost of Lord Gray's collegiate church of Fowlis and a canon of St Andrews priory, was obviously a minister of some repute by 1566 when he subscribed a letter as one of the "most qualified" - but as his stipend probably came from Fowlis and the priory, he does not appear in the accounts of

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6. The original of this Register is available at the SRO as E.48.2 and was printed (not without occasional omissions) by the Maitland Club in 1830, retaining its original title; it is cited as RM. Thirds of Benefices ed.G.Donaldson, (SHS 1949) is cited TB. The information contained in these records concerning Angus and the Mearns is calendared in appendix A.2.
7. See appendix A.c no.060.
8. See appendix A.c no.209.

the thirds until 1569.[9] Assessing the strength of the new ministry from central sources is unavoidable - yet it must be remembered that these consistently understate the real position.[10]

Angus and the Mearns obviously had in place a good nucleus of a reformed ministry from as early as 1561. Though no central lists of names exist before 1563, the total sums paid as stipends are available for comparison for the three years 1561, 1562 and 1563. By the latter date the superintendent and eighty-two others were receiving cash payments totalling £4082. This was only marginally increased from 1562 - £3,936 6s.8d.; and roughly a quarter up on that of 1561 - £3,144 6s.8d.[11] These figures suggest that at least sixty ministers, exhorters and readers were officially recognised by 1561. £3,936 6s.8d. was approximately one-fifth of the national payment of stipends in 1562; these sums were the largest payments made to any province in each of the first three years that accounts were kept. Dr Crockett observes that, in 1562, the cash sums expended in Angus and the Mearns were greater than those levied there - while in 1561, income only marginally exceeded expenditure.[12] It may well be that the fact that the Collector-General of Thirds was John Wishart of Pittarrow explains the priority-claim upon his incomes from the thirds enjoyed by the new ministry of his home province. The leading position established by John Erskine of Dun's province also

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9. See appendix A.a no.324 and A.c no.224.
10. This point is demonstrated with regard to Dunblane by J.R.Todd's thesis ""The Reformation in the diocese of Dunblane" (Edinburgh PhD 1973) cited Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.110 and with regard to the Highlands by Kirk "The Highlands", NS vi p.16.
11. TB pp.94,152,228: these figures exclude monies remitted to benefice-holders authorised to retain their own thirds. The bounds of the various provinces used by the collectory of thirds appear to be sets of shires, rather than the provinces suggested in the first Book of Discipline.
12. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" pp.130,134.

reflects favourably on the superintendent's diligence in "planting kirks" and on the welcome given by the lairds of Angus and the Mearns to the reformed church.[13]

By 1563, a minimum of eighty-eight known ministers, exhorters and readers were serving the ninety-one parishes of Angus and the Mearns.[14] These bald figures need analysis, however. Some of the parishes left vacant were small - for example, Ecclesjohn (beside Dun) whose lands were wholly owned by John Erskine of Dun, did have parsonage revenues but was later to be described as "of auld ane chapel erectit for pilgrimage".[15] Other small parishes which were to be deliberately left without the provision of a reader were Ballumbie (beside Monifieth), St Skaa or Dunninald (beside Maryton) and Burghill and Kilmoir (associated with Brechin). Twenty-eight of the reformed ministry of 1563 were actually ministers: six were exhorters, and the rest (fifty-four), readers. In order to provide the preaching ministry considered essential for a reformed kirk, all but a few of the ministers were appointed to more than one parish. Thus the twenty-eight had allocated to them no fewer than fifty-two of the eighty-six significant parishes. This system of linkage was basically geographical, ignoring any previous

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13. Before 1563, the names of some ten of the new clergy are known from ad hoc sources. Besides John Erskine of Dun, the following were ministers: John Christison (Glenbervie), William Christison (Dundee), Mr John Hepburn (Brechin), Mr James Melville (? at Tannadice, Fern, Menmuir), Richard Melville of Baldovie (? at Maryton and Inchbrayock); see appendix A.c nos.029,030,107,143, 146. Mr Ninian Cook, Matthew Greiff and Mr David Meldrum had their vicars' thirds allowed for serving their parishes as readers from 1561; see appendix A.c nos. 035,088,141. Matthew Moncur was reader at Nevay/Eassie in 1562, and Charles Michelson may have served as reader at Barry; see appendix A.c nos.157,151.
14. These figures and all subsequent others are from the appendices to this thesis, as summarised in table 5.1, below. The parishes are those listed in appendix A.1.
15. See appendix A.c no.228.

TABLE 5.1

ANALYSIS OF MINISTERS, EXHORTERS AND READERS IN ANGUS AND THE MEARNS 1563-90.

	1563	67	69	72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
GENERAL														
ministers	28	35	40	39	32	33	36	36	37	46	43	45	48	59
new this year:		5	5	3	4	2	5	0	3	15	1	6	4	14
exhorters	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
new this year:		-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
readers	54	50	55	53	74	75	73	72	69	47	41	37	36	31
new this year:		13	5	5	28	10	4	5	3	4	0	0	2	0
graduates	22	20	24	23	22	23	26	28	29	38	35	37	41	50
new this year:		3	4	3	5	4	6	2	3	15	1	5	5	13
beneficed	19	-	-	-	36	37	39	39	44	49	42	46	48	53
TOTAL	88	85	95	93	106	108	109	108	106	93	84	83	84	90
new this year:		18	10	9	32	12	9	5	6	19	1	8	6	14

SERVICE OF PRE-REFORMATION CLERGY

	1563	67	69	72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
beneficed	18	15	16	16	15	13	11	10	10	7	6	7	7	5
friars	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
monks/canons	7	8	9	9	7	5	5	4	3	3	3	2	2	3
others	6	3	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	2	1	-	-
total	33	27	31	31	28	23	21	19	18	13	11	10	9	8

These figures are derived from the materials in appendix A. Their limitations are as follows:

1. They relate to the parishes of Angus and the Mearns surveyed for the purpose of this study - a list which corresponds neither with exact shire boundaries nor sixteenth-century ecclesiastical provinces.
2. They include known clergy and ministers.
3. They are based on central - and hence official - sources.

ecclesiastical allegiances. So Fern and Menmuir from the diocese of Dunkeld were linked with Tannadice, from the Angus deanery of St Andrews. Mr James Fotheringham was minister of three central Angus parishes: Kinnettles, Meathie and Inverarity; John Christison served the neighbouring Mearns parishes of Fetteresso, Dunnottar and Glenbervie. The untypical appointment of Mr John Hepburn to Brechin and Panbride is probably explained by the pre-Reformation linkage of the revenues of this coastal parish to a canonry of the cathedral.[16] A further twenty parishes were served by their own readers or exhorters, bringing the total of parishes with reformed clergy allocated to them to seventy-two.

Some distinctions in the provision of the new ministry can be made on a geographical basis. By 1563, no minister had been appointed to any of the five Deeside parishes supervised directly by John Erskine of Dun. However, Strachan and Durris did have their own readers; an exhorter served Banchory-Devenick, and Nigg shared a reader with Aberdeen. Alexander Robertson first occurs as reader at Maryculter in 1564: but in 1563, he served at Peterculter and may in fact have covered both parishes from the earlier date.[17] In the Mearns proper, there was virtually total coverage of the fifteen parishes by six ministers and fourteen readers. All but Catterline and Inverbervie had ministers allocated to them: and the latter was served by James Simpson, whose forty-five years of continuous service as a reader in several neighbouring kirks suggests strong local ties. None of these parishes in the Mearns were left unallocated to some form of reformed ministry - as might be expected

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16. See appendix A.2 for linkages of parishes, 1563 to 1590.
17. See appendix A.c nos.250,079,199,123,203.

from an area that was a stronghold of the new doctrines from well before 1560. Only Newdosk was left without a reader - and that small barony belonged wholly to the neighbouring Lindsays of Edzell, and was probably served from there.[18]

In Angus, the spread of ministers and readers across the shire was virtually complete, though not quite as comprehensive as in the Mearns. Five surprising gaps around Dundee are probably explained by the incomplete nature of the thirds as a source. Nicholas Spittal, one-time provost of Fowlis collegiate church and a canon of St Andrews priory, was minister of Fowlis with Benvie and Longforgan from 1567 to 1574: but, as it has been argued that his service to the reformed church dated from earlier than 1566, he was probably minister of all three parishes by 1563.[19] The small parishes of Liff and Logie-Dundee had had a joint curate with Invergowrie in 1555/6, and as a trinity were to share a minister from 1576 to 1590: it may be that before 1576 they were also served from Invergowrie.[20] The vacancy at Kirkbuddo is also surprising but probably not significant, as the lands of the parish were held by John Erskine of Dun.[21] More important were the remaining vacancies at Cookston, Farnell and Ethie; Finavon; Airlie with Lintrathen, and Glamis. These gaps are best understood as representing John Erskine of Dun's reluctance to appoint reformed clergy to the home parishes of magnates still cool towards the Reformation. Cookston and Farnell were virtually co-extensive with the lands of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird - an absentee from those known to have attended the

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18. See appendix A.c no.216.
19. See above, n.9.
20. See appendix A.a no.098 and A.c no.028.
21. WRH, NRA(S) 124: Jackson of Kirkbuddo Writs passim.

Reformation parliament. Ethie was held by his natural son, Carnegy of that ilk. Finavon and Airlie were of course the seats of the tenth earl of Crawford and James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, whose careers during the 1560s were to be interlocked as consistent supporters of Mary, queen of Scots. While John Lord Glamis did attend the General Assembly of 1563, he had inherited in 1559 as a minor, only purchasing his freedom from the ward of the conservative earl of Atholl in 1561. In 1565, he was to accompany Atholl, Crawford and Ogilvy in the army raised by the queen to counter Moray's rebellion.[22] If these seven significant vacancies are, indeed, adequately explained by the conservative preferences of their heritors (to use this term somewhat anachronistically), then the otherwise general appointment of staff to those Angus parishes retained by the reformers must also reflect a general acceptance of the Reformation by Angus society. Nevertheless, the conservatism of Angus' leading magnates was to pose problems.

Who were these eighty-eight ministers, exhorters and readers ? What sort of men served the reformed kirk - and why ? These questions are the more interesting because of the complaints raised against John Erskine of Dun in the General Assembly of December 1562:[23]

> "It wes laid to his charge, that there wer manie popishe preistis, unabill and of wicked life, admitted to reading kirkis within his diocie. 2. That some zoung men wer rashlie admitted to the ministrie, and to be exhortaris, without such trial and examinatioun as ar required in the Book of Discipline. 3. That gentilmen of vitious lives wer chosen to be elderis in divers kirkis. 4. That sundrie ministeris under his jurisdictioun remanit not at thair kirkis, visit not the
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22. For Glamis: CH 1.1a; The Strathmore Writs, NRA(S) 885, box 9.201, Reg.Deeds RD 1.5 f.22r. The Chaseabout army: RPC i 379. Glamis' longest relationship was with Morton, a cautioner for his purchase of his own ward and marriage from Atholl in 1561 (RD 1.5 f.22r) and also part of the queen's forces in 1565.
23. BUK i p.25.

> seik in thair extremitie, and alsua that the zouth is not instructed. 5. That some ministeris come ouer lait to the kirkis wher they sould preach on the Lordis day, so that the peopill doe wearie staying upon thaim, and incontinent the sermon being ended, they depart. 6. That the ministeris resort not to the exercise, according to the order set down in the Book of Discipline."

Although the particular men making up the complement of the ministry of Angus and the Mearns at the end of 1562 is unknown, the similarity between the total stipends paid in 1562 and 1563 suggests that examination of the ministry of 1563 against these criticisms might be fruitful.

First, in the light of the suggestion that "manie popishe preistis " were appointed readers, how many of the eighty-eight had served in the pre-Reformation church ? A total of thirty-three in all can be identified, which number - allowing for the unknown origins of many of the remaining readers - might approach half of those serving in 1563.[24] Of these thirty-three, some thirteen would appear to have been appointed to serve as readers (or, in two cases, exhorters) in their former parishes. The greater part of these were from the lesser clergy: curates and vicar-pensioners, four from the Mearns and the rest from Angus.[25] A further six readers had

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24. Cf. G.Donaldson, Reformation p.85; C.Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy p. vi, both suggesting "well over half" had served before 1560.

25.

Name	parish	formerly	appendix A.c no.:
The Mearns			
Mr Andrew Patrick	Arbuthnott	vic.pens.	176
Mr William Elder	Benholm	vic.pens.	050
Mr Alexander Wylie	Conveth	vic.pens.	248
sir James Symmer	Garvock	curate	233
Angus			
sir George Lyall	Aberlemno	curate	132
sir Duncan Gray	Auchterhouse	vic.pens.	085
James Sharp	Brechin	chaplain	212
sir Matthew Moncur	Eassie/Nevay	? vic.pens.	139
Mr David Meldrum	Maryton	vicar-perpetual	141
Walter Fairweather	Menmuir	curate	055
Matthew Greiff	Monikie	vic.pens.	088
sir James Fleming	Ruthven	vic.pens.	060
sir James Wight	Strathmartin	co-parson	244

been in lesser orders in the Roman church; but either they had not held a specific benefice, or else they were not appointed to serve after 1560 in their own parish.[26] Although these lists together amount to nearly one in four of the ministry of 1563, it is less clear that the mere fact of service before 1560 would thereby make them "unabill" in terms of the complaint of December 1562. The six graduates, if unwilling or unable to preach, would presumably be well qualified to read the public prayers and Scripture lessons on Sundays, and to do the various notarial tasks that fell to a reader. So, too, would those whose careers had included notarial duties: the books of Duncan Gray and Alexander Maxwell survive to this day. Still, the over-all number certainly gives some support to the first charge against the superintendent.

If over half of the conforming clergy came from the ranks of those with lesser benefices, the remaining fourteen whose names are known came in the main from distinct groups. Four - Ninian Clement, Thomas Gormak, Thomas Lindsay, and Nicholas Howeson - had been monks of Arbroath Abbey. All four were probably fairly young. The first known appearances with the convent of Clement, Gormak and Lindsay are in 1554: they may have joined soon after Lord John Hamilton became commendator. The first known date for Nicholas Howeson is 1557. Ninian Clement had been one of two monks to matriculate at St Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1555: he became minister of Arbroath

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26.

Name	new parish	formerly	appendix A.c no.:
David Fowler	Aldbar	Montrose curate	066
sir John Smith	Glenisla	vic.pens.Airlie	219
Mr John Johnston	Idvies	Brechin clerk	113
John Baty	Lunan/Dun	Montrose priest	014
James Kinloch	Tannadice	Dundee chaplain	117
Mr Alexander Maxwell	Tealing	Dundee notary	139

These and subsequent identifications are subject to the qualifications expressed in the introduction to appendix A.

itself.[27] Three more of the new ministers were canons of the priory of St Andrews, presumably recommended to their new parishes by their prior, Lord James Stewart - the later regent. These men - Patrick Boncle, John Goodfellow and David Robertson - served in parishes appropriated to their priory.[28] A further two readers and a minister may be identified with former friars: John Christison at Glenbervie from the house of Montrose, John Blindscheill at Inverarity from that of Elgin and John Smith at Fordoun possibly from the Inverbervie Carmelites.[29] The reader of Glenbervie may have been the John Auchinlek who had had his parsonage of Cookston sequestrated on account of his association with the murder of cardinal Beaton.[30] No complaint seems to have been laid against the admission of these men, whose conformity to the Reformation was apparently as a result of personal conviction or under the inspiration of known reformed leaders.[31]

The final three of the thirty-three of the reformed clergy known to have had associations with the Roman church before 1560 are best discussed under the second head of complaint against John Erskine of Dun: that of rashly admitting young men to the ministry without adequate trial. Mr James Fotheringham was

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27. See appendix A.c nos.032,083,128,109; also, M.Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers" RSCHS xviii (1974) p.209-10. Details given by Dr Dilworth are amended in the appendices in the light of further research.
28. See appendix A.c nos. 019,082,204. Robertson's 1567 linkage of Rossie with Tealing may have originated before that date. To these canons can be added Nicholas Spittal - discussed above [c.224]; and John Smith, reader at Longforgan [c.218] from 1567. The patronage of the later earl of Moray was, by Scottish standards, considerable: M. Lynch in International Calvinism p.243-5.
29. See appendix A.c nos.028,018,217.
30. See appendix A.a no.014 and A.c.no.011.
31. Prof.Donaldson discusses the roles of conviction and leadership as motives for conformity in Scottish Church History pp.76-79.

a brother of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie: by 1550, he had been presented to the parsonage of Ballumbie by Patrick, Lord Gray. Fotheringham was undoubtedly a young man at the time: he matriculated at St Leonard's College at St Andrews in 1556, and was to live to see the marriage of his grand-daughter in 1612. His service to the reformed kirk was curtailed, however, during the 1570s when he was accused of living in adultery; this episode may have been thought by contemporaries to justify criticism of his original acceptance for the ministry.[32] It may be that the superintendent was over-influenced by Fotheringham's patrons - Lord Gray, and the laird his brother: Powrie was himself a commissioner to the General Assembly.[33] The last two of the pre-1560 clergy should be considered special cases: Mr John Hepburn, treasurer and minister of Brechin, though as young and well-connected as Fotheringham, was accepted by the 1560 assembly of December, as has already been discussed. Finally, Mr Thomas Anderson was schoolmaster at Montrose and held the vicar-pensioner stipend from Barry. His active career can be traced back to the 1540s, however: he determined at St Leonard's in 1529 and so, though he lived until 1585, hardly qualifies as a "young man" in 1562-3.[34]

Others of the supposedly unexamined young men may have been clients of the laird of Dun himself. Mr James Erskine, exhorter at Logie Montrose in 1563, had matriculated at St Leonard's only in 1557: of the six known exhorters, he alone fits the 1562 criticism - which explicitly referred to the intermediary post in this connection. This personal attack did not prevent Dun elevating

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32. See appendices A.a no.123, A.c no.065; StA Recs.p.263.
33. CH 1.1.a [Extract register of the General Assembly].
34. See appendix A.c nos.107,003.

his kinsman to the post of minister of Dun by 1567.[35] Both Mr Andrew Milne and Mr William Gray (respectively ministers of Stracathro with Dunlappie and Dun with Logie-Montrose) were young men at the time of their first appointments. Milne was to serve the kirk for no less than fifty-one years: Gray completed forty-four years. Though Gray's university is unknown, Milne probably matriculated at St Leonard's in 1556. Their connection with the parishes and schools nearest to the barony of Dun suggests the superintendent's influence in their appointment.[36] Yet another young minister was Mr Gilbert Gardyne, brother to the laird of that ilk, who was appointed to the parishes of Monifieth with Monikie. The laird there, Durham of Grange, was a close associate of Erskine of Dun. Gardyne died as late as 1623: he may have determined at St Mary's College of St Andrews in 1558.[37] Finally, John Nevay, minister of Nevay with Eassie with Newtyle, must be mentioned. This young man served as minister continuously to 1591; at the time of his appointment, he was the heir of the laird of Nevay and succeeded his father around 1565.[38] It must be admitted that the superintendent of Angus and the Mearns does appear to have accepted some young, well-connected men for the ministry. In his defence, it might be said that (Fotheringham apart) they served the kirk well for many years, winning approval from others apart from their original sponsor.

Of the other criticisms of John Erskine of Dun's ministers made in December 1562, little can be said. That of

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35. See appendix A.c no.052.
36. See appendix A.c nos.152,086; StA Recs. 263.
37. See appendix A.c no.077. Durham of Grange was the son of a Jonet Erskine: RMS iii 304. He had been associated with Sir Thomas of Brechin: ADCP p.420; and represented Forfar at the first assembly of the kirk: BUK i p.3.
38. See appendix A.c no.164 and appendix B no.194.

non-residence with its corollaries, failing to visit the sick and teach the young, and that of late arrival for the Sunday service, seem an inevitable part of the system of linkage of several parishes under one minister. The shortage of ministers that made this necessary was, however, recognised by the Assembly of June 1563 when it petitioned the queen to authorise a full union of some parishes and hence allow for centralisation of services in one chosen church.[39] These complaints are at least good evidence of the difficulties and failings of the youthful system of ministry of the reformed kirk, if not of the young ministers themselves. In passing, it is interesting to speculate which of the superintendent's ministers brought these criticisms against him ? It may be that complaint number six, that the ministers failed to attend the exercise, provides a clue. This institution, held to be expedient by the Book of Discipline, was intended to be a regular Bible-study for the mutual instruction and examination of ministers and others. Meetings were to be held at the "chief towns" of the realm.[40] If such an exercise was intended for Dundee, as seems suitable, the minister there, William Christison, appears to be perhaps the sole minister in John Erskine's province who would have had the standing to criticise the superintendent and who could not himself be considered unqualified either by the taint of the priesthood or the inexperience of youth.[41]

Some further comments can be made by way of analysis of the reformed ministry of Angus and the Mearns in 1563.

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39. BUK i p.33.
40. First Book p.43f,187f.
41. See appendix A.c no.030. The procedure followed by the Assembly makes it clear that such complaints were brought against the superintendents in their absence by representatives of their own province; later, "the ministers of Mernes and Angus wer removed and tryed" in their turn: BUK i p.25,26.

In general terms, ability as measured by university education was rewarded by promotion and allocation of a higher-than-average stipend. Twelve of the eighteen ministers with cash stipends of £100 or over in 1563 had had university training:[42] this group comprised all the graduate ministers. Nevertheless, a glance at the names of those who were best paid in Angus and the Mearns reveals that the same young, well-connected men favoured by John Erskine of Dun also feature significantly in this connection, together with the laird/ministers, his neighbours the Melvilles of Baldovie and Montrose friar John Christison. Ability or education alone were probably insufficient in sixteenth century society to secure advancement, despite the suggestions of the Book of Discipline that inequality of stipends ought to be justified only by the criteria of need, whether personal or professional.[43]

That St Leonard's College at St Andrews

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42.

Name	University	stipend	ref.no.
Mr John Hepburn	St Andrews:St Salvator's	£266.60	A.c 107
William Christison	Rostock	£133.33	A.c 030
Ninian Clement	St Andrews:St Mary's	£133.33	A.c 032
Mr Gilbert Gardyne	St Andrews:St Mary's	£133.33	A.c 077
Mr Archibald Keith	[unknown]	£133.33	A.c 115
David Lindsay of Pitairlie	[non-graduate]	£133.33	A.c 124
Mr James Melville	St Andrews:St Mary's	£133.33	A.c 143
Mr Thomas Anderson	St Andrews:St Leonard's	£106.66	A.c 003
Mr James Balfour	St Andrews	£100.00	A.c 013
Mr John Buchan	St Andrews:St Leonard's	£100.00	A.c 023
Mr James Fotheringham	St Andrews:St Leonard's	£100.00	A.c 065
Mr William Gray	[unknown]	£100.00	A.c 086
Richard Melville of Baldovie	[non-graduate]	£100.00	A.c 146
Mr Andrew Milne	St Andrews:St Leonard's	£100.00	A.c 152
John Nevay [later of that ilk]	[non-graduate]	£100.00	A.c 164
John Christison	[non-graduate]	£100.00	A.c 029
John Patrick	[non-graduate]	£100.00	A.c 177
Patrick Ramsay	[non-graduate]	£100.00	A.c 191

These stipends are given in TB: they exclude any remission of thirds due to those ministers who also held benefices. The twenty-eight ministers of 1563 had stipends averaging £97: but this is distorted by the figures for the monks and those for the canons of St Andrews, as their payments from the thirds were supplementary to their portions.

43. First Book p.108-9.

University was a source of recruitment of the ministry has already been demonstrated in considering the careers of Mr Thomas Anderson, Mr James Fotheringham, Mr Andrew Milne and Mr James Erskine. The college had gained a reputation as at least favourable to unorthodox thought during the 1520s and 1530s; though from 1545 under principal John Annand, the tone seems to have become more conservative.[44] Among those who were students at St Leonard's before 1545 were Mr William Elder, Mr John Meldrum, Mr Thomas Anderson, Mr Robert Merser, Mr John Buchan, Mr William Salmond and Mr Alexander Maxwell. Although identification of the subsequent careers of St Andrews' graduates is fraught with uncertainty, it seems likely that most (if not all) of these men served in the reformed church in Angus and the Mearns.[45] To set against these names, the following graduates of St Leonard's held office in Angus or the Mearns within the pre-Reformation church and did not conform following 1560: Mr Andrew Couper, Mr Robert Erskine, Mr James Strachan, Mr Patrick Liddell, Mr Patrick Blair, Mr Robert Auchmowty and Mr John Elder. The careers of these collections of graduates were not, of course, as homogeneous as the bare lists suggest. Mr Robert Erskine, an uncle of John Erskine of Dun, died soon after the Reformation; Mr Patrick Liddell was entitled "minister" in

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44. M.Sanderson, Cardinal pp.82-3,119-22; I.Cowan, Reformation p.94.
45. Elder: matriculated 1525, determinant 1528, licentiate 1529.
StA Recs., pp.221,120,122; appendix A.c no.050.
Meldrum: matriculated 1529, determined 1530 and licentiate 1531.
StA Recs., pp.226,123,126; appendix A.c no.142.
Anderson: determined 1529, Intrant, 1530: "pauper".
ActaFacArt ii 359,363; appendix A.c no.003
Merser: matriculated 1532, determined 1535, licentiate 1536.
StA Recs., 230,131,132; appendix A.c no.149.
Buchan: licentiate "pauper", 1537.
ActaFacArt ii 386: appendix A.c 023
Salmond: matriculated 1542: also 1545.
StA Recs.,pp. 249,251: appendix A.c no.209.
Maxwell: matriculated 1539 ("nation of Angus"), determined 1542, licentiate 1543. StA Recs., pp.243,143,146; appendix A.c no.139.

the late 1570s, though no evidence of actual parish service exists. These men may have accepted the Reformation to a greater degree than Mr James Strachan, who [c.1563] sought the aid of his brother the laird of Carmyllie to prevent his benefice being assessed for the thirds. On the other hand, Mr Robert Merser did not conform and serve in his parish until around 1572; and Mr Alexander Maxwell's service as a reader ceased after 1563. Their allegiance to reformed doctrine may have been more uncertain than, say, Mr Thomas Anderson's.[46] The number of St Leonard's graduates prepared to conform after 1560 in Angus and the Mearns does, despite these qualifications, tend to support Dr Sanderson's view of the college's radical reputation in the early sixteenth century.[47]

During the 1550s, under principal Mr James Wilkie, St Leonard's appears to have again become favourable to reform. Nicholas Spittal, Mr Alexander Auchinlek, Mr Andrew Milne and Mr James Fotheringham began their education there during this decade. Wilkie in fact held the Mearns perpetual vicarage of Ecclesgreig: one of his regents, Mr David Collace, came from the north Angus family of Collace of Balnamoon.[48] The ethos of St Mary's also seems to have prepared its students for adherence to the Reformation: ministers Mr James Melville, Ninian Clement, Mr Gilbert Gardyne and Mr James Fullerton were students there between 1555 and 1560.[49] By way of

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46. See appendix A.a nos. 072,104,337,204,031,017,099.
47. J.K.Cameron, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution", RSCHS xxii p.2: "There would ... appear to be some substance in the claim that in St Leonard's College Lutheran sympathies were clandestinely nurtured". Dr Sanderson suggests that this was not so much by formal teaching as by permitting freedom of discussion: Cardinal p.83. Lord James Stewart was educated there, retaining a patron's interest in his old college. D.W.Doughty, "The Library of James Stewart, earl of Moray": IR xx-xxii (1970-1) p.17f.
48. See appendix A.c nos.224,009,152,065; A.a nos. 365, 068.
49. J.K.Cameron, First Book p.58; appendix A.c nos.143,032,077,070.

contrast, from St Salvator's former students between 1520 and 1560, only Mr John Hepburn and Mr Thomas Ramsay possibly served in Angus' reformed church.[50] The Scots reformers placed great value on a university education, which they expected would provide the new church with the "godly and learned men" required to preach in its parishes. Graduates would continue to dominate the lists of the most highly rewarded ministers in Angus and the Mearns.[51]

Finally, it must be emphasised that the new ministry of 1563 had strong connections with Angus and the Mearns. These ministers and readers were predominantly "local men", called to serve in or near their native parishes, or those in which they were living at the time of the Reformation. One such category of "local man" has already been discussed: that of the curate or vicar pensioner who, on conforming, served the new church in his old parish. At a higher social level, a number of lairds served as ministers: John Erskine of Dun himself, Richard Melville of Baldovie, David Lindsay of Pitairlie, John Nevay of that ilk. In addition, Mr James Melville was the brother of Baldovie; Mr James Fotheringham the brother of the laird of Powrie, Mr William Gray the brother of the laird of Dunninald, Robert Maule the brother of Panmure.[52] Mr Thomas Anderson, Mr Andrew Milne and John Baty all had kin who were burgesses of Montrose.[53] Both Mr Alexander Auchinlek and Andrew Auchinlek served in the vicinity of Affleck Castle, seat of Auchinlek of that

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30. Appendix A.c no.107,194; StA Recs.,263; ActaFacArt ii 378. The appendices do not attempt to follow Dr Haws in trying to identify ministers and readers not denominated in the sources with the prefix "Mr" with St Andrews students: the business seems far too uncertain.
51. First Book p.104.
52. See appendix A.c nos.143,065,086,138.
53. See appendix A.c nos.003,152,014.

ilk. Other such local names abound: an Elder held land at the Stone of Benholm and Mr William Elder was reader there; an Arrat and several Fullertons, Erskines and Gardens were found serving in north and central Angus. James Lovell was reader at Monifieth: he was brother to Thomas Lovell in neighbouring Linlathen.[54] Besides being a notary practising in Dundee, Mr Alexander Maxwell was heir to the tacksman of the priestoun of Tealing and kin to Maxwell of Tealing. Robert Neilson had been baron officer of Arbuthnott before he became reader at Ecclesgreig. John Paton, reader at Dunnottar, was probably the natural son of Mr David Paton, former vicar pensioner of Fetteresso. Robert Rait, reader at Fetteresso, shared the same name as the laird of Hallgreen. Alexander Tyrie, minister of Auchterhouse, was kin to Tyrie of Drumkilbo and was occasionally described as "in Nevay".[55] The point need not be laboured further; the ministers, exhorters and readers of 1563 were "known men" to a degree far exceeding that of the pre-Reformation clergy. This was the great strength of the new parish clergy. That these representatives of the Reformation were known, understood and accepted as a valid part of their localities must be attributed in large measure to the fact that John Erskine of Dun seems to have been content to approve local nominations, perhaps after only superficial examination; perhaps irrespective of their previous religious allegiance.[56]

In the light of this finding, new significance is shed upon the 1562 criticism of John Erskine of Dun

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54. See appendix A.c passim and nos.050,131.
55. See appendix A.c no.139,162,174,186,236.
56. The same point is made with regard to Dunblane by Dr Todd, "The Reformation in the diocese of Dunblane" p.329. Erskine confessed to having "rubber-stamped" his Aberdeen colleagues' collation of Mr Robert Merser: appendix Ac no.149. For discussion of the non-residence and external nomination of clergy pre-1560, chap.2 pt.1.

that he assented to the choice of "gentilmen of vitious lives" to be "elderis in divers kirkis". Although the role of the laity in the Roman church has in the past been unnecessarily minimised,[57] apart from the few remaining lay patrons, it lay almost entirely in the "voluntary sector". By contrast, the Reformed kirk offered (at least to the lairds) an important share in the governing of local congregations and in the imposing of moral discipline through the office of the eldership.[58] A creation of the period of the "privy kirk", the office of eldership was fundamental to the "erection of a public face of a reformed church". In the circumstances of the late 1550s Knox was prepared to recognise as a church, a congregation in which elected elders maintained discipline even if no regular public preaching were possible.[59] The acceptance of discipline by The Scots

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57. I.Cowan, Reformation chapter one discusses this point. J.J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (Oxford 1984) p.166 and elsewhere is more positive about the opportunities open to the English laity as church-wardens or members of confraternities and by participation in pilgrimages, support for altars etc. These aspects remained peripheral, however.
58. First Book pp.34-39;174-179. J.K.Cameron summarises the duties imposed on elders by the Discipline as follows: "(a) determining and judging causes ...;(b) admonishing the licentious liver; and (c) taking into consideration the 'manners and conversation' of everyone within their charge."
59. Knox's History i 148; also, ibid.ii 277f for Knox's order of the election of elders and deacons in the privy kirk of Edinburgh. The eldership preceded the office of the superintendent in the history of the Scots reformed church and was considered the more essential as an institution of government: First Book p.37 demonstrates the way the Discipline was adapted to tack the superintendency onto the existing powers of the elders. J.Kirk and R.Greaves show that, in thus grounding the church in the eldership, the Scots Reformation followed the practice and theology of the European Reformed community of the French and Swiss: "The Influence of Calvinism on the Scottish Reformation" RSCHS vol.xviii (1974) pp.163-7; Theology & Revolution in the Scottish Reformation (Grand Rapids 1980) pp.83-5. I.Cowan compares the office as it developed from the first to the second Discipline with evidence of later practice, perhaps unfortunately introducing the anachronistic argument as to whether elders had a clerical or lay status. This distinction played no part in the terminology of the Scots reformers: see Reformation pp.134-138, J.Kirk, The Second Book of Discipline (Edinburgh 1980) pp.88-97.

Confession as one of three visible marks of a true church enshrined the office of the eldership as an institution as conceptually fundamental as the preaching ministry.[60] According to Book of Discipline, elders were hence to be:[61]

> "Men of best knowledge in Gods word and cleanest life, men faithfull and of most honest conversation that can be found in the kirk ... For it is not seemly that the servant of corruption shall have authoritie to judge in the kirk of God."

This "unseemly" situation was precisely that alleged to exist in John Erskine of Dun's province in 1562. Unfortunately, the names of elders in the 1560s are even more elusive than those of ministers.

The records of only one kirk session or "assembly" of the 1560s or 1570s survive from the sixteenth century from Angus and the Mearns: those of the parish of Monifieth. This register is missing pages for 1560-1-2 after the initial entry, if indeed they ever existed. When the record recommenced in the winter of 1562/3, the kirk was equipped with a reformed ministry. The entry for 10 January 1562/3 ordained that the deacons were to inquire who of the congregation were sick, so that they could be visited and comforted by "ye ministre, reidar or eldaris and diaconis."[62] According to the Book of Discipline the office of a deacon was to:[63]

> "receive the rents etc, gather the almes of the kirk, to keep and distribute the same, as by the ministers and kirk shall be appointed."

On 16 January 1563/4, the Monifieth assembly instructed the:[64]

> "diaconis to vesy and arrange distrib to ye puir against ye nixt Sonday...."

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60. The Scots Confession of 1560 article xviii.
61. First Book p.174.
62. NRH, OPR 310/1,f3v. The location of OPR 310/1 is not repeated in subsequent notes. The original ms. is available in addition to a microfilm of vols. 1 and 2 of the Monifieth Kirk Session Register.
63. First Book p.178.
64. OPR 310/1 f6r.

It would appear, then, that this rural parish had been equipped with a kirk reformed according to the Discipline by 1562/3 at the latest.

Between 1560 and 1590 the register gives only three complete lists of elders and deacons: those for 1573, 1575 and 1579. Thereafter the next list occurs in 1596. The first three lists are compared in table 5.2, below.

Table 5.2, showing elders and deacons of Monifieth

f21r: [31] May 1573	f29v:14 July 1575	f41v:24 April 1579
ELDERS	ELDERS	ELDERS
William Durham of Grange	Robert Durham of Grange	..... Robert Durham of Grange
John Lovell, fiar of Ballumbie		
Alex Lauder..... of Omachie	Alex Lauder..... of Omachie	Alex Lauder of Omachie
James Ramsay in Ardownie	Henry Ramsay of Ardownie	Alex Ramsay of Ardownie
	George Balfour in Barnhill	
James Anderson in the North Ferry		
Mr William Durham..... in Linlathen	Mr William Durham in Linlathen	
Robert Carmichael..... in Ethiebeaton	Robber Carmichael..... in Ethiebeaton	..... Robert Carmichael in Ethiebeaton
Peter Nairn there.....	Peter Nairn there	
		Henry Lovell in Barnhill
		David Lindsay in Ethiebeaton
		..... Henry Knight in Monifieth
DEACONS	DEACONS	DEACONS
Thomas Quhittat		
Andrew Duncan.....	Andrew Duncan...	..... Andrew Duncan
Henry Knight.....	Henry Knight....	
John Gould.....>	Thomas Gould	>... John Gould
		Henry Lovell
John Auchinlek.....	John Auchinlek	
Henry Lorimer.....	Henry Lorimer.....	Henry Lorimer
		Walter Ireland
		John Kendall

Note: 1. The list for each year is given in the original vertical order. Names are modernised, where possible.
2. Personal continuity is indicated by .....
3. In addition names are placed in parallel where surname or estate suggests continuity.
4. New names are underlined.

Besides these three lists, individual entries in the register allow further insight into the careers of these elders and deacons. Six of the fourteen men named in the 1573 list can be shown to have been involved with the congregation from the 1560s. William Durham of Grange, Alexander Lauder of Omachie, Andrew Duncan and John Auchinlek appeár as cautioners: taking it upon themselves to incur a financial penalty if their client failed to fulfil a promise made to the assembly, perhaps to learn the commandments or to compear to show repentance.[65] In addition, Alexander Lauder of Omachie instigated an important adultery case considered by the assembly in 1565,[66] and Henry Knight was mentioned as a deacon in 1563.[67] Further, John Auchinlek and John Gould had children baptised in 1566 and 1568 respectively.[68]

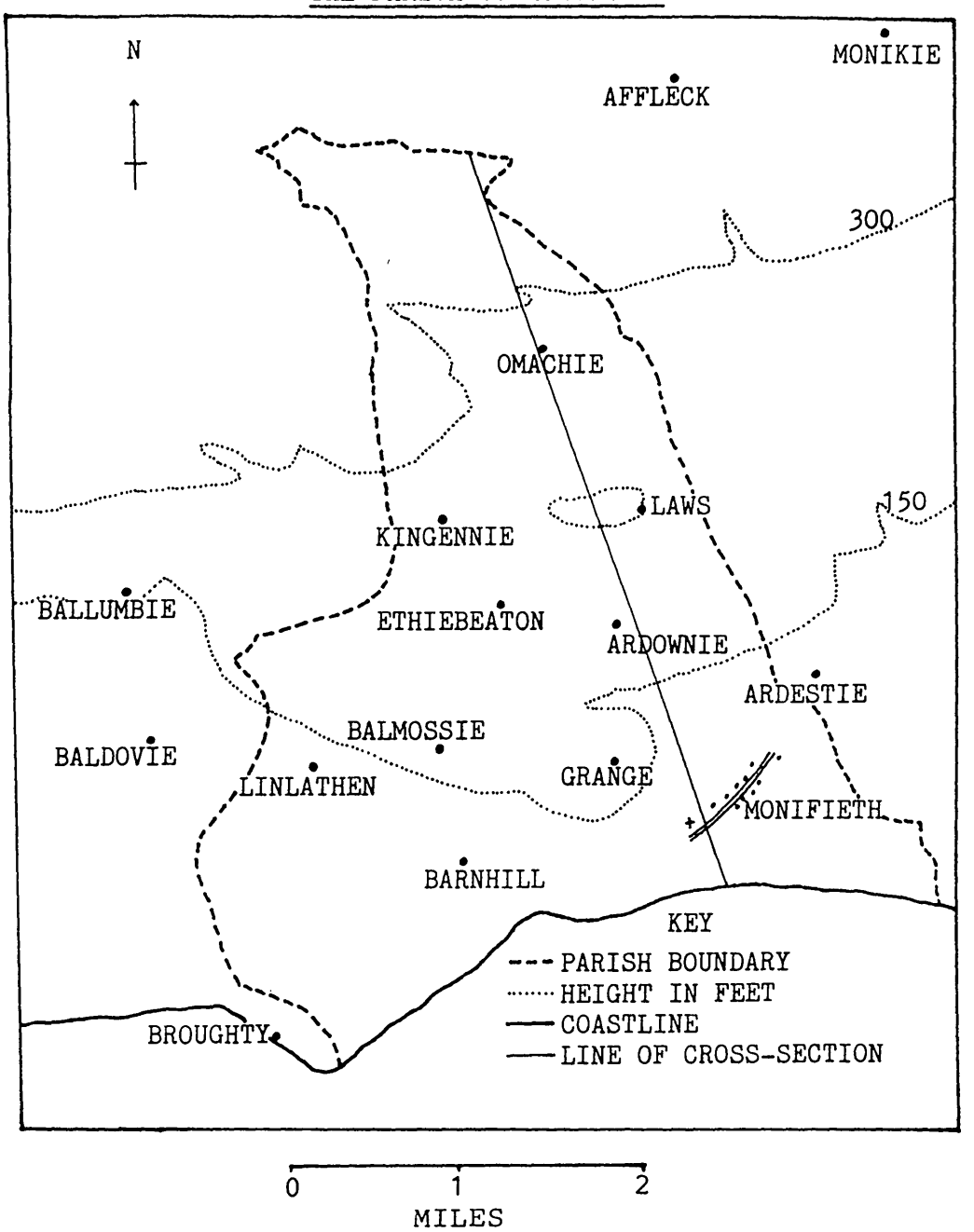
Taking the 1573 list of elders as probably not unrepresentative of the first decade of the congregation, it appears that the kirk of Monifieth was headed by lairds from most of the major estates that comprised the parish. Excluding Broughty Castle (an enclave of Caputh[69]), the bulk of the parish belonged to the earldom of Angus' regality of Kirriemuir. The Grange [of Monifieth], however, was held by a tenant-in-chief, and its laird William Durham headed the list of elders of the kirk. Linlathen's superior was Beaton of Melgund, from whom Anderson in North Ferry[70]

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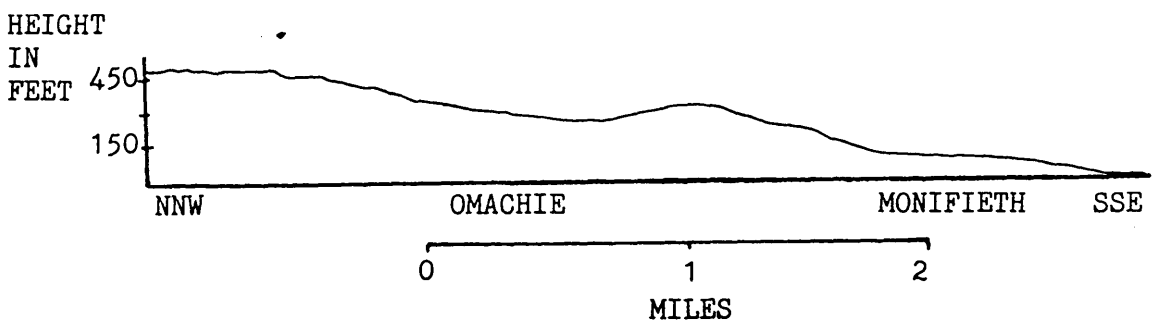
65. OPR 310/1: f3v 3 Jan.1562/3 (Durham); f11v 17 Nov.1566 (Omachie); f13r 13 Jun.1566 (Duncan); f5v 31 Oct.1563 (Auchinlek).
66. OPR 310/1:f9v (blank) Apr.1565.
67. OPR 310/1:f5v 5 Dec.1563.
68. OPR 310/1:f11v 17 Nov.1566; f13r 27 Jun.1568.
69. Broughty Castle p.10. See map 5.1 below for a plan of the parish.
70. DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) fs.46v-47r:13 May 1559; James Anderson in North Ferry and Grissell Wedderburn his wife had a precept of sasine from Beaton, directed to James and George Lovell, bailies.

MAP 5.1

THE PARISH OF MONIFIETH



CROSS-SECTION OF MONIFIETH PARISH NNW - SSE



and Mr William Durham held lands. Ethiebeaton was held from the earl of Angus by the earl of Crawford, two of whose sub-tenants were represented on the session. Ballumbie, though technically outside of Monifieth, was one of those small parishes at first abandoned by the reformers: John Lovell, fiar of Ballumbie, also had several kin in Monifieth, whose reader was James Lovell. Alexander Lauder of Omachie had gained the feu of his lands from Lauder of Bass, who held before and after the forfeiture of the regality by James V.[71] James Ramsay in Ardownie was kin to Margaret Ramsay, wife of Alexander Durham of Grange.[72] Only Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie and Henry Ramsay of Laws played little part in the life of their parish church.[73]

The predominant influence of the Durhams of Grange in the kirk of Monifieth can be clearly seen from these lists of elders and deacons. Beside the seventh laird, another four of the remaining seven elders in 1573 had connections with his family. Mr William Durham in Linlathen is obviously of his name: James Ramsay in Ardownie was kin by marriage. Robert Carmichael and Peter Nairn, both "in" Ethiebeaton, can also be shown to have had strong links with the Durhams of Grange. In particular it was these two alone of the session who on 31 July 1578 assisted in the distribution of the alms left by the seventh laird in his will.[74] Table 5.3, below, charts the connections between Carmichael and Nairn with four generations of Durhams and is based largely on the record in the register of choice of witnesses at the baptism of children. In a region where generations

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71. See chapter 1 ns.43-48.
72. See appendix B nos.045,046,047.
73. Reasons for this are discussed later. The deacon Thomas Quhittat may be identical with a Thomas Quhittat in Balmossie, who was a surety for Henry Lovell of Ballumbie on 27 Jan.1564/5: Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.102r: DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alex.Wedderburn) f.230v-231r.
74. OPR 310/1:f38v ad loc.

inherited Christian and surnames, the gift of a name expressed solidarity with the past and with, where appropriate, patrons. That

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Table 5.3: showing links between Robert Carmichael, Peter Nairn and the family and kin of Durham of Grange.

References for this table are as follows, from OPR 310/1:
1.f38v:31 July 1578. 2.f47r:24 Apr.1580
3.f61v:15 Aug. 1585 4.f30r:13 Nov.1575
5.f38r:22 Jun. 1578

WILLIAM DURHAM, SEVENTH LAIRD OF GRANGE
as an executor of his will,[1]
chose ...

ROBERT CARMICHAEL
who chose as witnesses for his sons' baptisms ...

for his son Robert:[2] ROBERT DURHAM, EIGHTH LAIRD OF GRANGE
James Durham in Ardownie

for his son James:[3] James Durham in Ardestie
James Durham in Pitkerro
WILLIAM DURHAM, TENTH LAIRD OF GRANGE

and stood as witness for the baptism of a child of ...

Alexander Durham in Monikie
who also chose as a witness ...[4]

PETER NAIRN
who assisted in the execution of the will of...[1]
WILLIAM DURHAM, SEVENTH LAIRD OF GRANGE
and chose as a witness ...[5]

for his son William: WILLIAM DURHAM, NINTH LAIRD OF GRANGE

Robert Carmichael, his son and the eighth laird of Grange should share the same Christian name, the laird standing as witness for the child's naming, was of considerable social significance. Though Peter Nairn's connection with the Durhams was less marked, his relationship to the leading elder seems to follow the same pattern as Carmichael - that is, until Nairn was charged with fornication and had the resulting baby baptised "Robert" on 21 June 1584. Robert Carmichael was a sponsor.[75]

In William Durham, seventh laird of Grange, the parish of Monifieth had an elder positively committed to furthering the reformed kirk. During the wars of "The Rough Wooing" he had supported the English occupation of Broughty. Present at the first recorded assembly of the kirk, he was also a commissioner in 1563, 1565, 1567 and, probably, at several other General Assemblies.[76] His links to the house of Dun extended from his obtaining protection as a client of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin in 1533/4 to his appointing John Erskine of Dun as overman to his executors in 1574. His will contained a classical account of a personal protestant faith, and left £100 to be distributed to the "pure of this paroche and heirabout".[77]

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75. OPR 310/1 f61v,15 Aug.1585. J.Bossy discusses the "kinship-creating capacities of the sacrament" [of baptism] in his chapter "Godparenthood": Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe ed. K.von Greyerz (The German Historical Institute, London 1984) pp.194-270.
76. RSS iv 87, LHT ix 13; Calderwood, History ii 45,289,382; CH 1.1a.
77. ADCP p.420; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.3 f.172v-5r. Grange also witnessed a charter between David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford, and Sir Thomas of Brechin in 1545/6: RMS iii 3219. He was to be one of the curators of the earl's heir in Edzell, Lindsay of Glenesk: Reg. Deeds RD 1.9 fs.353,384-5. On 13 Apr. 1565, he witnessed the contract of marriage between John Erskine of Logie, grandson of the superintendent, and Agnes Ogilvy, daughter of Dame Katherine Campbell by her second husband James, master of Ogilvy: Erskine of Dun mss., GD.123.140.

"In the name of God, amen. I William Durehame of Grange seik in bodie bot haill in spreit and mynd makis my testam[ent] and latter will as eftir followis. First and aboue al thingis I com[m]it me to ye eternall god and to his mercie belevand w[i]t[h]out ony dout or mistrust y[a]t be yir grate meritis and passioun of Jesus and his resurrection of bodie and soule I haif and sall haif remissioun of my sy[n]nes as I am further p[er]swadit be his halie word.... " [He accepted that...] "ony gudis that belangit to me of purpois be ye grace of god to bestow yame to be acceptit as ye fruittis of faith sua yat I no[ch]t suppois yat ony mereit is obtenit be bestowing of yame bot my mereit is in ye faith of Jesus Christ onlie."

Whether the sola fidei phraseology of this testament was that of Durham himself, or that of Andrew Auchinlek, his minister, it seems unlikely that this laird could have been one of those described in 1562 as "of vitious life".

Evidence for the identities of the other elders of Angus and the Mearns during the first decade of the Reformation is scanty. Commissioners at General Assemblies were presumably also elders in their own congregations: thus William Durham of Grange attended the first assembly of December 1560 as a commissioner for Forfar together with Alexander Guthrie of Haulkerton. Montrose was represented by its provost and a bailie: John Erskine of Dun and Andrew Milne. The "kirks of the Mernes" sent the lairds of "Tullievaird" [? Dillavaird by Glenbervie] and Fettercairn. The identity of the first is unfortunately now unknown: the latter was probably Alexander Ogston.[78] A list of commissioners to the 1563

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78. BUK i p.3. The composition of General Assemblies has been hotly debated, and was probably ambiguous even in the first decade of the Reformation. The attendance of magnates was thought desirable by the kirk. When such as the earl of Huntly was present, he came in his own right or as a member of the privy council and not as a commissioner of shire, kirk or burgh: BUK i 33,292-3; D.Shaw, The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1600 (Edinburgh 1975) pp.20,42. G.Donaldson, Reformation chap.vi: I.B.Cowan, Reformation pp.124-128 for the general debate.
Andrew Milne as a bailie of Montrose: see appendix A.c no.152.

December meeting of the Assembly has been published by Professor Donaldson. Dundee sent its provost, Mr James Haliburton and two burgesses. From the shire of Angus came Lord Glamis, William Durham of Grange, Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie and Alexander Strachan of Brigton. Mr Walter Lyon represented Montrose; Alexander Ogston of Fettercairn, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie and William his heir came from the Mearns, together with an Alexander Wishart.[79] Most of these men were of considerable standing in their shires, and would presumably have been as involved with their parish congregations as Durham of Grange was at Monifieth.[80]

Angus and the Mearns were among the first areas of Scotland where the parochial reformation was to be generally implemented within a few years of 1560. Dr Haws considered the area one of the "hot-beds of reform".[81] John Erskine of Dun is generally credited with this success by historians - including Dr Haws. Yet Dun was publically rebuked in 1562, in effect for being over-ready to accept local candidates both for the ministry and the eldership. Many strands of evidence point to the critical importance of local - indeed, parochial - leadership in securing the implementation of a reformed order. That a significant number of the readers were

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79. G.Donaldson, Scottish Church History chapter 10 provides an introduction and transcription of a document in his own possession. A photocopy is available at the SRO, under the call-number CH 1.1a, which reference is generally used in this study.
80. Two more documents, printed in appendix A.c, further illustrate the role of lairds in the new church. William Haitlie became minister of Abernyte in 1567 by the nomination and presentation of seven named gentlemen, headed by Lord Crichton of Sanquhar: A.c no. 098. Robert Graham of Morphie headed a list of seven gentlemen from Ecclesgreig who in 1576 subscribed an agreement to provide finance for rebuilding the kirk, while attending a synodical assembly of the Mearns: A.c 001. These elders were of higher status than those studied by W.Makey, The Church of the Covenant, 1637-1651 (Edinburgh 1979) chap.11.
81. C.Haws, Scottish Parish Clergy p.xi.

appointed from the ranks of lesser clergy cannot be due to ecclesiastical leadership, such as was found in the dioceses of Galloway and Orkney.[82] The postulant bishop of Brechin, abbot Donald Campbell, died during 1562, as did the canon of Glenbervie, Mr Robert Erskine in 1563; dean Cunningham had predeceased them.[83] Both the archbishop of St Andrews and the bishop of Dunkeld were hostile to the Reformation: an overwhelming majority of the Roman clergy of Angus and the Mearns failed to serve the reformed kirk.[84] The increasing conservatism of Lord Ogilvy and the earls of Marischal and Crawford means that magnate-influence can be discounted. Leadership appears to have come from the lesser landholders, the lairds - whether as ministers themselves in some cases, or as elders and gentlemen of their parish kirks. "The gentlemen of Angus and Mearns", having taken the lead in provoking the Reformation crisis in Scotland, then set an example in their establishment of a reformed parochial ministry.[85]

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82. Professor Donaldson summarises his research into these two dioceses in Scottish Church History p.79.
83. See appendix A.a nos.050,104,079.
84. Although approximately half the reformed ministry of 1563 had served before 1560 in some capacity, consideration of the number of the catholic clergy alive in 1560 who conformed presents a very different picture: some three-quarters of the known parochial clergy refused to join the reformed church. The personnel of the new kirk was markedly different from that of the old church.

	total	ministers	readers	total
parsons/prebendaries	55	5	2	7
perpetual vicars	33	1	7	8
vicars pensioner	23	2	8	10
curates,chaplains	35	-	11	11
TOTALS	146	8	28	36

This table allocates exhorters according to their designation in 1567. Service in the reformed kirk outside of Angus and the Mearns is included in these figures.

85. This study therefore supports the conclusion of Dr M. Lynch in his chapter on Scotland in International Calvinism p.243: "What the new church needed above all else was leadership, but as much in the localities as at the centre. This was provided in its first generation by a loose combination of a few nobles and a much larger collage of lairds, along with Knox, the five superintendents, and the handful of prominent Catholic churchmen who conformed in 1560."

Local leadership was not necessarily moderate or compromising. The first entry in Monifieth's kirk session (or kirk "assemblie"[86]) register echoed John Knox's apocalyptic language.[87]

> "of yr holy g[damaged] in Apryll ye vi day of 1.5.6.0.
>
> The q[uhi]lk day it is appyntit y[a]t o[u]r assemblie of ye kyrk of [Monefut] ... [damaged] ... Sonday at twa efter noon at ye kyrk w[i]t prayar unto God for his assistans to do y[a]t may be fordrand to his gloir and subpressing of Satan ... [damaged]
>
> ye q[uhi]lk day it is thoicht necessar be us yat ye hous of prayar [be mendit in] haist yat God may be glorifeit yair ye expensis to be tayn uquolie of [ye assemblie.]"

It seems that the protestant lairds of Monifieth, encouraged by the arrival a few days earlier of an English army in Scotland contracted to support the Lords of the Congregation, planned during their Friday business meeting to commence public worship in their parish church; and were prepared to meet the necessary expenses for its repair. Both the talk of the "subpressing of Satan" and the decision to share costs reflect Knox's radicalism. The reformer had insisted on an equal bearing of burdens in his tract To the Commonalty of Scotland in

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86. The term "session" did not occur as a collective for the Monifieth eldership until an entry in 1581 - OPR 310/1 f.47v. Throughout the 1560s, the Monifieth kirk's court was known as the "assembly". This term relates to the Greek ekklesia [assembly, meeting, congregation, church] and was used in the Book of Common Order (ed. G.W.Sprott, Edinburgh 1901 p.17) to describe a court or consistory. The exact composition of the Monifieth body is unclear: it certainly included both elders and deacons in 1564 [f.7v: no assembly met one day because of the absence of some elders and deacons] and may have been open to the other gentlemen of the congregation: in July 1578, the elders, deacons and gentlemen were summoned to distribute alms. [f.38v] Cf. the phrase "ge[ntlem[en] of the [con]gregat[ion] of the kirk of Eglisgreig": see note 80 above. The court of Perth's kirk used the term "assembly" until roughly 1581: NLS, ms.31/1/1 [transcript of the Perth Kirk Session Register vol.1 1577-1620].
87. OPR 310/1 f2r. Material in brackets indicates words now missing from the page, but available to the author of Monifieth's entry in the New Statistical Account,(Edinburgh 1845) xi pp.542-4.

1558, taking the Mosaic precedent of the erection of the Tabernacle as his text.[88] Knox's dynamic Biblicism was shared by at least some of the gentry of Angus.

In consequence, the continuing parochial reformation in Monifieth followed with some accuracy the guide-lines of the Book of Discipline. From 29 August 1563, a regular weekly collection for the poor is recorded. Although the sums involved were never large, apart from communion days, they are the most regular item in the register. From these weekly collections, occasional aid was given to particular individuals in need.[89] Other regular entries reflect the concerns and priorities expressed in the Discipline. Children were expected to be taught the basics of the Christian faith as expressed in the Commandments and the catechism: "without the knowledge whereof neither any man deserves to be called a Christian." The Discipline enacted that none ought to be admitted to the Lord's Table without such knowledge; hence the Monifieth assembly used the occasions of baptism and marriage to examine and enforce knowledge of the reformed faith in adults. A common stipulation was to require of a child's father a promise to learn the Ten Commandments before the next communion as a condition of baptism: occasionally the Creed and Lord's

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88. Knox, Works iv p.528. I am endebted to Dr M. Lynch for this reference.
89. The First Book p.112, was insistent that the care of the poor was a prime duty of a true kirk; it left the means of fulfilling this obligation to local initiative. Cf, M.Lynch, Edinburgh pp.20-21, 30-34 with regard to Edinburgh's various schemes. Examples from Monifieth's register read thus: fs.16r,18r,30v;
    "distrib. to Jhone Barnet ii d."
    "distrib. to Jhone R. cryppld chyld ..."[amount missing]
    "gatherit to ye puir xxi d. and wes gevin at y[i]r assemblie commandis to Jhone Valcar."
    R.Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", Past and Present lxiii (May 1974) p.62 emphasises the kirk's concern to care for the poor.

Prayer were added.[90] Baptisms were frequent entries in the register, fulfilling the Discipline's requirement that it should be a public occasion, preferably restricted to Sundays. The Lord's Supper, or Communion, however, seems to have been celebrated only annually at Monifieth: the Discipline had recommended biannual administrations.[91] The terminology used by the clerk of the register was uniformly radical. In place of the banns of marriage, couples were "proclaimed in marriage" and first publicly "ratified their contract of marriage", to fulfil the Discipline's requirement that marriages be voluntary, adult public agreements. Similarly, godparents were now re-defined as witnesses to baptism.[92] Finally, the Discipline's emphasis on the enforcement of moral discipline resulted in a scattering of references to sexual offenders compearing before the Monifieth assembly. The normal sanctions used against offenders were the imposition of fines and of one or more public appearances "to show repentance."[93]

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90. First Book p.133-4 and p.184. From OPR 310/1 f.8r, 15 Oct.1564; "Andro Findlay and Elpit Hardye ratefeit thair contract of marriag and ye said Andro promisit to haid the believe befoir the solenisation of his marriag under pane of v mk. and the commandments befoir the ministration of the Lordis supper under the pane of vther v mk."
Such requirements occurred roughly ten times a year in the 1560s and can be paralleled in other kirk session records. Cf. The Buik of the Kirk of the Canagait 1564-1567 ed. A.B. Calderwood (SRS 1961).
91. First Book p.182-4. J.K.Cameron discusses the reasons for these recommendations and their Genevan counterparts in notes 13 and 14. Biannual was recommended for rural areas; quarterly for burghs.
92. First Book p.191-199; and see table 3 above and note 75.
93. For example: 28 Nov.1563: [blank], being accused of fornication, agreed to submit to the judgment of the assembly in fifteen days time; Durham of Grange offered surety that the accused would appear: f.5v. On 15 Oct.1564, Thomas Gould confessed to fornication and agreed to "mak his repentance this day, this day viii dayis and this day xv dayis": f.8r. Frequently the taking of "caution" combined the effect of a "suspended sentence" with "community supervision" -
[This note continues at the foot of the next page.]

How far the parish of Monifieth was typical of the other parishes of Angus and the Mearns is, of course, impossible to decide. Its register is unique in Scotland in originating during the 1560s in a non-burghal parish. Certainly by 1563 there were still many kirks in Angus and the Mearns where discipline was not practised and where no meetings of elders and deacons took place.[94] In 1565, John Erskine of Dun confessed to the Assembly (of which he was Moderator) that his visitations of congregations were less effective than they should have been because he had to seek hospitality from his "friends", who were in most need of "correction and discipline".[95] Not all the lairds of this province were as devout as the laird of Grange. Several of John Erskine's ministers were held in esteem at the General Assembly, however. Mr John Hepburn of Brechin was appointed commissioner for planting kirks in Moray by the Assembly of December 1562: he had a similar commission to Banff in 1563.[96] On 4 September 1566, a group of the "most qualified" ministers of Scotland wrote to Beza at Geneva

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93. [continued]
"Jonet Ramsay promisit to abstain in tyme cuming and to bring up hyr chyld in the fear of god, finds Jhone Affleck cautioner and has hyr chyld baptisit, callit Jhone."
The taking of financial caution or surety was a standard practice in Scots courts of the period.

94. BUK i 39. There is nevertheless occasional evidence for elders at a variety of kirks. Elders and deacons were appointed for the kirk of Arbroath during the 1560s, and exercised their office in tandem with the burgh council and court: Arbroath Public Library, Court Book 1563-1575, fs.34v,35r,67r. Note 80 refers to elders at Aberhyte and Ecclesgreig. Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow and Mr James Wishart were elders at Fordoun in 1576: Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.86v. John Livingston of Dunipace was probably the leading elder of Menmuir in 1586: see appendix A.c no.049. David Straiton at the mill of Dalbog was an elder at Edzell in 1588: see appendix A.c no. 070. Richard Anderson, brother of minister Mr Thomas, was an active elder of Montrose: see appendix A.c no.003.

95. BUK i p.65.

96. BUK i pp.27,44.

to endorse the Helvetian Confession. Seven ministers from Angus subscribed, together with their superintendent.[97] Mr James Melville, William Christison and Nicholas Spittal were among the more select group who subscribed the letter sent by the Assembly in December 1566 "to there brethren the Bischops and pastours of Ingland".[98] Both John Erskine and William Christison were to be Moderators of Assembly during the 1560s; Christison and the minister of Monifieth, Mr Gilbert Gardyne, were appointed to special commissions, or sub-committees, of Assembly.[99] The congregations of these ministers, at any rate, must have been conducted along lines that found approval with the kirk.

There was undoubtedly resistance to the imposition of reformed parochial discipline on the lines suggested by the Book of Discipline. That a substantial number of the parish of Monifieth hung back from adherence to the congregation is shown by a decree of the assembly in February 1562/3:[100]

> "it is ordainit y[a]lt so mony as dwellis in ye paroch off Monefurth y[a]lt nocht communicatit at ye communion last ministrat ye vii of Jan[uary] that yair children be nocht baptisit...."

The lairds of Laws and of Kingennie may have been amongst those who failed to communicate. During the 1570s, the session engaged in a long process against Henry Ramsay of Laws in order to compel him to "put aside" his "harlot". From public admonition through to citation before the synodical assembly at Dundee, the case was pursued from August 1578 to July 1580 when the laird "maid his repentance".[101] Laws,

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97. William Christison, Mr John Hepburn, Mr Thomas Anderson, Ninian Clement, David Lindsay of Pitairlie, Mr James Melville and Mr James Balfour: Knox's History ii 190; Correspondance de Theodore de Beze ed. H.Aubert (Geneva 1960x1986) vi pp.346-349.
98. BUK i pp.85-6.
99. BUK i pp.65,77,82;141,157;36,145.
100. OPR 310/1 f.4v.
101. OPR 310/1 fs.36r,39r,40r,41r,43v,45v.

together with a new "harlot" were, however, excluded from communion in April 1584. So too was Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie and his woman, "becaus thay ar nocht reconcilit to y[i]r kirk".[102] Outside of Monifieth, Mr William Gray was attacked at Fern by Robert Lennox of Schandford while in the act of celebrating the Lord's Supper, because Gray had debarred the laird for persistent adultery and fornication.[103] Mr James Balfour was similarly attacked in November 1580 by Patrick Butter in Gormak while en route to Rescobie to preach.[104] Too rosy a picture of the reception of the Reformation by the lairds of Angus must not be painted.

One of the ways in which a recalcitrant, or simply less committed, laird could make difficulties for the new ministry was in failing to assist with provision of a manse and glebe for the reformed minister. In theory, each parish should have had the manse and glebe required by canon law for the benefice-holder. In practice, these had often fallen into decay or been alienated by tacks of lesser or greater length. The Book of Discipline claimed both manses and glebes for the ministers "and failing thereof the readers" together with six acres of glebe, "for else they cannot serve the flocke at all times as their dutie is".[105] The Assembly of May 1561 reiterated this demand, and secured an act of parliament in June 1563

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102. OPR 310/1 f.57v. The persistent absenteeism of Laws and Kingennie may have resulted from more secular differences entertained between them and the lairds dominating Monifieth session. William Durham of Grange claimed half the lands of the Laws; Alexander Lauder of Omachie had slain William, heir of Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.172v-5r; Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss. GD 137.639 and Reg.Deeds RD 1.5.384 for Omachie's contract of assythment 10/15 December 1562.
103. RPC iii p.197-8.
104. RPC iii 264.
105. First Book p.162. M.Sanderson discusses the general position before and after 1560: "Manse and Glebe in the Sixteenth Century" RSCHS xi (1974) p.81f.

which passed possession of a manse or its equivalent in land to "those who minister the charge", [ie either a minister or a reader] irrespective of existing feus. Enforcement of these provisions was delegated by the kirk to its superintendents. Little effective action seems to have been possible before parliament during Moray's regency agreed to a set of articles presented by the kirk, which again required a manse and glebe of six acres to be provided in each parish. This act and that of 1563 again needed interpretation by parliament in January 1572/3 by a measure which reduced glebes to four acres, but gave the superintendents statutory powers to designate manses and glebes, overriding existing tacks or feus.[106] Ministers and readers were to litigate for decades to enforce their rights under these acts, against both lairds and former benefice-holders. Requests for designation of suitable glebes must have provided John Erskine of Dun with one of his hardest tasks.

Twenty-three separate actions by ministers and readers of Angus and the Mearns to secure possession of manses and glebes have so far been discovered in the Registers of Acts and Decreets. Together with evidence from other sources, they provide many examples of the types of difficulty facing ministers for years after 1560. Some of these suits were, certainly, actions pro forma: undertaken as a matter of routine by newly-appointed ministers in order to obtain letters in four forms in case they needed to enforce their rights. Thus Archibald Douglas, newly presented by William of Glenbervie to be parson and minister of Glenbervie, brought an action

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106. APS ii p.539, item 8; ibid iii p.38 item 13 and p.73 item 5. See First Book p.162 note 41 and p.163 n.42 for commentary on these acts; p.71 for the 1560/61 mandate to John Spottiswoode as superintendent of Lothian to secure manses and glebes for his ministry.

on 14 December 1581 for his teinds, manse, glebe and kirklands. No defenders appeared: there was really little likelihood that the new parson, a son of the laird, would face opposition from his father's tenants.[107] Actions by Mr James Balfour of Guthrie with Idvies and Mr Gilbert Gardyne of Monifieth in March and July of 1569 were more serious. Balfour sued Patrick Gardyne of that ilk for "wrangeous violent and maisterful spoilation awaytaking ressetting and withhalding" of various items from the glebe and kirklands of Idvies the previous summer. The minister of Monifieth complained that Henry Lovell of Ballumbie had ejected Gardyne's tenants from the glebe of Monifieth, cast down their houses, destroyed their trees and continued in occupation and cultivation of the ground, denying its profits since 1565 to the minister.[108] The result of the first case is unknown: but Lovell must have had some right on his side, for the Lords ordered him "of his awin gude will and consent" to give up occupation.

The case brought by Charles Michelson, minister of Arbirlot with Inverkeilor, against John Crichton of Ruthven, John Allan and others demonstrates how several parties might bring claims to possession of church lands. Michelson's suit recited that he, having been lawfully examined and tried by John Erskine of Dun, had received provision to the vicarage of Arbirlot on 14 April 1569 and admission thereto eleven days later, following the death of the previous vicar sir James Lekprevik. Allan, however, claimed legal possession of the vicarage under a tack agreed between himself and Lekprevik for five years from May 1568, and produced the appropriate notarial instrument dated 10 March 1567/8. Michelson won his case. His

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107. Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.180v; and see appendix A.c no.041.
108. Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 f.359v; RPC i 686.

advocate, Clement Little, argued that the tack was null in law, as under act of parliament no vicar could grant tacks for longer than three years. The Lords issued letters granting the minister entry to the vicarage revenues, and to its manse and glebe.[109]

A further case from 1588 serves to illustrate the difficulties ministers could face when they sought to overcome leases agreed by their predecessors. Mr Robert Rhind, minister of Longforgan, had had a manse designated to him by William Christison during the latter's visitation of the parish as a commissioner of Assembly, and secured letters charging the occupant, Alexander Donaldson, to surrender the property according to the 1572/3 act. Donaldson, however, claimed that he held a tack from the deceased William Hamilton, a natural son of the former archbishop John Hamilton of St Andrews, and that the lands had never been glebe before - being part of the temporality of the archbishopric. Rhind won his case on 30 January 1587/8, and had expenses awarded in addition. Donaldson returned to court, however, on 25 May 1588, claiming that Christison's original designation had been contrary to law, as the lands specified were not the nearest and most convenient as the act required; and, further, that the minister already had lands designated from the vicarage and had occupied the vicar's manse. The Lords once more upheld the minister's rights, but the historian may feel that Donaldson had somewhat of a raw deal.[110]

Even lairds committed to support of the reformed kirk could find themselves compelled to seek clarification of their rights at the court of session. John Strachan of Thornton had a

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109. Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 f.510v.
110. Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 fs.320v and 323v.

tack of all the teinds of Fordoun parsonage, together with its manse and glebe, granted to his house by Lord James Stewart, prior of St Andrews. By 1576, he found himself sued by the minister, Patrick Boncle, who claimed a manse and glebe as designated under the 1573 act. In addition David Strachan, the reader, was suing for his stipend of £20 as assigned to him by the Lords from the parson's thirds. Further, the earl of Morton (then the regent) had a tack of the priory of St Andrews from the commendator, Robert bishop of Caithness and Morton's chamberlain was suing in support of the reader; and also to pass on to Thornton a claim against the parsonage by the elders of Fordoun (named as Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow, Mr James Wishart of Balfour and others) for furnishing of bread and wine for communion. Under the 1567 act for the repair of parish kirks, this expense was allocated to the parsonage dues. Thornton expressed himself willing to meet his lawful dues, but asked for clarification of the situation. The Lords decreed that he should meet Strachan's claim and pay as much for the communion as the elders and deacons of the kirk should decide, deducting the gross amount from his payments to the priory and its tacksman. Proof of the loss he had sustained from the designation of a glebe of four acres was required to enable a final adjudication on that part of the case.[111]

Lairds as feuars and tacksmen were not the only ones to cause difficulties to ministers seeking their rights. Cases were brought against former Roman clergy who had retained possession of their own manses and glebes and against the widow of a minister's predecessor. The minister of Guthrie was successfully

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111.Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.86v.

evicted from a manse he had occupied for seven years when it was claimed by the newly-appointed provost of Guthrie collegiate church. In 1588, the next minister of Guthrie even sued his own reader to evict him from a manse allocated to the minister by an arbitration of the presbytery of Montrose. Between 1573 and 1588 the reader at Alyth and the vicar-pensioner of Alyth fought over the manse and glebe there.[112] In 1586, Mr Alexander Norie, the new minister of Fern, was forced to appeal to the laird, Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, to intervene when John Erskine of Dun authorised Mr James Fullerton as a neighbouring minister to designate Norie a glebe of only two acres. Norie wrote to Edzell requesting that he order a full four-acre glebe that the minister could either tack or labour himself, in order to provide himself with a house in which to reside in his parish.[113] In the parishes, as well as in the burghs, "the full-scale establishment of Protestantism" was delayed by the necessity to go to law against entrenched vested interests and to secure the resources necessary for a resident, preaching ministry.[114]

Similar legal difficulties had to be overcome in finding funds to repair church buildings. Responsibility before 1560 for such maintenance had been shared between parsons and parishioners, but the general system of appropriation had resulted in substantial decay. During the 1550s, the church authorities expressed concern at this neglect,[115] bishop John Hepburn explaining a feu of

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112. Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 f.247r and 55 f.39r; CS 7.55 f.318v; CS 7.55 f.117v; CS 7.57 f.441r and 7.55 f.329r; CS 7.55 f.338v and 340v.
113. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.2.120.
114. M.Lynch, "From Privy Kirk to Burgh Church", Church, Politics and Society ed.Macdougall, pp.90-1, on lack of finances in Edinburgh.
115. G.Donaldson, Reformation p.22-3 explains the general position and cites the decree of the 1559 Provincial Council on repairs; also, D. McRoberts, "Material Destruction", IR x (i) p.138 and n.51.

land in 1556/7 as intended to provide funds to repair Brechin Cathedral (described as lacking a roof and rooftiles) and to rebuild his palace ("destroyed utterly").[116] On inheriting these problems in 1560, the reformers obtained legislation from the privy council enabling taxation to be raised from parishioners to meet specific assessments, the resulting funds to be administered by kirkmasters. In addition, the superintendents were given general responsibilities to see to the repair of churches.[117] At Monifieth the local kirk assembly sought to raise funds amongst themselves for their "house of prayer". In 1569, £24 was allowed from the thirds to a slater for "beitting of the kirk of Brechin at command of the kirk".[118]

On 21 January 1572/3, parliament passed a further act to facilitate taxation to maintain parish churches. Considering that the 1563 act had fallen into disuse,

> "because of the sleuth [and] vnwillingnes of the Parochinneiris quhilkis war slaw and refusit to cheis personis to taxt thair Nichtbouris and that alswa thair was not Kirkmaisteris or Deaconis appointit ..."

archbishops, bishops, superintendents and commissioners were given powers to issue adjudications which could be enforced by the normal processes of law, and to appoint local agents to oversee the tax where none had been elected. The act narrated that "diuers Paroche Kirkis" had been "demolischit cassin doun and destroyit" and that their stones and timbers had been appropriated to secular use.[119] The state of rural kirks in Angus and the Mearns around 1572 may be reflected in The Lamentation of Lady Scotland, whose author dedicated it to John

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116. RMS v 860.
117. G. Donaldson, Reformation p.99 cites the various national measures; p.226 for the mandate to superintendent Spottiswoode.
118. OPR 310/1 f.2r; TB p.230.
119. APS iii 76* item 15.

Erskine of Dun.[120] The "Lady" complained that, "vpaland thay haue not dew seruice" for ...

> "The rowmis appointit pepill to considder,
> To heir Gods word, quhair thay suld pray togidder,
> Ar now conuertit to scheip Coits and Fauldis,
> Or ells ar fallin, becaus nane thame vphauldis;
> The Parische Kirkis, I mene, thay sa misgyde
> That name for wynd and rane thairin may byde:
> Thairfoir na plesure tak thay of the tempill;
> Not zit to cum quhair nocht is to contempill
> Bot Crawis and Dowis cryand and makand beir,
> That nane throuchly the Minister may heir;
> Baith Fedders, Fylth, and Doung dois ly abrod,
> Quhair folk suld sit to heir the word of God;"

Certainly the superintendent faced criticism in the March 1574/5 Assembly that quires within his diocese were ruinous. He replied that he had appointed tax-masters to every parish (presumably under the act of 1573), had raised summons for debt and generally done what he could, including the expenditure of his own resources on church buildings.[121] This may have been the occasion when the parishioners of Inchbrayock complained to the Assembly that their superintendent had pulled down their kirk. He replied that, during a visitation, he found the kirk "largely in ruins", and had invited the congregation to meet in Maryton until it could be repaired. The Assembly supported the superintendent - but Inchbrayock remained linked with Maryton, without either a minister or a reader of its own, from 1572 to 1590.[122] The final victory may have been won by the "Crawis and Dowis".

Ultimately, strong and committed local influence was required to maintain the buildings of parish kirks.

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120. Satirical Poems of the time of the Reformation ed. J.Cranstoun, (STS 1843) i p.232 for the passage. The dedication of the "Rurall veirse" referred to "sum Schyre, thair is bot ane myre" - possibly a reference to the Mearns. The poem was anonymous.
121. BUK i p.314.
122. Petrie, Compendious History p.381; and see appendix A.2.

Hence it was to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell that Mr Alexander Norie looked in 1586. In his letter to the laird requesting his support to secure a four-acre glebe, he also asked that Sir David should command his tenants in Fern to compear at a forthcoming parish court to pay their tax "for repairing off ye kirk ... for ye sclaittor is w[o]rking in Brechine". (Renewing Brechin cathedral's roof seems to have been the sixteenth century's equivalent of painting the Forth Railway Bridge !)[123] Assemblies and parliaments might fulminate and superintendents might visit; ministers might be appointed, but in the end they appear to have required the support of their local laird to obtain a manse in which to reside and a water-tight church in which to preach.[124]

One area in which the ministry were - at least originally - less dependent on local support was for the provision of their stipends. From the crop of 1561, ministers and readers were paid their livings from the third of the revenues of the benefices which was granted by the pre-Reformation holders to the crown. Their payments came from the national collectory in 1561, 1562 and 1573, from local collectors between 1563 and 1572, and from benefices and teinds specially assigned to each minister or reader personally from 1574. In addition, from 1567 the reformed clergy were

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123. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.2.120. The Crawford muniments contain a manuscript copy of the 1573 act for repairing kirks, a fact which further suggests Edzell's interest in the subject: box P bund.vi. Bishop Campbell raised a tax in 1580: D.B.Thoms, The Council of Brechin (SFBC 1977) p.32.

124. The First Book p.203 required that, in addition to water-proof doors and windows, each kirk should have a bell, a pulpit, a font and a communion table. Monifieth found the funds for repairing its table from its poor-box in 1582. Its assembly levied a local tax the next year for the provision of a new bell and to repair the kirk's windows: 4 s. per pleuch and specific sums per mill. Provision of water for each baptism was a duty of its kirkofficer, who had 6d. for his services per occasion; OPR 310/1 fs.51v, 54v, 45r. Little came free in the sixteenth century !

entitled to succeed to the minor benefices as they fell vacant.[125] This process was a slow one, however. By 1590, only fifty-three of the ninety ministers and readers of Angus and the Mearns were receiving their stipends from their own benefices.[126] The annual "platt" during November established from 1574 for the assignation and modification of stipends remained a crucial feature in the ministry's year. This committee validated the current roll of ministers and readers, allocated each to stipend bands, established which had been presented to benefices during the preceding year, and assigned particular local sources of teinds to top-up vicarages or serve as whole incomes. The records of these discussions are contained in the Registers of Assignation and Modification of Stipends.[127] John Erskine of Dun attended the "platt" as superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, by 1584/5 assisted by ministers representing the three "exercises" of his province: Brechin, Montrose and the Mearns.[128] Mr Alexander Norie sought a loan of £20 from Lindsay of Edzell in November 1586 to enable him to "pass to Edinburgh to the platt".[129]

Thanks to the degree of control and stability introduced by this system, a creation of the government of regent Morton, the financial rewards granted to ministers drifted upwards. The number of ministers in receipt of incomes of £100 and over, and the average incomes of this group, is shown in table 5.4. Not only did the number of better-paid ministers double between 1563 and 1590, but their average incomes also rose. By 1590, the top ten

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125. G.Donaldson, The Thirds of Benefices (SHS 1949) provides a detailed explanation of the shifting politics and administration of this system from 1561 to 1574: "Introduction".
126. See table 5.1 above.
127. See the introduction to appendix A.2.
128. Spald.Misc. iv p.72.
129. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.2.120.

were earning £200 or more, while the top three were awarded £300-plus. Nearly £7,000 extra had had to be found to finance this generosity. This sum came from a variety of sources. Most is explained by the continued succession of ministers to benefices. For example, when the pre-Reformation parson of Fettercairn died, his "heirs" the ministers of Fettercairn succeeded to a parsonage worth £330 a year, thus transferring £220 from private hands to the resources of the kirk. Similarly, Mr James Nicholson obtained an income of £267 as dean of Brechin and minister of Farnell when he succeeded Mr James Thornton in 1577.[130]

Ministers' stipends were also increased by the amalgamation of vicarage revenues with their parsonages, an objective which became the policy of the kirk from 1580, when, in

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TABLE 5.4

Year -	1563	67	69	72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
						total number of ministers each year								
A	28	35	40	39	32	33	36	36	37	46	43	45	48	59
						no. of ministers with incomes of £100+ a year								
B	18	18	22	20	22	21	25	25	26	32	30	33	35	40
						average incomes of those in list B								
C	£121	121	117	133	132	131	147	147	156	168	157	163	164	175
						numbers in B expressed as a % of A								
D	64	51	55	51	69	64	69	69	70	70	70	73	73	68

i. Figures from entries in RAMS, E 47.1 to E 47.5.
ii. Where ministers were in possession of benefices, their whole income is included.
iii. Figures are rounded to the nearest £1, and commuted from victual-income, where necessary, according to the price per piece current in Angus in 1574, as specified at the head of the Register of Assignations for that year; see NLS, ms.17.1.4.

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130. See appendix A.1 for successions in benefices. Figures for these stipends from RAMS, E 47.1 f.22v,23v. Increases in stipend were eroded by inflation, however. See chapter 6 n.150.

conformity to the presbyterian polity of the second Book of Discipline, the readers lost their status as members of an "ordinar office within the Kirk of God".[131] The seventh session of the July Assembly decided that readers should in future not hold benefices, nor have possession of manses or glebes where a minister was serving. While the implementation of this policy was hampered by the kirk's controversy with King James VI, occasional examples of the union of parsonage and vicarage stipends did occur within Angus and Mearns.[132] The gradual reduction of the number of readers from their high-point of seventy-five in 1576 to thirty-one in 1590 also served to release funds to swell both the numbers of ministers employed and the stipends paid to them.[133]

The objective of the reformers of 1560 had been to create a ministry that would preach Christ throughout the parishes of Scotland. Provision of such a ministry, together with a climate of discipline within which it could operate, had been the goal of the parochial reformation. Financial, legal and other such difficulties had beset the way; disaffected lairds and the civil war of 1567 to 1573 had caused Knox to despair of his nation. A desire to strengthen the kirk's emphasis on preaching had lain behind the adoption of the second Book of Discipline (1578), with its declared aim of obtaining a minister for every parish - even at the cost of a

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131. BUK i 455; The Second Book of Discipline ed. J.Kirk (Edinburgh 1980) pp.82-3. Readers' stipends never increased from the 1563 levels of £16-20.
132. See appendix A.1: Dun, Fetteresso, Fowlis, Idvies, Kinnettles, Stracathro.
133. Unfortunately the registers of assignations become less reliable after 1585 in their recording of the existence and stipends of readers, as increasingly readers were paid directly by their ministers to whom the combined stipend was assigned. See appendix A.c no.033,091: and especially 099 (George Halden).

further reduction in the number of parishes.[134] As a result, the total number of staff of the parishes of Angus and the Mearns increased from eighty-eight in 1563 to a high-point of 109 in 1578, only to decline again to ninety by 1590. The number of ministers, however, had doubled from twenty-eight to fifty-nine in 1590. Of these, forty-two were graduates, and twelve had served continuously since 1563 or before.

How well did these ministers serve the parishes of Angus and the Mearns ? Although the Register of Assignation of Stipends was arranged by presbyteries from 1590, it is convenient to retain the tripartite division of the shires used previously. On Deeside, both Banchory-Devenick and Durris had their own ministers; Nigg and Maryculter shared a minister, and Strachan was linked (somewhat surprisingly) with Echt. Most of the rest of the Mearns kirks were single-minister parishes, Dunnottar and Arbuthnott having readers in addition to their ministers. Reader James Simpson still served at Catterline and Kinneff: Ecclesgreig and Aberlethnott were linked, as was Conveth with Pert and Logie-Montrose, and Newdosk with Edzell. These fifteen parishes therefore had the services (either per se or shared) of twelve ministers. The Mearns had moved towards single-minister parishes faster than Angus, perhaps reflecting a greater commitment by its ministers and lairds to the principles of the second Book of Discipline.[135]

The small Angus parishes vacant in 1563 were also vacant in 1590. Ecclesjohn had been united to Dun by act of

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134.F.Bardgett, "Four Parische Kirkis to Ane Preicheir", RSCHS xxii (1986) pp.195 -211; M. Lynch, International Calvinism p.250.
135.These figures and the final assessment from appendix A.2.

parliament; St Skaa/Dunninald was linked with Lunan and Ethie with Inverkeilor. Liff and Logie-Dundee were linked with Invergowrie; Longforgan was linked with Fowlis. Ballumbie, having been associated with Monifieth during the 1560s and linked with Dundee in the 1570s, was now linked with Murroes. Kirkbuddo had a reader of its own and was linked with Guthrie, of whose collegiate church it was a prebend. The highland parishes of the glens of Angus were linked with their mother churches in Strathmore: Lochlee with Lethnot, Clova with Cortachy, Glenisla with Alyth with Ruthven. The defunct prebends of Burghill and Kilmoir were still incorporated in Brechin. Inchbrayock still shared a minister and a reader with Maryton. Thirty years of struggle to find sufficient finance to pay the ministry and maintain existing buildings had left the reformed church no resources to rebuild and re-establish the smaller mediaeval parishes: from as early as the Assembly of June 1563, official policy had been to unite small parishes into larger units.[136]

In 1563, eight Angus parishes had ministers of their own.[137] By 1590, this number had increased three-fold to twenty-seven.[138] In addition, twenty-seven readers were

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136. BUK i p.33; "Ordainit that suplicatioune be made to the Queens Majestie and Secreit Cousell for unioun of kirks, that wher two or thrie are within two or thrie myles distant, the same to unite, and cause the inhabitants to resort to ane of the saids kirks, to heir the word and receive the sacraments; because the scarcenes of ministers permitts not every kirk to have a severall minister, and also the small number of sick parochines requyres not the samein."
137. Dundee, Brechin [ignoring its link with Panbride], Montrose, Arbroath, Auchterhouse, Tealing, Dunnichen and Rescobie.
138. Dundee, Brechin [with Kilmoir+Burghill], Montrose, Arbroath, Auchterhouse, Dunnichen, Rescobie, Kettins, Lundie, Benvie, Strathmartin, Mains, Monifieth, Panbride, Monikie, Arbirlot, Newtyle, Nevay, Airlie, Kingoldrum, Kirriemuir, Forfar [with Restenneth], Farnell, Fern, Navar, Lethnot; also Dun and Ecclesjohn - counted here as one parish, though as two in 1563.

still listed in the Register of Assignations, and more may well have been serving in the parishes. Montrose had had a new reader, Mr John Ogilvy, appointed in 1589 to assist the ageing veteran John Durie. Dundee called a minister to serve as associate to William Christison in 1590. Mr James Robertson was "pait be the toun".[139] Only three of the older-style three- or four-way groupings of parishes remained. Glamis was linked with Lintrathen, Eassie and Meathie; Ruthven with Alyth and Glenisla; Finavon with Aldbar and Aberlemno. The latter two groupings served baronies controlled by the earl of Crawford and Lord Ogilvy of Airlie - two of the leading members of the catholic earls' faction. Their conservatism seems to have held back the presbyterian trend to single-minister parishes. Only two parishes were vacant: Tannadice had been unlinked from Forfar, and awaited a minister of its own. The building at Cookston had been abandoned; the parish was to be re-erected as Kinnaird at the instigation and expense of Carnegy of Kinnaird in 1606.[140] In all, fifty-eight parish groupings were recognised in Angus and the Mearns [excluding Deeside] and these were served by fifty-four ministers.

The progress of the parochial reformation in Angus and the Mearns after the initial impetus of 1559-1563 had been slow and fraught with difficulty. In the first few years, much had been owed to those pre-Reformation clergy who had conformed and formed approximately half the staff of the new kirk. By 1574 the proportion of the ministry who had seen service before 1560 had declined to a quarter, though some who stayed the course were amongst the most valued - Mr John Hepburn, Patrick Boncle and Mr Andrew Elder:

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139.See appendix A.c nos.172,048,205.
140.See entry "Cookston" in appendix A.1.

men who had been young reformers in the 1550s. A great deal of the credit for the provision of reformed services during the 1560s and 1570s must be given to the corps of readers, whose numbers were roughly double those of their ministers during the 1570s. The number of ministers who had university training, together with the number of those who held their own benefices, steadily increased in conformity with the 1561 Book of Discipline's programme of an educated ministry in possession of the revenues of the old church.[141] By 1590, the goal of a graduate reformed minister to each congregation was within sight. "The face of a public church reformed" had been successfully created in Angus and the Mearns. When John Erskine of Dun died on 22 March 1589/90, having seen his eightieth birthday, he had good cause to be satisfied with his life's work.[142] His spiritually committed leadership, allied to his pragmatic preparedness to work with local society, had done much to establish the Reformation in his province.

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141. See table 5.1 for figures of graduates, pre-Reformation clergy and benefice-holders.
142. Spald.Misc. iv "The obits of the lairdis and ladeis of Dwne" (appendix to preface) p. lxxvii.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PATRIMONY OF THE KIRK - THE FIRST QUARTER-CENTURY

The patrimony of the kirk - the first quarter-century.

To facilitate the extension of a preaching ministry to all Scotland, the reformers made it a priority to secure control of what they called "The Patrimonie of the Kirk". By this phrase was meant at least the whole income of the teinds - whether those possessed by individual benefice-holders, or those appropriated to the various monastic and collegiate institutions. This claim, first made by the original Book of Discipline, was reiterated by the second Book and by sundry resolutions of Assembly and private addresses.[1] In addition to the teinds, the new kirk also claimed the right to inherit the temporal revenues of those estates belonging to bishoprics or to cathedral chapters and canons; and to the annual rents and other incomes of the friaries, altars and collegiate churches.[2] From these substantial sums it was purposed not only to finance a national ministry, but also schools, universities, poor-hospitals and poor-relief. In seeking to sponsor these latter causes, the kirk found an ally in the burgh authorities of Dundee, Montrose, Brechin and Arbroath; and some success was achieved. The reformation of the various episcopal, monastic and collegiate institutions of the pre-1560 church was, however, generally beset by opposition from the magnates, competition amongst lairdly families, and especially by conflicts over church polity within the protestant leadership as symbolised by Mr Andrew Melville and Mr Patrick Adamson.

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1. First Book p.19,160; Second Book p.122,209f; BUK i 107; Satirical Poems i 302; Tracts by David Fergusson (Bannatyne Club 1860) p.72.
2. First Book p.161.

The one property of the old church not claimed by the first Book of Discipline had been the temporal lands and revenues of the Scottish monasteries. These, together with the parish teinds appropriated to them, remained as the personal property of their commendators and convents. As important and wealthy institutions, whose abbots were entitled to seats in parliament, they were the subject of considerable competition between the various kin and political groups: both Arbroath and Coupar abbeys were so disputed during the 1560s and 1570s. Meanwhile the buildings, whose abbey-churches had been "cast doun" in 1559-60, seem to have degenerated further from lack of maintenance. The monks themselves, however, unlike their English counterparts, were allowed to live out their lives retaining their own portions, gardens, yards and chambers.

A substantial number of charters and other documents testify to the continued existence - at least as a legal entity - of the convent of Arbroath into the 1580s. Table 6.1, below, shows that twenty monks can be identified from their subscriptions to charters in or after 1560. Among those who appear to have continued at the abbey were three who had joined the chapter during the 1520s: the subprior, John Logy, with Thomas Scott and Nicholas Purves. The four monks who served in the reformed church (Lindsay and Gormak as readers: Clement and Black as ministers) also continued to act with the convent. When in 1587 Sir Thomas Lyon of Aldbar had a gift of all the portions of Arbroath monks dying after 1560 or during his lifetime, the accounts included £663 for food and £88 for the monks' habits; the total, including revenues for their pittances, came to £819 3s 4d in cash together with nearly seventy

Table 6.1

MONKS OF ARBROATH ABBEY AFTER 1560

This table lists those monks known to have subscribed as part of the convent of Arbroath in or after 1560. It records their first and last known appearances, and where possible a date on which they were recorded as dead. The monks are listed in chronological order of last known occurrences, and within these bands by first known occurrences. Authorities for the table are listed below.

Name	1st. sub.	last occ.	deceased by:
THOMAS MACNEILL	3.10.1558	27.2.1561	
JOHN ANDERSON	14.4.1545	4.11.1564	
CHRISTOPHER MONCUR	14.4.1545	4.11.1564	
JOHN PEIRSON	14.4.1545	4.11.1564	
WALTER BALDOVIE	14.4.1545	4.11.1564	
THOMAS FETHE	12.9.1554	4.11.1564	
JAMES BALCASKY	- - 1555	4.11.1564	
JOHN WHITE	12.9.1554	2.1.1567	
THOMAS LINDSAY	12.9.1554	31.5.1575	
THOMAS GORMAK	12.9.1554	31.5.1575	
NICHOLAS HOWIESON	15.5.1557	6.8.1575	
JOHN LOGY (subprior)	6.2.1529	17.9.1576	
THOMAS SCOTT	6.2.1529	21.4.1577	
NINIAN CLEMENT	12.9.1554	21.4.1577	
NICHOLAS PURVES	6.2.1529	2.9.1582	24. 3.1586
HUMPHREY THOMSON	12.9.1554	2.9.1582	31.12.1584
DAVID BLACK	15.5.1557	3.5.1582	[-] 4.1588
RICHARD CRAIK	14.4.1545	20.9.1586	[-] 8.1592
ALEXANDER CUBE	14.4.1545	20.9.1586	
ALEXANDER GIBB	14.6.1545	20.9.1586	

Authorities

Edin.tests. CC 8.8.vol.19 f.275v, vol. 29 f.66r; Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.255; Yester writs GD 28.676; Northesk mss.,GD 130 box 1 bund.3; box 2 bund.4; box 13a bund.19, box 15 bund.C; Prot.bk. William Pettilock, RH 4.96 f.67v; Kinnaird, Southesk papers, box 4 bund.2, Southesk papers box 4 bund.8, Southesk misc. box 2 bund.28; Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 235.3.3, box 235.3.5; RMS v 453,454; RSS viii 2731; RPB ii 156v; StA Recs p.261.

chalders of meal and beir, and twenty-four barrels of salmon.[3] While the monks were still alive, these resources were handled on their behalf by the "monk of common" - Alexander Gibb in 1580/81 - and hence deduced from the commendator's own income.[4] Meanwhile the monks seem to have taken part in the society of Arbroath. In 1560, Thomas MacNeill acted as sponsor for his nephew James when the latter became an apprentice cordiner in the burgh; Richard Craik occurs as a witness to routine notarial instruments and when he died in 1596, left £26 13s 4d to be administered by his executor-dative, Charles Futhe, his sister's son.[5] David Black served as burgh schoolmaster during the 1560s: Nicholas Howieson was nominated for, but failed to obtain, that post. Thomas Lindsay was burgh reader and almoner; Ninian Clement was Arbroath's minister during the 1560s, and occurs frequently in the burgh's court book for that period - on occasion, together with his wife, Helen Strachan.[6]

As each monk died, that element of the "patrimony" of the old church assigned to his portion became available for disposal by the crown. A number of royal gifts are recorded, both of Arbroath and of Coupar portions. Eighteen monks of the latter abbey survived the reformation, most of whom were recorded as having deceased by the late 1580s. (See table 6.2, below.) Peter Trent's portion, after his death, went to a porter at Edinburgh Castle. The four younger sons of the king's master-saddler each obtained two portions in 1588: the eldest son had a gift of four portions,

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3. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 nos.8,10 and 11.
4. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund. no.2.
5. Prot.bk.William Pettilock, RH 4.96 f.114v, 125r; f.218r, Edin. tests. CC 8.8.19 f.275v.
6. See appendix A.c nos.016 (Black), 032 (Clement) and 128 (Lindsay). Howieson: APL, Arbroath court book 1563-75, f.36r.

including the prior's and subprior's.[7] Arbroath portions were granted for the support of the King's Guard, but exceptions were made. The commendator of 1584, the duke of Lennox, obtained a portion with yard and chamber for one of his servitors. In 1586, one of the king's own servitors obtained a portion from the abbey; the general gift of 1587 to Thomas Lyon of Aldbar, Captain of the Guard, has been mentioned above.[8] None of these teinds were available to the kirk.

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TABLE 6.2

MONKS OF COUPAR ABBEY AFTER 1560

This table lists those monks known to have subscribed as part of the convent of Coupar in or after 1560, according to the conventions of table 6.1, above.

Name	1st. sub.	last occ.	deceased by:
JOHN FOGOW	25. 9.1539	10. 3.1560	
BERNARD MURDOSTON	25. 9.1539	31. 1.1561	
JAMES MAISTERTON	25. 9.1539	31. 1.1561	1589
JOHN TURNBULL	25. 9.1539	31. 1.1561	
THOMAS DRONE	10. 5.1558	31. 1.1561	10.9.1588
ANDREW MONCUR	20.10.1545	15 1.1564	10.9.1588
ADAM ANDERSON	25. 9.1539	15. 1.1574	10.9.1588
WILLIAM AFFLECK/AUCHINLEK	25. 9.1539	17.11.1574	
PETER TRENT	25. 9.1539	17.11.1574	26.3.1585
THOMAS HAMILTON, prior	25. 9.1539	5. 3.1574	10.9.1588
ANDREW McCAKARN	10. 5.1558	15. 1.1574	10.9.1588
JOHN DONALDSON	10. 5.1558	15. 1.1574	10.9.1588
ROBERT DRYSDALE	10. 5.1558	17.11.1574	10.9.1588
WILLIAM BAXTER, subprior	25. 9.1539	24. 2.1581	10.9.1588
JAMES ANDERSON	10. 5.1558	3. 2.1584	
JOHN LAWSON	25. 9.1539	3. 2.1584	10.9.1588
ALEXANDER ANDERSON	25. 9.1539	3.11.1586	10.9.1588
JOHN FOGOW junior	10. 5.1558	3.11.1586	30.6.1592

Authorities
Bamff chtrs., GD 83.64; Reg.Deeds RD 1.12 f.421r;
RSS 58.62v, 64.44;
CA Chrs. ii 155, 245, 222, 197, 243, 239, 238, 240;
Strathmore mss., box 235.3 no.15.

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7. RPB ii 127v; CA Chrs. ii 246.
8. RSS viii 2585, 2731; RPB ii 156v.

The bulk of the monastic revenues, and control of their buildings and lands, was granted to the commendators. Indeed, their powers were so extensive that legal suits by monks against their "abbot" could be necessary to compel him to release their due portions.[9] On the death of abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar, there was therefore competition between the earls of Atholl and Argyll for the right to place their client in the commend, and hence to acquire valuable tacks and feus for themselves. Argyll's hopes had been encouraged by a royal gift of goods, "geir", profits and debts of his kinsman: consequently he successfully sued Dame Katherine Campbell for possession of the abbey's movable treasures, which she had had removed.[10] On 31 July 1565, however, when Argyll supported Moray's opposition to Mary's marriage, the queen revoked his gift. John, earl of Atholl, was granted the profits of Coupar since the death of Donald Campbell (his brother-in-law), together with powers to appoint a commendator to administer the property.[11] The collapse of Moray's rebellion confirmed Atholl's conquest.

With Argyll's interest in Coupar

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9. Acts and Decs., CS 7.115 f.264r refers to decreets of 2 July 1563 and 9 Nov. 1588: in the latter year the two surviving plaintiffs of the ten of 1563 had their rights upheld against the commendator of Scone. James Anderson, monk of Coupar and minister of Kettins with Collace, registered his agreement with his commendator in 1581: CS 7.85 f.468r. John Carnegy of that ilk successfully maintained his right to pay dues direct to the monk of common, bypassing the commendator of Arbroath, in 1581: Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box 6 bund.2.
10. Argyll's gift was dated 20 Jan.1562/3: RSS v 1199. From Dame Katherine he sought: 7 silver chalices with coverings, 2 great and 2 small crowattis, a silver staff, 3 miters, 28 capes, 20 stolls and belts and a case of writs: Acts and Decs., CS 7.29 f.106r: 20 Mar.1563/4. Dame Katherine won her claim to inherit a purse of rings and gold coins given her by the abbot in person: JRL, The Craw. mss., box Eii.
11. RSS v 2229; for Argyll and the Chaseabout raid, G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men (London 1983) p.73; CSP(S) ii 205.

extinguished, permanently as it turned out, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie next challenged Atholl's new rights in the abbey. Lord Ogilvy was heritary bailie of Coupar for all lands outside of Atholl, by gift of the late abbot,[12] and served together with Atholl against Moray in 1565. Both magnates, however, claimed for themselves the right to bring the abbey's tenants to join Mary's army: the privy council found it "inexpedient" to settle the matter at such a time of crisis.[12] In August 1565 the queen granted the abbey to Atholl's candidate, Leonard Leslie, and the commendator proceeded to grant several charters to his patron. These included tacks of teinds.[13] Atholl's unsuccessful rivals nevertheless continued to press their interests in Coupar's lands. Argyll had confirmation in 1566 of various feu-charters granted by abbot Donald, and defended his rights in Over Balmyle against Leslie in 1572.[14] Lord Ogilvy retained his bailiery of the abbey, and his feus of the lands of Clintlaw, Auchindorie, Meikle and Little Forthir, Craigenitie and Doleraine in Glenisla. In 1581, he secured a commission of justiciary over all his lands, including the lordships of Coupar and Glenisla. In 1582, commendator Leslie's procurator protested that a court such as that held in Glenisla was contrary to the abbey's privileges.[15] Though Leslie was to die still commendator c.1603, the post-Reformation disputes for possession of Coupar Abbey

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12. RPC i 380, 385.
13. CA Chrs. ii 279; Leslie's position may simply have been confirmed in 1565. Records of court held in his name in Feb.1562/3 are cited by C.Rogers, CA Rent. ii 113. The charters to Atholl: RMS iv 1809, 1843; Airlie mss., GD 16.20.28; Reg.Deeds RD 1.12 f.421r. The feuing of the lands of both Arbroath and Coupar abbeys is discussed by M.Sanderson in her thesis, "The social and economic implications of the feuing of ecclesiastical property in Scotland in the late 15th and 16th centuries" (Edinburgh Ph.D.1972) and her subsequent book Scottish Rural Society in the 16th century (Edinburgh 1982) passim. No attempt to duplicate her work - which omits political aspects - has been made in this study.
14. RSS v 2879; Acts and Decs., CS 7.49 f.1r, f.136v.
15. Airlie mss., GD 16.7.13; ER xxi 474; GD 16.21.20.

were to result in violent feuding between the Angus Campbells and the Ogilvies of Airlie during the 1590s and well into the seventeenth century.[16]

The somewhat precarious nature of Leonard Leslie's tenure of Coupar must have encouraged these continued aspirations: he was horned at least twice for non-payment of monks' portions. In 1568, Atholl had the gift of his client's escheat; in 1593 Sir Thomas Lyon of Aldbar had a gift of the entire abbey, together with its right of justiciary, for a further period while Leslie was "at the horn" at the instance of Mr John Abercromby - one of the sons of King James' master-saddler.[17] During this period of horning, the kirk of Nether Airlie was severed from the abbey - and also granted to Sir Thomas Lyon.[18] No other instance of a parish's revenues being disjoined from Coupar exists; and in this case of Airlie, it was another magnate and not the kirk who benefitted. Before 1590, only the third of the abbey's teinds was available to help to sustain the reformed ministry.[19]

The commend of cardinal David Beaton's former abbey of Arbroath was disputed no less fiercely than that of

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16. CA Chrs. ii 280, CA Rent. i 116. The abbey was erected into a temporal lordship for James Elphinstone in 1606; but see E.J.Cowan, "The Angus Campbells and the Origin of the Campbell-Ogilvie Feud", Scottish Studies xxv (1981) pp.25-38.
17. RSS vi 171; CA Rent. i 115; Strathmore writs box 235.3 no.15.
18. APS iv 76,306.
19. For example: RAMS, E 47.1 f.26r: In 1576, David Black, minister of Airlie with Kirriemuir with Kingoldrum had £40-worth of victual from the third of Coupar's parish of Airlie: his reader at Airlie had further £16. Similar payments to their ministers and readers were made from the third of Meathie: f.27v, Glenisla: f.30v, and Bendoquhy: f.31r. From 1587, gifts of money and victual from the thirds of Coupar were made to various ministers less closely associated with the abbey: to John Erskine of Dun, Mr George Gledstanes, Mr Henry Guthrie, Mr Patrick Galloway and Mr Robert Bruce. RSS vol.56 fs.37,81,90v,151v,186v: vol.60 f.68.

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Coupar. Beaton himself had nominated his nephew James as his successor and after the cardinal's death Mr James took possession, in 1546 discharging James Lord Ogilvy for dues and teinds since 1541.[20] Arran, however, nominated George Douglas, the natural son of Archibald earl of Angus towards the end of 1546; Douglas was referred to as the abbot of Arbroath in 1548.[21] Papal confirmation of Douglas' claims was not, though, forthcoming: the governor (as Châtelherault) next nominated his second son, Lord John Hamilton. Mr James Beaton, by way of exchange, obtained the archbishopric of Glasgow in a complex series of manoeuvres that culminated in Hamilton taking possession of the abbey in 1553.[22] Hamilton consolidated his position in Angus by the appointment of John Carnegy as his chamberlain and with a charter (Sept.1558) of Bolshan and Brekko to the hereditary bailie of the abbey, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie. Ogilvy's bailie-fee was the teinds of the kirks of Kirriemuir and Newtyle.[23]

Although Lord John Hamilton was to have Arbroath erected as a temporal lordship in 1606 and to spend his last days peacefully hunting with Maule of Panmure,[24] the course of political events twice lost him control of the abbey. After the duke of Châtelherault's Hamilton faction supported Mary queen of Scots against the king's lords in autumn 1567, Lord John was first forfeit for barratry (1568) and then for treason (1571); the abbey was again gifted to George Douglas.[25] Possession was disputed between the two

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20. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.246; Airlie mss., GD 16.47.2.
21. RPC i 57; CSP(S) i 236.
22. R.K.Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls", SHR xxii p.26f.
23. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 4 bund.8; and see chapter 3 n.99; RMS v 114; prot.bk. Pettilock, RH 4.96 f.67v.
24. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 p.67. The Marquess ran ratches; Panmure, greyhounds.
25. CSP(S) ii 618; RSS vi 415, 481, 1348.

men during the civil war (1567-1573)[26] . Douglas' possession until 1571 was limited by regent Moray agreeing to honour a pension of eighty-five chalders of victual due under a previous gift to Alexander, son of Lord Home, from the teinds of Mains, Murroes, Panbride and Arbirlot. In 1571, however, this pension was gifted to Douglas, and by him to George Ogilvy of that ilk, following Home's forfeiture for treason. Similarly, the teinds of Kirriemuir and Newtyle reverted to Douglas through Lord Ogilvy's condemnation for non-payment of dues to the commendator.[27] In 1573, however, the Pacification of Perth produced a political settlement between the Hamiltons and regent Morton; John Hamilton was restored to Arbroath. George Douglas was compensated with the bishopric of Moray - but found himself sued by various Arbroath monks for their portions[28] and by Hamilton for destruction of buildings and property of the abbey, and for removing its books.[29] Once again, the commendator attempted to find friends in Angus; he opened negotiations with Lord Glamis, the chancellor, to marry his sister, Lady Cassillis.[30]

On 28 April 1579, however, as part of Morton's campaign against the whole Hamilton connection, the council forfeited Lord John for complicity in the murders of Darnley and Moray.[31] On 2 June 1579, the council agreed in principle that the former Hamilton abbeys of Arbroath and Paisley might have their annexed churches dissolved, and the fruits applied wholly to the

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26. As discussed in chapter 8 ns.79-80.
27. RSS vi 481, 1237, 1222.
28. CSP(S) iv 559,584,675,699. Douglas claimed the monks had supported the queen and hence, being rebels, had forfeited their rights: RPC ii 380.
29. RPC ii 380; RSS vi 2309.
30. CSP(S) v 284: in 1577.
31. RPC iii 146; G.R.Hewitt, Scotland under Morton (Edinburgh 1982), pp.64-70.

parishes.[32] By December, though, King James' new favourite, Esmé Stewart, Lord d'Aubingy, was said to have both "the king's ear and the abbey of Arbroath". The kirk came no closer to the Arbroath thirds for many years.[33]

As the duke of Lennox, Esmé Stewart appears to have taken personal pride in his abbey. He prepared a great banquet for the king there early in 1580.[34] More importantly, he confirmed Lord Ogilvy in his bailiery, and feued him further of the remaining lands together with a section of the buildings, though a garden possessed by the minister of Arbroath, Mr James Melville, was specifically exempted.[35] Others to gain from Lennox's tenure of Arbroath were the king's former tutor, Mr Peter Young, who established himself in Angus with a feu of the estate of Seaton, its haven and sections of Arbroath moor.[36] John Carnegy of that ilk also added to his holding of the abbey's lands.[37] By these feus, Lennox did not significantly alter the balance of power among the Angus gentry - he simply added to those who already had a stake in Arbroath. The presbyterian historian Calderwood, however, reported that the duke intromitted with the ministers' teinds:[38]

> "Lennox purchased the superplus of thirds of Arbroath as it stood in 1580, not only to stay all further planting of ministers within the kirks of that abbacy, but also to spoil the whole ministers planted at these kirks, of the part of their stipends taken out of that abbacy;"

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32. RPC iii 176-7.
33. CSP(S) v 445.
34. CSP(S) v 498,512.
35. RMS v 114, Airlie mss GD 16.25.86 (the bailiery); GD 16.21.20 (the kirkton meadow); GD 16.21.22 (the Firth moor); RMS v 453 (the building). Melville had previously been feued Richard Craik's garden and the charterhouse: RMS v 348.
36. RMS v 190,338,455.
37. RMS v 631; RSS viii 1783.
38. Calderwood, History iv 396.

The truth of this is difficult to assess, as no register for the assignation of stipends exists for the critical years 1581-1584 inclusive. Calderwood mentioned John Erskine of Dun, Mr John Hepburn and Mr Andrew Milne as particularly affected. The accusation is probably overstated: in 1580 Milne, for example, only took £50 from the thirds of Arbroath while enjoying a stipend which included the whole benefice of Fetteresso and amounted to over £320.[39] It is likely that Lennox retained more of the third than his precedessors - and the kirk did not forget that, in their eyes, the whole teind was the patrimony of the kirk whether the commendator was a Beaton, a Douglas, a Stewart or a Hamilton.[40]

In fact, a considerable sum was paid to the ministry from the thirds of Arbroath. Under Morton's scheme to assign particular local thirds to each minister and reader, enabling them to claim them (and sue for them) personally, a large number of reformed clergy took at least a part, if not the whole, of their stipends from the thirds of their own parishes. Table 6.3, below, shows the assignations from the thirds of Arbroath to staff serving within Angus and the Mearns in 1576. Excluding the victual allocated to John Erskine of Dun, the total sum amounted to nearly £1,000. Over £2,000 therefore remained in the hands of commendator and convent of Arbroath, and the various pensioners of the abbey. Cardinal David Beaton's son Alexander, archdean of Lothian, enjoyed the two-thirds of the kirk of Monifieth from before 1560 to after 1590.[41] Arbroath

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39. RAMS, E 47.2 f.23r.
40. From Lennox, the abbey passed to Ludovick his son to be administered on his behalf by Robert [Stewart] earl of March. In 1583, it was rumoured the earl of Crawford had designs on the abbey, but this came to nothing. Lord John Hamilton, on his return from exile, was restored to Arbroath. CSP(S) vi 564, 608.
41. See appendix A.1 and appendix A.a 025.

TABLE 6.3

ASSIGNATIONS OF STIPEND FROM ARBROATH REVENUES, 1576

amount £	s.	d.	source	paid to:	post
37	6	8	Nigg par.	[blank]	min. Nigg
3	6	8	Nigg vic.	Walter Richardson	rdr. Nigg
66	13	4	Garvock	Alexander Keith	min. Garvock
13	6	8	Garvock	Robert Milne	rdr. Garvock
23	11		[the abbey]	Mr Alexander Allardice	min. Ecclesgreig
42	13	4	Kirriemuir	David Black	min. Kirriemuir
20			Clova	John Mann	rdr. Clova
77	15	6	Dunnichen	Mr James Balfour	min. Dunnichen
[blank		]	Dunnichen	Henry Guthrie	rdr. Dunnichen
50			Lunan	Mr Andrew Strachan	min. Lunan
29	12	6	Glamis	John Nevay	min. Glamis
36	13	4	Inverkeilor	John Fullerton	min. Inverkeilor
80			Arbroath par.	Mr James Melville	min. Arbroath
17	15	6	Arbroath vic.	Thomas Lindsay	rdr. Arbroath
4	8	10	Ethie	David Milne	rdr. Ethie
11	15	1	Ethie vic.	ditto	ditto
100			Monifieth	Andrew Auchinlek	min. Monifieth
20			Monifieth	James Lovell	rdr. Monifieth
16			Murroes	William Oliver	rdr. Murroes
48	10	1	Arbirlot [or Panbride]	Charles Michelson	min. Arbirlot with Panbride
20			Arbirlot	David Mitchell	rdr. Arbirlot
16	5		Mains	Alexander Tyrie	min. Mains
9	6	8	Mains	William Bruce	rdr. Mains
10			Ruthven	David Ramsay	min. Ruthven
24	14	10	Newtyle	Mr Robert Boyd	min. Newtyle
20			Newtyle	George Halden	rdr. Newtyle
170	4	2	silver third [who also had victual not here calculated.]	John Erskine of Dun	Superintendent
£969	19	2	TOTAL		

All of Arbroath's kirks in Angus and the Mearns are represented here, except for Kingoldrum and Monikie.

The source of this table are the figures given *passim* in RAMS, E 47.1. A sample entry runs thus: "And out of the thrid of Abirbrothok be the takkismen or paro[chineris] of Kerym[ure] xlii lib. xiii s. iiii d." E 47.1 f.26r. This was a standard form.

Except in the case of the allocation to John Erskine of Dun, occasional entries expressed in terms of victual only are converted to cash according to the exchange rate implied in entries where both were given.

par. = parsonage; vic. = vicarage; min. = minister; rdr. = reader.

also had appropriated to it parishes from outside of Angus and the Mearns. From 1587, as with the thirds of Coupar, a variety of the more favoured ministers obtained gifts of their Arbroath thirds as permanent sources of revenue. This was approved by the General Assembly of February 1587/8 as part of negotiations for a "perpetuall Platt" and was also in line with the policies of chancellor Maitland of Thirlestane. John Erskine of Dun's grandson, John of Logie, also had a gift from the thirds of Arbroath at this time as did David Beaton of Melgund.[42]

The third of Angus' monastic convents, that of Restenneth, had fallen into decay before the Reformation. By 1560/61, the monks' fifth of the revenues was recorded as being paid to the crown instead. The priory itself was maintained for the Home commendators of Jedburgh by a staff of servants under a steward, whose fees were specified in the Book of Assumption.[43] Some information on the disposition of the property can be gleaned from the register of charters by the commendators of Jedburgh. In 1562, the Mains of Restenneth was feued to Dame Marion Haliburton, the widow of George, Lord Home, under condition that the Place of Restenneth was reserved sufficient peat from the moor for its fires as well as fishing on the loch. Duty was set at £20 a year. In 1584, Dame Marion having died, Andrew Home, commendator of Jedburgh, sold the Mains to his brother-in-law, Alexander Erskine of Gogar; at the same time he also feued Alexander Erskine and Margaret Home the manse, Place and

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42. BUK ii 726; M. Lee, Jr., Government by Pen (London 1980) p.5. The ministers who benefitted were John Erskine of Dun, Mr James Balfour, Mr Paul Fraser, Mr James Melville, Mr Henry Duncan, Andrew Auchinlek, John Fullerton, Mr John Hepburn and Mr Robert Bruce: RSS vol.56 fs.81,109,113,137,137v,138,146; vol.59 f.101, vol.60 58v.
43. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1. fs.221r,218r.

cloister of Restenneth for ten merks a year, and tacked them their teinds for fifty-six merks. Dame Agnes Gray, widow of Alexander fifth Lord Home, had the liferent of the Mains, however, as part of her terce. The property was therefore involved with the forfeiture of her husband, Mr Thomas Lyon of Aldbar, and was granted (under right of reversion) to William [Stewart], commendator of Pittenweem in 1584/5. Superiority was restored to Lord Home in 1587.[44] As with Coupar and Arbroath, the thirds of Restenneth were available for the staff of the reformed kirk who served in the parishes appropriated to the priory - though the commendator's record in paying his third was a poor one.[45]

Whereas the first Book of Discipline had been sufficiently realistic not to attempt to claim the monastic estates on behalf of the reformed kirk, it did assert an interest in both the spiritual and temporal revenues of the bishoprics and cathedral chapters. Failing a dissolution of the episcopal estates, the kirk then attempted to win the right to control episcopal appointments - so that the bishops could at least use their wealth in the service of the church. This ambiguity (or, rather, conflict between competing interests) regarding the utility of the episcopate was to be protracted, lasting into the next century. Meanwhile the

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44. Register of Charters of the abbots and commendators of Jedburgh, CH 6.6.1 fs.33r,57r,58r,59r; 60r; 71r; RSS viii 2499. By 1666, the priory's lands had become a barony which was granted to William Gray of Hayston in that year. The lands were listed as: Murton, Gillard, Pitreuchie, the crofts of Forfar, Carseburn, Clochtow, Little Cossans, Craignathro, Dunninald, Little Dysart and the Mains and Place of Restenneth.
Strathmore mss, vol. 2 no. 303.
45. In 1576, Mr James Rait minister of Forfar had £54 13s 4d and his reader, £20 from the Jedburgh third in 1576. The minister of Aberlemno had £53 6s 8d and his reader £11 13s 4d. "Dunnynald neidis na reidar". RAMS, E 47.1 fs.26v,27r. The commendator was at the horn in 1571 for non-payment since 1566, and again in 1581. RSS vi 1398,1401; viii 516.

estates continued to suffer dilapidation from feuing and from rivalry between the magnates' factions.

Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin from 1566, has been the object of some criticism for his management of the see. David Boath Thoms, historian of Brechin, considers that:[46]

> "... the real dilapidation of the episcopal lands of Brechin was the work of Bishop Campbell ..."

Some of the feus must, however, be ascribed to the last catholic prelate, bishop John Hepburn. Several of his charters received royal confirmation 1585-1588. Lands so feued included Bothers (to Robert Kinnear), Balrownie (Charles Dempster), the kirklands of Strachan with Kirkdavoch and Ardlair (Irving of Drum), the sunny half of Keithock (David Lindsay in Sheriffbank), Smiddyhill (Charles and William Murray), Nether Pitforthie (Mr John Cockburn), and various tenements in Brechin itself (Adamnan Tailzeour). The combined duties of these lands amounted to 25% of the total revenues of the temporal lands as acknowledged in the Books of Assumption.[47]

Soon after the death of bishop John Hepburn, the temporalities of the see of Brechin were granted to the earl of Argyll for the length of the vacancy. Argyll continued to administer the see's property until 1565, during which time his uncle, Donald Campbell abbot of Coupar, was bishop-postulate until his death in 1562. As with Argyll's interests in Coupar Abbey, his hold on Brechin was jeopardised by his support for Moray's rebellion: Mary nominated John Sinclair to the Pope as candidate for the bishopric in

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46. D.B.Thoms, "The Cathedral Kirk of Brechin", SFBC no.11 (1958) p.22.
47. REB ii nos. cccIxiv, cccxlix, cccxlv, cccxlvii, cccxlvi, cccxlii, cccIvi; Bk. Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.348r.

September 1565, and Sinclair obtained provision. By February 1565/6, Sinclair was attempting to gain possession of the lands...

"allegeand hym to be lauchfullie providit"

However he died in April 1566, probably never having exercised effective control as bishop.[48] In any case, the queen had used her rights during the vacancy to grant David, brother of Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask, a pension of 500 merks annually for life from Brechin's rents and fruits; and had promised to use her influence on bishop Sinclair to cause him to feu the see's chief property, Farnell - and three others - to James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie. Appointments to the chapter by Mary during this period show the same lack of concern for Brechin as a bishopric. The precentorship was granted first to the Usher of her Chamber, Robert Fraser, and then to his son. The vicarage went to David Watt, her Master of Requests, for service to herself and her mother. Neill Laing, one of the queen's scribes, obtained possession of the canon-pensionary, either for himself or his brother John.[49] One of the chief dilapidators of Brechin's temporal lands was Mary queen of Scots; once the pension granted to Murray had been deducted, only £26 18s 4d was left from their revenues.[50]

Alexander Campbell, brother of Campbell of Ardkinglas, was only sixteen when he was presented to the see of Brechin on 6 May 1566, with powers to alienate its lands at his own

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48. See appendix A.b no.081.
49. RPC iii 362• (Murray); Airlie mss., GD 16.24.64 [promise to Ogilvy dated (blank) 1565]; and see appendix A.b nos.032,033; 086; 057,056. No such charter to Ogilvy was granted by Sinclair.
50. Bk.Assumpt., E 48.1.1 f.350r gave the total cash income from the temporal lands as £410 5s, together with geese, poultry, capons and horse-corn. £343 6s 8d of this went to Murray (£333 6s 8d) and Argyll's chamberlain (£10). See the addendum on the Book of Assumption provided at the end of this chapter. Murray's pension was confirmed by act of parliament in 1570 and again in 1574, together with the appropriate thirds: RPC iii 362.

discretion. On 10 December, he granted Argyll the lands of Farnell and the office of bailie for life.[51] A series of other feu charters followed. Half of East Drums was feued to its occupant, Alexander Ogilvy. Captain Robert Lauder and Alexander Home of Manderstone obtained sections of Stracathro, where the mill of Millden was feued to Walter Collace. In the barony of Keithock, the Justice-Clerk, Bellenden of Auchnoule, was granted a feu of Ardo. Dalgety was feued to Christine Rattray and her son Patrick Guthrie; Newton to George Crawmond. David Crole in Keithock received the lands he occupied in the barony. One of Argyll's servants, John Stewart, received two portions of Brathinch. John Kinnear in Ballownie received a feu of his lands, as did John Stevenson in East Drums. John Leighton of Usan obtained Capo, across the North Esk.[52] John Erskine of Dun had a charter to the lands of Ecclesjohn, contiguous with Dun. Dame Katherine Campbell obtained the lands of Unthank for the house of Edzell.[53] By the time Argyll's chamberlain, Mr John Hutton, submitted an entry for the Book of Assumption, the feu duties for temporal lands amounted to over £300 - all of which was assigned to pay "David Murrayis portoun". Argyll's policy appears to have been to feu as many lands as possible: recipients were the main neighbouring lairds or the existing tenants of the lands. In effect, the bishopric kept its own teinds (less the third); Murray took its cash income.[54]

That this policy of feuing during 1566-8

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51. See appendix A.b no.015.
52. REB ii cccIxxix, cclxxxviii, ccc, ccxci, ccciii, cccxiv, cccxxiv, cccxxiii, cccxxxviii, cccxxxix, cccxliii, ccclxiii, ccclxii. See also, RMS v 138,139,786,862; RSS v 3264.
53. REB ii cccxliv; Bk. Asspt. E 48.1.1 f.348r.
54. Bk. Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.348r. By 1568 the whole of the temporality seems to have been feued, under Argyll's instructions. For dating of the three sections of the Book of Assumption's entry on Brechin, see the addendum at the end of this chapter.

was closely controlled by Argyll rather than the young bishop can be shown from the complex negotiations surrounding the feuing of the episcopal "place" and estate of Farnell (the single most valuable property of the see) whose revenues were calculated at £357 10s 8d in January 1573/4. (This was £100 less than an undated rental preserved in the Kinnaird muniments.[55]) In 1564, Argyll as "donator of the temporall landis ... enduring the see vacant" had set them from year to year to one Patrick Robertson. In October 1565, Argyll consented to Robertson assigning his tack to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford and tutrix of Edzell, for 300 merks. Robertson also sold her the goods on the estate and in the Place for a total of £13,000.[56] It was this possession that Dame Katherine defended against postulate-bishop John Sinclair from November 1565 to February 1565/6.[57] Following the presentation of Alexander Campbell, however, Farnell together with Maryton, Croftheads and Esauxtoun were feued to Argyll himself; the mill of Farnell was then subinfeudated to his chamberlain Mr John Hutton, once royal confirmation of the chapter's feu was forthcoming in February 1566/7. For the three smaller properties, Argyll paid the bishopric c.£70. His charter granted him exemption from annual payments for Farnell as his bailie-fee.[58] The arrangements of 1566-8 were clearly in the interests of the earl, and not of his kinsman the young bishop.

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55. The initial estimate from Bk.Assumpt., E 48.1.1 f.354r; also, Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 1 bund.8. "Rental of Farnwell: meill 16 ch. 3 bs. [@ c.20 merks a chalder]; beir 16 ch. 2bs. 3f. 1p. [@ c.£20 per ch.]; scheip 29 @ 3 and 1/2 merks summa £58; siluer summa £69 2s 8d."
56. JRL, The Crawford mss., box E ii bund."Farnwell" nos. 1,3,4,7,8.
57. JRL, The Crawford mss., box E ii bund."Farnwell" nos. 5,6.
58. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1 bund. no.15 no.316, bund.no. 19 nos. 4,5 and 7. See also the addendum to this chapter.

Dame Katherine Campbell remained in possession of Farnell, and negotiated with Argyll and his chamberlain for a new charter of tack to regularise her position. These discussions can be traced via a series of interesting letters from the earl to Dame Katherine, now in the Crawford and Balcarres muniments. On 7 January 1567/8, Argyll wrote from Castle Campbell:[59]

> "I am nocht perfyteile resolet vyth myselff quhat I vill dw vyth ye manis of Fernwell as yit quhill forfder occasioun serve but ye sal be assurit yat giff I sett or wadsett ye samyn your ladyship sal be preferrit to wtheris as we can appoynt and for ye vt[h]er knawledge of yat mater I howpe God willing to be schortlie in your ladyships awyne place of Edzell quhair sic thingis sal be ressouat betwix us."

No firm conclusion had been reached by the time the nation's magnates were divided by Mary's escape from Lochleven and the ensuing battle of Langside on May 13. On May 27, Argyll wrote from Dunoon:[60]

> "Madame and Ant, eftir harlie commendationis forasmeikill as becaus of thir present trublis occurring we mycht nocht gudlie meit anent ye bessines betuix your ladyship and us bot we have written to Mr Johnne Hatoun in this behalf and als has send credit with your sister Isabelle. Thairfoir gif your la[dyship] be myndit to aggre with us on sik heidis as we proposit be Mr Johne Hatoun it is sufficient vtherwyis your la[dyship] will nocht be miscontent that we dispone on our awin as we think guid."

This letter was noticeably cooler towards Dame Katherine, presenting her in effect with an ultimatum. No settlement was reached, however, and Argyll gave Dame Katherine notice to quit Farnell by Whitsunday, 1569. She refused to move, and negotiations reopened in September. The earl offered to discharge his aunt from liability for the offence of violent occupation of his property, and authorised her to remain until Whitsun 1571, provided she pay compensation of £1,000. She replied with a draft contract between them, to which he responded:[61]

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59. JRL, The Crawford mss. 3.1.1.
60. JRL, The Crawford mss. 3.1.2.
61. JRL, The Crawford mss. box Eii bund. "Farnwell" no.12; also 3.1.3.

> "And your la[dyship] knawis that we ar nocht ourself verie expert in ye lawis naithir yit is our servitour Mr Johne Hatoun as perfyte thairin that we will lippin all our securitie to his dewise quhairthrow we can nocht gudlie subscrive ye said contract nochtwithstanding your la[dyship] sal be assurit in yourself that ye making us securitie be consultatioune of sik men of jugement as we pleis nominate and that ye will leif the landis at ye nixt witsondaye we be thir presentis promessis that we sall nevir folow nor persue yow for ye violence bigane and thir presentis to stand as our obligatioune of promeis as saidis."

The civil wars against the king's regents were, however, a heavy expense on Argyll's pocket. Moreover, he was under pressure to part with Farnell to the magnate to whom it had been promised by Queen Mary as early as 1565: Dame Katherine Campbell's eldest son, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie. In consequence, a rapid series of deals took place in March and April of 1569/70. Dame Katherine was formally warned to "flit and quit" by an officer reading the precept both at Edzell and at the parish kirk of Farnell, "at time of preiching and com[m]un[ion]". At the end of March, Argyll tacked the property to Lord Ogilvy, who in April found funds for a company of footmen to serve under Argyll. In May, Ogilvy secured a feu-charter to the Place and Mains of Farnell, under reversion for 4,000 merks. Dame Katherine's claims were overridden. Her lawyer wrote to her around this time:[62]

> "... anet ye mater of Farnwell ye ar verra vnkyndlie and vncourteslie handelit thairintill bayth be your cheiff and your sone.... for ye remeid yairof I ca[n] say na thing yairto becaus I knaw nocht quhat ... titill zo haif yairto. Bot gif ye other haif or may get ony titill ye will be defendit in ye bruiking of it."

Indeed, Dame Katherine had had no legal title to the estate since 1566: for she had held as assignee of Patrick Robertson's tack - which

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62. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box 1 bund.19 no.9; box 6 nos.1,2; Airlie mss GD 16.52.1; 16.24.67,68; Acts and Decs., CS 7.68 f.385v. JRL, The Crawford mss., 3.2.1.

specifically was to expire with the presentation of a new bishop.

The complex history of the episcopal estate and castle of Farnell continued through the 1570s. Argyll made over his rights to redeem the property from Ogilvy to his heir and brother Colin - who in turn passed them to his daughter Lady Jane. When Archibald, earl of Argyll died, however, his two widows both claimed the estate in liferent as part of their terce - a series of bitter legal actions followed. Finally, Colin, earl of Argyll secured the redemption of the property and made it over in liferent to Dame Jane Stewart, his brother's first wife, in exchange for her dropping her suit for a reduction of her divorce. The inter-Campbell side of the problem being settled, Argyll next arranged for Ogilvy to regain possession by a charter of excambion for the castle and lands of Bolshan. Ogilvy also obtained the bailiery of the bishopric of Brechin. The arrangments were to take place after the death of Dame Jane; Ogilvy paid 20,000 merks, and Argyll allowed him a reversion on Bolshan for 10,000 merks.[63] On 28 September 1588, James master of Ogilvy had royal confirmation of his lands of Farnell, including the mill and Croftheads; and of the bailiery of Brechin.[64]

During this account of the fortunes of the chief property of the bishopric of Brechin following the Reformation, the interests of the reformed kirk have never been

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63. Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.2; box 1 bund.19 no.13; bund.20 nos.15,16,17,18,19,20,21. Airlie mss., GD 16.41.42, 16.24.70, 16.21.40; Acts and Decs., CS 7 vols. 53 f.277r, 57 f.419r, 60 fs.188v, 313r-315v, 68 f.385v. E.J. Cowan's account of this episode links the affair with the Campbell-Ogilvy feud but, being based largely on printed sources, is unaware of the precise circumstances and chronology of the Farnell/Bolshan transaction. "The Angus Campbells", Scottish Studies xxv (1981) p.35.
64. Southesk Charters box no.1 bund.21 no.1.

mentioned. Indeed, they did not come into the picture - whose foreground was dominated from first to last by the particular interests of the crown and of the various houses of Argyll, Airlie and Edzell. Financial, political and legal pressures all played their part in the final outcome. These were revenues that the first Book of Discipline had suggested would serve to endow the universities of Scotland, and pay the stipends of the superintendents.[65] Meanwhile, the Place of Farnell deteriorated. An inspection carried out at the instructions of Lord Ogilvy in May 1570 revealed that Dame Katherine had left the building without keys or locks for its doors and without woodwork, iron or glass for its windows. The great chamber, the inner chamber, the chapel and other rooms were ruinous; the stable, brew and bake house were destroyed. Only the barn and byre were held sufficient.[66] Thus the "patrimony of the kirk" was wasted and the temporality of the see dispersed.[67]

In these proceedings, Alexander bishop of Brechin played a minor part, content to ratify charters drawn up by his chief, his lands administered by a chamberlain who answered to Argyll personally. Having left Scotland for education in France sometime after May 1567, he returned towards the end of the year via England at the outbreak of further religious and civil war in France. Châtelherault requested Cecil for the necessary licence for "Mr Alexander Campbell" and his party, "students in Paris".[68] Thereafter he began to take part in public affairs, subscribing the Hamilton bond

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65. First Book p.161.
66. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1 bund. no.19 no.9. An account of the castle of Farnell is given by the Right Hon. the Earl of Southesk in SFBC vol. 25 (1976) p.19-21.
67. In 1587, the temporalities of sees were annexed to the crown: APS iii 431-437.
68. RSS v 3497: licence to depart; CSP(S) ii 628: licence to return.

and being present at the Convention at Perth in July 1569.[69] Though in Scotland in September 1571, he was said to be "in Germany at ye schuillis" in January 1573/4; and ratified a charter at Paris in the company of Mr Andrew Melville in May 1574.[70] Melville had joined the bishop's entourage when Alexander Campbell visited Geneva: it was Mr Andrew Polwart (Campbell's tutor) who persuaded Melville at this time to return to Scotland, where he was soon to lead the presbyterian faction. By July 1574, the whole party had returned to Scotland, bishop Campbell having completed his education by visits to both Geneva and the Jesuit College in Paris.[71]

It may have been Alexander Campbell's Genevan visit that led the reformed kirk to place some confidence in him. In the Assembly of March 1574/5, he was required to accompany John Erskine of Dun on the latter's visitations in order to learn the proper procedure for a superintendent. Both the superintendent of Angus and his "apprentice" the bishop were present at the Assembly of April 1576.[72] John Erskine of Dun may have hoped that Campbell would take over his duties: the reformer was by now in his seventies, and had complained of illness to several Assemblies. Dun had been instrumental in January 1571/2 in obtaining an agreement with Mar's government under which diocesan bishops would hold the same status and administrative power within the kirk as the superintendents,[73] seeing the state was not prepared to accept the Book of Discipline's request to appropriate episcopal wealth to the kirk and to abolish the office.

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69. CSP(S) ii 650, 1110.
70. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.352v; Airlie mss., GD 16.48.21.
71. T.McCrie, Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh 1824) pp.54-56.
72. BUK i pp.320,348.
73. The Convention of Leith is discussed by J.Kirk, Second Book p.23f; D.G.Mullan, Episcopacy p.38f;G.Donaldson, Reformation p.162f; G.R. Hewitt, Scotland under Morton p.103f. See chap.7 n.104: 8 n.134-8.

There is, however, little evidence that the young bishop ever took an active part in oversight of the kirk in Angus. Only two writs presenting a minister to a charge in his diocese have been discovered addressed to him, both in the spring of 1580; and both included the local commissioner of kirks as an alternative addressee. This routine business of the examination of candidates presented to benefices, with their subsequent collation, was conducted for the see of Brechin by John Erskine of Dun.[74] Bishop Alexander Campbell, with the bishop of Caithness, seems to have refused to compear before the General Assembly to give consent to the proposals of the second Book of Discipline regarding their episcopal office.[75]

The failure of the clerks of the privy seal to address presentations to the bishop of Brechin is the more significant in light of the fact that, for a period, they did send such writs to the bishop of Dunkeld, James Paton. A former minister, Paton had become bishop of Dunkeld in 1572 [76] and exercised administrative jurisdiction in this diocese, being answerable to the General Assembly under the arrangements of the Convention of Leith. Thus in June 1573, the bishop was presented with a candidate for the vicarage of Tealing, one of the outlying kirks of the see of Dunkeld within the shire of Angus, and formerly under the supervision of the laird of Dun.[77] Paton also exercised the statutory powers given to archbishops, bishops, superintendents and commissioners to designate

74. RSS vii 2313, 2354. For an example of a writ, appendix A.c no.016.
75. BUK ii 454,467.
76. G.Mullan, Episcopacy p.41; J.Kirk, Second Book p.21.
77. During the 1560s, presentations to the diocese of Dunkeld had been addressed either to the superintendent of Angus: RSS vi 124 (Menmuir), 279 (St Martins/Megginch), 404 (Auchterhouse), 680 (Ruthven); or to the commissioner of Strathearn: ibid 367 (Creiff), or that of Starmonth: ibid. 523 (Perth). During that period, the issue was decided on the reformed geographical boundaries.

manses and glebes. The Alyth reader claimed in 1588 that his title to a manse and glebe derived from the time of Paton's visitation of the kirk of Alyth on 28 February 1573/4.[78] Paton came under increasing pressure from the Assembly, however, being deprived by it in 1576 for dilapidation of his benefice.[79]

The continued fluctuations of policy on the place of the episcopate in the reformed kirk had a considerable impact on the physical extent of John Erskine of Dun's province as superintendent and commissioner. The core of his charge were the geographical shires of Angus and the Mearns: of these, he was called "superintendent" during the 1560s and "commissioner" from 1576. In addition during the 1560s the Assembly, as need arose, extended his authority to Aberdeenshire, Ayrshire, Galloway and the west, and Gowrie and Starmonth, in which areas he fulfilled the same functions of oversight as a temporary commissioner.[80] The appointment of James Paton effectively discharged Dun's commission in Perthshire and Dunkeld from the Assembly of August 1573, and marginally encroached into Angus proper by virtue of Dunkeld's four outlying parishes there. The election of a new reformed archbishop of St Andrews in 1572 presented a challenge of a different order: most of the Mearns kirks, and half those of Angus belonged to their respective St Andrews deaneries. Having had considerable responsibility for the Leith Convention which reintroduced the ancient episcopate into the kirk, John Erskine of Dun was also moderator of the Assembly (August 1572) which, while affirming that reformed episcopal authority extended over

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78. RSS vi 1974; Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.329r.
79. G.Mullan, Episcopacy p.42. A minister was appointed to visit at Paton's expense: BUK i p.337.
80. BUK i pp.19,54,141,190; RSS vi 108,395,467 for Aberdeenshire presentations addressed to the superintendent of Angus.

the whole of the old dioceses, authorised Mr John Douglas, the newly-elected archbishop, to delegate his authority. Thus the Leith compromise between the old and the new principles of oversight was implemented by a pragmatic settlement of the practical issue of boundaries. Between June 1572 and the summer of 1574 (when Douglas died), presentations to the St Andrews benefices in Angus and the Mearns were addressed to the archbishop; but John Erskine probably continued to effect the collations on Douglas' behalf.[81] His province in the 1574 register of assignations of stipends was entitled: "Diocie of Brechin with the kirkis in the diocys of Sanctandrois and Dunkeld betuix Dee and Tay".[82] Clearly, by November 1574 John Erskine of Dun was considered to be acting in the place of both bishops Alexander Campbell and James Paton and the (now vacant) archbishopric of St Andrews within his own shires. Between 1574 and 1576, all Forfar and Kincardineshire presentations were addressed to the superintendent of Angus.[83]

Between 1576 and 1580, two parallel and contradictory patterns of supervision were in action in Angus and the Mearns. After 1572, the kirk became increasingly suspicious that John Erskine of Dun's acceptance at Leith of an episcopate, rather than securing access to episcopal wealth, merely encouraged a revival of the pre-Reformation vices of pluralism and simony. Encouraged by the

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81. BUK i 242,243-4; RSS vi 1647,2028,2053,2311,2577.
82. NLS, ms. 17.1.4 f.29v. The Kirk's uncertainty about James Paton may be reflected in the heading of "betuix Dee and Forth" given to the initial entry and one other in this ms.: f.28r and f.35r. Thirteen of the pages bear the title "Dee and Tay". John Erskine was described as "superintendent of Angus, M[er]nis Stermont[h] and Gowrie": f.36v.
83. RSS vi 2582,2635; vii 72,98,114,316,574,631,686,742,749. All except for vii 266: Dun's own presentation to the parsonage of Dun was addressed to the superintendent of Fife. See appendix A.c 053.

stimulus of Andrew Melville's new ideas, which stemmed from Beza's Geneva, the leadership moved towards further collegiate forms of supervision.[84] The Assembly returned to the original principles of the 1561 Discipline, with its demand for the whole patrimony of the kirk and dismembering of the sees. The kirk having thus declared its dissatisfaction with the Leith compromise, regent Morton proceeded from 1576 to uphold the authority of Patrick Adamson as archbishop of St Andrews (1576-1592) as exercised in Anglican manner, directly from the crown without reference to the General Assembly. Hence from 1576 to 1579, royal presentations to the Angus and Mearns kirks of the archdiocese were directed to the archbishop alone; during 1579 and the spring of 1580, the superintendent was added as an alternative addressee.[85] The laird of Dun maintained his control over the kirks of Brechin, however, despite the existence of bishop Campbell; all six Brechin presentations in this period were addressed to him, with the bishop named as an alternative for the two of April and May 1580 only.[86]

Local developments in the exercise of church discipline interacted during the 1570s with the new theological principles debated by the Assembly. From as early as December 1566, John Erskine of Dun had been authorised to appoint some of the "best-qualified" ministers of his province to act for him, visiting kirks as his deputies.[87] In 1576, the Assembly decided to create a formal system of delegated visitation of sub-regional groups of parishes by specifically appointed ministers, responsible to a provincial synod. John Erskine's former diocesan-province was partitioned into three.

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84. J.Kirk, Second Book p.23-35; G. Mullan, Episcopacy p.43.
85. RSS viii 871,1479,1508,1515,1698; 2096,2097,2191,2192.
86. RSS viii 1029,1282,1830,2104; 2313,2354.
87. BUK i p.92.

The Deeside kirks were allocated to Mar and Garioch; those of Dunkeld (except for those in Angus proper) to Strathearn. In the shires of Angus and Mearns, three visitors were appointed: John Erskine for the north, William Christison for Dundee and its immediate hinterland, and James Anderson (minister of Kettins with Collace) for the west.[88] The interaction of these visitors and their own kirk-sessions with the local ministerial exercises and provincial synods was to provide a bridge between the pseudo-episcopal system of superintendency and that of presbyterianism.

The basic event of the visitation of a parish by an ecclesiastical superior was, of course, a well-established practice. It had been a duty - frequently neglected - of the pre-Reformation bishops, archdeacons and deans of Christianity. The Provincial Councils of the 1550s had attempted to put new life into those old bones.[89] On 3 April 1551, Mr Hugh Lindsay as dean of Christianity for the Mearns deanery of St Andrews had discharged the ninth earl of Crawford for fifty-three shillings, his share of the expenses of the visitation of 1549-50 at Newdosk.[90] The first record extant in the Monifieth kirk session register of a post-Reformation visitation occurs on 14 July 1575 on which date a full list of the kirk's elders and deacons was recorded, with the marginal comment "visit[ation] of yir kirk".[91] The identity of the visitor of 1575 is unknown; in subsequent years the record referred to the minister of Dundee, William Christison. Formally appointed by the General Assembly of April 1576, Christison had already visited Monifieth on 16 March

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88. BUK i 357-359; see, J.Kirk, Second Book pp.32,54.
89. I.Cowan, Reformation p.79.
90. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.31; JRL, The Crawford mss., box E.
91. NRH, OPR 310/1 f.29v.

1575/6: "the q[uhil]k day wes ye visitory of y[i]r kyrk be ye m[inister] of Dundie". On 10 February 1578/9, the visiting minister sat together with the eldership of Monifieth to hear a dispute between members of the congregation; he returned in April that year for the formal visitation. This coincided with the annual communion, with the election of new elders and deacons and with the culmination of a special offering taken in conjunction with the congregation of Dundee and administered by Christison on behalf of Scots who were prisoners in the Turkish galleys.[92]

Acceptance of the superior jurisdiction of the individual minister acting as a visitor led naturally to reference of difficult cases both to him and to his synod. During the mid- and late 1570s, the authorities of the kirk of Monifieth waged a long-drawn-out campaign to subject the laird of Laws, Henry Ramsay, to their discipline for his equally persistent adultery. Others connected with dissident lairds of the parish were involved in these prosecutions. On Sunday 5 April 1579, the register recorded:

> "Henrie Guthre beand commanded to compeir befour o[ur]e assemblie the q[uhil]k day the ministre did publically in y[i]r presence ..." [gap] "... Henry Ramsay of ye Lawis w[i]t Margere Kynard and Henrie Guthre in Lawis and Marge Vat[soun] and James Duncan servand to y[i]r laird of Kyngany and ..." [gap] "...tyl compeir this viii day of this instant befoir ye s[ynod] to be haldein in Dundie and y[a]t for adultrie."

The following Sunday, Margery Watson did in fact appear before the Monifieth assembly to promise her obedience to the kirk in future.[93]

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92. NRH, OPR 310/1 fs.31r,36v,41v. The register is missing the section for 1577 where a visitation might have occurred. It is note-worthy that new lists of elders and deacons coincide with two of the visitations. Supervision of elections may have been one of a visitor's duties.
93. OPR 310/1 f.41r. The register is unfortunately defective, lacking sections of the outside of many pages. "...[gap]"... indicates such a problem.

On 19 April, however, with communion and the annual visitation approaching, the still-recalcitrant laird was formally summoned to compear before the visitor:

> "The said day I, reidar, commandit Henry Ramsay of Lawis and Magr[et] his harlot to compeir yis 24 Apr1 befoir ye visit[our]e of Monefurth and Henry Guthre in Lawis w[i]t Mag. Watsoun" ... [gap] "... James Duncan servand to ye lard of Kingany and Isobele D[uncan] and this I did in tyme of prayaris and reidaryng in presence of ye cong[regation]."
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> "Item ye xxiii of this instant I passit to yair dwelling placis w[i]t witnessis and maid admonheisment thair."

These proceedings having failed to secure their object, the laird of Laws was next summoned before the synodical assembly of Dundee, at its meeting of Wednesday 7 October 1579. At this point, the laird capitulated, compearing at the kirk of Monifieth the following Sunday to express repentance:[94]

> "admonition and prayar wes maid for Henry Guthre and James Keill"...[gap] "...ye lard of Lawis comperit quhen y[a]t ye ministre wes procedant w[i]t [ex]communic[atiou]n upoun him and promisit obedience in tyme cuming."

The synodical assembly, attended as it was by the ministers and senior elders of the region, carried a considerable weight of authority behind it. That lairds did attend is shown by the eight subscriptions of the landholders of Ecclesgreig who, attending a synodical assembly in the Mearns in 1576, together with their minister subscribed a document setting forth plans for rebuilding their church.[95]

The working relationship built up from 1576 between the local elderships and the provincial synod helps to explain the creation after 1580 of the system of kirk sessions and district presbyteries, at variance with the drift of the second Book

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94. OPR 310/1 f.43v.
95. JRL, The Crawford mss., box P bund.vi no.16. See also appendix A.c no.107 for a synod under John Erskine of Dun, 1574 x 1576. Lairds were not at presbytery, however, on 1582: BUK ii 549.

of Discipline, which - not unambiguously - envisaged the creation of joint district elderships as the lowest of three tiers of collegiate authority.[96] From 1580, the General Assembly attempted to put in place a system of oversight based on presbyteries: Dundee was chosen to be the focus for one of the model thirteen established in 1581. Monifieth was one of its nineteen constituent parishes.[97] There the existing parish court, now increasingly known as the "session" rather than the "assembly",[98] continued to refer obstinate offenders against discipline to Dundee; only now it was to the presbytery there and not the visitor's synod. On 22 December 1583, the session referred to Dundee presbytery the case of Alexander Lorimer, son of one of their own deacons, accused of fornication.[99] Monifieth had therefore found its place within the new pattern of presbyterian oversight, and creating a presbytery in Dundee had not removed the justification for the separate eldership of Monifieth. Indeed, the creation of the superior court may have encouraged the trend to a sharper definition of the inferior one. Something of the developing relationship between the two bodies was observed during the progress of the case against the laird of Laws, who was cited successively before the minister of Dundee as visitor and then the Synodical Assembly meeting in Dundee. Those cases were in 1579: in December 1583, it was to the "Presbytrie and sessioun of Dundee" that Alex Lorimer was referred.

It is important to recognise that, just

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96. J.Kirk, Second Book pp.102-114.
97. BUK ii 483.
98. OPR 310/1 f.47v. The first use of the term "session" as the parish court occurs in January 1580/1.
"ye assemblie and sessioun deliverit ye puirfolkes box w[i]t xx s. in it to Alex Ramsay of Ardowny, ane elder."
99. OPR 310/1 f.56r.

as the institution of the local church court had won acceptance in local society, so its oversight by a similarly collegiate district body was a development that grew both from grass-roots experience and from Melvillian theology with its emphasis on the parity of ministry. The success of kirk session/assembly discipline was recognised by King James VI in the summer of 1584 for, when the Black Acts prohibited the jurisdiction of the presbyteries, he approved the continuation of the parish courts "for the distributioun of the almis to the puir and to mantein vertew and punische vyce".[100] These alone were, however, of insufficient influence to control the dissident powerful; and experience had shown that episcopal oversight - at any rate that of the early 1570s - was also insufficient. There was a substantial element of practical experience behind the kirk's opting for a presbyterian system of church government, though it took until the 1590s for the system to become established. In the meantime, after the 1584-5 crisis, jurisdiction in Angus and the Mearns was once again exercised by John Erskine of Dun as superintendent.[101] The success of the kirk in creating these novel forms of disciplinary tribunal came from a linking of Reformation theology of the church with the deeply-rooted Scottish experience of baronial and other courts.[102] Nevertheless, in creating a form of oversight that obviated the need for individuals of authority, lordship and power, the kirk also undercut its demand for control of the former episcopal properties and revenues. Neither these nor their owners appeared to be necessary for

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100. G.Donaldson, Reformation p.212 citing ms. Perth Kirk Session Records.
101. G.Donaldson, Reformation p.204 recognises the ease of the transition from the polity of the mid-1570s to presbyterianism. For John Erskine visiting Monifieth as superintendent in 1586, and the kirk session there referring disciplinary cases to him at a synodical assembly at Brechin in 1587, OPR 310/1 fs.64r,66v.
102. See chapter 9 n.66.

efficient exercise of the kirk's mission. In any case, reformation of episcopal property such as was demanded in both books of discipline was a lost cause while successive regimes from 1576 sought to maintain the constitutional and ecclesiastic propriety of the office.[103]

The kirk did, of course, obtain its third of the bishopric of Brechin - along with the third of all other benefices. The value of the bishop's third was reduced, however, from 1581 by the exemption gained by Alexander Campbell from paying thirds on the revenues allocated to David Murray's pension. The pensions owing to Mr John Graham - a Justice-depute - and John Testie were also removed before the calculation of the third; John Graham's pension was confirmed for life in 1580.[104] Following 1587, the same senior ministers who had permanent gifts from the thirds of Arbroath and of Coupar had gifts from the bishopric of Brechin. Even so, by 1588, the revenue from the spirituality of Brechin enjoyed by the staff of the reformed kirk of Angus and the Mearns was only a small proportion even of the third as declared during the 1560s. In the allocations of stipends for 1588, only three and a half bolls of the eleven bolls of wheat formerly available to the collector were assigned to the ministry. Of more than twelve chalders of beir, no more than seven were assigned. Twenty chalders of meal should have been available:

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103. G.Donaldson, Reformation pp.20-1 discusses defences of episcopacy. J.Kirk,, "Patronage by the Crown 1560-1572" in The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland ed.I.B.Cowan and Duncan Shaw, pp.100-102, 107-113 with "Royal and Lay patronage in the Jacobean Kirk 1572-1600" in Church, Politics and Society ed. N.Macdougall pp.127f. describes the various discussions between church and state.
104. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.352r and see addendum at the end of this chapter; also appendix A.b no.038. As Argyll was Justice-General, the pension to Graham was probably due to his influence. The son of Mr John Hutton, the earl's chamberlain, had a pension from the bishopric in 1577, to assist with his education: appendix A.b 055.

nine were assigned. At 1574 prices, these had a total value of no more than £265.[105] The vast bulk of the £1,800 estimated annual income of the bishopric (ie temporality and spirituality combined) had been lost to the reformed church.[106]

The most that was achieved of the kirk's aspirations to dismember the bishoprics was the disjunction of some of those kirks and revenues appropriated to the cathedral chapters: the "common churches". Thus James Ogilvy was presented to the kirk of Cortachy in 1571/2.[107] The parsonages of Auchterhouse and Meigle were severed from Dunkeld and presented to George Douglas soon after the Pacification of Perth in part compensation for the loss of Arbroath abbey - it took till 1578 to obtain the consent of the kirk to this gift. Douglas, however, made sums available from his kirks to assist with the stipends of their ministers.[108] Also in 1578, two pieces of land in Brechin formerly owned by the chapter were feued by the crown to the then dean, Mr James Nicholson, in exchange for 5s. to be distributed to the poor on 19 June annually to celebrate King James' birthday.[109] Various gifts to "scholars" were made from teinds formerly belonging to the commons of the chapter. Between the dates 1573 and 1587, eight have been discovered. Mr James Bryson had

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105. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.352r and see addendum at the end of this chapter; RSS vol.56 fs.70,81,89v,114v,146; vol.67 f.58 for gifts from the thirds of Brechin to John Durie, John Erskine of Dun, Mr Andrew Leitch, Mr James Melville, Mr John Hepburn. John Erskine of Logie also benefitted: vol.60 f.58v. For assignations to these ministers, RAMS E 47.4 passim, fs.21r-27r. In addition, John Melville reader at Maryton and Thomas Sewan reader at Farnell had allocations from the bishopric's third. The gift to Mr James Melville is not recorded: but a large gap was left in his entry.
106. J.Kirk, "Royal and lay patronage", Church, Politics and Society ed.Macdougall, p.136.
107. See appendix A.1 and a.c 171.
108. RSS vii 1678; NLS ms 17.1.4 f.33v - Alexander Tyrie, minister of Auchterhouse etc had £50 from Douglas in 1574.
109. See appendix A.b no.074.

the teinds of Meikle and Little Dysart for six years to support him at St Mary's College, St Andrews; he was succeeded in 1578 by Mr Alexander Bryson, a theology student. Similarly, John Purdie (son of an Edinburgh burgess) had the teinds of Kinnaber for seven years from 1576 while at the grammar school of Edinburgh and was succeeded in 1586/7 by Alexander Purdie, son of James the depute-collector of the third for Angus and the Mearns. An Edinburgh orphan supported from the Brechin commons was James Small, described in 1581/2 as "ane pure and fatherles boy, destitute of all support of parentis and freindis". Two more of these gifts went to kin of the dean; James Stewart, recipient of a gift in 1583, has not been further identified.[110] The allocation of the commons of the chapter of Brechin to student bursaries appears to have been in conformity with the agreement of Leith for the disposal of annual rents owing to collegiate institutions.[111]

The use of such minor ecclesiastical revenues to support candidates for further education pre-dated the Reformation and appears to have been a socially-acceptable practice from early in the sixteenth century.[112] The first Book of Discipline and the Leith agreement to this extent only furthered existing trends, "baptising" them by placing the original abuse firmly within the reformed kirk's expressed concern for education and the poor. The way towards a general reformation of chaplaincy and altarage revenues was cleared by one of the most socially significant successes of the Reformation. The requiem mass was rendered redundant by the reformers' emphasis on the saving grace of God through Christ alone. With the

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110. See appendix A.b nos.014,076,072,083,082,075,013,073.
111. BUK ii p.214-215.
112. See chapter 2 n.47.

rejection of the doctrine of purgatory came the recognition of the necessity to redirect foundations committed to perpetuating requiems. The views that Châtelherault had held in 1543 [113] found expression in the first Book of Discipline which suggested that:

> "... all things doted to hospitalitie and annuall rents both in burgh and land pertaining to the Priests, Chantorie Colleges, Chappellanries and the Freeries of all ... be reteined still in the use of the kirk or kirks within the Townes and parishes where they were doted."

The object was to use these sources of income to support those whom the kirk was bound to "sustaine and nourish": the ministry, the poor and "the Schooles".[114]

Apart from the eight students maintained from the commons of Brechin, a further eighteen are known to have had had gifts from minor benefices within Angus and the Mearns between 1560 and 1590. In 1563, Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin presented his son to the chaplaincies of St James in Dundee whose patronage he exercised alternatively with Scrymgeour of Dudhope: Thomas Wenton was said to be studying as a clerk at St Andrews, and the presentation was made under pre-Reformation procedure to John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews.[115] In December 1567 parliament approved this practice, enabling patrons of altars to confer their benefices on students for the limited time of the period of study.[116] Thus Patrick Fullerton, the son of William Fullerton of Craigo (the sub-collector of thirds for Angus), had three successive gifts of the Magdalene chaplaincy in Brechin Cathedral for his arts, philosophy and theological courses. Unlike royal bursaries from the commons, the retention of patronage in

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113. See chapter 2 n.71.
114. First Book p.161.
115. See appendix A.b no.090.
116. APS iii 25 c.13; G.Donaldson, Reformation p.155. The Leith compact added a standard procedure: BUK ii 214-5,228-30.

the hands of the original donor's heirs meant that it was the close kin of landowners and not the poor who benefitted. The sons of Douglas of Glenbervie and Guthrie of that ilk gained studentships. So did a Maule, two Lindsays, an Erskine and a Gray. The son of an Arbroath burgess gained the income from annuals mortified by his father's predecessors for the saying of dirriges.[117]

With the failure of the Leith agreement to obtain parliamentary approval and whole-hearted acceptance by the kirk, the disposition of altarages - never wholly under the control of the kirk - became increasingly subject to abuse by the patrons. Several examples exist of presentations said to be "for support at the schools" which were also specified to be for life, and not just for five or seven years.[118] In 1576, Alexander Guthrie of that ilk presented his sons Gabriel and Andrew respectively to the provostry and Hilton prebend of his collegiate church of Guthrie. John Erskine of Dun refused to collate, holding that the laird was acting contrary to the provisions of Leith which matched income-bands with appropriate ages for permissible bursars. Guthrie won his case; it was held that the Leith agreement had merely private status, having no force in law. Both youths were therefore presented again in 1577, to hold their prebends for life.[119] Other patrons never attempted to justify their presentations as supposed bursaries. Lord Gray conferred the provostry and at least one prebend of Fowlis collegiate church on his kinsmen in

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117. See appendix A.b nos.090,034,058,044,024,033,076,046,049,017, 080,028,060,077,061,018,065,009,085. These include two attempts to gain vicarages as bursaries for heirs of the former vicars: both James Cockburn and David Wardlaw had their presentations cancelled when parish ministers were presented in their places. See appendix A.b nos.017 and 085; and A.1 under Kilmoir and Garvock.
118. See appendix A.b nos.044,003,017,009,075.
119. See appendix A.b nos.046,049.

the early 1560s, before any formal regulations existed. The chaplaincy of Baikie in Angus, whose patron was Lord Glamis, came into the hands of Mr Thomas Lyon of Aldbar; though a succession of chaplains can be traced through the rest of the century, it is doubtful whether the revenues ever recovered from their management by the rapacious master of Glamis.[120] At Cowie in the Mearns, the chaplaincy reverted to the house of the patron, Hay of Ury.[121] The Scrymgeours of Dudhope, constables of Dundee, seem to have been especially prone to gifting the numerous chaplaincies of which they were patrons to their own clients, irrespective of need; hence the Roberts Wedderburn from the 1560s and David Wedderburn from the 1580s administered the revenues of a good number of Dundee's chapels between them.[122]

The very mixed fortunes of these minor chaplaincies and altarages from 1560 to 1590 demonstrate both the strengths and weaknesses of the reformed kirk. In arguing that the pre-Reformation church was squandering and abusing the gifts of previous generations, the reformers won some whole-hearted support from many whose ancestors had given charters to endow requiems. To a certain extent the 1550s decay and secularisation of the chaplaincies already noted meant that the Book of Discipline and subsequent legislation merely ratified existing practice: no revolutionary change took place after 1560 because the decisive alteration of values had already occurred. On the other hand, the union of reformers and lairds which was victorious in 1560 failed to find a mutually acceptable programme for the alternative use of the church's wealth. Whereas those interested in doctrine argued the case for the poor and the

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120.See appendix A.1 under Fowlis and Baikie; also A.b no.062.
121.See appendix A.1 under Cowie.
122.See appendix A.b nos.087,088,089.

ministry, the lairds tended rather to look after their own; to assume that lands and revenues gifted by their ancestors were not so much the patrimony of the kirk as of their own house.

A distinction must be drawn between the disposal of the chaplaincies of Brechin and that of those of the burgh of Dundee.[123] Many of the altars and chaplains of Dundee had been endowed not by lairds, but by the burgesses and council of the burgh itself. Such rents raised from burgh properties, together with those similarly raised to support the orders of friars, were gifted by the crown to several burghs in March 1567. Particular donations had already set a precedent: Edinburgh had been promised support for its projected poor hospital in 1562 and the lands and revenues of its Blackfriars in 1563. If one of the grievances which fuelled the Reformation was that of the lairds begrudging rents paid for requiems, another was expressed in the Beggars' Summons. Some burghal resentment was fostered against the friaries, which were held to be unjustly diverting funds which ought to have been devoted to the support of those who were poor by no fault (or choice) of their own. The councils of both Dundee and Edinburgh in the first flush of reformed zeal had on their own authority appropriated the properties and funds of their friaries - Dundee selling by roup the crop growing on their grey friars' lands on 7 August 1560. In October, the council obtained stones from the grey friars' building for a new slaughterhouse. The crown, however, claimed these friary revenues in February 1561/2. The councils continued to control the rents of altarages, and had to wait until 1567 to regain the friary properties. Both Edinburgh and Dundee,

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123. Appendix A.1 can be used to compare the fate of these two sets of chaplaincies.

however, secured royal authority to use the yards of their former friaries as new burial grounds in 1562 and 1564.[124]

Each burgh council had its own priorities when it came to spending the revenues of the old church. Whereas Dundee, Montrose and Edinburgh sought to establish or extend hospitals for the poor, Arbroath - after a period of indecision - vested the annuals formerly devoted to the burgh's kirk, the Our Lady Chapel, in the burgh school. In November 1564, the burgh court agreed to pay one of the monks of Arbroath, David Black, £10 from the Our Lady annuals to be burgh schoolmaster, in addition authorising him to levy a fee per pupil. Other sums were later directed to be paid from "the [com]mon guid or Ladie a[n]wellis" in poor relief, and to pay a messenger sent to Aberdeen on behalf of the burgh. The burgh's control over its Chapel extended to feuing its lands: Thomas Lindsay, the burgh reader and a member of the abbey's convent, was feued a house and two roods of land in 1565.[125]

The burgh may have experienced some difficulty in securing access to its new annuals. The collector appointed in 1564, James Ramsay, was replaced in March 1565/6 by separate factors for the Our Lady annuals and the St Nicholas chaplaincy - respectively sir Thomas Makison and former monk Thomas Lindsay. On 13 December 1566, the court held:[126]

"The q[ub]il]k day ye bailzeis and co[un]sall hes devisit and

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124. I.Flett,"Geneva of Scotland" pp.73-76; M.Lynch, Edinburgh p.34.
125. Arbroath Public Library, ms.Arbroath court book 1563-1575 fs.9v, 25v,21r,14v,16r. D.Miller, Arbroath and its Abbey (Edinburgh 1860) p.130-135 and D.G.Adams, Celtic and Religious Houses in Angus (Brechin 1984) p.20 describe the status of the Chapel.
126. APL, ms. court book 1563-75 f.31v.

> ordanit y[a]lt all a[n]wellis q[uhi]lk pertenyt to ye derigeis be tayn up and disponit be ye awis of ye bailzies and co[un]sall co[n]form to ye ordour of Dundie and Sanctandross and na Ma[n]er of ma[n] y[a]lt suld pay ye said derege a[n]wellis hald ony part yair of in his awin handis."

Although the council of Arbroath had been co-operating with their minister, Ninian Clement, since (at the latest) October 1564 when he was given the freedom of the burgh, some burgesses may well have resisted compulsory re-allocation of gifts endowed by their families. Beyond this particularism, a faction of the burgh may well have been conservative in religion. John Erskine of Dun, John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, Graham of Fintry and Haliburton of Pitcur shared a commission of justiciary with the burgh's bailies in 1568 which authorised them to try thirteen indwellers of the small burgh for the crime of witchcraft.[127] After the Pacification of Perth had re-established the authority of commendator John Hamilton in Arbroath, a new start was made. On 9 October 1573, the court settled £20 from the annuals on the schoolmaster, and reserved the rest as part of the common good fund. One David Nichol was offered the post of master on the same day.[128]

> "The q[uhi]lk day it is thowth expedient for ye co[m]on weill becaus of inlaik of ane maister of schwell for ye suppurt y[air] of it is co[n]cludit y[a]lt O[u]r Lady benyfes w[i]t ye haill a[n]wellis pertenand to ye deirygeis be collectit and tayn op and xx lib. yairof to be giffy[n] to ane maister and ye rest yairof to be disponit at ye sicht of ye bailzeis and co[un]sall to ye puyr or co[m]on werkis."

As in Edinburgh, the reformation in the burgh of Arbroath was by no means a clear-cut affair, even for such a socially beneficial matter as funding a school.[129]

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127. Airlie ms., GD 16.25.4. This trial was part of a wider campaign against religious dissidence.
128. APL, ms.court book 1563-75 fs.67v,68r.
129. Cf. M.Lynch, Edinburgh p.222; "From Privy Kirk to Burgh Church" in Church, Politics and Society ed.Macdougall p.91.

One of the earliest grants of friary-lands made to burghs was that of the friary and hospital of Montrose to the burgh of Montrose. In February 1559/60, John Erskine of Dun secured the revenues of his local institution by virtue of abbot Donald Campbell's use of his office of Keeper of the Privy Seal on behalf of the Lords of the Congregation. A writ running in the name of Francis and Mary, King and Queen of Scots and issued from St Andrews ran thus:

> "Forsamekle as the lordis of our secrete counsale havand consideratioun that the blak freris place of Montroiss wes first ane hospitale for the povirs of that toune, and that the saidis freris being sturdy beggaris vnder colour of almess and moyoun of courte for the tyme, spulzet the poor thairof, intrusand thame selfis thairin, and takand the haill place and rentis thairof to thame; and sen it hes plesit God of his grite mercy to open thair ipocrasie and maist justlie to caus thame be eiectit thairfra, it becumis the saidis lordis to thair dewitie, bayth towardis God and man, to restoir the poore of the said toun to the said hospitalitie as to their ald and maist [richtfull] possessioun."

The Montrose Blackfriars was therefore granted to John Erskine of Dun on behalf of the poor of Montrose. He was authorised to uplift and dispone all the fruits, and to erect a new building for the hospital from any surplus "giff ony beis". The laird was further appointed master of the projected hospital, and given powers to admit inhabitants at his discretion.[130] He exercised his powers by tacking the lands to his son Alexander and the latter's spouse, Christian Straiton, for the old duty of six merks annually. Both the grant of 1559/60 and the tack were confirmed in January 1567/8. That the building had been demolished, a fate suffered by most of Scotland's friaries during the Reformation crisis of 1559-60, is clear from the wording of the tack.[131] How much - if any - of the revenues of the

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130. HMC Report v "A.J.W.H.Kennedy-Erskine Esq.," p.640.
131. CH 4.1.2 (RPB) i f.3v; RSS vi 115; D.McRoberts, "Material Destruction", IR vol.x (1959) p.156-7.

notional hospital actually were donated to the poor is unknown. The hospital foundation had continued to collect endowments until the Reformation: its vicar sir John Gilbert especially pursuing a policy of mortifying annuals to the hospital itself on behalf of the poor from 1542 to 1558.[132]

By 1571, the status of the Montrose hospital appears to have been regularised: ownership was vested in the magistrates and council of the burgh. In that year, too, Montrose gained a gift of the duty paid by the feuar of the Carmelite house of Inverbervie. In 1570 Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith and a scion of a cadet house of the Lindsays of Edzell,[133] was granted a feu of the whole of the Inverbervie's friary rents and lands. His annual payments, forty-four merks and four pence, were further granted to the provost, bailies and council of Montrose for the education and sustenance of the poor of that burgh "and no other", through the agency of the hospital foundation.[134] During the 1570s, discharges for annuals paid to hospital were issued in the name of John Baty, whose career included service as a priest before 1560 and as a pluralist reader thereafter at various combinations of the parishes of Dun, Lunan, Montrose, Logie Montrose, Inchbrayock and Maryton.

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132. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13: three separate mortifications by sir John survive, plus, after his decease, a 1569 instrument discharging monies paid to his foundation to redeem an annual.
133. The later bishop of Ross was a son of Alexander Lindsay, brother of the fourth laird of Edzell, David Lindsay ninth earl of Crawford. His mother was a daughter of Barclay of Mathers; his grandmother, a daughter of the house of Erskine of Dun. JRL, The Crawford mss., 81.1.11: "1623, Ordour of geneology of lords of Glenesk".
134. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/9 and WC/12; RSS vi 1217; AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms.2764 bund.vii. Mr David Lindsay's son Jeremiah had earlier had a gift of the chapel of Nomine Jesu at the All Soul's altar in Brechin, to support him at the schools for seven years. This, too, was probably secured through the assistance of Mr David's kinsman, John Erskine of Dun: RSS vi 568.

Obviously a client of John Erskine of Dun, he was appointed vicar of the hospital and its master-collector in 1571: a post he held until 1584 x 1586.[135]

From 1586, control of the hospital was less exclusively in the hands of the house of Dun. William Murray, one of the bailies, appeared as master in that year. Montrose's historian, James G. Low, records other masters and collectors in the late 1580s and early 1590s as including the burgh treasurer (Richard Leighton), and William Stirling - a member of the council.[136] After attaining his majority, King James re-granted the Montrose friary to its magistrates for the hospital. In 1598, the burgh successfully sued the collector of the third on the basis of this 1587 charter. Some attempt was also made to convert the hospital fund into an actual building; in 1587 John Erskine's daughter-in-law Christian Straiton with her second husband were evicted from the lands they occupied to enable building to commence.[137] An actual almshouse for the burgh's poor was therefore maintained during the seventeenth century.[138] Considering that the burgh's council had also obtained control of the various annuals formerly paid to the altars and chapels of Montrose's parish church, amounting by the early seventeenth century to c.£35 a year, these moves to fulfil the aspirations of the original grant of the friary in 1559/60 seem somewhat dilatory.[139] Such a delay of nearly

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135. See appendix A.a no.024 and A.c no.014 for Baty. For discharges of annuals: from the lands of Edzell, JRL, The Crawford mss, box Fii "The Hospital of Dundee"; from Mr David Lindsay, AUL Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vii.
136. J.G.Low ms. list of "the aldermen, bailzies and counsails of Munros" in MTH, Montrose mss.,(volumes) M 10/12.
137. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/7 and M/W1/9.
138. D.G.Adams, Religious Houses in Angus p.33.
139. J.G.Low, Memorials of the Church of St John the Evangelist, (Montrose 1891) p.25.

thirty years may find an explanation if it is postulated that both the laird of Dun and the burgesses of Montrose were reluctant voluntarily to subscribe the necessary capital to erect a new hospital on the site of the demolished friary. If this were the case, the community of Montrose would have shared with the burgesses of Edinburgh a dislike of taxation, even for projects of benefit to society and approved by the kirk.[140]

The lands and revenues of the Carmelites of Inverbervie remained in the hands of Mr David Lindsay, who had his feu ratified by the crown in 1587. In 1596, Lindsay infeft his eldest son Mr Jeremiah in the property, and the latter wadset it in stages to Arbuthnott of that ilk, finally ceding the title itself in 1598. One wadset was for 6,300 merks.[141] Thus a substantial part of the patrimony of the kirk came into the hands of a local laird, whose obligation for forty-four merks to the burgh of Montrose was hardly onerous. For this, the culprit may well have been Erskine of Dun, who does seem to have exercised his influence as a superintendent, provost, member of parliament and (occasionally) privy councillor to further the interests of his own family. Mr David Lindsay, being connected by marriage to the house of Dun and by descent to the house of Edzell, seems to have benefitted from this tendency to the detriment of the interest of the kirk as a whole.[142]

The city of Brechin was even more tardy

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140. See n.129 above.
141. AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vii nos.487,492,530,533-6, 545,556.
142. T.Crockett, "The Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.169: "... the feeling remains, that the family of the superintendent gained in pocket from the Reformation". Crockett attempts to justify his subject's substantial income as a superintendent by postulating generous expenditure on church building etc.

than Montrose in converting its post-Reformation acquisitions into enduring establishments. The hospital of Brechin was not established until 1608; and the endowment of the joint posts of master of the burgh grammar school and the burgh's second minister was not achieved until 1636. Both the hospital and the school had their forerunners, however. The Maisondieu of Brechin had been founded in 1267 from the lordship of Brechin, which retained patronage and superiority. By the Reformation, the preceptor was Mr Robert Carnegy - a son of Sir Robert of Kinnaird. The house of Kinnaird not being noted for its support of the Reformation, the events of 1560 made little difference to the Maisondieu, except that its lands were feued in 1582 to David Carnegy of Colluthie, Mr Robert's brother. In 1666 David Carnegy, then dean of Brechin, surrendered the two prebends of the institution to the burgh hospital. Meanwhile in 1636 the then Lord of Brechin, the earl of Panmure, granted the preceptory revenues to endow the schoolmaster/second minister, and the building became his residence. In place of the old Maisondieu, the burgh council founded an almshouse under its own control from the funds obtained following their gift in 1572 of chaplaincy and altarage rents for that purpose.[143]

Evidence for Brechin grammar school itself is somewhat shadowy before 1580. A condition of having ability to teach a grammar school had been attached to the preceptory of the Maisondieu by a re-foundation in 1517. In addition, the earl of Atholl had refounded in 1429 the College (song-school) of Brechin to include, besides a warden, two chaplains to teach both singing and a grammar

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143. This paragraph is substantially endebted to D.B.Thoms,"Maisondieu" SFBC no.14 (1962) pp.11-23. For Mr Robert Carnegy, appendix A.a no.057. Face Mr Thoms, Carnegy was parson, not minister, of Kinnoull.

syllabus.[144] However, when sir William Laing appeared as schoolmaster in the records during the 1550s, he cannot be shown to have had a connection with either the College or the Maisondieu.[145] The property of the College was feued to the burgh council in 1579; by 1580, they were found paying a salary to Mr Andrew Leitch as schoolmaster. The next year he had a charter of the former college building. At that time, Brechin found the necessary revenues for his stipend by rouping their Meikle Mill and expending part of their small customs. Later in the 1580s, John Mann appears to have interrupted a career as a minister to serve as Brechin schoolmaster: subsequent masters are listed by D.B.Thoms.[146]

Even in Dundee, where a functioning almshouse was controlled by the council at the Reformation, various factors acted to restrain the further funding it ought to have secured from the queen's donation of friary lands in 1567, which the council formally transferred to the hospital in 1569.[147] Dundee's rights in the friaries were challenged both by the earls of Crawford and by the Scrymgeours of Dudhope on the grounds of feus made prior to 1560. The claims of these magnates were not waived until 1594 and 1591 respectively.[148] Inflation was meanwhile eating into the value of all pre-Reformation foundations. Post-1560 bequests suffered the same way. Dame Katherine Campbell, dowager countess of Crawford, left the Dundee hospital a legacy of 300 merks after her death in 1578 on condition that they received into residence one old man to be

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144. This paragraph is substantially endebted to D.B.Thoms,"The College of Brechin", SFBC no.3 (1950) pp.6-16.
145. See appendix A.a no.191.
146. See appendix A.c nos.122,136; also, D.B.Thoms, The Council of Brechin (SFBC 1977) pp.23-27.
147. I.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.76.
148. I.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.76; Maxwell, Old Dundee p.225.

nominated by her executors. In 1592, Sir David Lindsay of Edzell nominated one James Wishart. Edzell recommended him to be made burgess and granted a place in the almshouse the more strongly as he was:

> "brother sone to umquhill Mr. George Wischart quha for the preiching of the euangell at your toune sufferit martyrdome."

Nevertheless in 1603, the burgh persuaded Edzell to terminate his mother's legacy. They objected to sustaining one of his "friends" on their rents, considering that the endowment by then only provided income for one man for half a year.[149] Perhaps the obvious difficulty experienced by Dundee in maintaining the building and charitable functions of its hospital against the financial pressures of the age should render less severe judgments on the slow progress of Brechin and Montrose to initiate their institutions.[150]

The 1567 acquisition by the burghs of their friary and altarage revenues was, together with the 1561/2 allocation of thirds and the 1566 right to succeed to minor benefices, one of the three major foundation-stones of the reformed kirk. If the latter two concessions by Queen Mary were the basis of the national ministry, the first was the basis for most of what implementation there was of the reformers' charitable and educational aspirations - excepting the reformation of the universities. While enjoyment of the properties and incomes had been granted during the 1560s or at the latest by 1574, alternative claims by lairds held back developments for decades. The burgh councils had to free themselves from the legal rights of

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149. JRL, The Crawford mss., box Fii "The Hospital of Dundee". The text is transcribed in WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii pp.263-4.
150. R.Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London 1978) p.35 calculates that prices for cereals doubled between 1550 and 1600; by the 1590s, a boll of oats cost 65s. where in the 1530s the price had been 9s. Also, T.M.Devine and S.G.E. Lythe, "The economy under James VI" SHR 1 (1971) p.95.

Crawford, Scrymgeour, Carnegy of Kinnaird and Erskine of Dun before they could obtain full control over their essential revenues.

In any case, something of a gap in legislative provision existed in the case of hospitals - like the Brechin Maisondieu - that were in lay ownership. It was, in fact, dubious whether they were part of the patrimony of the kirk at all. Moreover, as existing hospitals, they could hardly be dissolved or "cast down" like the friaries. Hence the royal hospital of Balgownie-Eassie was retained in the hands of the Lyons of Haltoun of Eassie from 1499 until the last preceptor resigned to the crown in 1672 to enable the lands to be included in the new erection of the earldom of Kinghorn in that year. An infeftment dated 1553 had specified that the foundation had to be observed and God and Holy Church honoured: but no other evidence for the hospital as a functioning unit can be found. Parliament attempted to make provision for such institutions in 1578 by an act anent the visitation of hospitals: a further act of 1581 admitted that its predecessor was inoperative.[151] Brechin was perhaps fortunate to receive any benefit, however belated, from the Maisondieu foundation. As ever in the Scottish Reformation, the reforming principles and ideals of the new kirk achieved least when they ran counter to property rights that could be defended at law and that were sanctioned by tradition.

Nevertheless, taken over the long term, the burghs were, with the reformed kirk, to benefit greatly from the Reformation. New funding for schools was provided for Arbroath and

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151. D.G.Adams, Religious Houses p.20; Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 vol. 2 nos.10,13,312,313; box 235.5 nos.3,4; RSS ii 97, iii 2926, iv 2000; RMS iv 1786. Also, APS iii 98 and 219.

Brechin. Dundee, Montrose and Brechin in the end gained effective almshouses, apart from extra common-good funds to use on poor relief. During the 1570s, the crown was also making gifts from the thirds towards burghal poor relief.[152] There is no need to make an over-pessimistic assessment of the moderate success achieved in Angus and the Mearns following the first Book of Discipline's recommendation that "all things dotted to hospitalitie and annuall rents" be retained "in the use of the kirk or kirks within the Townes and parishes where they were doted".[153] For despite the legal, financial and political difficulties, over the years there was sufficient popular desire to forward these educational and charitable objectives. As with the case of lairds and the student bursaries, the Reformation enabled burghs to reclaim and re-allocate the endowments of previous generations according to the priorities of the mid-sixteenth century. The ultimate acceptance of the reformed faith in Scotland is probably due to the fact that its institutions and priorities were perceived to be more suitable to these aspirations than those of the old Catholic Church.

Indeed, it is in the field of burghal use of the patrimony of the kirk that the most positive results of the Reformation are to be found. Outside of the comparatively narrow area of the transformation of the friaries, the picture remains somewhat bleak. The bulk of the wealth of the old church ended in the hands of magnates and lairds who were, more often than not, protestants. That chief member of the Lords of the Congregation, Archibald earl of

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152. T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.207: Montrose had £87 allocated in 1573, more than any other burgh. Dundee had £32.
153. First Book p.161. Though during the sixteenth century the schools and hospitals mentioned in this chapter were controlled by burgh councils, they came under the direction of kirk sessions during the seventeenth century: D.B.Thoms, The Council of Brechin p.47; "The College of Brechin" p.11.

Argyll, dilapidated the temporality of the bishopric of Brechin. The bishopric's spirituality was also whittled away, while the protestant regents and the protestant monarch fought the General Assembly over the proper oversight of the kirk. The temporal revenues of the abbeys of Coupar and Arbroath were the object of political disputes at the highest levels of the court. At less elevated levels, the non-burghal chaplaincies soon ceased to be scholars' bursaries, and reverted to being pensions for members of their founders' kin. Before 1560, the protestant preachers had succeeded in fostering the anti-clerical sentiments of lairds like Straiton in Woodstone, and provided doctrinal support and justification for the grievances landowners felt against the financial privileges of the clergy. After 1560, the new claims of the reformed kirk therefore fell on ears that were often deaf to their pleas. Having sowed the wind, they reaped the whirlwind. Considering the hostile reception given by the nobility to the first Book of Discipline's financial proposals when it first saw the light of day, the ultimate implementation of much of its outline for a reformed polity should be considered a considerable achievement.[154]

Perhaps the area in which the kirk had most success of all was in respect of those revenues of the old church that it did not claim: the "uppermost claith, corps-present, clerk-maile, the Pasche offering" and the other minor exactions of the catholic parish clergy. These the Discipline rejected, holding that, as they were over-burdensome on the poor, they "can neither be required nor received of good conscience".[155] As the kirk gave up its claim to inherit these traditional sources of income, they were

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154. Knox's History ii p.27.
155. First Book p.158.

removed from the totals of benefices as reckoned at their calculation for the controller of the thirds. Thus when sir William Garden submitted his rental for the vicarage of Aberlemno, he indicated that a former tack of £24 had been reduced to £16 following the deducation of "umestclaythis paschefynes and oblationis". Mr John Guthrie reckoned his vicarage of Stracathro had lost £10 in value. Mr Robert Auchmowty calculated that his vicarage of Dun had lost half its value, being reduced from £40 to £20. Even allowing for exaggeration on the part of benefice-holders hoping to reduce their subsequent allocation of third, perhaps a quarter or more of the value of the smaller benefices was thus surrendered.[156] In gratuitously foregoing rights burdensome to the poorest sections of Scottish society, the reformed kirk showed itself, in this respect at least, in continuity with the better traditions of mediaeval Christian charity.

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156. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 fs.343r,345r,345v. J.K.Cameron explains these minor rights. The "uppermost cloth" claimed by a priest as a funeral fee was either that from the bed, or a garment, of a deceased person. The "corps-present" was also claimed after a death in token of the deceased's unpaid teinds: cows were often taken. "Clerk-maile" was a levy for the fee of the parish clerk. The "Pasche", or Easter, offering was often required in advance before priests would celebrate the annual popular Mass. First Book p.157-8.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER 6

THE BOOK OF ASSUMPTION ENTRY FOR THE BISHOPRIC OF BRECHIN

The objective of this addendum is to date the three sections of the entry in the Book of Assumption on the bishopric of Brechin, and to provide transcripts of important text. Details of payments and allocations of teinds are omitted, though they made up a large proportion of each entry. After the selections, a brief comment is made on the material. The spelling of names is not modernised.

FIRST ENTRY: E 48.1.1 fs.347r - 349v.

Heading: [f.347r]

"Heir followis ye Rentall of ye bischoprik of Brechen of ye vittuall y[air]of justlie tabulat as the sammin is now of valo[ur] and payit be ye tennentis viz ye teindis of the sammin by ye temporall landis fermes and syluer y[air]of maid at Ed[inburgh]."

Detail: [f.348r]

"The Rentall of ye temporall landis.

Barrowny Charlis Demp[ster] xxiiii lib.
Newtoun George Crawmond xvi merkis x s.
Smyddehill Charlis Murray vii merkis & xl s.
Myldene Walter Cullace viii lib. vi s. viii d.
Botheris Robert Ky[n]neir vi lib.
Syd George Bartoun xix merkis
Ney[ther] Petforchie Mr Jo[hn] Cokburne xl merkis
Ardo set in few to ye Justice Clerk xxv merkis vii s. iiii d.
Aidecat set to Jo[hn] Carnegy vi lib.
Egglisjohnne set to ye laird of Downe vi lib.
Capo set to ye laird of Vllishaven l s.
Maritoun set to my lord Argyill in few for xlix lib. xi s. 4 d.
Mylne of auchdowy George Speid liiii s. iiii d.
Unthank the Lady Crawford iii lib. vi s. viii d.
Littill Dalgaty set for xxvi s. viii d.
Murtoun set for iii lib. iii s. iiii d.
Kethik set for xviii lib.
Kyngorny set for xviii lib.
Kirkdauche set for vi lib. vi s. viii d.
Croftheddis set for v lib.
[Over] Petforchie x lib.
Littill Mylne of Brechen set for iii lib.
Baliowny ane half to Jo[hn] Ky[n]neir iii lib. xiii s. iiii d.
the uy[er] half to W[illia]m Lowsoun for v lib. vi s. viii d.
Dru[mm]y set for x lib.
Brauchinche set for xvii lib. vi s. viii d.
Walk Mylne of stracathro set for liii s. iiii d.
E[a]st[er] Dr[u]mmis set for xl lib. x s.
The Brewhous of Stracathro xxiiii s.
Esauxtoun set to my lord Argyill in few for x lib. vii merkis."

Intermediate heading: [f.347v]

"The haill Rentall of ye Spraitualitie of Brechen particularlie as it standis in ye buikis off beir meill and quheit to be deducit the [two-part] frome ye thrid conforme to ye p[er]ticulure assignatioun gewin in be Mr Jo[hn] Huttoun chalmerlane of ye said bishoprik onder his subscriptioun manuale as ye said assumptioun efter followand mair fullie p[er]portis."

Conclusion: [f.349v]

"Mr Johnne Hutoun chalmerlane of brechen w[i]t my hand."

Comment:

This entry seems to be a slightly modified version of an original submission by Mr John Hutton, chamberlain of the bishopric for the earl of Argyll after 1566. It must have been given in to the comptroller before Argyll became fully committed to the queen's party in the civil war, but after the feuing of the temporality of the see, details of which are given. It can, therefore, be dated after 18 Feb.1566/7 [the feu to Bellenden of Auchnoule was dated then: REB ii p.331] and before the arrest of Mary after Carberry - 15 June 1567. The young bishop of Brechin was given licence to go abroad on 7 May 1567 - presumably his presence was no longer required to validate the process of feuing: REB ii p.332.

This first entry is important in giving details of the feuars of the temporality. These in the main echo the charters whose confirmations are collected in the Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis; but lands are listed of whom the feuars and date of feuing are unknown.

Although the whole revenues of the temporal lands were said to be assigned to pay David Murray's pension, the total sum of the feus indicated - c.£350 - amounted to more than the 500 merks or £330 to be paid to Murray.

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SECOND ENTRY: E 48.1.1 fs.350r - 352r.

Heading: [f.350r]

"The Rentall of ye Bischoprik of Brechen p[er]tening to Alex[ander] Campbell bischop y[air]of."

Part-conclusion: [f.351r]

"summa of ye haill temporall landis

In money	iiii^{c} x lib. v s.
Caponis	xi doz. vi capons
Pultrie	xv doz. x pultrie
Geiss	xviii geiss
Horscorne	viii bolls."

[f.351r continued]

"Off ye q[uhil]k somme yair is to be deducit
David Murrayis pensioun q[uhare] unto he is provydit
of auld out of ye temporall landis iii^{c} xxxiii lib. vi s. viii d.

Item to Mr Jo[hn] Huttoun in pensioun x lib.
summa iii^{c} xliii lib. vi s. viii d.

Sua restis of temporall landis xvi lib. xviii s. iiii d.

Memorandum the manis of Fernewell in few to ye erle of argill
w[i]t ye ballerie and ye dewty discharging his ballie fie
extending to xxvi lib. xiii s. iiii d."
[marginal entry beside this: "no[ch]t laid"]

Conclusion: [f.352r]
"summa of ye haill teind victuall foirsaid

	m.
Quheit	xi bolls
Beir	xiiii ch. vi bs.
Meill	xxv ch. v bs.

Quhairof gewin out in pensioun to Mr Jo[hn] Grahame the
teindis of Kindrochat and Banabrech extendis to
i ch. vii bs. beir
iii ch. xiii bs. meill

and to Jo[hn] Testie in Brachen the teindis of Cuikstoun and
Dubtoun extending to
x bs. ii fs. beir
and i ch. ii bs. meill

sua restis

Quheit	xi bs.
Beir	xii ch. iii bs. ii fs.
Meill	xx ch. v bs."

Comment:
No subscription or other identification is given for this entry, which concentrates on calculating the third payable, and the assignation of particular revenues to the third. Most likely it originated in the Collectory, being drawn up on the basis of submissions like that of Mr John Hutton's. The phrase "no[ch]t laid" occurs on marginal entries in the RAMS series of registers, and means that the payment[s] to which it refers are a private arrangment, not having the authority of the Collectory.

The small amount of income left either the bishopric or the thirds is clear from the above conclusions, once the various pensions had been deducted.

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THIRD ENTRY: E 48.1.1 fs.352v - 354v.

Heading: [f.352v]

"Heir followis the Rentall of ye Bishoprik of Brechen bay[th] spraitualitie and temporalitie as it is in us[e] of payment sen ye entries of Alex[ander] now bishope of Brechin giffin up be his bruy[her] James Campbell of Ardkynglas himself being in Germany at ye schuillis. At Edin[burgh] the xxviii day of Januar 1573 zeir."

Detail: [f.353v]

"The rentall of ye temporall landis of ye bishoprik of brechin

In primis Bawrouy	xxiii lib.
Newtoun	xi lib. iii s. iiii d.
Smyddehill	iii lib. xiii s. iiii d.
Myldene	viii lib. vi s. iiii d.
Botheris	vi lib.
Syd	xii lib. xiii s. iiii d.
Ney[her] Pitforchie	xxvi lib. xiii s. iiii d.
Ardo	xvii lib. xvi d.
Addicat	vi lib.
Ecglisjohnne	vi lib.
Capo	xl s.
Maritoun wt ye fisheing	xlviii lib. xv s. iiii d.
Myll Auchdowy	liiii s. iiii d.
Unthank	iii lib. vi s. viii d.
Litill Dayache	xxvi s. viii d.
Murtoun	iii lib. iii s. iiii d.
Kethik	xviii lib.
Kyngorny	xviii lib.
Kirkdauch	vi lib. vi s. viii d.
Croftheidis	v lib.
[Over] Pitforchy	x lib.
Littill Mylne of Brechin	[blank]
Balluny	ix lib.
Drymme	x lib.
Brathynsche	xvii lib. vi s. viii d.
Walk mylne of Stracathro	liii s. iiii d.
Eɜter Dr[u]mmis	xl lib. x s.
Brewhous of Stracathro	xxiiii s.
Stracathro	xvi lib.
Esauxtoun	xiiii lib. xiii s. iiii d.

[f.354r]

The manis of Fernwell in few to ye erle of argyll w[i]t ye balzilerie and dischargit in his balzie fie

summa by fernwell iii^{c} lvii lib x s viii d
the thrid extendis to i^{c} xix lib iii s vid iix
the tua pairt extendis to ii^{c} xxxviii lib vii s id xx"

Comment:
This entry tails off into details of teinds paid by the different estates, and seems uncompleted.

Its interest is in being one of the few entries in the Book of Assumption to be precisely dated - to 28 January 1573/4, by which time bishop Alexander Campbell had taken closer possession of his revenues, via his brother. The comment that the young bishop was in Germany at the schools should be noted.

The revenues from Farnell extended to £357 10s 8d - almost as much as the rest of the temporal lands put together.

The details of feuars of the lesser properties were by then of less interest: the details of duties stand up to comparison with those in the first entry. Feus expressed in merks in the first entry have been expressed in pounds in the last. Differences between the entries may be due to inaccurate transcription by the compiler of E 48.1.1.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AFTER 1560

Theological conflict after 1560

On 29 May 1561, Bullinger wrote triumphantly to Calvin and Beza at Geneva: "Scotia universa recepit evangelium".[1] The enthusiast's perspective was, however, grossly overstated. As has been seen, it took the reformed kirk years of effort simply to establish a minimum parish ministry. Legal and financial difficulties blocked the way, and proved to be ideal tools in the hands of those unsympathetic to the new religion. Besides institutional reform, it was necessary to effect a transformation in a people's state of mind: to win acceptance for the kirk's priorities and discipline - an acceptance that was too often lacking. As superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, it fell to John Erskine of Dun to give a theological lead to his province by preaching during visitations. Though complaints were made that he failed to fulfil this element of his calling as fully as was expected,[2] the laird of Dun has provided historians with a high percentage of the exceptionally few sermons to have survived from sixteenth century Scotland.[3] From these and some other sources it can be seen that the theological conflict after 1560 was on three fronts. The preachers sought to eradicate the rural traditions and superstitions which often entranced the popular mind and struggled against the new Biblical rationalism. While thus seeking to evangelise the Scottish masses, the ministerial leadership of the kirk had also to guard their independence against those lairds and magnates who sought to gain a more moderate, more

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1. Correspondence de Beze iii no.173.
2. BUK i pp.39,256.
3. Spald.Misc. iv pp.88-112: "Appendix to the Dun Papers."

Anglican, settlement. Finally, it fell to the ministry of Angus and the Mearns to counter the first troops of the Counter-Reformation to invade Scotland - the Jesuits.

For one living in the late twentieth century, it takes a considerable mental effort to appreciate the mind-frame of most sixteenth century Scots.[4] Their world was made up, not only of the powers of crown and laird, but of those of the supernatural. Lacking both literacy and a twentieth century understanding of physical science, they made sense of the events of their lives - disease, a bad harvest, sudden death - as best they could in terms of the invisible. In the struggle to stay alive, they sought to control the spirit world, to win its blessing by means of charms, magic and magicians.[5] Robert Murray was one such a "cunning man" practising his skills in Glenesk during the 1580s. In exchange for plaid and cash, he would offer to cure both animal and human sickness. His stock-in-trade included herb drinks, recitation of words of power, ("In nomine patris filii et spiritu sanctu ...") and sheer magic:[6]

> "he comperit to Cambellis inner chalmer quhair nane restortit bot Cambell and his wyff and tuk out of ye hous wall behand ye bed soum stringis of sindre hewis ... and cast yame in yr fyre and said y[a]lt is wes witche craft ..."

Margaret Sanderson lists a collection of such lingering superstitions in her survey of catholic recusancy after 1560. Of John Craig, minister at the Canongate, who escaped from Rome with a black dog as

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4. Cf. T.C.Smout: A century of the Scottish People (London 1986) p.1.
5. K.Thomas, Religion and the decline of magic (London 1971) pp.6,32 and passim; C. Larner, Witchcraft and Religion (Oxford 1985) p.118 accepts the view that "magical animist beliefs and practices" were the basic mind-set of the illiterate European world of this period.
6. JRL, The Crawford mss., "The accusatione and confessione of Robert Murraye, witch ...": 4.1.96 f.1r.

his companion, it was said:[7]

"Practeces and propheceis of Nicromancie
Craig, that Apostat, hes in tuition; "

In such a world as these people lived in, the new ministers could themselves appear as men of power. Dewey Wallace jnr.'s conclusions on popular religion in Elizabethan England can be applied also in Scotland, that the reformers' attempt to sweep away the customary and traditional in the name of the rule of God's Word was far more socially revolutionary than is often realised.[8]

To counter this state of mind, the reformed church had two weapons. Such behaviour as Robert Murray's was criminalised as witchcraft for which the penalty was death. This was an assault on the traditional at the practical level. Prevention by prohibition, intimidation and force therefore went along with and complemented the cure: the open preaching of the Gospel.[9] John Erskine of Dun was especially involved with the prosecution of those who were termed "witches". In April 1568, the earl of Argyll as Justice-General issued the superintendent a commission to try at Arbroath forty people from that burgh and its hinterland for "ye saidis crymes of sorcerye or wytchcraft".[10] Twenty years later, the

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7. M.Sanderson, "Catholic Recusancy in the Scotland in the sixteenth century", IR xxi (1970) pp.87-107; Satirical Poems i p.338.
8. D.D.Wallace jnr., "Puritan propaganda and popular religion in Elizabethan England" Sixteenth Century Journal ix no.i (1978) p.27f.
9. C.Larner, Enemies of God: the witch-hunt in Scotland (Oxford 1983) p.25 accepts Delumeau's thesis linking witch-hunting with the Christianising of the European peasantry: "the struggle for the minds of the peasantry ... was a feature of the late medieval and early modern period." Also, C.Larner, Witchcraft and Religion p.90: "A governmental assult on witchcraft was a particularly economical way ... of demonstrating control over all deviance." The examples cited in the paragraph were omitted from the Source Book of Scottish Witchcraft ed. C.Larner, C.Lee and H.McLachlan, (Glasgow 1977).
10. Airlie mss. GD 16.25.4. He shared the commission: chapter 6 n.127.

laird of Dun was still involved in such trials. On 13 February 1587/8 as provost of Montrose he received another commission to apprehend and to minister justice to witches in Montrose, the document reciting that it was known that the great crime of witchcraft was daily committed in the burgh and its bounds.[11]

Certainly there is evidence of traditional and superstitious behaviour in Angus and the Mearns besides the example of Robert Murray. The minister of Arbroath, Ninian Clement, was accused of causing a woman to miscarry in child-birth - presumably by having cursed her.[12] At a different level, a group of tenants and bonnet-lairds were prosecuted for:[13]

> "... making a ragment and ryme in name of Johnne the Commone-wele and divulgation thairof ... and chesing of Robert Hude and Abbot of Unreasone within the parish of Arbuthnot and uther pairts of the Mernis ... "

As this traditional jesting took place in 1570 during the civil war, and probably from political motives, the panel were accused of treason. They were acquitted - having convinced the Lords that the events did not merit such a serious charge. Both witchcraft and the "unreason" burlesques had, however, been offences - respectively ecclesiastical and civil - before 1560.[14] From the passage of the Witchcraft Act of 1563, both were to be criminal offences. The General Assembly upheld the view of the first Book of Discipline, that the state had a duty to punish such offences with death.[15] In his attempt to establish the Reformation in Angus, it seems that John Erskine of Dun sought out the royal commissions necessary to enable him to suppress traditional and deviant behaviour as witchcraft.

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11. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/15.
12. See appendix A.c no.032.
13. Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 15.
14. C.Larner, Enemies of God p.65-6; APS ii 500 (20 June 1555).
15. First Book p.165-6; BUK i p.60.

Both catholic and protestant reformers sought to counter this popular religion of animism and superstitious practices at the level of the mind as well as by law. The necessity for further and more extensive preaching and education was agreed by the Provincial Councils,[16] the Congregation,[17] and the first Book of Discipline. The latter laid down firmly that the superintendents "must be preachers themselves", constantly on the move to spread the gospel in their provinces.[18] From the surviving printed sermons of John Erskine of Dun some idea both of his doctrines and of his effectiveness as a preacher can be gathered. In addition, a verse-sermon dedicated to him by one of his ministers provides further material to assess the message which the new kirk brought to its people.

Perhaps the most evangelical of all his remaining works is John Erskine of Dun's "Ane sermon vpone the seventh chapter of Luke from the 36th verse".[19] This gospel passage concerned the woman who washed Jesus' feet with her own tears and hair, while anointing him with oil as he sat at table in the house of a pharisee. Erskine's treatment of the gospel narrative fell into three parts. He found lessons to be learnt from studying in turn the three actors in the story: Christ, the woman and Simon the pharisee. In noting the care shown by Jesus to the out-cast woman, Erskine emphasised the New Testament principle of love as a mark of the

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16. W.J.Anderson, "Two documents of the Scottish Reformation: 1. The "Twopenny faith": IR x p.287; J.H.S.Burleigh, "The Scottish Reforming Councils 1549-1559", RSCHS xi (1955) p.203-6; J.K. Cameron, "The Cologne Reformation and the Church of Scotland" JEH xxx (1979) p.44.
17. Knox's History i p.136.
18. First Book p.122.
19. Spald.Misc. iv p.107.

Christian:[20]

> "As Christ Jesus come in this warld to saif synnaris, sa did he nocht abhore synnaris, bot apply him self maist humlie and lowinglie onto all. ...The exempill of Christ and of his apostlis suld be followit of ws."

The woman herself was taken as an exemplar of a repentant sinner: according to the superintendent she first understood her sinfulness, then repented of it "and schew notabill signes thairof." Thirdly, she turned to Christ with prayers and fasting, and so finally found assurance of mercy. In applying this doctrine to his hearers, the superintendent intimated that two Sundays of prayer and fasting had been ordained by the General Assembly, and exhorted:[21]

> "Lat ws obserue with all hartlie affectiowin, that the repentance of our hart may ovtuardlie appeir, heir the vord of God, pray continewally, be liberall to the pvire, be reconciled euery ane to other quhair warience hes bene..."

Finally, Erskine turned to consider the pharisee: by contrast to the woman, he was one who trusted in his own righteousness, and thus provided an occasion for doctrinal teaching:[22]

> "This parable schawis the errour of Symon, in dampning the woman quhome the hevinlie iuge hath obsoluit. Christ schew this woman to be iustifeit, nocht be warkis of satisfactione, bot in that her synnes vas remittit, and that frelie of mercie;... This place declaris, that our justificatioun consists nocht in warkis and meritis of men, bot in remissioun of synnes frelie gevin in Christ, and resauit be faithe,..."

The forensic nature of Erskine's doctrinal language must be noted:

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20. Spald.Misc. iv p.107.
21. The days were given as the second and third Sundays of "Merche instant". Spald.Misc. iv p.108. The December Assembly of 1565 (Calderwood History ii p.304) would seem to be that referred to by John Erskine: both sermon and Assembly record refer to the Council of Trent; further, John Erskine was Moderator of this Assembly and the ministers of Dundee and Monifieth were two of the four ministers on the appropriate committee. This assumes that the Book of Common Order (ed.Sprott) p.149 has misread May for March, which seems likely as the next Assembly in June ordained a further fast for July: BUK i pp.78-9. The Canongate Church fasted in March 1565/6: The buik of the kirk of the Canagait (SRS 1961) p.40. See Knox's History ii 176, 178 and notes.
22. Spald.Misc. iv p.110-1.

language and argument that echo Luther's original revolt against Rome. Indeed, the doctrinal framework of the sermon was most marked, on one occasion taking precedence over the plain meaning of the text. In order to defend the general principle that good works were the product of faith, Erskine was forced to interpret Christ's saying "Mony synnes ar forgevin hir, for scho luifit mekle" not in the apparent sense of effect-following-cause, but that her love sprang from her prior forgiveness - thus turning the saying on its head. Nevertheless, the sermon is basically a very straightforward exposition of a lively gospel story. Its method is to re-tell the episode, focussing attention on the people involved, and then making direct application to the preacher's hearers of the lessons they should learn. Erskine's effectiveness, however, may have been limited by his tendency to use a somewhat technical vocabulary: justification, satisfaction and remission all make their appearance.

Even from such a short sample of Erskine's work, it is apparent that, at its core, his theology was one of grace. The most substantial of his extant works, an eulogy entitled "Of the Kirk",[23] makes this abundantly clear. Salvation to John Erskine was before everything the gift of God. The kirk, having been "redemit fra all seruitud" by the death of Christ, was also purified by incorporation in Him. Salvation was attained by individuals, therefore, by their union with Christ as found in his church. This union was achieved by a Spirit-inspired glad reception of the free forgiveness in Christ offered by his ministers. In thus linking justification to union with Christ, Erskine was at one with Knox rather than the earlier tradition of Patrick Hamilton. The later

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23. Spald.Misc. iv pp.93-101.

reformers placed a greater emphasis on the positive righteousness of Christ being imputed to the believer where the earlier generation had been content passively to accept forgiveness of their continuing sin through the sacrificial death of the Cross.[24] A more assured self-image and greater confidence was thus possible for them.[25]

In holding that salvation was received "by grace, through faith" John Erskine of Dun and John Knox were united in their understanding of the core of the faith. Indeed, that this was the basis of the reformed faith was widely agreed. The emphasis in The Scots Confession on God's election of his people is marked. John Knox also followed the consensus of Reformation theology since Luther's Bondage of the Will in affirming that, man being totally enslaved by sin, he could play no part in his salvation: hence even the faith in Christ necessary for justification was given by God to his chosen people.[26] The superintendent's "Of the kirk of God", being based on the principle that God's love was supremely directed towards the kirk, certainly fits this framework. Little or no room was left by Erskine for any relationship between God and the world at

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24. Spald.Misc. iv p.93 emphasises that salvation flows from the acts of God:
"This kirk he hes purifeit in the bluid of his deir sone...This kirk he hes redemit fra all seruitud... To this kirk he hes giffin the giftis of his Holie Spreit, and to this kirk hes he giffin the ministratioun of the hewinlie mistereis, be the quhilk ministry he quickins the dede, regeneratis his elect, and nwrisis his faythfull."
25. Iain R.Torrance, "Patrick Hamilton and John Knox: a study in the doctrine of Justification by Faith":
Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte, lxv (1974), p.181.
26. The Scots Confession chapters VIII:"Election"; XII:"Faith in the Holy Ghost". The latter has the clearest statement,
"Our faith and assurance do not proceed from flesh and blood, that is to say, from natural powers within us, but are the inspiration of the Holy Ghost;..."
For Knox: R.L.Greaves Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation (Grand Rapids 1980) p.25f.

large beyond the kirk, apart from that of antagonism. The church to him was the congregation of the faithful, those - [27]

> "quhome God of his mercie hes chossin in his sone Christ to be partakeris of his glorie."

Dedicated to John Erskine of Dun by one who acknowledged the superintendent's special favour, The Winter Night provides another source for the investigation of theology in Angus after 1560.[28] The author, James Anderson, was at the time (c.1580) the minister of Bendochy, Kettins and Collace, having been a monk of Coupar Angus before the Reformation.[29] As early as March 1572/3 he was being appointed to commissions of the General Assembly, and played a leading role in the local and national church throughout the 1570s and 1580s. The Winter Night is an allegorical title, referring to the darkness of spiritual blindness by contrast to "The joyful day" which stood for Jesus Christ.[30] In structure, the poem had two poles: the first coming of Christ, with emphasis on his nativity and its associated prophecies; and the second coming with its scriptural predictions that Anderson believed had been fulfilled.

The most attractive feature of The Winter Night is its christology. James Anderson's emphasis is on Christ's kingship. A wide variety of epithets contain this essential point: "Christ Jesus, King of Grace", "Christ, our Head", "Christ, that matchless Monarchy,/Which never shall decay", "Christ our King... his Majesty", "Christ, Prince of pastors". The latter phrase, though

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27. Spald.Misc. iv p.93.
28. NLS, James Anderson, The Winter Night: edition published Glasgow, 1713. In stanza nine, "I found thy favor my self in special".
29 See appendix A.c no.002.
30. The Winter Night p.6. Christ as bringer of light was a favourite theme of John Erskine of Dun: Spald.Misc. iv pp.93-4,104,111.

poetically felicitous, has a potential clericalism going beyond John Erskine's emphasis on the kirk.[31] Ambiguous to the modern ear, the sixteenth century could well have understood "Prince" substantively rather than descriptively. Nevertheless, Christ's kingship had been a leading theme of John Erskine's theology since the Congregation's letter "To the Queinis Grace" in May 1559.[32] John Knox, too, emphasised the authority of Christ,[33] which was the fundamental point from which the polity of the second Book of Discipline was argued.[34]

James Anderson's most thorough discussion of the person and work of Christ came in a section contrasting him with the Pope. In terse, ambitious and occasionally over-strained verse, the minister reviewed first the ancient doctrine of Christ's two natures:[35]

"Christ is the Son of Veritie
Begotten of God eternallie,
Sent to the world to show mercie,
On all that on him caa.
...
Christ being God in Deitie,
To show his great Humanitie,
Came man in our Humilitie,
From hell to save us Aa."

Though the mission of the Son was clearly Anderson's main interest,

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31. The Winter Night respectively, pp.4,5,8,9,5 and 23.
32. See chapter 4 ns.48-71.
33. R.L.Greaves: Theology and Revolution pp.15-24 suggests Knox viewed Christ's rule as exercised via His Word, the Scriptures; and that he had come to this via the First Helvetian Confession, which argued Christ's Headship of His church. Thus a line of continuity from George Wishart, via his associates Knox and Erskine, can be traced to the 1570s. See chapter 2 n.130. Also, Rogers, Memoir of Wishart p.68; R.G.Kyle, The mind of John Knox (Kansas 1984) p.63.
34. Second Book p.173 s.II pt.1.
35. The Winter Night p.18.

these stanzas demonstrate a pleasing understanding of Jesus' humanity as reflected in the Gospels, perhaps following the example of the early Christian hymn of Philippians 2.8.

Treatment of the atonement followed classical early Reformation lines, with less of an emphasis on election than was found in Erskine of Dun's writings, and more on the free offer of forgiveness through Christ:[36]

...

"Christ made but once a sacrifice,
Whereby so full he payed our price,
We need no mo to purge our vice,
Nor it make over each day.
...

Christ taught Justification,
To come freely by faith alone,
Without any satisfaction,
Of our works any way.
...

Christ preached full remission,
From fault and pain solution,
To all of true contrition,
On him that fix their fay.
...

Christ bade all people more and min,
Come unto him opprest with sin,
He shall them of the burden twin,
It freely take away."

Though these stanzas are certainly polemical, being aimed at catholic daily masses and the forensic language of penance, Luther's basic insight of salvation "by faith alone" is dominant. Both Erskine of Dun and James Anderson shared the reformed emphasis which denied the value of "good works" before God. James Anderson displays a way with words which surpasses his superintendent, however. It is possible to imagine

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36. THe Winter Night: extracts on Christology from pp.18-9.

that he might have had an effective, if repetitious, pulpit style. The last lines of each stanza make simple but sincere points, enhanced by their rhyming nature.

Although John Erskine of Dun's theology has been analysed as similar to that of the Genevan-inspired John Knox, Dun's "Ane sermon vpone the seventh chapter of Luke..." together with its contemporary "The forme and maner of buriall usit in the kirk of Montrois" are reminders that other elements apart from the Swiss contributed to Erskine's thinking.[37] Although the basic text of Luke on which the superintendent preached was taken from the Genevan Bible, references to earlier English versions can be detected: so too can knowledge of the Books of Common Prayer.[38] For example, in a loose citation of Galatians 6 vs.1 and 2,[39] John Erskine's words seem

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37. Wodrow Misc. i p.291-300. The original was undated.
38. Though John Erskine always cited Scripture in his own Scots, the opening quotation is sufficient to show dependence on the Geneva Bible. Whereas the Tyndale and Great Bibles used the phrase "sat down to meate", Geneva had "sat down to table". Tyndale and the Great Bible wrote "a woman in that city": Geneva "a woman in the city." In each case, Erskine followed Geneva. Spald.Misc. iv p.107, and The New Testament Octapla ed. L.A Weigle, (New York 1962) ad loc.
39. Spald.Misc. iv p.110 and Octapla. Underlining added.

"... the doctrine of the apostle, quha teiches ws, saying, Brethren, gif any man be fallin in ony offence,ye quhilk ar spirituall, help to amend him with the spreit of meiknes, considering your self, lest ye also be temptit; and beir ye ane otheris burding, and sa fulfill the law of Christ. "
[Erskine]

"Brethren, yf eny man be fallen by chaunce into eny faute: ye which are spirituall, helpe to amende him, in the sprete of meknes: consyderynge thy selfe, lest thou also be tempted. Beare ye one anothers burthen, and so fulfill the lawe of Christ. [Tyndale]

"Brethren, if a man be fallen by occasion into anie faute, ye whiche are spirituall, restore suche one with the Spirite of meknes, considering thy selfe, lest thou also be tempted. (2) Beare ye one anothers burden, and so fulfil the Law of Christ." [Geneva]

closer to the Tyndale version. Though Erskine's version of the passage was his own (as befitted a student of the Greek) his use of "any man" and "amend him" clearly show knowledge of Tyndale's work. Similar dependence on either Tyndale or the Great Bible can be shown in the other works associated with Erskine of Dun,[40] though apart from the Montrose burial service references are typically made in passing and are not major citations. Of a total of sixty-nine identified citations in the six works associated with Erskine, twenty-five seem associated with the Geneva Bible and eleven with the Tyndale/Great Bible tradition. Twenty-eight others are either too brief to be allocated with certainty, or are paraphrases of Erskine's own. Three come from

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40. The following table lists the citations according to proposed source and text, the latter being placed in chronological order.

TEXT	GENEVA BIBLE	TYNDALE/ GREAT BIBLE	GENERAL/ PARAPHRASE	OTHER	TOTAL
To the Queinis grace (6 May 1559)	0	1	2	0	3
Montrose burial service [early 1560s]	0	4	3	0	7
Luke 7.36f [Dec.1565xMarch1565/6]	4	2	3	1 [BCP]	10
to Regent Mar (10 Nov.1571)	2	1	2	0	5
Of the Kirk (13 Dec.1571)	5	4	13	0	22
Matthew 9.37 [n.d.]	14	0	5	3 [Psalms]	22
TOTALS	25	12	28	4	69

Of the 69, 49 were from the New and 20 from the Old Testaments. Erskine's favourite book appears to be Matthew's Gospel:13 items. Apart from the Montrose burial service, Erskine's Tyndale/Great Bible references typically refer to sayings or proof texts, rather than narrative or longer doctrinal passages:for example, Luke 20.25 (Calderwood History iii p.158 and Spald.Misc. iv p.90); Rom.6.23 (Wodrow Misc. i p.295); 1 Tim.5.17 (Spald.Misc. iv p.96) Nisbet's Scots' Bible (c.1520) is far more colloquial than Erskine: The New Testament in Scots ed. T.G.Law (STS 1901).

psalms of untraced origin: and one from the Book of Common Prayer. As the superintendent was preaching from the Geneva text by 1565/6, it may be surmised that his knowledge of the earlier English-originating versions came from the pre-Reformation period: and had been sufficiently thorough for the distinctive wordings to remain in his mind.

Of the six works under consideration, the Montrose burial service is distinctive. According to the first Book of Discipline, it was judged best "that neither singing nor reading be at buriall" though some latitude was allowed provided the committal was done with "gravity and sobriety." In 1562, the General Assembly ordered the use of the English Book of Geneva for, among other purposes, burials: and its ban on any ceremony at the grave-side was copied by the 1564 Scottish Book of Common Order.[41] The Montrose order, however, consisted of a homily on several passages from the Tyndale Bible: a prayer taken from the Book of Common Prayer (1552 and 1559 but not 1547), and a hymn from the Gude and Godly Ballatis.[42] A further passing reference to the English liturgy can be seen in the use of the phrase "this vaile of miserie", which occurs in the Prayer Book's version of Psalm 84.6. According to its preface, the Montrose service could be said by either a minister or a reader: it therefore presumably dated from after the Reformation with its placing of both grades of clergy in parishes, but before the Book of Common Order came into widespread use. It can hardly be taken as evidence of a preference for English forms of worship - being in structure and design far removed from the burial service of the southern kingdom.

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41. First Book p.200 and n.74.
42. The provenance of these parts is noted by the editor of Wodrow Misc. i p.293,4: also M.Lynch in International Calvinism p.233.

Rather, it seems designed to adhere closely to the objectives of the first Book of Discipline, without banning a service entirely:[43]

> "that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety, as those that be present may seeme to feare the judgements of God, and to hate sinne which is the cause of death."

It was certainly in accord with John Erskine of Dun's reformed emphasis on election that the single prayer taken from the English service should be one in which that doctrine features strongly.

Erskine was nevertheless obviously acquainted with the Edwardian prayer book. Apart from the burial service, the sermon on Luke 7 has some curious references to the English communion. The opening biblical quotation - 1 Timothy 1.15 - was from the "comfortable words" that immediately precede the reception of the elements, so named from their introduction: "Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith to all who truly turn to him." So too was the final assurance offered to sinners by the superintendent:[44]

> "all that labouris and ar weryit sall in Christ find refreshing..."

This version of Matthew 11.28 is especially significant, for the Genevan, Great and Tyndale Bibles all translated the verse "and I will ease you"; only the Prayer Book chose the word "refreshing". Then, the last exhortation and sentence drew together a collection of phrases from this preparatory section of the communion service. "Lat us thairfoir be repentance and faith draw neir unto Christ..." echoed the invitation "You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins... draw near, and take this holy sacrament to your comfort..." Finally,

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43. First Book p.200.
44. Spald.Misc. iv pp.111-2.

Erskine's promise "we sall fynd grace and sall heir his comfortable wordis saying to us ..." completed a sermon whose purpose was to urge sinners to turn to Christ. The framework of Prayer Book references all coming from the communion preparation may even indicate that the original context of this sermon was a celebration of the Lord's Supper. It certainly shows that the superintendent was prepared to continue to use liturgical resources coming from England as well as a Bible coming from Geneva, as postulated by Professor Donaldson.[45]

James Anderson, minister and member of the convent of Coupar, was also aware of the reformed English liturgy. The influence of the English books of common prayer made an appearance even in the superintendent's somewhat political sermons: in Anderson's poem their traces are considerable. Verbal dependencies can be seen, as for example with reference to John the Baptist who:[46]

"Shold the Lamb of God so fair,
That takes our sins away."

This would appear to be a clear reference to the "Agnus Dei" of the communion service. Similarly, the phrase "glorious resurrection"[47] though not scriptural is to be found in the proper preface for Ascension Day. More significantly, the final section of the poem exactly follows the pattern of the 1552 prayer "for the whole state of Christ's church militant here in earth." First came prayers for the church - with the interesting adaption of the English "universal church" to Anderson's "little flock". Next came prayers for the King's Grace and after him, for his Council. In the place of "Give grace, (O

45. The Two Books of Common Prayer ... of the reign of King Edward the Sixth (Oxford 1838) pp.301-2; Studies in the history of worship in Scotland ed.D.Forrester and D.Murray (Edinburgh 1984) p.35.
46. The Winter Night p.5.
47. Ibid. p.10.

heavenly father) to all bishops, pastors and curates..." came "Bless, Lord, thy Pastors spiritual...." After a final aside aimed at corruptions in the church, Anderson returned to the prayer book pattern with a prayer for the people:[48]

> "...to all thy people give thy heavenly grace; and especially to this congregation here present; that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word;..." [Book of Common Prayer 1552]

> "Inspire the common Populare,
> Inspire their heart, and open their ear,
> That they may hear thy word with fear,
> Believe and eke obey." [The Winter Night]

Though there is little wording common to these two prayers, Anderson's version follows the 1552 version closely in underlying sense and structure. The identity between this liturgical conclusion to The Winter Night is the more remarkable in that Anderson had alternative models to follow in The Book of Common Order. This also contained a "prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church", but chose to give first place in the list of petitions to the "pastors, shepherds and ministers" with King and Council coming after them. The alternative prayer to follow the Sunday sermon, that of the Genevan French church, included among much else the King and Council before the ministry, but omitted the initial prayer for the whole church.[49] James Anderson's poem of the early 1580s is evidence of an enduring influence of the English Edwardian liturgies in the Scottish Church.

Though the available sources are limited, it is possible to come to some conclusions about the diet of worship and instruction fostered by John Erskine of Dun in Angus and the

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48. The Two Books of Common Prayer p.283: The Winter Night p.24.
49. The Book of Common Order pp.88-9.

Mearns. Heavy stress was placed on the essentials of protestant doctrine: that salvation was a gift of God, to be received by a faith that showed itself in a disciplined life. Both John Erskine and James Anderson appear to have been "New Testament men" - somewhat removed from John Knox's brand of Old Testament prophecy. Both men show signs of good acquaintance with the Scriptures, and an ability to understand and explain their texts. The desire for English doctrinal and liturgical resources expressed at Dundee and its hinterland in the 1540s,[50] appears to have borne fruit: both men were familiar with the Edwardian service books, though - as the Montrose burial service shows - not restricted to it, or, indeed, to a rigid use of The Book of Common Order either. By the weekly routine of services of common prayers and the weekly preaching,[51] and by the new disciplines of the kirk assembly,[52] the reformed ministry sought to instruct and win the minds of its people.

They were not necessarily successful. The doctrine of salvation by faith alone, as preached by university graduates, made considerable demands on the minds of the congregations. The preachers' denial of the value of "good works" before God was especially liable to be misunderstood. In 1579, popular opinion in Dundee was thus reported:[53]

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50. Chapter 2 n.113.
51. At Arbroath the prayers were separate from the sermon. The burgh court enacted on 12 Oct.1565 that "ye prayaris be said ilk Sonday be seven houris and ye prechin be begyn at ten houris". APL, Court book f.16r. The longer diet described by Donaldson which began with a reader's service followed by a sermon, together with most descriptions of post-Reformation worship, derive from the bishop of Galloway's account written c.1613 x 1619: Book of Common Order (ed. G.W.Sprott) p. xxiii. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.141.
52. That is, the demand for learning of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and the Commandments before marriage, etc. See chapter 5 n.90.
53. Spald.Misc. iv p.110,111; letter of Fr John Hay, in Narratives of Scottish Catholics ed.Forbes Leith (London 1889) p.158.

> "As long as they teach, said he, that all our works are grevious wickedness, can they wonder if we become wicked in earnest ? It is all the same whether you practice piety and holiness, or take a man's life away, if there be no difference of reward for good or evil."

Even in Dundee, the "Geneva of Scotland", preachers of the Pauline gospel of the single sacrifice of Christ faced the same objections that the apostle had confronted in Romans 6. It was to take several generations for the less literate sections of the population to appreciate reformed doctrine and worship.[54]

The commentator on the state of opinion in Dundee was Fr John Hay, of the Society of Jesus: one of the first missionaries of the Counter-Reformation to visit Scotland. Hay had become a Jesuit in 1566.[55] His report to the General of his Order - though not without an understandably strong bias against the new ministry - is of considerable interest in reflecting popular dissatisfaction with the reformed order. The kirk's persistent clamour for its entire patrimony and for increasing its ministers' incomes renders credible the nucleus of this report:[56]

> "Their [the ministers'] tables are furnished splendidly and luxuriously, they are unrelenting in the exaction of usury; and in a word there is scarcely any wickedness which they do not daily practise."

In a period of price inflation, the general belief in God's providential control resulted in many concluding that the dearth they experienced was due to divine judgment on an apostate nation:[57]

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54. I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.137f. notes occasions of "unseemly behaviour" at church services, and the various measures of compulsion required to secure attendance. He concludes (somewhat optimistically) that "a new enthusiasm for churchgoing can be detected as the century progressed": p.144.
55. Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.141.
56. Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.161.
57. Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.160.

> "... since heresy came in, the land has been left uncultivated, while dearness and scarcity of provision of all kinds prevail everywhere. The people acknowledge this, and lament it, confessing that the misery which they suffer is a just punishment for their crimes."

A similar pessimistic view of the state of eastern Scotland had earlier been expressed in the anonomous Lamentation of Lady Scotland dedicated to John Erskine of Dun. Written during the civil wars, "P.R." addressed himself to the Kirk:

> "And ye, my Kirk, my Faithfull Mother deir,
> That purgit art of Channoun, Monk, and Freir,
> Of Papist Priest, Papist, and Papistrie,
> Bot not, allace, clene of Hypocrasie,
> Of auarice, pryde and ambitioun,"

"Lady Scotland" complained to her children that "My leggs and feir now schod with Pouertie/ My hart is seik; ..."[58] as a consequence of the failings of all those - clergy, nobility, burgesses - who should have cared for the nation. From those thus disenchanted, the new enthusiasm, discipline and puritanism of the catholic missionaries found a ready hearing for their call to a restored and purified faith, especially as among the first Jesuits were not only Fr Hay, whose chief (the earl of Errol) held lands in the vicinity of Dundee, but also Fr James Tyrie, of the house of Drumkilbo in Strathmore.[59]

It is likely that the visit of Fr John Hay to Dundee and its environs (January 1578/9 - November 1579) was one of the factors behind the heightened anti-catholicism of The Winter Night. James Anderson's parishes lay close to lands held by the Hays, kin of the earl of Errol: and it was his kin that protected the Jesuit from the extremes of protestant anger. Internal evidence

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58. Satirical Poems i 226f., lines 149-153, 90-1.
59. Narratives of Scottish Catholics pp.144 and passim: Hay obtained support and protection from his kin. For Tyrie, Catholic Tractates of the Sixteenth Century ed.T.G.Law (STS 1901) p.xxx.

suggests that Anderson's poem should be dated to this period of c.1580. Not only was it written while James VI was king but unmarried and not of "perfect age",[60] but also before the death in 1584 of the Prince of Orange. If the title, which specified Anderson as minister of Collace, was original then this places the poem before 1582. The success of the mission of the Scots Jesuits obtained grudging recognition from the minister:

"For Jesuits in general,
Are traitors to Christ Jesus all:
And seek to gar his Kingdom fall,
Vvith all the might they may.
Omitting none Occasion,
To furder their Invasion,
By Pestilent perswasion,
Both by night and day.
...

And to perform their Enterprise,
They leave not off with once or twise:
But up again they mint to rise,
The truth to stop and stay."

Apart from their energy, Anderson made few particular complaints against the catholic missionary order: he held that their teaching was generally refuted by the "Christs written word".

Beyond an accusation that the Jesuits named and slandered particular ministers, one of Anderson's comments is of interest.[61]

"Yet they pretend Antiquitie,
So do they discern linallie,
And local Visibilitie,
From Christ unto this day."
.....

60. See M.Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers" RSCHS xviii (1974) p.201. The first known edition is the Edinburgh printing of 1595. If the original was written in the early 1580s, later versions must have been retouched: the first coming of Christ is explicitly dated 1699 years in the past: The Winter Night p.7 -
"The first coming is long fore-gane,
Sensyne fourscore of years ninetane,
Beyond six hundred and a thousand,"
61. For this section against the Jesuits, The Winter Night p.14-16.

The issue of the "local visibility" of the true church was one of the crucial debates between Catholic and protestant in the era of the Reformation. As both sides accepted that the church's existence stretched back in unbroken line to Jesus Christ, protestants defended the novelty of their communions by emphasising their continuity with the spiritual rather than the institutional aspects of earlier generations. Catholics, by contrast, pointed to their continuity with the "visible" institutions of the Middle Ages. In 1560, the Scots reformers had followed all their predecessors since Luther in viewing the essential nature of the Church as spiritual, "a high, deep, hidden thing which one may neither perceive nor see, but must grasp only by faith through baptism, sacrament and word."[62] The Scots Confession strongly urged the hidden-ness of the kirk:[63]

> "This kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knowns whom He has chosen, and includes both the chosen who are departed, the Kirk triumphant, those who yet live and fight against sin and Satan, and those who shall live hereafter."

Designed as an apologetic defence against those who challenged the credentials of a brand-new creed, the doctrine of invisibility cannot have been well understood by the ordinary Scotsman on the Dundee streets.[64] Hence the literary debate between Knox and Angus Jesuit Fr James Tyrie, centred on precisely this issue. In his "Refutation" (1573), Tyrie mocked Knox's concept and met him on his own ground from the Scriptures:[65]

> "Hewir I pray the readar to considder diligentlie this inuisible kirk of Schir Iohne Knox,..."
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> .....

62. Luther, Works pp.41,211, cited Avis, The Church p.6.
63. The Scots Confession chapter xvi, 70.
64. Fr John Hay commented that the very name "Jesuit" drew the admiration of the common people, "Since they imitate Jesus Christ, those who so cruelly oppose them must be under a great mistake." Narratives p.145. Simplicity thus cut theology's Gordian knot.
65. Catholic Tractates "The Refutation of ane ansver made be schir Iohne Knox to ane letter send by Iames Tyrie" Paris 1573.

> "Morower the kirk to be inuisible it is maist erronious and repugnant to all scriptures: for quhat can be more manifest and clier, nor that, quhilk of befoir wes cited of Isaias, the portes of the kirk sall euer be patent baith nicht and day."

Among his other Biblical passages, Tyrie referred to Matthew 5, holding that Christ's exhortation to the disciples to be "lights of the world" not only demanded "visibility" but also applied primarily to pastors:

> "... thairfoir he dois call thame the licht of the warld. Quhilk wordes in respect thay ar iustlie referret to the pastours, we do consequentlie imbring that the pastours being knawn, the kirk necessarlie man be visible: and as the licht can nocht be in the darknes, suay the pastours of the kirk can nocht be inuisible."

In making this scripture apply to the pastors, Tyrie agreed with John Erskine of Dun, whose "Of the Kirk" had argued precisely the same point from those verses with respect to the protestant ministry.[66] Tyrie, though he remained abroad after leaving Scotland to join the Society in 1563, must have remained influential in his native shire. In 1574, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie persuaded Mr Andrew Melville to dispute with him in Paris - a debate that from the evidence of The Winter Night must have echoed many others in Angus itself.[67]

In James Anderson's poem the increasing power of Rome to (as he saw it) delude and mislead the faithful was a sign of the imminence of Christ's return. He claimed that his day saw a climax of the times: [68]

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66. Spald.Misc. iv p.94:
"Thairfor thai ar callit the licht of the warld... for without the ministere nothing can be amangis men bot mirknes and corruptioun."
Set against Tyrie's Biblical and robust attack on the reformed kirk's credentials, Erskine's stress on the institutional integrity of the kirk takes on renewed significance.
67. Tractates p.xxxiv. Fr Hay reported an argument with a minister in which both parties claimed catholicity: Narratives p.152.
68. The Winter Night p.17.

"Though Antichrists full many been,
Since Christs time, as may be seen,
Was never Antichrist so keen,
As is the Pope this day."

Further evidences were sought in other current events: battles and wars between nations, divisions in families and love grown cold had been predicted by Christ [Mark 13] as signs of his return. James Anderson saw the fulfilment of these signs all around him, especially in the apostasy of those who incurred the discipline of the kirk. It may be that The Winter Night sought to raise the flagging spirits of the aged superintendent to whom it was dedicated:

"Let not the faithful be dismaid,
Not of that day be ought afraid,
But joyfully lift up their head,
To meet their Groom that day."

As the 1570s turned into the 1580s, the sense of participating in an apocalyptic struggle seems to have grown among British protestants.[69]

A number of landowners of significance in Angus society were converted back to the catholic faith. Of these, David Graham, sixth laird of Fintry, caused most alarm. His family had had a history of religious conservatism from the days of cardinal David Beaton, to whom they were kin by marriage.[70] The fifth laird was an ally of the earls of Huntly and Crawford during the wars of 1567-73; by 1576 his heir was suspect as a recusant.[71] When the young David returned to Scotland in 1583, the English ambassador

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69. The Winter Night p.22. Anderson's identification of the "signs" followed a well-trodden path. The prediction of "divisions in families" was for him fulfilled by civil wars: the conversion of the Jews, by the single but notable example of Tremellius. Richard Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse (Oxford 1978) p.148 identifies the 1580s as the time when such speculations reached a peak in England. See addendum A n.6 and B n.1, n.2.
70. See chapter 1 ns.42,93-4.
71. CSP(S) iii 221 and see chapter 8 ns.51,58,64,77; RPC ii p.498; Sir F.Mudie and D.M.Walker, Mains Castle and the Grahams of Fintry (Abertay Historical Society publications no.9 1964) p.8.

described him as "the obstinate Papist young Fintre". The General Assembly complained to the King that:[72]

> "The zong Laird of Fentrie [was] direct vnto this countrey ... to practise with is Grace and his faithfull subiects for overthrow of religion,..."

By 1584, the master of Gray was warning Mary, queen of Scots, that Graham was a Jesuit agent seeking to involve her in the plots of the foreign catholic powers.[73] During the various plots of the catholic earls during the later 1580s, (which must remain outside the scope of this study) Fintry was a key member. He was to be executed for treason in 1593, having refused all offers to go into exile, still loyal to his church.[74]

Among the other notable catholics of Angus and the Mearns was Patrick, master of Gray. In 1581, the General Assembly gave authority to the Dundee eldership to require him to give confession of his faith and to "proceid against him according to the Acts of the Kirk". By 1587, he was under process of excommunication along with Fintry and Fintry's brother, the brother of Lindsay of Vane and others.[75] In the Mearns, the chief recusant was William Douglas, heir of William Douglas of Glenbervie the ninth earl of Angus. The latter - a firm protestant - was reported considering disinheriting his catholic heir in favour of a younger son, George, who, however, died before his father. The tenth earl of Angus was also implicated with the catholic plots of the 1590s, being finally exiled

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72. CSP(S) vi 691; BUK ii 633.
73. Letters and Papers of Patrick, master of Gray (Bannatyne Club 1835) p.33.
74. Mains Castle pp.9-12. J.G.B.Young, "Scottish political parties 1573-1603" (Edinburgh Ph.D. 1976) pp.170-215 discusses the Catholic faction and concludes that Fintry was one of the most active in Scotland. In 1573, Fintry and Beaton of Melgund were arrested at Dundee importing Fr Tyrie's tract: CSP(S) iv 641-50.
75. BUK ii 718-9.

in 1608. Refused authority to return, he died in exile in 1611.[76] Yet another to suffer for his faith was one of Dame Katherine Campbell's younger sons, Walter of the Haugh/ of Balgavies. His castle of Balgavies was destroyed in 1593 by King James VI.[77] Lindsay's account of the state of the catholic religion in Scotland in 1594 listed the earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus as professing his own faith.[78] In 1592, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary, Burghley, had reckoned the earl of Crawford and James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie also among the Scottish catholic magnates.[79]

The responsibility for exercising discipline against both Jesuit visitors and recusant lairds within Angus and the Mearns lay ultimately with John Erskine of Dun. In 1580, the General Assembly instructed him to act against the master of Gray:[80]

> "Forsameikle as be evident experience it is knowin to the Kirk, that of late dayes sundrie apostates are returning within the countrey, and are spred in diverse provinces, as in Angus and vthr parts, and no kynd of discipline as zet vsed against them, to the great slander of the Kirk of God, greife of the conscience of good men, and contempt of the acts of the Kirk: The Generall Assemblie ... ordaines the Commissioners of Countreys to put the act of the last Assemblie .. to execution against them in all points; ... be the Laird of Dun against the 10 day of November nixt to come, within his province, against the master of Gray, and vthers suspect of the said apostasie."

Gray, together with Fintry, found protection at court.[81] Such demands must have weighed heavily on the old superintendent. How far he shared James Anderson's interpretation of the Jesuit mission as

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76. BUK ii 718: Scots Peerage i 199-201.
77. Lord Lindsay, Lives ii p.327; Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.351-360.
78. Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.354.
79. Narratives of Scottish Catholics p.361,365.
80. BUK ii p.469.
81. BUK ii p.642.

a sign of the Last Days is unknown. None of his writings available for analysis appear to date from the late 1570s or 1580s. John Erskine of Dun's theology was, however, a theology of conflict as well as being a theology of grace; Anderson's views would not have been wholly foreign to him.

Like his contemporaries, John Erskine looked for the providential hand of God to be active in the nation's history. This "prophetic" approach to history was that found to a more marked degree in John Knox. As one whose self-image was that of a prophet, Knox viewed his responsibilities as a preacher as including assessment of current political and national events in the light of God's word. His relationship to Mary queen of Scots was modelled on those between Elijah and King Ahab, and between similar Old Testament prophets and kings. When God's laws were disregarded, Knox threatened judgment; for he looked for God's purposeful hand in the patterns of history according to the model of the books of Kings and Chronicles. To Knox, this judgment upon the disobedient was not merely declared in Scripture or postponed until the End. Catastrophe in its many forms was God's tool of punishment: a weapon wielded with divine precision and power throughout history. The reformer's intent (in its developed form) in writing his "History" was the recording of God's mighty deeds in the history of Scotland, and in testifying against the shameful defection of the nobility from the gospel.[82]

Erskine of Dun also emphasised the intervention of God within history to protect his kirk: this theme recurs throughout his writings.[83]

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82. Greaves, Theology and Revolution pp.1-3, 135; Knox's History i pp.5-6: ii pp.3-6.
83. Spald.Misc. iv pp.93,108; Calderwood, History iii p.162.

"[God] fechtis agains the inemeis of it, and destroyis all power that seikis the hurt of it." [the kirk]

"...the kirk hes enimeis without and enimeis within, bot the Lord sall destroy them all, as he did the outwart enimeis of Israell... The scharp executione of Godis iustice in pwnisching the enimeis of his kirk is expressit in the Scriptor. The gret impyres alsweill as wther kingdomis, wer brocht to distructioun for vséing tirrannie agains the kirk of God..."

"Our synnes hes prouokit the wraith of God, the quhilk is alredy kendlit, his plaigis ar to be pourit vpone vs subdantlie, except we preif the same vith spedy repentance."

"For the Mightie Lord, who hath beene a protectour of his kirk in all ages, and hath destroyed and cast doun great impyres and kingdomes that made battell against his kirk, sall use the same judgments against all men that in thir dayes intend the like."

As both reformers sought the purity of the kirk, both shared a concern for the obedience of their own people to God's revealed will. Both also looked to see God's sovereign judgments expressed in the affairs of men. During the period of the civil war, both shared the same pessimistic view of the corruption of their own times.[84] Knox and Erskine shared a unitary cosmology: the presence of the Eternal in their world in power and judgment could not but bring with it added weight of meaning and purpose to historical events.

In his study Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI, Arthur Williamson distinguishes sharply between the patterns of theological thought of John Erskine of Dun and John Knox. Whereas the former is said to be primarily concerned with

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84. Spald.Misc. iv p.97:
"bot quhen we compair the tymes past with this age, a greit defectione apperis at this present, for the maist part of men, specialie the gretest of the nobility...ceasis nocht...to spoilye and draw to thame selfis the possessiones of the kirk;" also, ibid. p.99: "Bot misersable is the estait of this tyme, quhairin men contemning all godlie counsall...."
Compare with Knox's History ii pp.3-6.

"the integrity of the true Church", the latter's interest is summarised as being in "the cataclysmic demise of Antichrist". If Knox was concerned with the place of Scotland in the scheme of apocalyptic eschatology, Williamson suggests of Erskine that "There is no suggestion of a real time dimension in his thinking." The marked difference between the two reformers' approaches to England is deduced as a consequence, Knox seeing the possibility of God's end-time election of the British peoples while Erskine stressed the unity of the universal church. Is it really possible to substantiate Williamson's conclusion that the "divergence (between Erskine and Knox) is difficult to exaggerate" ? [85] Although some distinctions can be drawn between their doctrines of the church, such a marked difference as Williamson suggests might seem unlikely in view of the closely-linked common history of the two men. Both had supported the mission of George Wishart: if Knox celebrated communion at Dun House, Erskine sought to protect Knox in Edinburgh. He was also one of those who issued the invitation for Knox to return to Scotland. After 1560, Knox was responsible for introducing Erskine as superintendent to the churches of Angus: in all his writings no hint of any major difference from John Erskine can be found.[86]

If the centre of John Erskine's interest was indeed the church, it was the church as the focus of the perpetual love and mercy of God. His thinking on eschatological matters took its place within this framework. The ever-to-be-expected and hence eternal nature of the End in his thought is especially well illustrated by the

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85. A.Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI (Edinburgh 1979) p.20.
86. Knox's History i pp.122,132.The nearest Knox came to criticism was his comment that Erskine was too ready to please in his dealings with the Queen: Knox's History i p.160.

following.[87]

> "He send his apostles and ministeris, and daylie sendis and sall send his serwandis for the confort of his kirk onto the end of the warld, for the blessit seed of his holie word salbe in his kirk perpetualie, as it is promesit."

From the evidence of his writings, it must be concluded that the superintendent had no sense that the Second Coming was imminent. He seemed to show little interest in tracing the passage of time according to any version of a "sacred calendar". His emphasis was always on the "perpetual love" that God bears to his church. In his choice of examples to support his arguments, he ranged indiscriminately through Biblical time making no distinction between the kirks of the Old and New Covenants.[88] Of the approximately seventy Biblical references to be identified in his writings, only one was taken from Revelation and none from Daniel or other sources of apocalyptical imagery. Not that John Erskine was totally unconcerned with the eschaton - the day of final judgment. Teaching on God's great harvest as the time when "the elect of God salbe gatherit together into the hewinlie kingdome" was included in his sermon on Matthew 9.37,38. Other references can also be found in his known writings to the judgment.[89] There is no indication, however, that behind his thinking there lay any urgency apart from the general sense of expectancy commended in the gospels. To this extent, Williamson's judgment of Erskine's lack of interest in "speculations about the final events in the sacred drama" must be supported.

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87. Spald.Misc. iv p.105.
88. Spald.Misc. iv p.93 and Calderwood, History iii p.162: he cited Exodus 35, 2 Chronicles 31 and Acts 4 as equal evidence of proper care by the faithful of the ministry, ibid. p.96-7.
89. Spald.Misc. iv p.101: also p.100 -
"Bot the Lord seis maist cleirlie, and opins the eine of his serwandis to se that greit corruptione, and to admoniss sic men to amend in tyme, befoir the terribill day of the Lordis wisitatione cum."

Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept any substantial difference in this regard between Erskine and Knox. Arthur Williamson's evidence for Knox's belief in 1553-4 that Judgment was imminent is given in a footnote that restates his thesis and supports it with a list of references to Knox's collected works.[90] Study of these passages suggests an alternative interpretation, however; for the use of apocalyptic language need not indicate a heightened eschatological attitude. It can, especially on a preacher's lips, simply serve to emphasise the urgency of a present crisis. To take two examples only: when Knox urged his English readers "stand firm; Christ Jesus sall cum with speed..."[91] the context indicates that his reference was to the storm-bound disciples on the lake of Galilee before Christ came to them, walking on the waters and stilling the storm. This was, therefore, an exhortation to patient endurance and to faith that God would triumph over their enemies in time. No necessary reference to the final victory was involved. More conclusively, Knox's exhortation "arm yourselves to stand with Christ in this short battle" comes only lines apart from his promise that present defiance would result in a godly inheritance for posterity.[92] John Knox, more than John Erskine, studied the books of Daniel and Revelation; but little real evidence exists to support the conclusion that at any stage he was "convinced that the world might end very shortly indeed."[93]

• Knox's interest in Daniel and other

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90. Williamson, National Consciousness p.154-5 n.66.
91. Knox, Works iii p.287.
92. Knox, Works iii p.208.
93. Williamson, National Consciousness p.155. See also chapter 5 n.2 The other references in Williamson's note 66 are examined in addendum A at the end of this chapter.

Biblical sources of apocalyptic lay less in their eschatological content than in their references to the antichrist. As early as 1547, while chaplain to the castilians at St Andrews, Knox had preached from Daniel making an identification between the Roman church and the last beast of Daniel's dream, and also between the Pope and antichrist.[94] Katherine Firth argues that two separate usages of the term "antichrist" can be distinguished in writers of the Reformation period. On the one hand, the term could refer to Satan's chief agent in the world at all times throughout history, be he a Nero or a particular Pope. On the other, an additional eschatological sense could be given by emphasis on the revelation of antichrist at any given time as a sign that Christ's return was near. Her analysis of Knox's writing leads her to suggest that the reformer was primarily concerned with the current struggle against evil and less with historical prediction: "In both interest and commitment, Knox was a man of the present."[95] John Erskine's use of the term "antichrist" was also as present-minded as the rest of his thought. The context in which Erskine placed the Pope was within the eternal struggle of Christ's kirk against Satan, a struggle which forms the background to his emphasis on God's protection of his kirk:[96]

> "Thair is nothing sa odius to Sathan as is the ministerie of Christis ewangell, and the samin he labouris continewalie to put furth of the earthe, becaus it is the instrument of mennis saluatioun."

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94. Knox's History i p.84f.
95. Katherine Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain (Oxford 1979) pp.7,121. See also, R.G.Kyle, The Mind of John Knox pp.227-235. Kyle accepts Firth's interpretation, but does not discuss Williamson's thesis.
96. Spald.Misc. iv p.100. For his use of the language of antichrist: "The messingeris and ministeris of God seand the wraith of God kendlit for our synnes and the cruell threatnyngis of the Antichrist and his memberis aganis the kirk of God, as thai haif concludit in thair bludie counsall of Trent..." (ibid. p.108). See also "Ane letter...to the queinis grace" ibid.p.88

Indeed, it is not too much to say that Erskine's predominant concept of God was as "a good lord" in the Scottish tradition of lordship; an ideal king, who could be relied upon to guard and protect his people against their common enemies, Satan and his antichrist.[97] John Erskine and John Knox both used the apocalyptically-based language of the antichrist but, unlike James Anderson's, this language was not directly linked with their understanding of eschatology.

In their framework of theological thought, it seems that little separated John Knox and John Erskine of Dun. Both viewed the world as a battlefield between the forces of Christ and antichrist, in which obedience was the prime Christian quality. Both looked for God's providential interventions in the affairs of the church and of nations in advance of his final Day of Judgment. This latter Day had a reality and closeness to them foreign to most in the twentieth century: yet there is little indication in their writings that they had any precise conviction that history was close to its end. Certainly Knox with his substantial English and European experience was more active in British and international politics than Erskine, and they may have diverged on the extent to which alliance with England was providential. Where Knox's political perspectives were British, Erskine's remained Scottish. In their underlying theological outlook, however, the two reformers shared a great deal in common: both were theologians of conflict as well as of grace.[98] Scottish protestant theology was born in battle against the persecutions of the 1530s and 1540s; by the 1570s and 1580s new enemies had appeared, but the battle continued.

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97. Calderwood, History iii p.161. Erskine's part in witch-trials is consistent with this: see above, n.10, n.11.
98. See addendum B at the end of this chapter.

Modern assessments of Erskine of Dun have found the laird and superintendent to be a living paradox: a supposed religious conservative in the Lutheran mould who nevertheless held to Andrew Melville's doctrine of the two kingdoms.[99] Some of this uncertainty stems from a misunderstanding of "Ane letter...to the Queinis grace". It has been argued that the position advanced in 1559 was compatible, in fact, with versions of both the "godly prince" and the "two kingdoms" doctrines.[100] Links in Erskine's thought with Oecolampadius and Bucer must not be overlooked. The latter reformer being influential in Edwardian England, and Erskine being known to have used the Edwardian prayer book as a resource, these links are hardly surprising. Little difference in principle can be found between the letter of 1559 and that to the Regent Mar of 10 November 1571, where John Erskine stated his views thus:[101]

> "There is a spirituall jurisdictioun and power which God hath givin unto his kirk, and to those who beare office therin; and there is a temporall power givin of God to kings and civill magistrats. Both the powers are of God, and most agreing to the fortifeing one of another, if they be right used. But when the corruptioun of man entereth in, confounding the offices, usurping to himself what he pleaseth, nothing regarding the good order appointed of God, then confusioun followeth in all estats."

Bucer also, while insisting on Christ's headship of the church, anticipated mutual support between the Kingdom of Christ and the kingdoms of the world. Indeed, he envisaged their mutual submission.[102] The chapter of the second Book of Discipline entitled "Off the Office of ane Christiane Magistrat in the kirk" also differed little from Erskine's views of 1559 and 1571. Much in the second

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99. Cf M.Lynch: International Calvinism ed.Prestwich, p.242.
100. Chapter 4, notes 47-71.
101. Calderwood History iii p.158.
102. Melanchthon and Bucer p.186.

Discipline was taken directly from Bucer.[103] If John Erskine can be shown to have moved from an early reliance on English materials towards a theology more akin to the Swiss theologians, the continuity in his thinking is to be found in his high view of the calling and office of Christ's Kirk.

John Erskine's letter to his own chief, the regent Mar, was provoked by the conflict between the kirk and the government of the king's lords over the appointment in August 1571 of John Douglas to the archbishopric of St Andrews. This conflict was both practical and theological: it involved a deadlock on whether Douglas' factors or the kirk's collectorate were entitled to gather the archbishopric's spirituality. The entire policy of the "dismembering" of the episcopate was at issue. In addition, there was the question of the kirk's spiritual independence: the question of whether the kirk had the liberty to call its own chief officers. Should it be accepted that bishops were to be appointed, their control of teinds and patronage, not to mention their ancient jurisdictions, would give them great power and authority.[104] During the 1560s the General Assembly had grown used to its freedom to rule the kirk as an autonomous court, while officially recognising that the polity of the church had not been settled. The right to nominate candidates for the episcopate, however, had been won by the Scottish crown from both the Pope and the bishopric chapters well before 1560. John Erskine of Dun was instrumental in settling the immediate crisis of Douglas' appointment at Leith in January 1571/2. During this period, he wrote what is his finest surviving theological work.

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103. Second Book pp.213-216, especially n.167.
104. Second Book pp.18-23 for J.Kirk's discussion of the background and events of the Leith settlement.

"Ane epistill wrettin to ane faythfull brother, be Johne Erskyne of Dwne", dated 13 December 1571, is subtitled "Of the Kirk of God". The tract opens with a repetitiously oratorical outburst of praise of the high calling of the kirk:[105]

> "The kirk of God is a thing moist precious in his sycht, he luffs it as he dois luf his onlie Sone, and with ane perpetuall luf dois he luf it."

In short space, the kirk is named as the body of Christ, spouse of the Almighty, the inheritance of the Lord, his proper possession, his kingdom, the city where he delights to dwell, and the congregation of the chosen and elect faithful. Such piling-up of images is not only powerful and impressive: it is indicative of the extent to which the superintendent's theology was focused around the church. Creation was viewed as for the kirk: not only the powers of the world but the very angels were designed to be its servants. The focus of the doctrines of creation and providence, the kirk was related to the work of Christ and of the Holy Spirit in salvation, justification, sanctification and illumination. The concept of the kirk as God's Kingdom earlier expressed in 1559 now took on a strongly militant edge:[106]

> "In this kirk God regnnes. This kirk he governis, preserwes, and defendis: he fechtis agains the inemeis of it,and destroyis all power that seikis the hurt of it."

The eloquence of this whole opening sequence by John Erskine of Dun is without parallel in theological writing of the era of the Scottish Reformation.

Consequent on such a high view of the church was Erskine's equally high view of ministers of the kirk. Where Calvin and Bullinger applied the metaphor of motherhood to the church

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105. Spald.Misc. iv pp.92-101. For the passage cited here, p.92.
106. Spald.Misc. iv p.93.

as a whole, "Of the Kirk of God" related it specifically to the ministry.[107] More remarkably, though Romans 1.18 describes the Gospel as "the power of God for salvation", Erskine of Dun reapplied this to the preaching and sacramental activity of the ministry itself:[108]

> "... to this kirk hes he giffin the ministratioun of the hewinlie mistereis, be the quhilk ministry he quickins the dede, regeneratis his elect, and nwrisis his faythfull. It is the power of God to work saluatioun."

Where Luther had proclaimed "the power of the keys" to be a function of the ministry of the word belonging to all Christians, Calvin and Bullinger taught that it was a function of the authorities of the church. Erskine held that "the keyis of the kingdome of hewin" were given to the ministers:[109]

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107. Spald.Misc. iv p.94:
"This holie ministerie is placed in the kirk as a mother to bring furth and to newris childring wnto God, of quhois fructfull wombe ar borne, and be hir breistis newrisit all the trew memberis of Christis kirk. "
Compare with - Calvin, Institutes 4.1.1: (ed. J.T.McNeill 1961)
"I shall start,then, with the church, into whose bosom God is pleased to gather his sons, not only that they may be nourished by her help and ministry as long as they are infants and children, but also that they may be guided by her motherly care until they are mature and reach the goal of faith."
Also Bullinger, Decades 5.2: (ed. T.Harding for Parker Soc. 1852)
"By the word our mother, the church, begetteth children. ..; that is to say, whiles she, retaining the seed of the word, by the preaching of the word doth fashion and nourish us in her womb, and after bringeth us forth into light; whom afterwards she nourisheth with milk, and bringeth up with stronger meat, until we grow up into a perfect man."

108. Spald.Misc. iv p.93. In the English liturgies of the reign of Edward VI, the phrase "holy mysteries" was used of the Lord's Supper: Erskine's "hewinlie mistereis" may reflect this. The Two Books of Common Prayer (Oxford 1838) p.274 and passim.

109. Luther's Works 40.27f, cited P.Avis, The Church p.100.
Calvin differentiated the power of binding and loosing sins, effected by Christ by the ministry of the Gospel (Institutes 4.11.1), and the temporal binding and loosing of "the discipline of excommunication which is entrusted to the Church". (Institutes 4.11.2)
Bullinger, "Of the Holy Catholic Church" (Decades v.1) in Zwingli and Bullinger ed. G. Bromiley, (London 1953) p.322.

"to oppin, to steik, to bind, to louss, to remit and reteine synnes..."

Here, among the major continental theologians the superintendent's position was closest to Melanchthon who, understanding "the keys" in the sense of proclaiming the forgiveness of sins, limited their exercise to those who had the ministry of the Word.[110] The first Helvetian Confession, (as translated into Scots by John Erskine's mentor George Wishart), by equating "the keys" with the "aucthoritie to preache Goddes Worde and to feede the Lordes flocke" had used the concept as its introduction to a discussion of the doctrine of ministry. The Confession [1536-7] immediately proceeded to the conclusion that this "aucthoritie ... shulde be committed onely to them that are mete therfore: and chosen other by the eleccion of God, or elles by a sure and aduysed eleccion of the Churche; ..." Finally, it affirmed that Christ, being the "very trewe heed of his churche and congregacion, and the onely pastor and heed", directly guided the "externall administracion" of the church; those who attempted to exercise power over it apart from Him were no true ministers.[111] In the three headings of the Confession "The power of the Churche", "The chosynge of ministers or officers", "the Heed and Shepherd of the Churche" can be found the matrix of the superintendent's thought: the kingship of Christ, the supreme salvific authority of the kirk, the autonomy of the ministry. These were the elements of his opposition in 1571/2 to the state's appointment of bishops as an interference with the liberty of the kirk, as expressed in both the letter to Mar and in "Of the Kirk".

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110.P.Avis, The Church p.102.
111.Wishart's translation of the Helvetian Confession, in C.Rogers, Life of George Wishart (Grampian Club 1876) p.68.

Though the later theologians were careful to distinguish between the church visible and invisible, Erskine of Dun's emphasis was largely on the kirk, militant in this world. For, while Bucer was prepared to describe the church as the Kingdom of God, he remained aware that "the Kingdom" was not so much territorial and institutional as concerned with the dynamic and spiritual rule of Christ.[112] In "Of the Kirk of God", however, as in "Ane letter...to the Queinis grace", the kingdom seems to be identified with the institutional church without remainder. This may be in part because of the historical context of each of the letters, both concerned with the defence of the institutional integrity of the kirk and of its ministry.[113] The letter of 1559 had been directed against the queen regent's attempt to silence protestant preaching; that of 1571 addressed to regent Mar sought to preserve the right of the church to call its own ministers. Erskine's peculiarly Scottish understanding of the kingdom of God, as Christ's own liberty or regality, may also have played a part in this. The direct rule of Christ took on such a concrete aspect to the superintendent that little room was left for any consideration of the kirk as an ideal, heavenly spouse of Christ. In this respect, his thought was less subtle than that of John Knox, who placed great emphasis on the "invisibility" of the true kirk.[114]

If Erskine did not distinguish too closely

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112. Bucer, "De Regno Christi": definition of the Kingdom in chapter v. See Melanchthon and Bucer ed. W.Pauck.
113. Spald.Misc. iv pp.95-6: "for it is nocht onlie requerit the ewangell of Christ to be haid in estimatioun, bot also the ministeris thairof, sa lang as thai posses the office and trawellis faythfullie thairin..."
114. Fr James Tyrie in deriding the entire concept of an "invisible Church", linked it closely to John Knox's teaching: see above n.65. Cf. Prof.R.Kyle, "The Nature of the Church in the thought of John Knox" SJT xxxvii (1985) p.486: "the very essence of Knox's church was its invisible form."

between the institutional church on earth and its spiritual reality, he did seek to distinguish between true and false members of the kirk in both its aspects. Where Knox was concerned with the "marks" of a true church, Erskine sought for the "marks" by which true and false individual believers might be identified. His answer combined the basic Pauline and Johannine themes: those of faith and love - [115]

> "The trew memberis jonit to Christ be faithe, are jonit togither amange thame selfis be luff."

The place of Christian love in Erskine's thought has already been noted in his sermon "vpone the seventh chapter of Luke...." To serve the particular purposes of "Of the Kirk", Erskine included within the concept of brotherly love the obedience owed by the laity to its ministers, together with the obligation to sustain their bodily needs. Hence false Christians were those who despoiled the kirk of her patrimony, those who intruded unqualified ministers into spiritual office, and those who mistreated the genuine ministry.[116] The original New Testament concept of self-denying love as the distinctive mark of the Church was almost unrecognisable when applied to the obligation to pay teinds for the support of the clergy. The necessity to defend the kirk's autonomy and aspirations against the greed of protestant magnates had warped Erskine's Biblical principles almost beyond recognition.

Two basic loyalties fought for

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115. Spald.Misc. iv p.95. Bullinger had identified the union of faith and love as marks of the church: Bullinger, (Decades v) "Of the Holy Catholic Church", p.306: cited John T.McNeill, "The Church in Reformed Theology", The Journal of Religion xxii (1942) p.257. The Scots reformers accepted three marks by which the true church on earth might be identified: gospel preaching, proper administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of discipline. The Scots Confession pp.44-5.
116. Spald.Misc. iv pp.95-97.

mastery in John Erskine's mind. On the one hand, he was deeply committed to Christ within the context of a reformed theology and church. On the other, he was an Angus laird, reared in traditions of loyalty to, and service of, the Scottish crown. His patriotic understanding of kingship, shared with Mr William Lamb, had helped form his concept of God Himself. Loyal to Mary of Guise in all matters, except for his religious faith, the superintendent of Angus was one of the few protestant ministers whom Mary queen of Scots is known to have commended.[117] A man of deep personal faith, John Erskine was nevertheless socially conservative, exercising his oversight of his province with prudent pragmatism. In national affairs, too, he was rarely willing to challenge those in authority. At Leith, he went further than the kirk proved willing to go in accepting the episcopate as a part of reformed church authority. Bowing to the judgment of the Assembly, he took part - perhaps with personal reservations - in compiling the second Book of Discipline and in recommending it to the government.[118]

During the crisis over the Black Acts in 1584-5, the laird of Dun also worked for compromise between the King and the radical ministers. Faced with a demand that the ministry subscribe their assent to legislation discharging the jurisdiction of presbyteries and subjecting the church to royal authority as exercised by the bishops as commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, John Erskine sought safeguards from James VI. Others, notably the ministry of

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117. Knox's History ii pp.82-4,98,147.
118. Erskine refused to produce a draft for the section of the Discipline assigned to him, on the grounds that it was "obscure and mystick". The Assembly nevertheless appointed him with others to confer with regent Morton to secure his assent to the completed Discipline: BUK i 384,398.

Edinburgh, preferred to go into exile rather than subscribe.[119] Whereas in 1582 John Erskine had stood with those who opposed the young king and his government,[120] in 1585 Patrick Adamson on James' behalf successfully called for Erskine's assistance.[121] The ministers of Angus and the Mearns were allowed to subscribe "as far as the Word of God allows". Petrie found in the Dun papers a writing in King James' script modifying the Black Acts to allow that preaching and the process of excommunication should proceed as before, that heresy trials should be ecclesiastical matters and the kirk's judgments enforced by the crown, that fasts called by the kirk should be approved by the king, and that bishops nominated by the crown should be subject to the General Assembly.[122] Thus satisfied that the power of "the keys" remained in the hands of the kirk, Erskine obtained the

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119. D.G.Mullan, Episcopacy in Scotland pp.56-64; Second Book pp.142-5; Lynch, Edinburgh p.157. For Mr James Melville, see app.A.c no.143.
120. He subscribed the Articles of July described as "treasonable" by the earl of Arran: T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.248. The Ruthven Raiders sent an appeal to him, summoning him to support them in arms. NLS ms. 2208 f5r:
"To o[ur]e traist freind ye lard of Dun.
Eftir o[ur]e maist hartlie comm[en]d[a]t[iou]nis Forsameikle as the pr[e]s[e]nt danger appering to goddis trew religioun and p[ro]ffessors y[air]of the perrill of the kingis maisteis awin estait and croun and all the mainfest abuss and confusioun yat ye haill co[m]mone weill in all estatis hes movis us to cu[m] and remane w[i]t his maiestie q[uhi]ll ye truwth heirof be manifesteit to all his hines faithfull subiectis That w[i]t quhais consent ye best remeid may be providit q[uhai]rfoir we maist effectuouslie desyris zou that ze accompaneit w[i]t yir best freindis and servandis in maist fensable maner ze will not faill to be heir in Striviling upoun ye viii day of September nixt q[uhai]r zow sall understand ye [con]tancie of o[ur]e honest meaning in all respectis as ze will declare ze gude affectioun to sa necessar caus and obless us to acquite zowr gude will quhair it sall ly in o[ur]e power sa we co[m]mit zou to god of Striviling the last day of August 1582."
121. Spald.Misc. iv p.70: letter from Adamson to Erskine, 22 Jan. 1584/5. On 18 Nov.1584, Montrose wrote to Erskine that the king "hess alss gud oppynioun off you at this present, ass he hess off any subiect in Scotland." Spald.Misc. iv p.70.
122. Petrie, Compendious History century xvi pt. 3 p.448; cited in T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.259.

subscriptions of his ministers. In consequence, when in 1584 the total paid as stipends to the Scottish ministry declined by thirteen per cent, the allocation to Erskine's province actually rose.[123] John Erskine was appointed a commissioner in ecclesiastical causes with powers in the diocese of Brechin, and for the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld within his own shires.[124]

Though severely criticised at the time by those who pushed their defence of the kirk to the point of exile,[125] John Erskine's compromise between his twin loyalties served its purpose at the time, and in the longer-term may have helped to persuade James VI that it was in fact possible to work with the collegiate structures of the Scottish church. His attitude in the crises of 1571-2 and 1584-5 does, however, demonstrate the continuing tension within the reformed kirk that arose from the high view of the preaching ministry that it had come to hold. The Scottish protestant doctrine of the ministry arose as a reaction to the failure of the old Catholic Church to satisfy a desire for Biblical teaching. In the conflict for the patrimony of the kirk it became confused, however, with the doctrine of the authority of Scripture. The resulting "theology of the Word" in the hands of such as John Knox and David Fergusson tended to set up the ministry as an infallible agency of government; to subvert the Scottish monarchy in favour of theocracy.

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123. T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.257-8.
124. Spald.Misc. iv p.70.
125. David Hume wrote to James Carmichael on 15 Mar.1584/5 and 9 April 1585 that "the laird of Dun is a pest to [the northern ministers]" and that he "had corrupted them all". James Melville wrote that the concessions obtained to enable the north to subscribe had proved "a Dun humble kow". Wodrow Soc. Misc. pp.432,436,438; cited T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.263. For the subscription of the "brethren of the exercise of Montrose, Brechin and the Mearns" on Erskine's advice, see their letter to him of 29 Jan. 1584/5: Spald.Misc. iv p.71-2.

John Erskine of Dun was more rooted in the traditional structures of Scottish society and government: he sought in his career to achieve a practical and institutional settlement that would safeguard the spiritual freedom of the kirk in harmony with the social fabric of Scotland. His achievement was the consolidation, acceptance and financing of the new parish ministry in Angus and the Mearns.

By the time that the laird of Dun died in 1589/90, the struggle to decide the eventual polity of the kirk of Scotland had many years life ahead of it. Similarly, the Christianising of the rural population was a task for many subsequent generations. Ironically, the Jesuit threat to protestant Scotland, so feared by James Anderson, lost itself in the tortuous conspiracies and politics of the 1590s and failed at that time to translate the conversion of individual lairds and magnates into a wider return to Rome. Defence of the reformed kirk from these three challenges formed part of the duties of the superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, in addition to the administration of his province. From examination of his surviving works, it can be seen that John Erskine's concern was for the spiritual integrity of a kirk founded on scripture and headed by Christ the King. He looked to the secular power to reform and uphold the church according to God's law. In his works can be found the essential Reformation doctrines of salvation by faith alone and the once-completed work of Christ. Not only were these doctrines taught: in the hands of James Anderson and others they were polemical weapons against a revived catholicism whose strength by the late 1570s was a major cause for concern. The fundamental theological arguments "How can I obtain a gracious God ? " and "Where can I find the true

Church ? "[126] were not settled by the parliamentary acts of 1560. They continued to exercise the minds of men for decades afterwards: if there had been protestants who were persecuted for their faith in Angus before 1560, there were to be catholics who suffered equally after that date. The continuing power of theology to sway men must not be underestimated, especially in the era of the Reformation.

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126.P.D.L.Avis, The Church p.1.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER SEVEN

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON'S DISCUSSION OF ERSKINE OF DUN AND JOHN KNOX.

An attempt has been made above [notes 85-98] to demonstrate that Erskine and Knox were much closer in their theological outlook than Arthur Williamson allowed in his Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI. Although Knox was more prepared to think in British terms than the laird of Dun, an examination of their eschatology, their understanding of the doctrines of the antichrist and of providence showed considerable similarity of approach. These addenda continue the argument in two ways: first, by examining Williamson's underlying reliance on the work of William Haller in the light of recent research; and second, by further analysis of the texts from Knox's Works by which the reformer's eschatological attitudes were demonstrated.

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ADDENDUM A

HALLER'S FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS AND THE ELECT NATION EXAMINED.

Bibliography of works mentioned, listed in chronological order:

HALLER, WILLIAM Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (London 1963).

OLSEN, V.NORSKOV John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church (Berkeley 1973).

BAUCKHAM, RICHARD Tudor Apocalypse (Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 8, Appleford 1978).

FIRTH, KATHERINE R. The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford 1979).

WILLIAMSON, ARTHUR R. Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI (Edinburgh 1979).

LAKE, PETER "The significance of the Elizabethan identification of the Pope as Antichrist" JEH xxxi (1980) pp.161-178.

WILLIAMSON, ARTHUR R. "Scotland, Antichrist and the Invention of Great Britain" in New Perspectives on the politics and culture of early modern Scotland ed. John Dwyer and others, (Edinburgh 1982).

CAPP, BERNARD "The political dimension of apocalyptic thought" in The Apocalypse in English Renaissance thought and literature ed. Patrides and Wittreich (New York 1984).

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In both of his published works Arthur Williamson relied heavily upon William Haller's classic Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation. The corner-stones of Williamson's discussion of Knox were first, that Foxe believed that England had a

"unique destiny in sacred history" and second, that Knox shared this belief because he was a colleague and "close personal friend" of Foxe.[1] Confined by his own topic to an examination of Scottish texts, Williamson simply accepted Haller's demonstration of Foxe's belief in God's election of the English nation. Thereafter, the various other elements of the evidence fell into place: Knox's writing of his "History", his generally-phrased letters to English diplomats, his support for the proposed marriage of Arran to Queen Elizabeth. Without the underlying assumption that the Marian exiles, including Knox, shared this particular religiously-based nationalism this other evidence is indirect and inconclusive. Since Haller published his work in 1963, however, further research has considerably modified his conclusions.

Whereas Haller's study concentrated on Foxe's Book of Martyrs, V. Norskov Olsen widened the focus to include the entire corpus of Foxe's works.[2] He distinguished between the pre-millennial apocalyptic nationalism of the seventeenth century and the post-millennial eschatology of the middle- and late-sixteenth that had the church as its main concern rather than the nation. To Olsen, Foxe's focus was in fact the church. This interpretion was based on his examination not only of the Acts and Monuments but also of the earlier apocalyptic drama Christus Triumphans (Basel, 1556) and the later exposition Eicasmi sev Meditationes in Sacram Apocalypsin,

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1. A.Williamson, National Consciousness pp.2-5; in New Perspectives p.34 "as Professor Haller has made clear..." He cites William Lamont in support of Haller: National Consciousness p.147 n.1, n.3; but Lamont's Godly Rule (London 1969) started from 1603.
2. V.Olsen John Foxe pp.36-47 for his summary of his opposition to Haller. Olsen cited T.H.L. Parker's English Reformers (London 1966) as foreshadowing his own views: John Foxe p.37.

(London 1587) - in which latter work "Queen Elizabeth's name is mentioned only three times in passing." Olsen explicitly rejected Haller's association of Foxe with the concept of England as an elect nation.[3]

Working independently of Olsen, Katherine Firth and Richard Bauckham in separate studies came to the same conclusion that Haller could no longer be relied upon. Katherine Firth suggests, indeed, that even Haller could not find any explicit evidence to support his thesis: "he was forced to argue that the connection between England and the elect nation was implied".[4] She, too, looked to the Eicasmi for proof that Foxe did not fit the seventeenth century pattern of religiously-based nationalism. Finally, Richard Bauckham's edition of Tudor apocalyptic texts, based on his prize-winning "Interpretations of Prophecy" viewed the later national apocalyptic of the seventeenth century as a theology of hope and as such opposed to the Tudor theology of persecution.[5]

The combined arguments of Olsen, Firth and Bauckham, so far unchallenged by any successor to Haller, must be accepted as providing present guide-lines for the study of Foxe and his contemporaries. Indeed, Peter Lake's article on "The significance of the Elizabethan identification of the Pope as antichrist" most successfully builds on the framework provided by these three revisionists.[6] The consequence for Arthur Williamson's analysis of

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3. V.Olsen John Foxe pp.44,47.
4. K.Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition p.107.
5. R.Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse p.13.
6. P.Lake, "Elizabethan Identification of the Pope" p.163 n.12. B.Capp, in his recent summary of the field "The political dimension" accepts that Haller was wrong to date the rise of millennial nationalism to the period of the Marian exile: The Apocalypse pp.95-6.

John Knox is serious: for if the English Marian exiles did not in fact think in terms of national election for England, he offers no direct evidence that Knox did so for Britain. Because Williamson's thesis with regard to Knox is wholly dependent on Haller,[7] it too cannot be accepted as founded on fact. The suggestion that the opposition between Knox's supposed "Imperialism" and Erskine's nationalism rested on basic theological differences must also fail.

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7. S.A.Burrell's "The Apocalyptic Vision of the Early Covenanters" SHR xliii (1964) p.6f., a seminal precursor to Williamson's thesis, also relied heavily on Professor Haller.

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ADDENDUM B

WILLIAMSON'S EVIDENCE FOR KNOX'S ESCHATOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Bernard Capp suggests that "During the first half of Elizabeth's reign there developed a general consensus that the pope was Antichrist and that the end of the world was at hand".[1] Modern authorities seem agreed that English apocalyptic speculations reached a crisis in the 1580s, when various natural phenomena (a nova, a comet, an earthquake) combined with the threat of the Armada to produce widespread excitement.[2] How far was Arthur Williamson correct in suggesting that John Knox's sense of the imminence of the Coming climaxed in 1553-4 ? The outlines of an answer to this question have been given above. The further passages from Knox's Works cited in National Consciousness will now be examined.

1.B.Capp in The Apocalpyse p.97.
2.R.Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse p.163f.

KNOX Works iii p.105:
[cited from 104]
"A PLAGUE THREATNED TO ENGLAND.- O England! lat thy intestin battell, and domesticall murther provok thee to puritie of lyfe, according to the word whilk oppinlie hath bene proclamed in thee otherwise the cuppe of the Lordis wraithe thow salt drink! [In the edit. 1554, "thou shalt shortly drinke of."] The multitude sall not eschape, buyt sall drink the dregis, and have the cupe brokin upon thair heidis. For judgement begynneth in the house of the Lord, and commounlie the leist offender is first punissit, to provoke the mair wickit to repentence. But, O Lord! infinit in mercie, yf thow

10 salt puniss, mak not consummatioun, but cut away the proude and luxuriant branches whilk beir no frute: and preserve the Commounweillis of sic as gif succour and harbour to thy contempnit messingeris, whilk lang have sufferit exyle in desert. And lat thy Kingdome schortlie cum that sin may be endit, death devorit, thy
15 enemyis confoundit; that we thy pepill, be thy Majestie delyverit, may obtene everlasting joy and felicitie, throw Jesus Chryst oure Savioure, to whom be all honour and prais, for ever. Amen. [In the edit. 1554, the concluding sentence was omitted.] "

This is the concluding section and paragraph to Knox's "A Declaration of the true nature and object of prayer" (1554): Laing's edition includes alterations made by Knox during printing. The content of the tract is purely devotional apart from this last section, in which the reformer applied his earlier teaching that God's temporal judgments, "as hunger, pestilence, or weir" might be averted by His mercy in answer to prayer. It is therefore clear that the apocalyptic-sounding threats of lines one to nine refer not to the End but to diverse "plagues" within history. The most significantly eschatological section is the last sentence, omitted in 1554. This strongly echoes a prayer to be found in the 1552 Prayer Book's burial service - a resemblance that may explain why Knox removed the sentence. No more conclusions as to Knox's expectations for the Second Coming can be drawn from this liturgical ending than can be from Cranmer's original "beseeching thee, that it may please thee... to haste thy kingdom" that all God's people might enjoy the "joy and felicity" of the departed.

KNOX Works iii p.119.

1 "The pacient abyding of the soir affictit was never yet confoundit.
To his belovit Mother, Johne Knox sendeth greiting, in the Lord.
The desyre that I have to heir of your continewance with Chryst
5 Jesus, in the day of this his battell, whilk schortlie sall end to the confusion of his proude enemysis, neither by toung nor by pen can I express, beloved Mother. "
[From the beginning of "An exposition upon the sixth psalm of David, addressed to Mrs Bowes": 1554]

In the body of the tract, Knox asked why God permitted his elect such sufferings as the English protestants faced under Mary. His answer was threefold: to provoke a hatred of sin; to raise their hearts from the "transitory vanities" of the world so as to give force to the daily prayer "Thy Kingdom come"; and thirdly to demonstrate that eventual success would be due to God alone and not to their own strength. While the second reason most clearly shows an eschatological awareness, the total thrust of the tract was to encourage "pacient abyding" under the cross. The third division of the argument likened the English church to the Israelites' stage by stage occupation of the promised land, the clear implication of this parallel being that, given time, God would grant success. The battle for the English kingdom would shortly end.

KNOX Works iii p.205.
1"... The Admonitioun wes this, That the last trumpet wes then in blawing within the Realme of England, and thairfoir aucht everie man to prepair himself for battell. For gif the trumpet suld altogether cease, and be put to silence, then suld it never blaw agane with the
5 lyke force within the said realme till the cuming of the Lord Jesus." [From "A godly letter to the faithful in London": 1554]

The single point of the language of judgment in this extract was that the light of God's Word could be removed from nations as a punishment for disobedience. Knox continued by pointing to the examples of the former churches of Asia and Africa - where the Christian faith had suffered centuries of darkness. The greater was the length of time until the End, therefore, the greater the judgment on disobedience. The passage cannot be used as evidence that Knox considered that the time would be short.

KNOX Works iii p.208.
See chapter 7 notes 92,93.

KNOX Works iii pp.212-215.

"O Brethrene, is not the Devill, the prince of this warld, vanquished and casten out ? Hath not Chryst Jesus, for whome we suffer, maid conquest of him ? Hath he not, in despite of Sathanis malice, carried oure flesche up to glory ? And sall not our Champion returne ? We knaw that he sall, and that with expeditioun... But in the meanetyme, you feir corporall death:" [213]

"Flie from ydolatrie, and stand with Chryst Jesus in this day of his battell, whilk sall be schort and the victorie everlasting! For the Lord himself sall cum in our defence with his michtie power; he sall gif us the victorie when the battell is maist strang; and He sall turn our teares into everlasting joy." [215]

[From "A godly letter to the faithful in London": 1554]

Despite the clear references to a shared hope of a swift return of Christ to bring victory to his people, this passage is not unambiguous. For immediately between these two extracts, Knox reinforced his exhortations to flee from idolatry by urging that "the true knowledge of God" ought thereby to be left to his readers' children. He appears, therefore, to be using language whose primary reference is to the End in its secondary spiritual sense: Christ will certainly "come" soon, not visibly and finally, but in providential judgment on their enemies. Only by such an interpretation can room be found for his expressed aspirations for posterity.

KNOX Works iii p.287.
See chapter 7 n.91.

KNOX Works iii pp.329-30.

"This no dout, dear Brethren, shal one day be the songe of Godes electe within the Realme of Englande, after that God hath poured forth his vengeaunce upon these inobedient and blood-thristy tyrauntes, which now triumpheth in all abominations; and therfore, yet agayne, beloved in the Lord, abyde patientlye the Lordes deliveraunce, avoiding and flyeng suche offences as may seperate and devyde you from the blessed felowship of the Lorde Jesus at his

seconde comming. Watche and praye, resist the Devel, and row against this vehement tempest, and shortly shal the Lorde come to the comforte of your hertes, which nowe are oppressed with anguyshe and care;..." ["An admonition to the professors of God's truth in England" 1554.]

Three usages of language of Christ's coming are confused in this extract. Lines one to three refer to Knox's expectations of God's vengeance upon tyrants in the general course of history: His "coming" with justice to avenge His people. Next follows an appeal to such purity of life as will suit Christians for the final "bodily" presence of Christ - lines five to eight. Finally, Knox reverts to language suggestive of the Lord's spiritual "coming" to the heart to bring such comfort as He did to the disciples in the storm. It is surely significant that this appeal comes at the conclusion of a lengthy tract: its objective is not so much a rational as an emotive finale.

KNOX Works iv p.262.

1 "That ye considdering, by the signis foirspokin by oure Maister Chryst Jesus, (whilk for the maist part ar now present,) the dayis of this maist corrupt warld to be schort, and thairfoir the joyfull delyverance of that oppressit and afflictit flock till aproche, may walk in Godis presence, as becumeth his sanctis and chosin children...." ["A letter to his brethren in Scotland" 1557]

Of all Williamson's references, this extract most clearly demonstrates Knox's awareness that the End could be close. Even here, however, the reformer qualifies his argument: the predicted signs of the End were said to be fulfilled only for the "most part". The extract supports a conclusion that Knox, like his contemporaries, was conscious that Christ's Return was to be expected, but hardly Williamson's argument that "in late 1553 and 1554 this theme acquired an altogether new emphasis and shrillness."

KNOX Works v p.504.

1 "whensoever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his Worde, any realme,nation...; that he never castethe of the same care and fatherly affection... until they do utterly declare themselves unworthy of his presence: when this (I say) I dyd consider and waye, I was in judgment somewhat reformed." ["An exhortation to England" 1559]

This final citation, containing no reference at all to the Second Coming, is clearly intended by Arthur Williamson to support his view that Knox's understanding of the imminence of the End abated around 1558.

CONCLUSION

Having reviewed all the extracts cited by Williamson [National Consciousness p.154-5 n.66] it must be concluded that, though Knox was capable of using "shrill" language to press home his message at the beginning and end of tracts, no direct evidence exists that he measured the nearness of the End by any precise calendar. His language is modelled on classical Biblical lines, using the possibility of the Coming to appeal for present endurance, obedience and purity. At no time does Knox use his eschatology in the body of a tract or as the main burden of his message. His concern throughout is for the present condition of his churches and their future prospects in this world. Certainly Knox, together with others of the Scottish reformers,[1] was conscious of living in the Last Days; but, in his eschatology as in other respects, his was an Augustinian approach. The Last Days, having begun with the first coming of the expected Messiah, were to continue until the Christ's Return, for which the faithful were to watch and pray.[2]

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1. See chapter 4 n.2.
2. R.G.Kyle, The Mind of John Knox p.218; cf. the framework of James Anderson's The Winter Night.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FACTIONS AND FIGHTING (1565-1574)

Factions and fighting: 1565-1574

It would be simplistic to follow an account of the theological defence of the Reformation with an account of its political and military defence. Even during the period of civil war between those lords supporting Mary and those adhering to the regents ruling in the name of her infant son James, protestants and catholics were to be found on both sides of the political divide.[1] Before 1567, despite the series of crises that followed after Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley, she continued to deny, as she had from her return to Scotland, that she "intendit to impede or molest ony trew subiectis in the using of their religioun and conscience ... bot innovacioun or alteratioun of ony sorte."[2] Nevertheless, the speed and direction of the development of the protestant church was regulated to a large extent by political events. The Reformation parliament of 1560 appears the decisive revolutionary event only in retrospect; men of the time were less than certain that the kirk had a secure future. After 1560, the pattern of reformed religion achieved in Angus and the Mearns, as in Scotland as a whole, developed out of the interaction between the reformers' aspirations and the political circumstances which provided the kirk with support, finance and freedom of manoeuvre.

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The first observable test of opinion after 1560 came in the summer of 1565, when the earl of Moray took his opposition to Mary's marriage to Darnley to the lengths of armed

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1. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men (London 1983) p.115.
2. BL, Egerton ms.1819 f.52r: Mary to Lord Gray, 15 July 1565.

resistance to the new king and queen. Although Moray claimed to be acting in defence of the reformed faith and had the support of Argyll and the Hamiltons, Angus and the Mearns remained loyal to the crown.[3] During the crisis, Mary maintained the correspondence with Patrick, Lord Gray, that had commenced before she returned to Scotland. In May she summoned him with others to Stirling "quhare we may haue zoure advise and opinion in sic affairis as ye sall knaw at yir coming". On July 15, she wrote to Gray to counter Moray's propaganda - "this euill brut and untrew report spred be seditious persounis amangis oure leigis". The queen assured Gray (in the words cited above) that she had no intention to disturb the existing religious balance. In a postscript, she summoned him to attend the host with his men, prepared for fifteen days service.[4] Assuming that Gray obeyed this summons, all of the Angus magnates served against Moray. Atholl was appointed lieutenant in the north and given authority to raise the levies of Forfar and Kincardine. With Huntly and Crawford, his colleagues from the 1560 parliament, he was appointed to command the rearguard of the army. Lords Glamis and Innermeath also served in that division as did the forces brought by the commendator of Deer on behalf of the earl Marischal. Lord James Ogilvy served in the main battle, nominally under Darnley; presumably his dispute against Atholl over rights in the abbey of Coupar made it inexpedient to subordinate Ogilvy to Atholl. In October, Randolph reported that "The whole force of the north is come" to support the queen.[5]

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3. As did lairds from that other protestant "hot-bed", Ayrshire. G. Donaldson, All the Queen's Men pp.71-76 discusses allegiances in 1565.
4. CSP(S) i 912 [8 Oct.1560], BL: Egerton ms.1819 f.19 [10 Apr.1561]; ibid. fs.51,52. The summons in f.52 is substantially that reported in Knox's History ii p.155 as sent to "a great number of Lords" of Fife, Angus, Lothian etc.
5. RPC i 362,379,380; CSP(S) ii 278.

From Angus, only Mr James Haliburton the provost of Dundee supported Moray. Together with the earl of Rothes and Kirkcaldy of Grange, he was ordered into ward at the beginning of August, and horned and escheated for disobedience on the fourteenth.[6] The Comptroller and Collector of Thirds, James Wishart of Pittarrow, was the sole laird of the Mearns to join the rebellion.[7] Both Haliburton and Wishart had been active during the rising of the Congregation in 1559-60. Their colleague from that period, John Erskine of Dun, was ordered into ward by the queen as a preventative measure, though he "never stirred against her". Erskine had in fact been used as a messenger from Mar to Moray in July, in a final attempt to prevent an appeal to force.[8] Moray's close friend and brother-in-law the master of Marischal also appears to have remained inactive in 1565, though it was his younger brother, Deer, who led the Keith troops sent to Mary. The key protestant leadership of the province, in fact, was completely split in its attitude to the crisis. Dun and the master of Marischal may well have held the view, cited disapprovingly by Knox, that the rebellion was motivated by:[9]

> "hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes".

One consequence of Haliburton's accession to Moray's revolt was his replacement as provost of Dundee by the earl of Crawford. The earl had a hereditary interest in Dundee. The barony

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6. RPC i 348,353. Professor Donaldson suggests that Durham of Grange also joined Moray: All the Queen's Men p.73. Unfortunately he gives no authority for this, and the probability remains that the laird of Grange referred to in Knox' History ii pp.158,161 was Kirkcaldy. The only "Grange" to receive a remission in 1566 for his part in the Chaseabout Raid was Kirkcaldy: RSS v 2698, 2699, 2700, 2701.
7. Knox's History ii p.161, RSS v 2678.
8. CSP(F) Eliz.1564-5 no.1510; Knox's History ii p.156.
9. Knox's History ii p.158.

of Finhaven/Finavon included within it the earl's "Great Lodging" in Dundee, a tenement contiguous with it and the patronage of the lodging's chapel. Five further chaplaincies at altars in Dundee parish church were also claimed by Crawford, who inherited rights under royal charter to £66 13s 4d annually from the Dundee customs. The earl's predecessors had been patrons of the Dundee grey friars, and the tenth earl maintained against the burgh council his claim to a feu of the friars' lands.[10] Pre-1560 investment in the catholic aspects of burgh life led to a conflict of interests between the conservative earl and the protestant council, who were compelled by Mary to elect Crawford as provost. Relations between the shire magnate and the burgh cannot have been helped by the fine of £2,000 Scots Mary imposed for its assistance to Moray, nor by the lavish hospitality for her that the new provost authorised.[11] Crawford was not re-elected in 1566.

Apart from Dundee's grudging welcome, support for Mary was general throughout Angus in 1565. A list of guardians of ports against possible English attack, dated 19 October, demonstrates this.[12] Dundee was entrusted by the Council to its provost (Crawford) and bailies. Lord Gray held Broughty, Lord Innermeath, Redhall. John Carnegy of Ethie, Kinnaird's able illegitimate son, held Ethie while the chamberlain of Arbroath was entrusted with that port. Crawford, Gray, Kinnaird and Innermeath had all opposed Moray.[13] Given John Erskine's predominant position in Montrose, no option existed but to entrust its defence to him as its provost and to its bailies; however, David Wood of Craig and Leighton

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10. RMS ii 494, WRH The Haigh Inventory i p.88; above, chap.6 n.148.
11. I.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.71.
12. RPC i 380-1.
13. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men p.74-5.

of Usan were named for Ferryden and Usan, havens immediately adjoining the royal burgh. Craig, James V's Comptroller, had served Mary of Guise and had no associations with the reformed camp in Angus. Usan's predecessor and Craig had shared with Dun responsibility for defence of Montrose in 1544.[14] Further north, Inverbervie was committed to the laird of Benholm - Robert Keith, commendator of Deer, who was to marry Elizabeth Lundie the heiress of Benholm in 1566.[15] From Bervie to Cowie was the responsibility of the earl Marischal; from Cowie to Aberdeen, that of the provost and council of Aberdeen. Evidently the queen preferred to trust only the Keiths among the lairds of the strongly protestant Mearns, passing over both Glenbervie and Arbuthnott.

On the same day that the list of guardians of ports was approved, David Lindsay, tenth earl of Crawford, took his oath as a member of Mary's privy council.[16] The potential volume of support for Crawford within Angus was considerable. Among the tenants of the earldom in 1532 were Bonar of Rossie, Maule of Panmure, Meldrum of Segy, Blair of Balthiok, Crawmond of Aldbar, Lovell of Ballumbie, Ogilvy of Clova and Scott of Balwearie: all men of some substance.[17] Additionally the number of Lindsay lairds in Angus was considerable.[18] The earldom comprised, beyond the barony of Finavon, superiority of the baronies of Inverarity, Clova, Downie, the forest of Plantane, Alyth, Meigle, Melginch, Ballindoch and other lands in north-eastern Forfarshire and Perth.[19] In south Angus, Crawford held Ethiebeaton in feu from the earldom of Angus, and was kin to the

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14. NLS, ms.5407 f.2, RPC i 132.
15. See appendix B no.164.
16. RPC i 386.
17. RSS ii 1226,1227,1233,1235,1272,1335,1372,1435.
18. See appendix B under "Lindsay".
19. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.105: charter of 3 July 1559.

Grahams of Fintry and Claverhouse by virtue of their marriages to daughters of cardinal David Beaton. The tenth earl also had long-standing ties of friendship with James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, whose house had supported his youthful claim to the earldom as heir of the disinherited "Wicked Master". If properly managed, these were sufficient resources to have given Crawford a formidably-strong position in Angus: a position which his accession to the privy council and the queen's favour could not but have assisted. The subsequent history of events after 1565 was to demonstrate that ties of feudal tenancy and of kin were not by themselves to be relied upon: the tenth earl was not, in fact, a good manager of men.[20]

Patrick Lord Gray, on the other hand, built up a compact following in southern Angus during the 1560s. By remaining strictly loyal to Mary queen of Scots while she remained a power in the state, Gray preserved his offices of sheriff of Angus and constable of Forfar - thus preventing Crawford from recovering the former.[21] Lord Gray had barely survived "The Rough Wooing" wars with his life and had lost his struggle against Lord Ruthven for influence in Perth. He had also suffered a lengthy imprisonment in England. He set about restoring his fortunes by marrying off his large family of daughters.[22] The feud against Ruthven was settled by a double marriage contract in 1556.[23] Patrick, master of Gray, married Barbara Ruthven and Patrick, master of Ruthven, had his own choice

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20. See chapter 1 n.87. J.Wormald,"'Princes' and the regions in the Scottish Reformation", Church, Politics and Society ed. Macdougall p.65f. discusses the "contractual" nature of magnate power.
21. Crawford had resigned the office to Gray in 1532 under reversion for £550. The eleventh earl attempted to regain the office by tendering the sum in 1595. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 108.
22. See chapter 4 n.122; the competition against Ruthven: RPC i 64,68.
23. WRH, NRA(S) 217,369: inventory of Kinfauns Muniments vol. 1 no.5; Reg.Deeds RD 1.2 f.39r.

from among Gray's daughters. He in fact died soon after his marriage to Marion Gray. Thereafter, Gray's daughters made a series of matches that were politically most expedient. Marion remarried to Ogilvy of Inchmartine (April 1561); Helen married David Maxwell of Tealing (1561x1566); Isobel married Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie (pre 1564). Mary married Seton of Parbroath, the comptroller, in 1568; Margaret married Ogilvy of Balfour by 1576.[24]

The harmonious operation of Gray's circle of friends can be seen in a series of documents. On 4 February 1562/3, Ogilvy of Balfour agreed to stand surety for Gray; one of the witnesses to the deed was Gray's principal deputy-sheriff, Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie.[25] On 6 November 1566, Gray took the side of Henry Lovell of Ballumbie in the latter's dispute against his eldest son, John. The two Lovells agreed to arbitration and nominated as cautioners friends who would guarantee their acceptance of the final result. The elder laird chose, besides Gray, Ogilvy of Inchmartine, Strachan of Carmyllie, Maxwell of Tealing, Fotheringham of Powrie, Auchinlek of that ilk and two further lairds from outside Angus.[26] The next year, Henry Lovell of Ballumbie with Guthrie of Kingennie were among the witnesses to a contract implementing the marriage of David fiar of Tealing to Helen Gray.[27] Gray's ties stretched beyond south Angus: on one occasion at least he was reported using his power as sheriff to support the claims of John Lord Glamis and his curators (Morton, Mr James McGill and Bellenden of Auchnoule) against the minor laird Lyall of Murthill. Lyall complained to the Lords that he could not get justice as Gray, being a tenant of Glamis in the Mains of

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25. Reg.Deeds RD 1.6 f.41v.
26. Reg.Deeds RD 1.9 f.162r.
27. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 134 bund.7.

Huntly, was not an impartial judge.[28] Trimming carefully between links with such as Morton and his loyalty to the crown, Gray built up a following with lands on both sides of Dundee and maintained his grip on the strategic fort of Broughty, which had been recovered from the French during the campaigns of 1559-60.[29]

One further set of Angus lairds should be discussed. Since the death of abbot Donald Campbell of Coupar, Dame Katherine Campbell's relationship with Archibald earl of Argyll had steadily deteriorated. She had been forced to surrender to him the spoils of Coupar abbey, and had to litigate from 1562 to 1566 to recover a purse of rings and gold coins bequeathed by the abbot to her. The earl was also to force her out of the tenancy of Farnell.[30] Neither were Dame Katherine's relations with the tenth earl of Crawford amicable. She had inherited his hostility to her husband, David Lindsay of Edzell, the usurping ninth earl of Crawford: in consequence, she had to sue to obtain her widow's terce rights.[31] Dame Katherine also successfully expelled the hereditary keeper of Crawford's castle of Finavon, Lindsay of the Haugh, from his lands and infeft her younger son Walter there.[32] As tutrix to Lindsay of Glenesk, the ninth earl's heir in his personal lands of Edzell, Glenesk, Fern and Newdosk, Dame Katherine was sufficiently influential to host Mary, queen of Scots, and her entourage during the northern progress of 1562 that culminated in the battle of Corrichie.[33] To

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28. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 134 bund.7.
29. Sir F.Mudie and others, Broughty Castle (Abertay Historical Society pub.15, 1970) p.32-3.
30. See chapter 6 n.62; JRL The Crawford mss., 3.1.9.
31. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.90,ii pp.82,83,84: actions continued from 1558 to February 1562/3.
32. See chapter 1 n.35.
33. RPC i 218.

compensate for her increasingly isolated position, she appears to have attempted to draw together her eldest son, James Lord Ogilvy, with John Erskine of Dun and William Durham of Grange.

Ties between the houses of Airlie, Edzell and Dun were long-standing. Walter, third laird of Edzell, had married a daughter of the house of Dun: John Erskine the superintendent and David Lindsay the ninth earl were therefore kin by marriage.[34] Edzell had been part of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin's faction in the 1530s. In the 1540s, a Thomas Erskine was bailie in Edzell: Sir Thomas attempted to protect Edzell from his financial liabilities to Arran in 1543. A fragment of a letter from Sir Thomas to the ninth earl survives, commencing "y[air] is no freind or s[er]vand y[a]t zou haue y[a]t would be gladder on zour behalf ..." Sir Thomas and Lindsay had a joint licence to remain for the host in 1547. After the spulzie of Finavon, it was John Erskine of Dun who had negotiated on the earl's behalf. On the other hand, Sir Thomas's son Thomas had married into the house of Airlie during the 1540s.[35]

Bonds of marriage could, of course, be overlooked - or else they could serve as foundations for an alliance. In April 1565, an attempt was made to pull together the different interests of Dame Katherine's children's houses. She entered into a contract with Lord Ogilvy, her eldest son, whereby his sister Agnes was to marry John Erskine, the superintendent's grandson. Agnes' tocher was set at 1,500 merks and was to be paid to Dame Katherine by

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34. JRL, The Crawford mss., 81.1.11 "Ordour of geneology of lords of Glenesk 1623".
35. See chapter 1 n.93. JRL, The Crawford mss., 81.1.2; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 199; Spald.Misc. ii p.203; The Haigh Inventory ii p.52; The Airlie mss., GD 16.44.5.

Ogilvy. She was to keep 500 of this and pass on 1000 to the laird of Dun. The witnesses to this arrangement were Robert Erskine fiar of Dun, John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, Alexander Lindsay of Vane and Mr Nicol Campbell, besides the lawyers. Both Robert Erskine and his son John had been in Dame Katherine's company the previous year.[36] Inverquharity's son John had married Helen, another of Dame Katherine's daughters by the master of Ogilvy, in 1559.[37] Besides Dun and Inverquharity, another protestant closely associated with the house of Edzell was Durham of Grange, who is known to have witnessed transactions of the ninth earl in 1546 and 1552, and of Dame Katherine in 1561. William Durham, with Lindsay of Vane (himself a cadet of Edzell), and Lord Ogilvy were curators for David Lindsay of Glenesk. In June 1566, Dame Katherine found as witnesses and sureties for her fulfilling an obligation, Lord Ogilvy, Robert fiar of Dun, Durham of Grange and Lindsay of Vane.[38] Dame Katherine had succeeded in binding to her as protectors for her heirs in Edzell the houses of Vane, Dun, Grange and Inverquharity - the latter three lairds strongly protestant. Through her, they in turn were associated with James Lord Ogilvy.

Dame Katherine's family ties to the protestant camp in Angus were not her only connections, however. The complex deal between the houses of Cunningham, Campbell and Hamilton whereby the Hamiltons exchanged the deanery of Brechin for the bishopric of Argyll in the 1550s has been discussed.[39] A Hamilton link with Dame Katherine Campbell persisted. Archbishop John presented

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36. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii pp.87,86.
37. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.78: contract 6 June 1559.
38. RMS iii 3219; The Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.646; Reg.Deeds RD 1.4 f.307r; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.89. 39. See chapter 3 n.88.

John Lindsay, Dame Katherine's second son, to the parsonage of Lethnot in 1560.[40] In 1566 she also acquired for John, who was to become the celebrated lawyer Lord Menmuir, the parsonage of Menmuir by which title he was to be known. Mr James Hamilton, a natural son of the Duke's, had held Menmuir from the 1550s, but from 1559 had increasing difficulties with his tacksman, the local laird (and client of Edzell) George Symmer of Balzeordie. In 1562, he tacked the parish to Dame Katherine, and in 1566 agreed to resign in favour of her son in exchange for an annual rent of 240 merks. The recusant bishop of Dunkeld agreed to collate Lindsay, who was still a youth, on condition that he was educated at a catholic university. In consequence, after collation at the hands of Mr James Strachan and friar Andrew Abercromby, John Lindsay with his elder brother David of Glenesk and his younger brother Walter (later of Balgavies), and David Borthwick (son of Dame Katherine's lawyer) travelled to Paris under the tuition of David Lawson, newly graduated from St Mary' college at St Andrews university, where his regent may have been Archibald Hamilton.[41]

Dr John Durkan has implied from these circumstances that Dame Katherine retained a catholic faith to the mid-1560s and, indeed, she may - despite her newly acquired protestant kin.[42] Paris university, however, was by that date not as strictly catholic as it was to become after the St Bartholomew massacres. John Lindsay's collation in 1566 by the recusant commissioners of the bishop of Dunkeld was a matter of correct form and may have meant no more than that the bishop sought to maintain links with his Angus

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40. See appendix A.b no.059.
41. See appendix A.a no.163; JRL, The Crawford mss., 3.2.4,5,12; also, Lord Lindsay, Lives i pp.329-333; also article by Dr J. Durkan cited in n.42.
42. J. Durkan, "Commentary", Northern Scotland v (1984-5) p.105.

parishes. Similarly, a Paris education was "good form" for the Scots gentry. Nor does Dr Durkan take into account Dame Katherine's links to key protestants, which in some cases pre-dated 1560. Yet she had received from abbot Donald the treasures of his abbey when it was "cast doun" - an act fraught with ambiguity: perhaps undertaken with pious motives, perhaps from a love of beautiful things, perhaps from sheer avarice; perhaps to please her kinsman.[43] Neither was a minister appointed to Edzell until 1574, by which time she had left there: until then a Mr Thomas Ramsay served as reader at Edzell, while Mr James Melville was appointed minister of Fern, Menmuir and Tannadice - the first two outlying estates of Edzell. A sir Thomas Ramsay had been Dame Katherine's chaplain in 1559.[44] Clearly the dowager countess of Crawford was not a convinced protestant like her "in-laws" at Dun. Her latter husband the earl, however, had been associated with the English alliance during the 1540s; her Campbell kin, besides the houses of Dun, Grange and Inverquharity, were protestants. Most likely the ambiguity was deliberate: a twice-widowed tutrix of a major house could not afford the luxury of alienating potential friends.

The outbreak of civil war that followed Mary's marriage to Bothwell in 1567 and lasted spasmodically to 1573 was a severe test of the various loyalties of the lairds of Angus and the Mearns, as for others in Scotland. The issues at stake were far from clear. For some, it was a question of loyalty to the queen as to the lawful monarch and hence to those appointed to govern as her lieutenants. Others saw the dynastic ambition, whether of the

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43. See chapter 6 n.10; cf., M.Lynch, Edinburgh p.29.
44. See appendix A.2 (linkages of parishes) and A.c no.194.

Hamiltons, the earl of Moray or the Lennox Stewarts, underlying such honourable claims. Those that supported the claims of infant King James - and hence the authority of "his" regents - advocated a rule of law according to which Mary, accused of murder and adultery, had abdicated. Radicals like Knox believed the future of the reformed kirk was at stake and prayed for the victory of the king's men: yet Argyll and Châtelherault, whose adherence to the Congregation in 1559 had been decisive, were among the queen's lords.[45] Militarily, the factions sought to subdue the strengths held by their opponents and to extend their authority over the debateable areas between their heartlands. As in the English wars of the 1540s, Angus and the Mearns were pivotal shires. With the queen's lords based in both the Gordon territories of the north and the Hamilton/ Campbell alliance of the west, it was essential that they should hold Angus to maintain their unity and offer opportunities of advance into central Scotland.

On 2 May 1568, Mary escaped from her imprisonment at Lochleven and subsequently repudiated her abdication, challenging the authority of Moray's government. The northern lords rallied to her: the bond of her adherents subscribed at Hamilton included the names of the earls of Huntly, Crawford, Errol and Montrose and the lords Ogilvy and Oliphant.[46] Crawford and Ogilvy were to be persistently faithful to Mary - and also to each other. As their lands were intermingled along the Braes of Angus, it would in fact have been folly for them to have supported opposite sides. Crawford was considered one of the leaders of Mary's faction: he had been part of the conspiracy to challenge Moray's claim to the regency

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45. G.Donaldson, Scotland, James V - James VII (Edinburgh 1978) p.157-p.166 gives a clear and thoughtful summary of events.
46. CSP(S) ii 650; see G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men pp.91-116.

after Carberry, his promise of 1000 troops (September 1567) equalling the offer of both the Hamiltons and Huntly.[47] In May 1568, he sought to raise a force to go to Mary's aid. A letter dated 8 May sent in the names of both Crawford and Ogilvy to John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, summoning him to bring troops to Cupar in Fife, still survives in the Inverquharity muniments.[48]

Inverquharity, however, opted to remain loyal to the king's party and the house of Angus, for whom he was bailie of the regality of Kirriemuir.[49] In July 1568, Moray was writing to him to seek support for an enterprise to be attempted "in thay boundis" by the earl of Buchan.[50] Nevertheless, it took Moray until 1569 to obtain obedience to his government from the conservative magnates of Angus. The weakness of the king's government beyond the Tay was clearly shown on 27 July 1568. On that date, David Graham of Fintry was due to be tried by the justiciary court of Kirriemuir for wrongfully imprisoning John Piggott of Balnaboth. Morton himself arrived, staying with Lord Glamis at Glamis. Fearing that Ogilvy would bring a force to support Fintry, Morton sent his deputies to continue the case. While Inverquharity and Scrymgeour of Glasswell were holding the court, Dame Katherine Campbell sent warning from Edzell that Huntly and a force of 700 to 1000 horsemen was approaching,

> "causing the saidis bailzeis, thair clerk and vtheris memberis of Court, for feir of thair lyvis, to ryse and depairt thairfra, the samin Court being dewlie fenceit of befoir..."

Morton, who had left Glamis, fled in the direction of Dundee summoning

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47. CSP(S) ii 618.
48. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss., GD 205 box 1 no.7. Prof.Donaldson incorrectly modernises Inverquharity as Inverarity: All the Queen's Men p.110.
49. His appointment was confirmed by Morton in 1562: Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 1 no.30.
50. Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 1 no.9.

aid from Lord Gray by means of a servant of Fotheringham of Powrie. Gray the next day provided a convoy of 300 men to see the Douglas safely to Stirling. Huntly, meantime, stayed with Crawford at Finavon "and drank with him", receiving Ogilvy while he was there. Crawford, it was reported, returned north with Huntly, staying at Balbegno in the Mearns en route.[51]

Further evidence of military activity by the queen's lords in Angus and Perthshire can be found in the accusations levied against David Ramsay of Jordonstone in 1570. Ramsay was said to have "fortified Crawford and Huntly in their usurpation of authority" in 1568, especially by assisting them at Meikleour in August.[52] This appears to relate to the charges against John Ogilvy of Inverkeilor and his son, John of Balgro, said to have assisted Huntly in forcibly dispersing an exercise of arms at Kinclaven the same month. Kinclaven and Meikleour are on opposite sides of an old ford of the river Tay above Perth.[53] The northern magnates were clearly able to impose their will along the entire length of Strathmore, from the Tay across the Mearns to the Dee. Neither were they without support in mid- and south Angus. Ogilvy of Inverkeilor, uncle of James Lord Ogilvy, was also involved with the killing in Dundee in September 1568 of James Ramsay, tutor of Laws, and Alexander Auchinlek, brother of Gilbert of that ilk. Also charged were Robert Beaton of Westhall, David and Alexander Guthrie in Tulloes, William Cockburn in the Grange of Barry and Robert Wedderburn, a Dundee burgess.[54] Though this was probably as the result of a private

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51. CSP(S) ii 752; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i p.75.
52. Justiciary courts, JC 26.1.62. Andrew Naiff in Carsebank also took part in conflict at the Haugh of Meikleour: RSS vi 681.
53. RSS vii 1062.
54. RPC i 655, RSS vii 1062.

quarrel, the parties involved took opposite sides of the political divide. Queen's men were to be found, not only on the Braes of Angus and in Perthshire, but also throughout the shires and in Dundee itself. During Moray's absence in England, Crawford, with Ogilvy and Huntly, appears to have controlled Angus.

Once Moray returned, supporters rallied to him. On 16 February, 1568/9 a number of influential lairds presented the council with a written petition declaring that they had been attacked by Huntly "by fire and sword", that they were loyal subjects of the king, and requested protection. Subscribers included from the Mearns, Wishart of Pittarrow and the master of Marischal; from Angus, lords Glamis and Innermeath, Ogilvy of Inverquharity, the earl of Buchan and the provost of Dundee. Significantly, several Forbes subscribed the request: the northern feud between the Forbes and the Gordons was taking its place within the context of the civil war.[55] This initiative was followed up locally by Lord Glamis, whose name headed the list of a bond of thirty-two king's men in Angus subscribed on 23 February.[56] These names included many of the most influential lairds in Angus below the nobility and provided a thorough base for Moray to advance to Brechin in person within the week, to forfeit his key opponents Crawford, Ogilvy and Carnegy of Kinnaird and order the seizure of their homes.[57] Moray's new-found authority had its reward: Huntly, Crawford, Ogilvy, Deer, Fintry, John Carnegy of Kinnaird and others submitted to the king's rule in April, and appeared to register their formal submissions at the privy council in

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55. RPC i 645.
56. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.16.
57. RPC i 646. First Mr James Haliburton provost of Dundee and then Lord Glamis was instructed to take possession of Kinnaird Castle. RPC i 647; RPC xiv p.64; Strathmore mss. box 235 bund.3 no.13.

May.[58]

The composition of the group who subscribed as king's men in Angus is of some interest. The band was explicitly military, concerned with mutual defence.

> "[dorso] Band subscryvitt be my lord Glamis and the barronis of Anguss for mentenance of the kingis authoritie 1568.
>
> We ye barronis and gentilmen und[er]subscrivand bindis and oblissis us be ye fayt[h] and truthe of o[ur]e bodiis upoun o[ur]e hono[u]r and loute to ma[n]tene and set furthe ye kingis g[race] authoritie and service to ye uttermaist of o[ur]e pouer. And gif ony of us bieis trublit and put at be our adv[er]suris in our bodiis or guidis that we sall ilk ane n[och]t only assist and tak p[air]t to defand o[ur]e selfis bot alsua sall entir in ye lik cays w[i]t o[ur]e enemiis and to o[ur]e pouer ranpaue ye iniurie ressavit be ony of us be quhasu[me] euir way or manor of p[er]sut yir enemiis salhappin to trublie and p[er]sou us. And to yat effect quhen euir adv[er]tesme[n]t beis maid be ony of us to conwene in Forfar or quhar euir we are desiritt and to pas fordwert w[i]t o[ur]e fors to yir effect forsaid. At Forfar ye xxiii day of Februar ye zeir of God [one thousand five hundred] saxtene and aucht zeiris."

No justification for the band beyond the upholding of the king's authority was specified. Those who subscribed were, in fact, mainly those who were associated either with Lord Glamis or with the earldom of Angus. Morton's bailies Inverquharity and Scrymgeour of Glasswell, subscribed; so too did others of those who had previously given bonds of manrent to the house of Angus - Fotheringham of Powrie and Maule of Panmure, as well as other tenants of the regality of Kirriemuir like Lauder of Omachie. Others from southern Angus included Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk and Auchinlek of that ilk, who had both suffered from the attack of the lairds of Inverkeilor and Westhall. Significant subscriptions were those of Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee, and of the lairds of Guthrie and Gardyne of that ilk. The kin

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58. RPC i 654,622,633f.

of these lairds were numerous in southern and central Angus. Some more landward lairds were also among the king's men: Ogilvy of Balfour, Lamby of Dunkenny and Strachan of Brigton were neighbours of Lord Glamis. George Symmer of Balzeordie also attended, possibly as proxy for his neighbour, Dame Katherine Campbell. It should also be noted that most of these king's men came from houses that supported the reformed church.[59]

In the Mearns, too, a group of lairds subscribed a similar king's men bond on 16 March 1568/9, for mutual defence against Huntly. The master of Marischal, described as "lieutenant of our sovereign lord within the Mearns" headed the list of names. Barclay of Mathers, Wishart of Pittarrow, Strachan of Thornton, Douglas of Glenbervie, Straiton of that ilk, Hay of Ury and Ogston of Fettercairn comprised the major lairds promising to meet Huntly in battle.[60] The close-knit nature of Mearns society once again demonstrated itself. Ury's presence signified that, though his chief the earl of Errol supported Mary, the master of Errol was a king's man and a brother-in-law of the master of Marischal.[61] Both the houses of Hay and Keith, in fact, had representatives on each side of the divide: for William Keith's younger brother the commendator of Deer - whose lands lay across the Dee - was allied to Huntly.[62]

Between January and April of 1569, Crawford and Ogilvy had lost control of Angus. Only one Lindsay is

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59. See chapter 4 notes 36, 109-120.
60. Fraser, Douglas Book iii p.265 no.212.
61. Scots Peerage iii p.570; WRH, Inventory of Erroll Charters NRA(S) 0925, GD 175, no.775.
62. CSP(S) iii 221.

known to have supported Crawford - John of Evelick, whose house stemmed from a younger son of the third earl. Evelick had been forfeited after Langside.[63] Three key Ogilvies actually opposed the lord of Airlie: Inverquharity (despite ties of name and marriage), Balfour and Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk. Forced to choose between outside forces, the lairds of Angus overwhelmingly chose the Douglas interest before the Gordons - whose occasional display of naked force cannot have endeared and yet proved itself too transient to compel. The support given Moray by Morton, Glamis and the master of Marischal was decisive and enabled these two large coalitions of lairds successfully to challenge two of the native magnates of Angus. Again, it must also be emphasised that many of the lairds subscribing these bonds of 1569 can be shown to have been active in their support of the reformed church - Crawford and Ogilvy, by their pronounced religious conservatism, placed a gulf of mistrust between themselves and potential friends. Good management might have overcome religious differences, but the failure even to maintain support from their local kin shows that such management was patently lacking.[64]

Patrick Lord Gray was perhaps the most conspicuous of those who had failed to subscribe the bond of 1569; neither had his clients Maxwell of Tealing, Strachan of Carmyllie, Guthrie of Kingennie, Henry Lovell of Ballumbie or Ogilvy of Inchmartine. The sheriff of Forfar appears to have decided to give no hostages to fortune by giving active support to neither side. He had

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63. Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society ed. J.Lindsay, vol.iii no.9 (Edinburgh 1924) "Lindsays of Evelick" p.3; RSS vi 276.
64. Ordered to ward in Edinburgh as a condition of his surrender in May 1569, Crawford found as his cautioners the catholic Sir David Graham of Fintry and the insubstantial Fenton of Ogil. They were forfeit £5,000 when Crawford left ward in September, of which £2,000 was given to the provost of Dundee: RSS vi 755.

retained links with Morton. Before Carberry, Morton had been given responsibility for bringing the lairds of Fife, Angus and the Mearns to aid the confederate lords and Gray's copy of the circular letter sent appealing for support has survived. Gray had been addressed as one who "tenders the commonwealth and establishment of the religion". After Mary had been taken and imprisoned, Gray had approved the act justifying those who thus restrained their sovereign. Hence he could keep company with Moray, Morton, Glamis, Erskine of Dun, Pittarrow and the provost of Dundee.[65] On the other hand, he had protected Beaton and Westhall and the Ogilvies of Inverkeilor and Balgro after the affray at Dundee,[66] and was to show an increasing tendency to vote with Huntly and the conservative faction whenever it was legally possible to do so. For example, Gray was part of the minority at the Convention of Perth of July 1569 who voted for the proposed divorce between Queen Mary and Bothwell.[67]

Dame Katherine Campbell's position during the civil wars was an invidious one. Her eldest son, James Lord Ogilvy, was a leading participant on the queen's side. Her daughters Agnes and Helen, however, had married into houses that took the opposite position. The interests of her children by David Lindsay of Edzell were opposed to those of the tenth earl of Crawford; however, her own clan the Campbells supported the queen. Further, her sister was married to Forbes of Towie - an inveterate enemy of Huntly. From the available evidence, it seems that her tenants and Edzell's cadet houses Pitairlie and Vane took no direct part in the first campaigns of the wars. However, Dame Katherine has been noted sending a man on a

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65. CSP(S) ii 502,515,632.
66. RPC i 655.
67. RPC ii 2,3.

fast horse, riding bareback in his haste, to warn Morton of Huntly's approach in 1568. Edzell was in a strategic position to obtain early warning of troops crossing the Mounth into Angus. An undated letter survives in which Ogilvy of Inverquharity, in addition to asking for a loan of £50 cash, requested her to act as the eyes of the king's party:[68]

> "Prais your l[adyship] adwertise me of the erll of Hwntleis dyet quhat way hi cwmmis baith horse mene and fit mene his nwmmer. Gif ye cane nocht woth this bearer prais your l[adyship] gar swm trutfal mane meit yame the morne at ye fit the mwnth qwha cane nwmmer thame and haist adwetisment efter me til Dunde woth ane trutfwl hand wotht ane tikket on [ie not] swp[er]scrywet for takkine that I may mak thame that is affor ws forseine of thair dyet and thair nwmmer."

Dame Katherine's favouring of the king's men may have been responsible for her loss of Farnell at the hands of her chief Argyll and her son Lord Ogilvy, both of whom were said by her agent to have acted "unkindly" towards her. In 1571, after Adam Gordon burnt the house of Towie with its mistress in it, the dowager countess of Crawford send bowmen from the lands of Edzell to assist the master of Forbes' unsuccessful assault on Aberdeen.[69]

John Erskine of Dun and Robert his heir were also missing from the list of Angus king's men, despite the laird of Dun's leading role in the coronation of the infant king.[70] He had, after all, recently married his grandson to Lord Ogilvy's daughter. As late as April 1568, Erskine had shared the justiciary commission from Argyll to try witches in Arbroath with Ogilvy, Inverquharity and Fintry. Two further pieces of evidence suggest that

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68. JRL, The Crawford mss., 3.2.7: 13 August [blank] - possibly 1570.
69. See chapter 6 n.62; Calderwood, History iii 153.
70. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men p.85-6. Maule of Panmure and the constable of Dundee were also part of the somewhat select company at the coronation.

Dun was reluctant to engage in military activity in the civil war. First, it was to Montrose that John Craig came when he was transferred from Edinburgh in 1572. Craig had attempted to mediate between the factions, and had gravely offended the radicals by affirming that blame lay on both sides. It could be suggested that he sought protection from one like-minded.[71] Second, the tract The Lamentation of Lady Scotland was dedicated to John Erskine and took a moderately impartial line:[72]

> "Nane I excuse on ather syde; for quhy
> Ilk ane his awin hous seikis to edify,
> And nane dois cair for Commoun-weill ane prene."

"P.R." took a more objective view than Buchanan, who blamed the wars solely on Hamilton ambition. Both tracts, however, came from Levprevik's press at St Andrews: "Lady Scotland" looked forward in hope for the day when "That fair zoung Prince in Stirling, my richt hand ... sall purge thir foull humouris away".[73] If the Lamentation does reflect the superintendent's attitudes, and certainly it contains an appeal to fraternal love as the mark of "God's children", his favourite theme, then he combined allegiance to the king with grief at the disturbance and distress caused by war.[74] In May 1569, John Erskine of Dun was acceptable as an assessor appointed with Wishart of Pittarrow and Thomas Menzies provost of Aberdeen to agree any claims for damages to be brought against Huntly.[75]

With the assassination of Moray in January 1569/70, the civil war began a new phase. Several Angus king's

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71. T.A.Kerr, "John Craig 1512 ? - 1600" (Edinburgh Ph.D.1954) pp.98-103.
72. Satirical Poems i p.230 lines 99-101.
73. CSP(S) iii 123; Satirical Poems i p.231 lines 128,130.
74. Satirical Poems i p.235 lines 279-288.
75. RPC i 633f., and ii p9.

men attended the convention of February that agreed to elect a new regent: those present at Edinburgh included Erskine of Dun and James Haliburton, provosts of Montrose and Dundee, Ogilvy of Inverquharity, Ogilvy of Clova and Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk, and Alexander Guthrie fiar of that ilk. The faction of Lord Gray was represented by the master of Gray. Lord Glamis' continued support of Morton, his former curator, ensured that the majority of the shire would continue to decline to follow the lead of Crawford and Ogilvy, who attended the queen's lords rally at Linlithgow.[76] There had been some defections from the king's men: when in May Levprevik published a broadsheet accusing Huntly, Crawford, Ogilvy and others of breaking their solemn oaths to support King James, Ogilvy of Balfour and Garden of Leys had switched sides since February 1568/9. Fintry, Kinnaird and the commendator of Deer continued in their allegiance to Mary and were joined by Ogilvy of Lawton and William Rait of Hallgreen, by Inverbervie in the Mearns.[77] It was this faction that began the campaign by proclaiming Huntly as Mary's lieutenant at Forfar and Brechin.[78]

The queen's party had by no means been wholly removed from Angus by Moray. An entry in the Arbroath court book for November 1569 refers to the collector of the queen's third. In October, John Aikman and others had sought recompense from "the whole neighbours" for "ye skaith cum apoun yaim fra ye ryde w[i]lt my lord Ogilby". The abbey had been gifted to George Douglas by the regent in August 1568: Ogilvy had paid him dues in September 1569.[79] Lord John

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76. RPC xiv pp.32,42.
77. CSP(S) iii 221.
78. G.Donaldson, All the Queen's Men p.119.
79. APL, ms. court book 1563-75 fs.48v,50r; RSS vi 415; Airlie mss. GD 16.47.2.

Hamilton was again in control by March 1569/70, however. He, with Huntly, Ogilvy, Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird and Ogilvy of Lawton were at Arbroath at the end of the month to grant - with the consent of six of the convent, including the minister and reader of the burgh - pensions to two of Ogilvy's sons, for:[80]

> "defens of us o[ur]e convent ten[n]antis and servandis and o[ur]e special place" [and] "for resisting o[ur]e nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]e apeirand hurt and damnage and skaith".

Ogilvy had also provided the sum of 400 merks towards the earl of Argyll's contribution for raising companies of foot-soldiers, in exchange for possession of Farnell from which he was evicting Dame Katherine Campbell.[81] The queen's lords' attempt to establish their authority both in Scotland and in Angus was determined, organised with both finance and troops, their morale bolstered by personal letters from Queen Mary to their leaders. One such still survives at Kinnaird Castle, sent to Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird, noting that the exiled queen had been informed "of zour greit constancie towarde the advauncement of oure auctoritie" and "assuringe zou that whensoeuer it sall ples God we returne ... we sall haue the samin in good remembraunce ..."[82]

Nevertheless, with Lennox elected regent in June, the king's men rapidly enforced their authority north of the Tay. By June, the king's collector of thirds (John Erskine's agent, William Fullerton of Ardoch) was dealing with the burgh of Arbroath, and Douglas was again commendator. He reinforced his hold on the burgh by seizing Seaton from John Carnegie of that ilk.[83] An attempt by

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80. Airlie mss., GD 16.47.13.
81. Airlie mss., GD 16.52.1.
82. Kinnaird Castle, Southesk muniments Log Book of Royal Letters.
83. APL, ms. Arbroath court book 1563-75 f.54v; APS iii 233.

Kirkcaldy of Grange to fortify Broughty for Mary came to nothing.[84] By the end of July, Randolph was able to report that Huntly "finds great disobedience in the north".[85] Despite the number of earls that supported Mary in the first half of 1570, they could only obtain obedience in Angus by demanding it in person and with a display of force.

In August, the queen's lords gathered at Aberdeen and planned a campaign to commence with a muster at Brechin, where Crawford and Ogilvy had fortified the cathedral's steeple and acted as an advance guard for the occupation force, garrisoning Brechin Castle with 400 harquebusiers. (The castle and lordship of Brechin had been held by Mar since he obtained the feu from Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin.) Lennox took decisive action. He proscribed the parliament Huntly had summoned to Linlithgow and ordered the seizure of Crawford's castles of Finavon and Inverquiech, and Ogilvy's castle of Airlie. Morton raised a task force of cavalry and, accompanied by Glamis, Ruthven, Lindsay and Methven, and with the lairds of the shire flocking to support him, seized Brechin before Huntly could arrive. More than thirty of the garrison were hung; Mr John Cockburn, one of the burgh's bailies and Lord Ogilvy's agent, was escheated.[86] Crawford and Ogilvy fled. Huntly reached no further than Fettercairn, where he pillaged some horses and victuals before withdrawing.

Morton's seizure of Brechin was the decisive campaign of the civil war in the east of Scotland. Crawford surrendered to the regent, finding that his crops were at the mercy

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84. CSP(S) iii 386.
85. CSP(S) iii 386.
86. RPC xiv 15,64,67-72; CSP(S) iii 290,386,389,399,402,404,406,410, 429,431; RSS vi 981,1003.

of the king's men.[87] Lennox was able to write to Cecil that he had thwarted his adversaries' purposes and that he now held their houses. Ogilvy of Clova was placed in Airlie: a Haliburton in Inverquiech. Interestingly, Lennox also claimed to hold Broughty "a place to have been suspectit in many respects", not least, no doubt, due to the dubious loyalties of its owner, Patrick Lord Gray.[88] The master of Marischal's brother-in-law, Lord Saltoun, remained at Glenbervie to watch Huntly. He reported that opposition to the Gordons was increasing, with the master of Errol and the Forbeses actively seeking support.[89]

> "I assure your lordship I saw never this country so cold to the earl of Huntly and if they see any appearance of help or rescue, he will find part [ie opposition] at his door ..."

By October, the Arbroath burgh court were stenting the neighbours to furnish eight men to ride with their commendator, George Douglas, to the regent. In the same month, seventeen men from the Mearns, led by the brother of the Marian laird of Hallgreen, were tried for treason for contravening the acts prohibiting the feast of Unreason.[90] Once again, the queen's supporters had been humiliated in Angus, their campaign for the year destroyed. Once again, they submitted to the king's authority, seeking arbiters to plead their cause and find favourable terms. David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, turned to Lord Lindsay of the Byres: James Lord Ogilvy sought the aid of his mother Dame Katherine Campbell in negotiations with Morton. John Erskine of Dun and the earl of Mar were the hope of Lord Home; Lord Glamis, that of his kinsman by marriage, the earl of Cassillis. Finally, Queen

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87. Diurnal p.190.
88. CSP(S) iii 426.
89. CSP(S) iii 386.
90. APL, ms. Arbroath court book 1563-75 f.55v; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i/ii p.15.

Elizabeth of England imposed an abstinence that lasted seven months.[91]

The attempt of Huntly, Crawford and Ogilvy to dominate Angus and the Mearns had failed and was not to be renewed in any form that promised success. Crawford, having spent his entire adult life since his teens in opposition to the house of Edzell, finally came to terms with Dame Katherine. Towards the end of 1570, he agreed to the marriage of his daughter Helen to David Lindsay of Glenesk. No tocher was provided: instead, Crawford recognised the claims of Edzell to the superiorities of Edzell, Fern, Dalbog and Newdosk that it had won from the earldom at the time of the ninth earl. Further, Dame Katherine agreed to restore Lindsay of the Haugh to his hereditary lands, and the earl confirmed her terce rights.[92] The settlement was judicious on both sides: David Lindsay of Edzell came of age and into his inheritance in 1573 and was to prove a loyal supporter of his brother-in-law and chief, the eleventh earl of Crawford who also succeeded on his father's death c.1574. The long, draining division of the Lindsays of Angus had been overcome - but too late to secure any advantage for the cause of Mary queen of Scots. When Kirkcaldy of Grange renewed hostilities in the spring of 1571, both Ogilvy and Crawford remained with the king's party.[93] The latter's loyalty may have wavered when Adam Gordon of Auchendoun raided Brechin and Angus in July 1572, taking a somewhat lax defence

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91. CSP(S) iii 464.
92. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.1.83 and WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 99 [box C].
93. CSP(S) ii 895. The defeat of Crawford and Ogilvy by Glamis' coalition of Angus lairds is reminiscent of Killigrew's now famous comment of 1572: "Methinks I see the noblemen's great credit decay ... and the barons, burghs and such-like take more upon them." See, M. Lynch Edinburgh p.164 citing CSP(S) iv 476.

by surprise,[94] but by this time even Adam Gordon's military prowess could not turn the tide in Angus. Crawford attended Morton's first parliament as regent in January 1572/3, but reported as "deadly sick" and appears to have died soon after.[95] Ogilvy left Scotland for France sometime in 1572, leaving his affairs in the hands of his wife Dame Jane Forbes, his mother Dame Katherine Campbell, and his kinsmen Ogilvy of Balfour and Ogilvy of Clova.[96]

One lacuna remains to be filled to complete an account of the civil wars in Angus. Lennox wrote to Patrick Lord Gray in August 1571 to request the use of artillery from Broughty Castle for use at Leith in the siege of Edinburgh, "as ye will declar yir gude affection to the furthsetting of the kingis actoritie".[97] The regents remained nervous that Broughty might fall (or be given ?) into the wrong hands. In December, Mar wrote to Gray assuring him that he had no desire to remove him or any of the king's nobles from their "rooms" and especially from his fort of Broughty, but that it was considered better not to run the risk of losing it.[98] By April, it was reported that Gray had surrendered Broughty into the keeping of the earl of Buchan, whose main residence was at nearby

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94. The Adam Gordon raid was a highly successful military operation. Attacking by surprise on Sunday 6 July, he drove Glamis, Crawford, Buchan and Gray from Brechin. Montrose was ransomed for £2,000 and two tuns of wine: the house of Dun was sacked. Arbroath and Forfar were occupied: worship at Monifieth was abandoned, the kirk register recording "the q[uhil]k day wes nathing gatherit ... uprior w[a]lt wes in ye cuntry for Adam Gour[torn]". Mar and Morton swiftly diverted forces, and had expelled the raiders by the sixteenth. OPR 310/1 f.19r; CSP(S) iv 3834; RPC ii 143,156.
95. See appendix B no.139.
96. Airlie mss., GD 16.48.19: draft contract in name of Lord Ogilvy, now in France, dated [blank] 1572. He was present in Angus in 1573: CSP(S) iv 605, but again abroad in 1574 and 1575 and was warded by Morton on his return. Reg.Deeds RD 1.14 f.201r; RPC ii 427.
97. BL, Egerton ms.1819 f.77.
98. BL, Egerton ms.1819 fs.78,79.

Auchterhouse.[99] When Adam Gordon seized Brechin in 1572, it was considered suspicious that Gray had left the day before; the question of his fore-knowledge was raised.[100] Certainly members of his family were openly supporting the queen's cause. Gilbert Gray, one of his sons, was part of the garrison of Edinburgh Castle: Seton of Parbroath, one of Lord Gray's sons-in-law, assisted in Kirkcaldy of Grange's raid on Stirling castle when regent Lennox was killed.[101] Morton appears to have decided to clip the wings of the sheriff of Forfar. The council resurrected an old grievance against the Grays that, in the time of Moray's regency, they had violently removed John Lovell of Ballumbie's tenants from disputed fishing grounds off Broughty. Both the Lord and master of Gray were put to the horn for this offence in February 1572/3.[102] By then, the civil war was in its last stages: the Hamiltons came to terms at Perth the same month, leaving only Grange and Maitland to their respective fates still withholding Edinburgh Castle from the king.

At first sight, the course of the civil wars had little impact on the development of the reformed kirk in Angus and the Mearns. There was considerable stability of both ministers and readers, who in the main continued to serve in the same parishes between 1567 and 1574.[103] Two changes probably had some

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99. CSP(S) iv 250.
100. CSP(S) iv 384.
101. RSS vi 2292; vii 2669.
102. RPC ii 188. This dispute dated back to 1536 when the Grays attacked the then Henry Lovell of Ballumbie, claiming his fishings. In 1547 the English took possession of Broughty's fishings. When they left, the French garrison replaced them. In 1551, the Lovells of Ballumbie and the Grays continued their dispute both at law and by violence. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 177*; Acts and Decs., CS 7.24 f.39v [14 May 1562]; CS 7.55 f.277r. [4 Mar.1573/4] See chapter 9 ns.79-100.
103. See appendix A.2 sections 1 and 2. Some readers were deposed: see appendix A.c nos.233,036; also cf. A.c no.162.

relation to the course of political and military events. Ninian Clement the former monk and minister of Arbroath was transferred to Forfar in 1574. It may be that he had given support to the queen's faction: certainly he had subscribed the charter granting pensions to Ogilvy's sons for defence of the abbey. In his place was appointed Mr James Melville - a man much closer to John Erskine of Dun, and likely to be reliable from the point of view of the authorities of church and state.[104] Second, it should be noted that in 1574 a minister was for the first time appointed to Finavon, seat of the earl of Crawford. David Lindsay of Pitairlie, a cadet of Edzell, was transferred from Forfar to Aberlemno with Finavon with Inverarity with Kirkbuddo. No reader was yet resident at Finavon, however.[105]

If the structure of the kirk remained intact during the period of conflict, nevertheless political insecurity affected the operations of its institutions. The Monifieth Kirk Register is lacking pages and entries from May 1565 to February 1565/6 - the period of the Chaseabout raid and its aftermath.[106] When the record resumes, the assembly was less concerned with disciplinary matters than earlier. The routine of collections for the poor, baptisms and marriages with their associated taking of cautions to learn the "belief" and the commandments continued.[107] The Lord's Supper occurred ("the qu[hil]k day commun[iou]n wes ministrated") on 17 October 1568; on 19 August 1570 the assembly authorised the distribution to the poor of twenty-seven shillings from a poor-fund of

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104.See appendix A.c nos.032,143.
105.See appendix A.c no.124.
106.OPR 310/1 f.9v - f.10r covers the jump. Unfortunately the register is no longer in its original binding (some folios are bound in reverse chronological order) so it is impossible to determine whether entries ceased during this period or if they were removed.
107.OPR 310/1 f.11v,12r for example.

three pounds twenty-two pence.[108] From August 1572, however, occasional entries are found whereby parishioners promised "to observe the order of the kirk in time coming" as a new start was attempted. In May 1573 the register records its first full list of elders and deacons, together with instructions for deacons, and regulations concerning the kirkyard and its dykes. Thereafter, the assembly began its lengthy campaign against sexual offenders and the parish's dissident lairds, again exercising an authority that had lapsed during the civil strife.[109]

In Arbroath, a new start was made on 9 October 1573, by which time the transfer of the commendatorship from George Douglas to Lord John Hamilton had been effected. The basic relationship between the burgh court and the kirk authorities was laid down:[110]

> "It is concludit be ye co[un]sall anent ye ordour of ye kyrk that qu[hat]soeuer be decernit be ye minister elderis and deconis for observing of gud order salbe put to executioun be ye bailzeis and co[un]sall in dylygnce."

Thus co-operation between the burgh's two courts was re-established, with the kirk's court obtaining perhaps a greater independence than it had enjoyed before. In 1567, it had been possible to appeal from the judgment of the elders and deacons to the burgh court - whose authority was also exercised to enforce decrees of the kirk.[111] 9

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108. OPR 310/1 fs.13v,17v.
109. OPR 310/1 fs.19v-24v.
110. APL, court book 1563-1575 f67r; CSP(S) iv 699.
111. APL, court book 1563-1575 f34v: 7 April 1567;
> "The q[uhi]lk day W[illl[ia]m Storok apellit fra ye Jugme[n]t of ye elderis and deconis anent ye wordis of iunuris gyffin to hy[m] be Jhone Lyne and Besse Hunter his spous ye said Jhon Lyne offerit hy[m] rady to fulfill yair dekreit in all pointis for his part and his said spous and askit act and iust remeid y[air] upoun."

[This note continues at the foot of the next page.]

October 1573 also saw a new attempt to endow the burgh school with a master's stipend from the old altarage annuals:[112]

> "The q[uhi]lk day it is thowth expedient for ye co[m]on weill becaus of inlaik of ane maister of schwell for ye suppurt y[air] of it is co[n]cludit y[a]t O[u]r Lady benyfes w[a]lt ye haill a[n]wellis pertenand to ye deirygeis be collectit and tayn op and xx lib. yairof to be giffy[n] to ane maister and ye rest yairof to be dispon'it at ye sicht of ye bailzeis and co[un]sall to ye puyr or co[m]on werkis."

Once this principle was settled, the court offered the post to one David Nichol on 27 October, and he agreed to begin from the forthcoming New Year.[113] The head court of October 1574 continued the process of re-establishing reformed discipline:[114]

> "...certan of ye actis of Assemblie conform to their form be observit and put to execution and ye bailzies and counsall gave yair aithis yairto; and for punishing of transgressoris yairof certan to be appointit to every quarter to await yairon."

With James Lord Ogilvy as bailie of the abbey and Lord John Hamilton as commendator, Arbroath had been a focus for the activity of the queen's lords during the wars. By 1574, the burgh once again approximated to the pattern of reformed religion expected by the

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111. [Continued from the previous page.] See also:
APL, court book 1563-1575 f35r: 18 April 1567;
"The sa[m]in day it is decernit be ye bailzeis minister elderis and deconis y[a]t gyf Jhon Ra[m]say wobster missa[y] Jonat Lain his moder w[i]t wordis of iuniuris he sall tyn his fredu[m] and com[m]on landis ye first tym and ye secund tym to be banist ye town and gyf ye said Jonat his moder misparsun ye said Jhon and beis co[n]vyt y[air] intill sche sall tyn hir lyfrent of hir said com[m]on landis ye first tym and ye secund tym to be banist ye toun."
It must be admitted that these entries are the only examples of their kind, but they parallel the relationship between the council and eldership of Dundee: Maxwell, Old Dundee pp.72-3.

112. APL, court book 1563-1575 f67v.

113. APL, court book 1563-1575 f68r: 27 Oct 1573;
"The q[uhi]lk day ye bailzeis and haill nyboris concludit y[a]t yair be ane maister of gram[m]er schwell prouidit and to mak by yame zeirly viii s. of ilk barn w[i]tin ye toun and twenty pundis to be maid to hy[m] of O[u]r Lady benifes or derygeis a[n]wellis w[i]t his chalm[er] maill fre and Dauid Nycholl is rasauit y[air] to for yis zeir quha hes promisit to enter y[air]to at New Zeir Day nyxt to cum."

114. APL, court book 1563-1575 f72r: 8 Oct 1574.

General Assembly.[115]

If the available evidence from Monifieth and Arbroath, scarce though it is, suggests that the victory of the king's regents encouraged the kirk in microcosm, so to speak, it also did so macrocosmically both in Angus and in Scotland. The deaths of first the earl of Moray and then the earl of Lennox brought to the fore the houses of Mar and Morton - Erskine and Douglas - as the leaders of the king's party. Even from 1570, Morton was perceived as the man with authority in the government.[116] Although calculating, grasping and where necessary devious, he appears to have had a genuine commitment to the protestant faith and was prepared to spend considerable time and effort in unproductive negotiations with a frustratingly principled General Assembly. It is at least arguable that his "platt" of 1573-4 gave the kirk a financial stability that was fundamental in achieving the restoration of its discipline and parochial structure on a national basis after the civil wars. Although they preached at him and prophesied against him, the kirk's radicals in the end concluded that Morton was "a man ever cast upon the best syde" - their own.[117] Though insufficiently recognised at the time, it was the king's party's victory in the civil war that guaranteed that the kirk would be able to continue to develop along the lines laid down during the 1560s - as least as far as parochial reformation was concerned. Morton's military skill and forceful leadership, as

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115. In lending occasional support to the regents and in [re-]adopting the reformed order in 1574, Arbroath's civil war career paralleled that of Aberdeen - which nevertheless retained a basically conservative religious preference. A.White, "Religion, Politics and Society" pp.274-5.
116. G.Hewitt, Scotland under Morton pp.13-5.
117. G.Hewitt, Scotland under Morton pp.83-116; G.Donaldson, Reformation p.93; F.Bardgett, "Four parische kirkis to ane preicheir", RSCHS xxii 195f.

exemplified in his capture of Brechin in 1570, had had a great deal to do with that victory.

As Morton's power grew in Scotland, it also grew within Angus. As tutor to the young earl of Angus, he had succeeded in enforcing his personal control over the regality of Kirriemuir both by the series of bonds signed with its tenants in 1558 and by winning the active and committed support of his bailie in Angus, Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity. Like Morton, Inverquharity's protestant allegiance dated from pre-1560. He had subscribed the bond "to the house of Angus" in 1558, and had his bailiery recognised by charter in 1562 and 1571.[118] Sir John's role in the civil war in Angus itself has been described. He was also called upon by the regents to supply troops (horse and foot) at Kinghorn in 1571 and for the siege of Leith in June 1572.[119] To reward Inverquharity for his service in the key shire of Angus, Morton aided him to extort tacks of teinds out of James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie. While Lord Ogilvy was held in ward on his return to Scotland, he was compelled to sign away to Inverquharity (and three of the latter's kin) tacks of teinds from Kirriemuir and Lintrathen, and other lands held by Inverquharity. Morton wrote to Patrick Adamson as archbishop of St Andrews, urging him to facilitate confirmation of the transfer of these revenues.[120] He also wrote to Inverquharity, asking him not to enforce his new rights too harshly against Lord Ogilvy's assignee of the teinds of

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118. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss., GD 205 box 6 bund.11: NLS ms. 25.9.6; GD 205 box 1 bund.30, NLS ms.5308 no.1262.
119. GD 205 box 1 bund.11: NLS ms.5308 no.1259.
120. Airlie mss GD 16.48.25,26 for tacks of 14 Feb.1576/7. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 1 no.16 for Morton's letter of 2 Mar.1576/7 to Adamson.

Shielhill, one Janet Ogilvy.[121]

> "that pure gentilwoman is in greit doubt fearing hard handilling at zour handis Off quhome cheiflie sche mon lippin for ma[n]tenance and [con]fort. And albeit we think our request be all litlie newis to zow this matter tuching ane of zour awn, But the guidwill that we bear baith to zow and all ouris muvis us at this tyme to request and desire zow effectuously y[a]lt ye will suffer the said y[i]r kyniswoman to bruike hir tyndis..."

Morton obviously took very seriously his interests in Forfarshire: by 1577, Angus was of age and managing his own affairs. The regent, however, sought to keep his hands on the reins of power via his contacts in a shire favourable to the Douglases.[122]

More important yet to Morton among the gentry of Angus was John, Lord Glamis. Glamis' relationship to Morton extended back to his minority, when Morton had been one of his curators.[123] They worked together throughout the 1560s: both supported Mary in 1565, both supported the regents Moray, Lennox and Mar in the critical events after 1566.[124] His role in heading the alliance of king's men in Angus in 1569 has already been described. Like Morton, Glamis appears to have been a convinced protestant, being described as such in reports by English agents.[125] When Morton gained the regency, he handed on his own previous post as chancellor to Lord Glamis, who was thus as involved as the regent in attempting to find a settlement with the General Assembly of the question of the future polity or government of the kirk. Glamis' letter to Beza, which raised the questions of the validity of bishops in the kirk and of the

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121. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 1 no.17.
122. Morton's early years may have been spent at Glenbervie: Hewitt, Morton p.2.
123. Reg.Deeds RD 1.5 f.22r: Glamis' curators were Morton and Bellenden of Auchnoule on 27 December 1561 when he bought out Atholl's rights to his ward and marriage.
124. CSP(S) ii 327,502,616,632; ibid. iii 84,119,122,227,231,363.
125. CSP(S) v 1-3, 284.

power of the crown to summon ecclesiastical assemblies and dispose of the wealth of the bishoprics, shows a balanced appreciation of both theological principle and political necessity: a more balanced view, it might be said, than that of the reply he received.[126] Glamis, like Morton, appears to have favoured a form of episcopacy for Scotland, perhaps on Anglican lines.

Glamis' leading role in the civil war had substantial significance for the future development of both politics and religion in Angus. The sheer size of his following was indicated in 1577 when he and his tenants obtained licence to remain away from a raid summoned for Dumfries. Besides Lyons, thirty-seven of the important lairds of Forfarshire and two from Perthshire shared in Glamis' licence.[127] Considerable similarity exists between this list, and those who subscribed the 1569 bond to the king. Well-known names re-occur: Maule of Panmure, Ogilvy of that ilk, Fotheringham of Powrie, Strachan of Brigton, Symmer of Balzeordie, Lamby of Dunkenny, Scrymgeour of Glasswell, Auchinlek of that ilk, Gardyne of that ilk, Robert Durham of Grange, Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Lauder of Omachie, Guthrie of that ilk. Glamis was said by the English agents in 1577 to be "of no party or faction".[128] With this volume of support in his home shire, as one of the wealthiest lords in the kingdom and as Chancellor of Scotland, Glamis had little need to seek the patronage of others. His sole weakness lay in the fact that in his rise, he had humiliated David, tenth earl of Crawford. The consequent Lyon/ Lindsay feud was to lead to Glamis' death on 17 March 1577/8 at the hands of

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126.G.Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.120f.
127.Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 235.3 no.9.
128.CSP(S) v 284.

servants of the eleventh earl,[129] after which Thomas Lyon master of Glamis succeeded to the leadership of the eighth lord's friends.

The third side of the triangle of forces by which Morton retained power in Angus was his relationship with the house of Erskine. Mar and Morton had both been involved with Congregation before 1560 and had equivocated during the Reformation crisis,[130] Mar (then Lord Erskine) especially attempting to present himself as an impartial national servant, holding Edinburgh Castle above faction.[131] Mar's similar role from 1567 as keeper of the castle of Stirling came to have crucial significance when Stirling became the home of the young King James: the earl and countess of Mar were responsible to parliament for his upbringing there and won the Erskines the compliment of being "ane race of men to me maist kynd" from the author of The Lamentation of Lady Scotland.[132] In 1572, when Morton became regent, new arrangements were made for the king's house at Stirling. Alexander master of Mar became responsible in the name of the young earl, assisted by the dowager countess. A bond of the friends of the house of Erskine was subscribed at that time in order to provide sureties for the master on undertaking his new responsibilities to the nation. Heading the list was the name of John Erskine of Dun; his son Robert also subscribed, as did David Erskine commendator of Dryburgh and Adam Erskine commendator of Cambuskenneth, and William Douglas of Lochleven.[133] Cambuskenneth was to be

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129. CSP(S) v 326: Randolph to [Killigrew] "All the divels in hell are sturringe and in greate rage in this countrye. The Regent is discharged, the country broken, the Chancellor slain by the Earl of Crawford."
130. Knox's History i 121.
131. Knox's History i 201,231-2,261-2,264,275,344.
132. Satirical Poems i p.231 line 136.
133. Mar and Kellie mss., GD 124 10.37 and GD 124.10.40.

Collector-General of Thirds for Morton and both Erskine commendators were to play important roles in national politics as allies of the regent. The alliance between the houses of Erskine and Douglas was sealed in 1573 by the marriage of the young earl of Angus (with consent of his curators Morton and Glamis) to Mary Erskine, sister to the young earl of Mar.[134] An English agent reported thereafter "The Earl of Angus's marriage confirms the devotion of the house of Erskine to the Regent".[135]

With the accession of first Mar and then Morton to the regency, John Erskine of Dun as an elder statesman of the name of Erskine was brought closer to the centre of the government of the king's party. John Erskine had in any case maintained his political support for the king by attending the "Creeping Parliament" of 1571 in his capacity as provost of Montrose.[136] The superintendent's role as intermediary between the government and the kirk at the time of the Leith agreement in January 1571/2 seems therefore somewhat suspect in the light of his political alignments. The privy council sederunt for the meeting at Leith 2 December 1571 included, besides Mar and Morton, the newly reconciled earl of Crawford and the master of Marischal, the commendator of Dryburgh (David Erskine) and Douglas of Lochleven, John Erskine of Dun, James Haliburton provost of Dundee and the officers of state. Apart from Crawford, the council was dominated by a Douglas/Erskine protestant

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134. Mar and Kellie mss., GD 124 3.10. Douglas of Lochleven had already married regent Mar's sister Margaret: Scots' Peerage vi p.369.
135. CSP(S) iv 590; see J.G.B.Young, "Scottish Political Parties 1573-1603" (Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis 1976) p.38-9.
136. MTH, Montrose mss. M/WK/16: signet letter discharging burgesses of Montrose from an array following their provost's presence at parliament "with others of the most able and honest inhabitants".

alliance.[137] It is hardly surprising to find, therefore, that in January the commissioners of the kirk granted supply from the thirds for the support of the king's house and the regent's house and expenses, and for Mr James Haliburton's pension.[138] These commissioners included the laird of Dun, his agent William Fullerton of Ardoch collector for Angus and the Mearns, and David Lindsay minister of Leith, Dun's protégé. At this time, John Erskine of Dun himself had a payment of £666 13s 4d from the treasury supposedly for previous assignations made by the deceased earl of Moray.[139] In the light of these evidences of the closeness of John Erskine to the government, the proposals at Leith to institute an episcopate reformed according to the model of the superintendency look somewhat less like a negotiation and more like a coup by Morton, who headed the team on behalf of the secular authorities.[140]

By 1574, John Erskine of Dun as superintendent of the diocese of Brechin with the kirks of Dunkeld and St Andrews between Tay and Dee was responsible for the continued parochial reformation of his province. His position was unassailable, being backed by the General Assembly of the Kirk on the one hand, and by the support of such as regent Morton and chancellor Glamis on the other, who not only controlled the government but also headed the major coalition of lairds in Angus. The dissident magnates of Angus had been cowed: the support of the lairds of both Angus and the Mearns had been won for the cause of the king, and hence of his regents and the reformed kirk. Whereas John Erskine and his immediate supporters

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137. RPC ii 98.
138. RPC ii 112-3.
139. T.Crockett "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.195.
140. T.Crockett "Life of John Erskine of Dun" pp.195-7.

had, however, been the leading protestant military force in their shires at the time of the Reformation, that role had now passed to the Lyons of Glamis. Both Morton and Glamis opposed the newer, presbyterian, faction in the kirk: Erskine of Dun had been associated with the episopalian proposals of 1571/2, and organised his province during the 1570s firmly along the lines of the "platt" of 1574 whereby one minister was allocated four kirks. The civil wars of 1567-74 had resulted in the victory of the king's men, both nationally and in Angus. The parochial reformation of the 1560s, with its emphasis on preaching and collegiate discipline, was thereby enabled to recover its lost ground and make further progress. As far as the debate on polity was concerned, however, Angus began to reflect, rather than lead, the thinking of the kirk. The increasing ecclesiological conservatism of this province north of the Tay was also a result of Morton's victory.

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CHAPTER NINE

THE REFORMATION ENDURES

The Reformation endures

To estimate the influence of religion in society by counting heads has long been recognised as fallacious. The Scottish Reformation may not have resulted from - or itself engineered - any "magical mass conversion",[1] but what it did achieve was in the long run more decisive. The parochial reformation introduced a new and dynamic agency of evangelism and education into Scottish culture: kirk discipline. From the beginning, the support of the "gentlemen of Angus and the Mearns" ensured that the new kirk enjoyed acceptance and sponsorship by men who controlled institutions of government in these two east-coast shires. Despite its original minority status, the reformed religion won for itself an enduring place in Scottish national life by effective control of the agencies of local cultural life and institutions.[2] However, even theology based on divine revelation has to be both developed and implemented in the world as it

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1. M.Lynch, International Calvinism ed. Prestwich p.233.
2. The interaction of religion with other sectors of society is discussed conceptually by sociologists of religion. R. Robertson's The sociological interpretation of religion (London 1970) pp.56-7 emphasises the importance of cultural and institutional aspects in addition to assessing degrees of individual belief:
   "Social-structural and cultural aspects of religiosity are notoriously difficult to isolate and assess. But there is no denying their great independent significance. It is indeed quite clear that, ... the religiosity of a society cannot be represented simply as the summation of the religiosity of individuals."
   R.Gill insists that "theology acts at times as both a dependent and an independent variable within society": Theology and Social Structure (London 1977) p.18.
   T.F.O'Dea in his summary of his discipline The Sociology of Religion (London 1983,1966) accepts both a tripartite description of "culture, social system and personality" for studying human behaviour [p.4] and agrees that "religion is both affected by, and affects, social conditions. It is both cause and effect". [p.95]

is by men and women whose thoughts, motives and emotions relate not only to God but to their manifold social, economic and political environments. In the rapidly changing society of James VI's Scotland the patterns of church life that developed in Angus and the Mearns owed their forms not just to the ideals and programmes of the reformed theologians: the more conservative traditions and aspirations of those who held power in the shires also played their part.

The failure of the pre-Reformation church had been primarily an institutional failure: entrenched personal, legal and economic privileges had thwarted that effective internal reform of acknowledged abuses which alone could have prevented criticism of the clergy by the faithful from flowing into protestant channels.[3] It has been suggested that the 1550s saw a limited but significant switch from traditional to reformist values, if not necessarily from catholic to protestant. The evidence for this is, it must be admitted, somewhat tenuous. The vicar of Dundee's opinions were considered significant; so too was the changing personnel of the chapter of Brechin, and the secularisation of various chaplaincies and altarages.[4] Unfortunately no surviving testamental evidence relates to Angus and Mearns from the pre-Reformation period, so this route to assessing doctrinal attitudes remains closed. Nevertheless, one volume of minor testaments from the St Andrews' deanery of Fife does exist and its contents tend to support a thesis of growing doctrinal change in the 1550s: Initial prefaces to wills in 1549 uniformly follow the classic traditional Marian format.[5] By 1551, however, an alternative

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3. See chapter 2 part 2.
4. See chapter 3 ns.1-15, 88-97; chapter 6 ns.112-123.
5. St Andrews testaments CC 20.4.1, see fs.1-10 and for example, f.24r: testament testamentary of Helen Redpath, 27 Nov.1549.
[Text in the continued note at the foot of the next page.]

form was at least as frequent in which reference to the Virgin and the Saints was omitted,[6] though as payments to the chaplains "on the day of my burial" remained, this second formula ought to be categorised as "mixed traditional/reformist" according to canons of English testamental morphology.[7] Traditional catholic orthodoxy was under fire from several quarters in the 1550s. It is a common-place that the weakest time for a regime is when it seeks to introduce long-overdue reform; the existing institutions of the church failed to cope with the challenge of increasingly dissident faith.[8]

Within limits, the lairds of Angus and the Mearns were able to determine their own priority-ranking of the various claims made upon them.[9] A sufficient number placed their

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5. [Continued from the previous page.]
"Et ego prodicta Helena [int]egra corp[or]e sana tame[n] me[n]te condo testame[n]tum meu[m] in hunc modum do et lego a[n]i[m]am mea[m] deo o[mn]ipotenti b[ea]te Marie semp[er] virgini et o[mn]ibus sanct[is] corp[or]is meu[m] sepuliendum in eccl[es]ia Sancti Lawrenti. Do et lego in die sepulturea mea p[res]b[et]ris et aliis minist[ris] eccl[es]ia vi s. viii d. ..."
6. St A. tests., CC 20.4.1 f.118v: Alison Alexander, [x] Jun.1550: "Cum nihil sit cert[i]us morte nec in[cer]t[i]us hora mortis hinc est q[uod] ego Alisona Alex[ande]r [int]egro corp[or]e sana tam[en] me[nt]e condo testame[n]tum meu[m] in hunc modum. Do et lego a[n]i[m]am mea[m] deo o[mni]potenti corpus meu[m] sepuliend[um] in eccl[es]ia mea p[er]ro[c]hi an[it]a. Item lego cap[e]llanis] in die sepulture mea et aliis necessariis vi s. ..."
7. G.L.Meyhew,"The progress of the Reformation in East Sussex", Southern History v (1983) pp.58-61.
8. Professor A.G.Dickens' conclusions with regard to mid-Tudor England may usefully be compared with the 1550s in Scotland. "It [mid-Tudor heresy] was so often fragmentary, fleeting, and elusive: it involved a climate of opinion rather than a number of specific heretics, each with an integrated theology and under the guidance of educated leaders." Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York (London 1959) p.243. The "old order", however, had been effectively disturbed: at least in parts of Angus and the Mearns, belief in purgatory and "the usefulness of veneration of saints" were no longer "part of the air people breathed" by 1560. Cf. J.J.Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (London 19849 p.12.
9. See chapter 1 n.101.

obedience to their perception of the claims of God sufficiently high on their lists to spark the Reformation crisis - even if their faith was little more than simple piety.[10] In the quarter-century that followed, some appear to have come to a deeper understanding of reformed doctrine; the majority were content to die sustained by a conventional, though protestant, faith.

To assess the extent of individual belief in the protestant faith, a survey of registers of testaments produced the discovery of twenty-seven testaments testamentary made by lairds of Angus or the Mearns, or by their wives.[11] Research by English historians suggests that evidence from testaments cannot be made the object of statistical precision, for their religious preambles owed their wording not just to the deceased's wishes, but also to the notary he employed, to traditional formulae and (possibly) form-books. Nevertheless, authorities are convinced that testaments do convey a reliable doctrinal climate of opinion;[12] this sample of lairds' wills is small (by English standards) but informative, being selected on the basis of names and careers already known. Of the wills with religious preambles, by far the greatest number were phrased

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10. See chapter 4 ns.14-16.
11. Registers from Edinburgh (CC 8.8.1f.), Brechin (CC 3.3.1) and St Andrews (CC 20.4.1) and their indices were surveyed. Testaments dative were registered by court-appointed executors; testaments testamentary by those appointed by the deceased personally. Only the latter type contain a legacy section (called the "lattirwill") by which the testator bequeathed his property (and soul) and named executors. Testaments aimed to value moveables and debts.
12. A.G.Dickens, Lollards and Protestants pp.171-2,215-7,220-1; M. Spufford, "The scribes of villagers' wills" Local Population Studies vii (1971) pp.28-41; C.Cross, "The development of protestantism in Leeds and Hull: the evidence from wills", Northern History xviii (1982) pp.230-8; G.L.Mayhew, "The progress of the Reformation in East Sussex - the evidence from wills" Southern History v (1983) pp.38-61; J.J.Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (London 1984) pp.2-12; P. Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford 1984) pp.196-7.

neutrally, omitting equally clauses explicitly catholic and overtly protestant. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, for example,

> "co[m]littit his soule unto ye father omnipotent ye creat[o]r of all and committit his gudis and geir ... " [to William his son as executor with James earl of Morton and Falconer of Haulkerton as overmen] "as they sall answer befoir God at ye day of judgment."

Six further examples of this wording were found,[13] all made by lairds (or ladies) who, while accepting the Reformation, were not among its devotees. These preambles followed closely in the traditions of the pre-Reformation non-Marian formulae used in St Andrews testaments, which had also concluded with an admonition concerning the Last Judgment.

Five further wills were explicitly protestant. William Durham of Grange left £100 to the poor of the parish of Monifieth, and appointed his friend John Erskine of Dun as overman to his executors. He specified that, in so bestowing gifts on the poor,

> "I no[ch]t suppois yat ony mereit is obtenit be bestowing of yame bot my mereit is in ye faith of Jesus Christ onlie".

His will had commenced with a preamble similarly expressive of trust in the remission of sin promised by Christ, and reminiscent of contemporary English formulae.[14] The laird of Grange's known associations and career, together with his eldership in Monifieth kirk, leaves no doubt that the protestantism expressed in his will was

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13. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.4 f.178r (Glenbervie); CC 8.8.5 f.60v (George Symmer of Balzeordie); CC 8.8.5 f.18 (James Keith of Drumlithie); CC 8.8.5 f.206r (John Mortimer of Flemington); CC 8.8.8 f.195r (Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk); CC 8.8.7 fs.60r,148v (Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford); CC 8.8.19 f.347v (Alexander Guthrie of that ilk).
14. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.3 fs.172v-5r; more of the will is transcribed in chapter 5 n.77. The preamble is similar to one of G.L.Mayhew's types: "The Reformation in East Sussex" p.60.

sincere. Similarly, both Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow and Jonet Falconer his wife expressed their faith in salvation through the merits of Jesus Christ alone; Sir John also left a legacy of £100 for the poor "in my awin landis as weill husbandmen as cotteris".[15] Less certainly personal were the wills of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird and Robert Durham of Grange. Whereas both William Durham and John Wishart had authorised wills written in the first person, Sir Robert Carnegy's final will, which left "his saule in the mercie of God throwcht Jesus Chris[t] ouer onlie Sauiowr" was in the third person and may well have owed its protestant terminology to the fact that it was heard and written by John Ure, minister of Leuchars and canon of St Andrews priory. Sir Robert's first will, written by himself, had been religiously neutral.[16] Finally, Robert Durham of Grange's will had a preamble which was an exact copy of his elder brother's, made fifteen years earlier; it is hence unclear whether the wording originated in fraternal piety or protestant faith, or whether it was due to the influence of Andrew Auchinlek, minister of Monifieth under both lairds and a witness to both their wills. Robert Durham, however, left nothing to the poor. His "second-generation" faith does appear to have been cooler than that of his brother.[17] Thus of the known wills of lairds of Angus and the Mearns, only two were explicitly protestant - according to criteria modelled by comparison with English standards.

The attitudes of the Scots' reformers to

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15. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.12 f.297r: Jonet Falconer "recom[m]endis hir soule to ye m[er]cies of God through Jesus Christ hir savio[u]r hir body to ye erth to ye generall resurrectioun". In CC 8.8.15 f.231r her husband "co[m]littis my soule to God to be ressavit to his glory be his mercy on Jesus Christ and threw his mereittis".
16. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 3 bund. no.32; Fraser, Southesk i 51. For Kinnaird's first will, chapter 3 above, n.101.
17. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.22 f.203v.

death were, however, much more radical than those of the southern kingdom. The first Book of Discipline had recommended only a minimal religious content at funerals, to counter prevailing superstition.[18] That eleven of the lairds' testaments contained no religious terminology at all by way of committing or bequeathing the soul may well reflect reformed instruction as well as those with explicitly protestant wording. The likelihood that Scottish testamentary practice was more radical than the English is enhanced by consideration of the careers of the people who thus left untraditional wills. The list includes John Lord Glamis, the chancellor of Scotland; Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange (John Knox's agent in 1559); William Fullerton of Craigo (John Erskine of Dun's agent and sub-collector of the third in Angus); Robert Graham of Morphie; Alexander Lindsay of Vane, Alexander Guthrie of Haulkerton (iconoclast and Bible publisher); and Jonet Anderson, widow of Hercules Guthrie of Lunan and probably sister of Mr Thomas Anderson minister of Montrose.[19] These people were no less adherents of the reformed faith than Wishart of Pittarrow or Durham of Grange.

Of these twenty-seven wills, only one was

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18. First Book pp.199-201. J.K.Cameron discusses the implementation of these recommendations in footnotes to these pages.
19. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.6 f.150r (Glamis); CC 8.8.4 f.248r (Whitelaw); CC 8.8.9 f.69r (Fullerton); CC 8.8.13 f.172r (Graham); CC 8.8.19 f.288r (Lindsay); CC 8.8.6 f.27v (Guthrie); CC 8.8.11 f.310v (Anderson). Whitelaw: CSP(F) Eliz. i 888, in which Throckmorton described him as "very religious" and advised that he should be kept as far as possible from seeing sin in England. For Guthrie, RSS iv 1919 (remission for iconoclasm) and RPC ii 544 (surety for Bassinden's licence to print an edition of the Bible, 1576). For Fullerton, RD 1.9 226r (appointment as collector) and see appendix A.a no.245. Other nontraditional wills were made by: John Wishart of that ilk/of Logie (CC 8.8.3 f.249v); John Baldovie of that ilk (CC 8.8.6 f.248v); David Garden of Leys (CC 8.8.9 f.274r); John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee (CC 8.8.21 f.228r). Such wills either proceeded directly to the appointment of executors or beginning with the traditional formula "Sick in body but whole in mind/ spirit" then jumped to nominating executors.

explicitly catholic. William Graham, earl of Montrose, gave in his testament on 22 May 1570, dying a year later. A decade after the Reformation, he left ...

> "my saule to my God omnipotent and to ye glorious Virgin Marie his moyer and to all and haill ye spreittis in heuin ..."

The Graham, however, though he took his title from his small barony of Old Montrose (to the south-east of the Montrose Basin), had his main house and residence at Kincardine, by Alloa between Stirling and Perth.[20] His religious conservatism had more in common with that of central Scotland than with the protestantism of Angus and the Mearns. Finally, three testaments may be described as "reformist": expressed in traditional formulae modified according to reformed principles. Thus Richard Melville of Baldovie, minister of Maryton, left ...

> "and recom[m]endis my saule to ye lord Jesus Christ and my body to ye erthe quhairfra it came to be bureit w[i]t my foirbaires in ye kirk of Maritoun..."

In thus seeking burial with his kin in their church, the minister proved more loyal to tradition than to the Book of Discipline, which held it unsuitable for a place of preaching and communion also to be used for burials. The altered bequeathing clause, however, reveals his reformed allegiance. Euphame Durham and Christine Arbuthnott, ladies respectively of Claypotts and Balzeordie, used the traditional non-Marian formula altered in one respect. Where their predecessors had declared themselves "sick in body but whole in mind" [or "in spirit"] the former's will ran "haill in saule" and the latter's "haill and p[er]fyt in soule", thus reflecting greater protestant

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20. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.4 f.178r; Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the minority of James the sixth ed. C.Rogers (Grampian Club 1873) p.11; pace J.R.Todd, "The Reformation in the diocese of Dunblane" (Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis 1973) p.40 who held that Montrose's history lay outwith the diocese of Dunblane in "the north country".

assurance of salvation.[21] Whereas in England, legacies for requiems and other modes of posthumous expiation continued only somewhat abated until the reign of Elizabeth, the known testaments of the lairds and ladies of Angus and the Mearns, with one exception, therefore reflect various modes of the protestant faith.[22]

The sons of Dame Katherine Campbell serve as excellent examples of the differing degrees of individual religiosity to be found among those brought up as the first generation in reformed Scotland. Both David Lindsay of Glenesk and Mr John Lindsay parson of Menmuir had been educated abroad in France and England during the 1560s under the tutorship of James Lawson.[23] Mr John became a noted lawyer at court: he had a pension of £100 granted by archbishop Patrick Adamson, and was made a lord of session by the patronage of Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox. Well-informed though critical comments on the second Book of Discipline were probably drafted by him, and demonstrate knowledge of Calvin's Institutes.[24] He retained his links with the more radical section of the kirk, however, being married to Marion Guthrie, daughter of Alexander Guthrie the town clerk of Edinburgh. As Mr James Lawson's wife was Jonet Guthrie, they thus retained their links with their former tutor, who became one of Edinburgh's militant ministers. Both Edzell and Menmuir on different occasions stood as witnesses at baptisms of

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21. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.5 f.140r, see appendix A.c no.146, First Book p.210; CC 8.8.10 f.6r, CC 8.8.12 f.96v. Euphame Durham was sister to William and Robert, lairds of Grange; her testament was witnessed by both William Christison and William Kyd, minister and reader of Dundee and hence had a good reformed pedigree. Christine Arbuthnott's will was drawn up by Mr Andrew Elder, John Erskine of Dun's resident notary during the 1560s: see appendix A.a no.097.
22. J.J.Scarisbrick, The Reformation p.4; C.Cross "Protestantism in Leeds and Hull" pp.231-2.
23. See appendix A.b no.059 for most of what follows on John Lindsay.
24. Second Book pp.254-7.

Lawson's children, and Menmuir had licence to be one of Lawson's executors despite the minister's death in exile during the Black Acts crisis. In the Crawford and Balcarres papers are preserved John Lindsay's list of the baptismal dates of Lawson's children, as also is John Cairns' certificate of the baptisms of John Lindsay's own children at St Giles' while he was an elder there. The list of witnesses chosen for Mr John Lindsay's children is impressively reformed, including ministers John Durie, Walter Balcanquhal, James Lawson and Robert Bruce, the English ambassador Robert Bowes, and Alexander Guthrie (son of "King Guthrie"), Edinburgh's town-clerk.[25] In 1587/8, Menmuir was chosen as one of Edinburgh's commissioners to the General Assembly.[26] Though he was associated with King James VI's court, rising to be one of the Octavians, Lord Menmuir's essential protestantism seems to have been in no doubt. Though hardly a Melvillian presbyterian, he was an active member and office-bearer in the kirk.[27]

David Lindsay of Edzell also served the reformed kirk in a manner appropriate to his status as lord of a major barony. The minister of Fern, Mr Alexander Norie, looked to him for support in raising a tax from his tenants to repair the church, and in his quest for a full glebe.[28] Edzell sought and obtained a special commission of justiciary, dated 1 February 1587/8, to apprehend, try and execute a "vagabond", Robert Murray, for witchcraft. The records of the trial are still extant in the Crawford papers at Manchester:

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25. For "King" Alexander Guthrie, whose radicalism declined in later life, see M.Lynch, Edinburgh pp.282,331-2,369.
26. Second Book p.287.
27. J. Kirk notes Menmuir defending the doctrine of the ordination of elders for life, though with polemical intent: Second Book p.94.
28. See chapter 5 ns.114,123-4.

Murray was convicted.[29] When Edzell required a certificate of his illness and inability to compear at court in 1588, his minister, Mr James Fullerton, together with Mr Andrew Leitch, minister of Maryton, and David Straiton at the Mill of Dalbog, an elder of Edzell kirk, drew up and witnessed the document.[30] The extent to which Edzell's view of the world corresponded to that of the reformed kirk can also be measured by the sculptured panels that adorned the formal garden or "pleasance" that he had constructed at Edzell. Inset into the wall were carvings representing the Seven Cardinal Virtues, including Fides, with a Cross and a Chalice in her hands. The presence of the Seven Liberal Arts and the Seven Planetary Deities serve to remind the visitor that David Lindsay of Edzell inherited traditions stemming both from the Reformation and the Renaissance.[31]

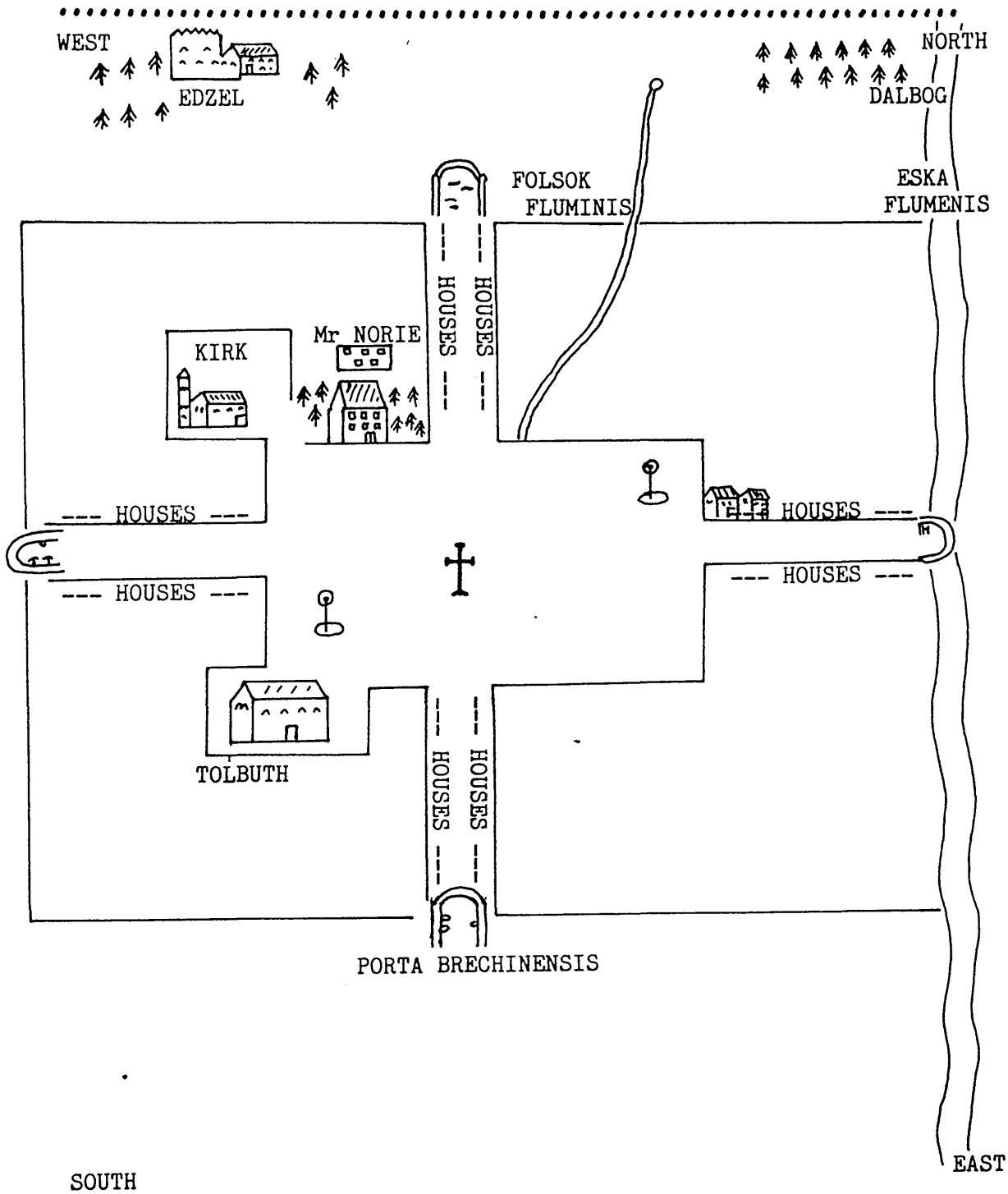
Finally, the fundamentally feudal and mediaeval aspects of David Lindsay's mind should be noted. He secured the erection of Edzell as a burgh of barony in 1588; a contemporary plan by him of a rebuilt burgh entitled "pourtraicte of ye new citie of Edzel" shows a walled burgh whose dominant features are the kirk and manse, tolbooth and trons, and at the very centre, the mercat cross.[32] Christian institutions and symbolism were inescapably part of the world of the laird of Edzell; he was patron of his own parish church, he held several tacks of teinds from his ministers, and he enforced the rights and law of the kirk within his jurisdictions.[33]

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29. JRL, The Crawford mss., box Fii and 4/1/96.
30. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4/1/95.
31. Edzell Castle by W.Douglas Simpson revised R.Fawcett (HMSO 1982) pp.9-12. See also the wooden carving of a crucifixion at Edzell.
32. See diagram 9.1, as redrawn from the ms. at JRL, The Crawford mss. 4/1/97. RMS v 1579 for Edzell's erection as a burgh.
33. His right of patronage: WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 122, 123. Tacks of teinds, ibid. ii 122: 19 Feb.1581/2, Edzell for 19 years; ibid., ii 135: Fern, and ii 145: Newdosk.

DIAGRAM 9.1

"Pourtraicte of ye new citie of Edzel, 4 Septeb. 1592: idea." redrawn from a ms. in the Crawford and Balcarres muniments at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester: 4.1.97.



His library included Bibles, New Testaments, and at least one work by that European advocate of church discipline, Oecolampadius.[34] This protestant Christian gentleman was also involved in the feud - the laird of Edzell participated in the murder of his mother's kinsman Campbell of Lundie in 1582, in support of his brother-in-law and chief, the earl of Crawford. John Lindsay wrote admonishingly to his brother, warning that nothing but trouble would ensue from such an act:[35]

> "The ground of all thir matters proceeds of your rash consenting to assist the Earl of Crawford to do ane manifest wrang,... Consider how troublesome is the warld, how easily ony man who is stronger nor ye at ane time may do you ane wrang, and how little justice there is in the country for repairing thereof. Therefore I wald desire you above all things to travail to live in peace and concord with all men, otherways your life and pairt of the warld shall be very unpleasant, ever in fear, danger and trouble ..."

Though Mr John Lindsay, elder of the kirk and lord of session, was trained to value the king's peace, his brother the laird of Edzell found it possible to combine the Christian values of his pleasance with the cause of the honour of his kin; even in his youth, James Lawson had found it difficult to train the son of the ninth earl of Crawford in humility.[36]

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34. JRL, The Crawford mss. 4/1/103.
35. Lord Lindsay, Lives i pp.339-42 prints the entire letter. RMS v 602, 27 Aug.1583, contains the remission. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, knight, had been accompanied by his youngest brother Robert of Balhall, William Fullerton of Craigo, Lindsay of Keithock, John Forbes of Towie, three Straitons, a Symmer and others to a total of twenty besides himself.
36. K.M.Brown, Bloodfeud in Scotland 1573-1625 (Edinburgh 1986) pp.184 to 207 considers the tensions between the Christian faith and contemporary violence. E.J.Cowan considers the events of 1582 in the context of the Lyon/Lindsay feud and the Campbell/Ogilvy feud; "The Angus Campbells" p.33. Lawson's letter from London to Dame Katherine of 11 Nov.1567 wrote that David Lindsay was "not so obedient to my counsel for keiping of modestie as I wald wish..." JRL, THe Crawford mss. 3/2/4 and Lindsay, Lives i 332 - which omits the words underlined above.

Three other of Dame Katherine's sons deserve mention. Mr James Lindsay became a minister of the reformed kirk, holding the valuable parsonage of Fettercairn from 1576 to 1579. The young man was to die an early death at Geneva, to which he had travelled seeking a cure from "ane naturall diseis to quhilk I am subject and havelie vext". Andrew Melville wrote a Latin elegy in his memory. In his will, "being uncertane quhen and quhere it sall pleis God to call me ... ", Lindsay commended[37]

> "my saule to ye grete god omnipotent my creatolu]r and saviour my body to ye erth" ....

The will, written in the first person, reads as a document written in haste, leaving it to Mr Walter of the Haugh his brother and executor to provide tokens of his affection for "my haill bru[th]eris and sisteris".[38] Whereas Mr James Lindsay thus had the closest association of any of his immediate kin with the reformed kirk, his chosen executor Mr Walter was (as Lindsay of Balgavies) one of Scotland's most noted recusant catholics, together with Dame Katherine's eldest son, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie.[39] Buried in 1606 according to the rites of the old church, Lord Ogilvy left behind for his heir a letter of direction, containing both spiritual and practical advice. It contains some of the most purely Christian sentiments to be found in the literature of the period of the Reformation in Angus and the Mearns.[40]

Dame Katherine's sons exhibit a marked personal religiosity; the character and direction of their faith was

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37. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.8 f.283r.
38. See appendix A.c no.126.
39. See chapter 7 ns.77-79; also Lindsay, Lives i p.327.
40. R.Wilson, The House of Airlie (London 1924) pp.162-4. The letter, printed by Wilson, is provided as an addendum to this chapter.

in large measure determined by themselves, and influenced by their respective educations and political and social circles. Her Lindsay sons thus maintained the tradition of their house and of their father, who had added an aisle to his parish church in the earlier sixteenth century. Before and after the Reformation, lairds in the relatively wealthy, stable and settled shires of Angus and the Mearns were aware of inheriting a Christian faith and its responsibilities: and they had sufficient means and leisure to develop these for themselves. During the 1540s and 1550s, this religious frame of mind had been fertile ground for the teaching of the protestant preachers; sufficient men of authority had been committed to the protestant cause to see it to victory in 1559/60. Angus and the Mearns are thus to be clearly distinguished from other regions of Scotland. In the less settled Borders, for example, "the mass of people did not feel strongly enough about any religion to risk their lives for it."[41] In Dumfriesshire, "There appears to have been little demand for reform before 1560."[42] The faith of men like Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, Lord Edzell, was not necessarily theologically profound: indeed, it was patently mixed with values stemming from very different traditions. It was, however, deeply held and sincere. If it is possible to presume that the son was not unlike the father, some insight into the support gained in the previous generation by men like George Wishart is possible. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church".

If the Reformation is explained at least in part as an expression of personal faith, the institutions and

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41. S.Keeling, "The Reformation in the Anglo-Scottish Border Counties" Northern History xv (1979) p.41.
42. I.Cowan, "The Reformation in Dumfriesshire" Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Archaeological Society 3rd series vol.lxi (1981) p.90.

customs it created also served to encourage and revive faith. The kirk emphasised its role in interpreting and maintaining the rites of passage; though the number of sacraments recognised had been reduced, greater weight was placed on baptism, and on preparation for death. From being a private occasion, capable of being validly performed by midwives, baptism became (in the main) part of public worship and was restricted to the ministry - initially to ministers and readers; by the later 1570s, to ministers only. The role of godparent was continued under the form of witnesses, often men bearing the same Christian name as that of the child.[43] The suitability of this ceremony to name-conscious Scottish society is clear. Baptismal occasions were opportunities for expressing kinship or the patron-client relationship, or simply friendship, as was thought appropriate. Mr John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir, endorsed the baptismal certificate of his children,[44]

> "Extract be John Cairnes reidar at Edinburch of ... special days of ye baptising of my bairns."

It can be seen that, as with the Durhams of Grange, Lord Menmuir's sons were named after at least one of the witnesses to their baptism and the day was considered "special" thereafter by their father. In linking the congregational and kinship aspects of baptism by the device of the witness, the Scottish kirk differed from the practice of both Geneva and England, where the nuclear family was increasingly valued.[45]

The death-bed held a special place in the custom of the reformed kirk. It could be the occasion <u>par excellence</u>

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43. See chapter 5 table 3 and n.75; also, <u>First Book</u> pp.91,192-3.
44. See appendix A.b no.059.
45. J.Bossy, "Godparenthood" p.199-220; see I.Cowan, <u>Reformation</u> p.150 -152 for further discussion of baptism after 1560.

for giving confession of the faith. John Knox, for example, recounted the pre-Reformation dying profession of faith by Elizabeth Adamson, who[46]

> "suffered most grievous torment of her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing but praising of God,"

Her death followed the singing of Psalm 103, and was ...

> "no small comfort of those that saw her blessed departing. This we could not omit of this worthy woman, who gave so notable a confession ..."

Knox's own death was to be held in similar esteem.[47] As the kirk had virtually banned funereal ceremony, visitation of the sick and pre-death counselling gained greater weight, featuring in the Book of Common Order.[48] Whereas before the Reformation, lairds had given their confession (of sins) and made their will before their chaplain or chosen confessor,[49] after 1560 both readers and ministers took on this function. Seventy-seven wills [testaments testamentary] have been discovered witnessed by a total of twenty-nine ministers and readers. Many do not include the date of death of the testator, but of the thirty-six that do, twenty-seven were made within a month of death in the presence of the parish minister, or his reader.[50] Thus George Symmer of Balzeordie made his will on the day of his death before Mr Andrew Elder, notary and reader at Menmuir. William Elder at the Stone of Benholm made his testament on 13 October 1573 in the presence of Mr John Elder his brother, Mr William Elder reader at Benholm and Mr

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46. Knox's History i 119-20.
47. Memorials of transactions in Scotland by Richard Bannatyne ed. R.Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club 1836) pp.283-5.
48. First Book pp.199-201; I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.155; BCO ad loc.
49. Formulare i no.177: Alexander earl of Crawford made his last will in his own hand in the presence of a friar, his chosen confessor.
50. These figures were compiled during a complete search of the first extant volume of Brechin testaments, CC 3.3.1 [c.1576-c.1584], and a search of the Edinburgh testaments, CC 8.8.1f., for entries obviously derived from Angus and the Mearns. The vast majority of Brechin entries contain standard formulae only.

Andrew Elder, and died the same month. James Davidson, burgess of Montrose, made his will "with his own mouth" on 23 November 1579 before both his minister and reader, Mr William Anderson and John Baty, and died the next day. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie similarly made his will the day before his death in the presence of John Christison, parson and minister of Glenbervie.[51] All levels of propertied society thus summoned reformed clergy to their death-beds.

This then, like baptism, was an occasion for reformed instruction that merged with an event of importance in Scots society. Death and inheritance were crucial in Scottish patriarchal society; the appointment of executors and giving of bequests required the presence of a dying man's kin. When Sir Robert Carnegy made his second and last will at Leuchars, "beinge in his bed deidly seik in bodie" three of his sons were present: John the eldest, together with Mr David of Panbride and Mr Robert, parson of Kinnoull. That his minister, John Ure, used the opportunity to emphasise the uniqueness of Christ as "ouer onely Sauiowr" has already been suggested.[52] A fuller "confession" was made by Mr David Balward, parson and minister of St Madoes in his manse on 1 December 1590:[53]

> "gaif ye confessioun of his fayt y[a]lt his salvation consistis onlie in ye deith and passioun of Jesus Christ tro[ch]t ye fre mercie of ye eternall lord o[ur]e God hoiping assurtlie to be resaiffit y[air]to thro[ch]t and be no uy[er] meanis".

Similar testamental preambles occur among those longer wills registered at Edinburgh. On 22 December 1573, Elizabeth Nevay, spouse of James Wichthand in the mill of Inverarity, began her will in this fashion:[54]

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51. CC 8.8.5 f.60v; CC 8.8.5 f.83r; CC 3.3.1 f.19v; CC 8.8.12 f.34v.
52. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 3 bund. 32; and see n.16 above.
53. CC 8.8.23 f.224v.
54. CC 8.8.5 f.198v.

> "Ye said Elizabeth being seik and infirme in bodie bot zit of gud rembrance left and disponit her saule to ye eternal God, Father, Sone and Hailie Gaist to be participand of yat eternall glorie q[uhi]lk o[ur]e savio[u]r Jesus Christ hes purchasit to hir and all faithful be ye schedding of his precious blude and ordains hir body to be bureit in yr paroche kirk of Inneraritie yair amang ye faithfull..."

The influence of a minister may well be behind such a doctrinal statement, and is surely obvious in the will of sir Richard Smart - made thus under his style as a pre-Reformation priest on 15 August 1582. The legacy section was subscribed in the name of John Fullerton, minister of Inverkeilor and ran:[55]

> "I ye said ... haill in spreit and mynd albeit weik and febill in body levis my soule to God thro[ch]t Jesus Christ my savio[u]r my onlie redemer..."

Smart's executors were his wife Helen Leslie and his eldest son, William, so the trust in Christ expressed in his will may have been his own sentiments as well as those of his minister's. Fullerton's name and style with the words "sit.sub." are recorded at the foot of Richard Smart's testament, indicating that it was written by the minister. Occasionally, this is elaborated with an explanation that the testator could not write.[56] Whereas epistolary skills were increasingly common in England, so that the dying could exercise some choice in the selection of his scribe, they seem less so in Scotland; the Scots reformed ministry therefore maintained a tighter (though certainly not exclusive) grip on the death-beds of their flock.[57]

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56. CC 8.8.8 f.275r: Thomas Lovell in Linlathen's will was written by "my darrest and best belouit eldest germane broder James Lovell reidar w[i]ltin my paroche kirk of Monyfurth" - 31 Dec.1577. Christine Spens, wife of Alexander Ramsay burgess of Dundee, required "ane vigilant pastour in Christ William Cristisoun minister in Dundee and Thomas Ireland notare public to subscrive this my latterwill ...": CC 8.8 5 f.238r - 26 June 1571.
57. M.Spufford, "The scribes of villagers' wills" p.41. James Lindsay, notary public, was a reasonably common choice for drawing up wills registered at Brechin: CC 3.3.1 fs.3r,27v,29r,34v. His formulae differ little from those used by ministers and readers.

The endurance of the Reformation, then, can be ascribed not only to the individual religiosity of lairds (and others) in Angus and the Mearns, but to the longer-lasting union of reformed practice with Scottish culture. The Reformation revived a religious frame of mind that was not only integrated with society at large, but in many respects fundamental to it. The significant moments of individual life - birth, marriage and death - were interpreted by its ceremonies and ministry in ways that were appropriate to the kin-based nature of Scotland.[58] Reformed theological emphasis on the communal and congregational nature of baptism harmonised with the traditions in Angus of Christian names being handed down from generation to generation.[59] Teaching on a Christian's duties to die a responsible and godly death and to be charitable to the poor suited a society which valued good lordship.[60] John Erskine of Dun's theology of conflict and its practical application in the witch-hunt was not confined to himself: others associated with such commissions of justiciary were Lord Ogilvy (before his conversion to catholicism), Ogilvy of Inverquharity and Lindsay of Edzell. Patrick Collinson suggests that the union of magistrate and minister was at least in part a response to an unstable society; lords in England and lairds in Scotland found in reformed teaching an ideology which supported social control and conservatism in combating sin and the wiles of the adversary.[61] That David Lindsay of Edzell and John Erskine of Dun both studied Oecolampadius is not coincidental.[62] Society in Angus before and after the Reformation was certainly unusually disturbed.[63]

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58. For marriage, see chapter 5 n.92; First Book p.191-8.
59. See chapter 1 ns.6-12.
60. See chapter 5 n.89 and above, ns.14-5.
61. P.Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford 1984) pp.181-7.
62. See chapter 4 ns.60-71 esp.62; also above, n.34.
63. See chapters 1 and 8, passim.

The reformed kirk's parochial customs had much to offer the sixteenth century Scottish lairdly culture that had given it birth.

At an institutional level, the new kirk was not only integrated with society, but also integrative of it. By the mid-sixteenth century, the process of sub-infeudation was well developed. The feuing of church and crown lands, and the wadsetting of baronial lands, had resulted in most lairds of any substance holding lands from several superiors - and hence finding themselves subject to several, possibly competing, jurisdictions.[64] The re-creation of the parish as the dominant unit of local society was the product of the Reformation, and appears to have met a desire to belong that neither kindred nor baron court could entirely fulfil. In the confusion of loyalties of 1559/60, the myth of the Congregation had offered its devotees both ideological and practical support. Subsequently, the parish assembly could prove a suitable court wherein local lairds might co-operate in establishing parochial discipline and even attempt such delicate matters as arbitration between opposing factions.[65] At Monifieth, for example, the eldership linked together tenants-in-chief, tenants of the regality of Kirriemuir, and subtenants holding lands in the regality from the earl of Crawford. The procedures of the kirk's courts were those of the familiar baron court, which all free tenants had a duty to attend. That baron courts were held in the name of a sole superior may find an echo in the dominant position of Durham of Grange at Monifieth and Graham of Morphie at Ecclesgreig.

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64. See chapter 1 ns.36-7.
65. NRH, OPR 310/1 f.57v: two men gave surety by "vphaldgn y[air] handis tyll stand at yir decreit of Andro Duncan [and others] of all debaittis betwixt y[aim]". K.Brown suggests that arbitration was "the best society had to offer" to prevent violence: Bloodfeud p.59.

Decisions, however, ran in the name of the "haill court" (ie all the suitors present) or of its jury in the feudal arena, and of the "haill assemblie" or its eldership in the ecclesiastical.[66] The reign of James VI saw a period when "many of the familiar landmarks" of feudal Scotland were in decay;[67] at a local level, the new institution of the reformed parish and its eldership both harmonised with the Scottish experience and created new social and administrative units, more rational than the baronies.[68] Culturally and institutionally, the parochial reformation harmonised with Scottish rural society - and thereby became a means by which faith might be cultivated and life experienced within a Christian framework.[69]

How far was protestantism in Angus and the Mearns confined to the propertied classes ? Because of the shortage of kirk session registers, there is virtually no means of answering this question. Testamentary evidence is of little help, for the surviving register of testaments for Brechin is of small or minor testaments - a large proportion of which were dative. Those which were not, were worded almost without exception from various combinations of

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66. The Court Book of the Barony of Carnwath, 1523-42 (SHS 1937) ed. W.C.Dickinson provides a printed court book to compare with the Monifieth kirk assembly register; Dickinson's introduction pp. lxxv, lxxxii and xciii for the points made above. See chapter 5 ns.80,86,94 for the elders. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, earl of Angus, wrote on 14 June 1589 to Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity announcing his intention to hold a regality court in person at Kirriemuir, requested his bailie to summon the tenants and promised to continue his favour towards him: Fraser, Douglas Book iv no.228.
67. The Early Modern Town in Scotland (London 1987) p.74, ed. M.Lynch; his chapter, "The Crown and the Burghs".
68. G.Donaldson, Scottish Church History pp.225-9 on the importance of the parish as a focus of the local community.
69. The function of religion in maintaining social cohesion in certain societies has long been recognised: B.Wilson, Religion in sociological perspective (Oxford 1982) p.33.

four standard formulae.[70] Two tentative conclusions may be drawn. First, that radical protestantism made little headway until the 1590s; only at that period do the obviously protestant preambles studied earlier from the Edinburgh-registered larger testaments make their appearance at this level. Neither, however, was there any indication of recusancy. Out of fifty-four testaments testamentary registered at Brechin between 1576 and 1584, only one included a legacy for 13/4d. "to be spendit at yir die of my burial" thus harking back to a common feature of pre-1560 catholic testamentary practice.[71] Protestantism, though in a traditional and diluted form, had come to stay.

One interesting piece of evidence suggestive of a wider reception of the Reformation can be found in the Monifieth kirk register, on those occasions where the clerk recorded the number attending the annual communion.[72] Because of the solemn and climactic nature of the annual Lord's Supper, these figures represent church attendance at its maximum. By April of 1576, approximately 600 people took communion; this figure was to remain

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70. These were: a) "Since nothing is more certain than death and more uncertain than the hour of death"; b)"sick in body but whole in mind" (with variants); c)"bequeaths his soul to almighty God and his body to be buried"; d)"instructs his executors to act as they will answer to God on the day of judgment". These clauses can all be found in a Latin form in the St Andrews testaments registered 1549-1551: CC 20.4.1. The Marian clauses, however, and reference to the company of the Saints, are wholly missing, together with any legacies for burial-day requiems (but see n.71 below).
71. CC 3.3.1 f.29r, 26 December 1580; cf. CC 20.4.1 - St.A. tests.
72. OPR 310/1:f31v,23 Apr.1576:"ye communion wes ministrated to sex h[undre]t persounis". Summaries of subsequent entries follow.

f37v	27 Apr.1578: 600.	f51v	[-] May 1582: 700.
f41v	26 Apr.1579: 700.	f54v	14 Apr.1583: 700 "& odds".
f45r	17 Apr.1580: 600.	f57v	12 Apr.1584: 780.

The entry for 1584 was written in careful Gothic-style script distinguishing it from the surrounding entries. Subsequent entries, however, fail to give numbers: that for 1586 being relegated to the margin and considerably abbreviated - 10 April, f.63r.

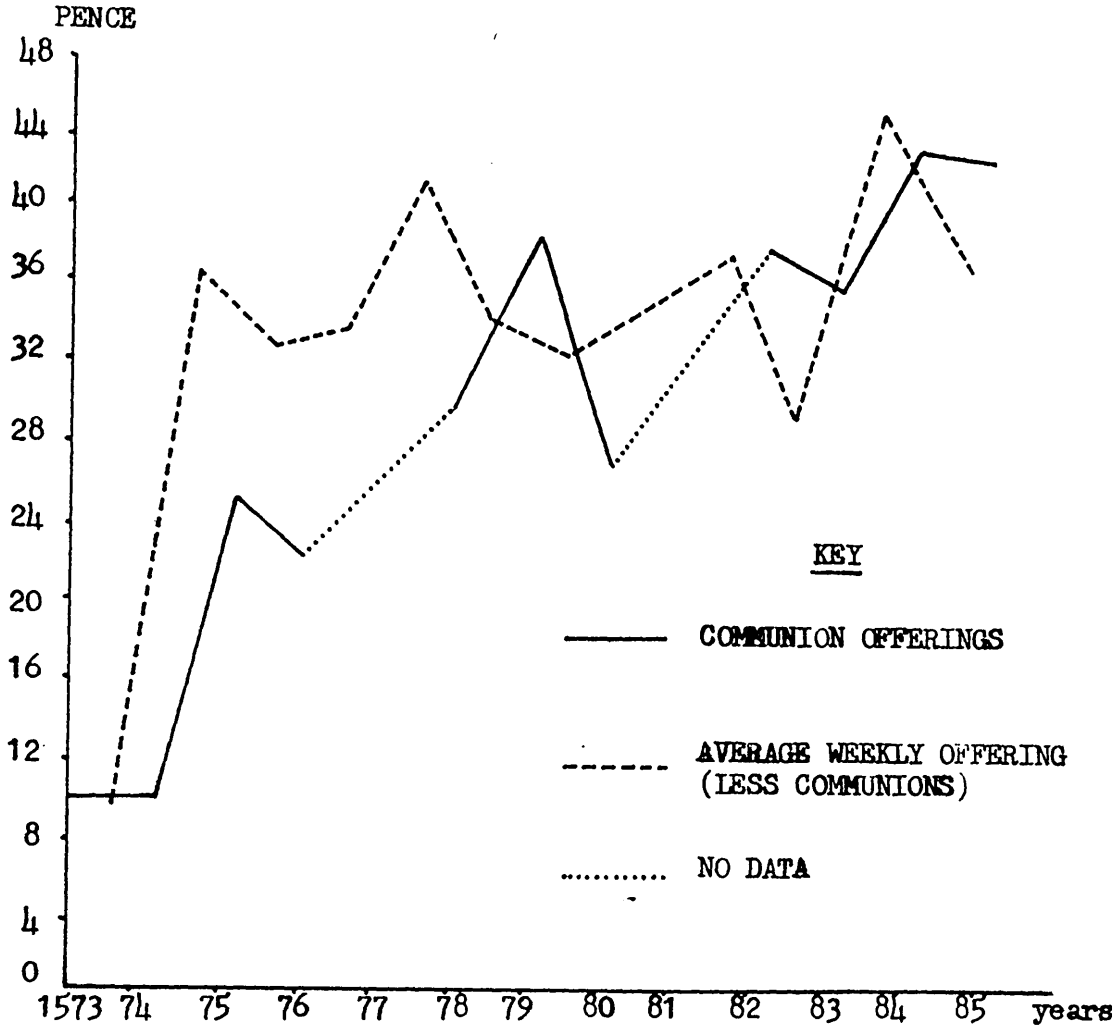
fairly stable for some years, and at its peak of 780 represented a ministry that reached a high proportion of the population.[73] Comparison of figures for communion collections for the poor with the normal weekly offering demonstrates clearly the exceptional nature of this attendance. Whereas at communions in the early 1580s total gifts of three to four hundred pence were regular, the weekly average for 1582 was only thirty pence.[74] Study of the normal and communion offering totals suggests further conclusions regarding church attendance at Monifieth: first, that weekly attendance was roughly ten per cent of that at communions, and second that attendances whether annual or weekly improved in the early 1580s.[75] The sacramental and rites of passage aspects of the reformed kirk appear to have been more acceptable to the bulk of parishioners than the weekly diet of worship and preaching at Monifieth. As this parish appears to be in some respects a model reformed rural parish, there must have been many where the lairds were less devout than William Durham of Grange and where the kirk was less well received.[76]

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73. Population statistics are notoriously difficult for Scotland in this period. J.Malcolm, The parish of Monifieth (Edinburgh 1910) p.245 cites Dr Webster's report of 1755 for a total then of 1421. The Statistical Account (1794) gave 1218. The 1801 census gave 1407. The 16th century total may have been as much as 1400, as the number of baptisms recorded around 1580 was similar to those c.1755 - a average of 38 p.a. and 39 p.a. respectively: see, Malcolm, Monifieth p.245. G.Donaldson, however, calculates 700 as the average population of non-burghal parishes: Scottish Church History p.220. The proportion of the population whose baptisms were recorded may have altered between 1580 and 1755.
74. Based on the medians for the quarters of 1582. See diagram 9.2, which is derived from charting the weekly collections registered in OPR 310/1, passim.
75. See diagram 9.2.
76. Two accounts for cash expended for bread and wine for communion exist from Angus in this period. On 24 May 1582, 42 s. were deducted from Lord Ogilvy's dues for Lintrathen - not a large sum. On 24 Feb.1594, £12 was required for communion at Kirriemuir, suggestive of a larger gathering. The Airlie mss, GD 16.47.1 and 16.47.23.

DIAGRAM 9.2

CORRESPONDENCE OF WEEKLY AND COMMUNION GIVING AT MONIFIETH



The weekly average offerings shown are calculated from the quarterly medians, thus excluding erratic entries such as nil collections due to snow or the unusually large offerings at a wedding.

The communion offerings are compared with the weekly average by graphing the former after division by a factor of ten.

The resulting curves are similar in general pattern, after allowing for particular highs and lows. The improvement in 1574 is marked; both offerings climbed steadily from 1578 to 1585. As attendance at communions was recorded as increasing during these years, a similar increase in weekly attendance may also be deduced - provided attitudes to giving remained constant.

The problems experienced at Monifieth in obtaining regular church attendance may have been due to the fact that the integration of kirk and society at a local level was at the same time a source of both strength and weakness. Though William Durham of Grange and Alexander Lauder of Omachie supported the kirk and led the session, Henry Ramsay of Laws and Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie were at odds with the leading elders, Laws being prosecuted for adultery by the kirk. This dispute probably had its origin in secular matters and had a further context in the wider divisions of Angus society. The mother of Durham of Grange had been a Ramsay: William Durham entertained a claim, possibly inherited from his father, to half the estate of Laws. If relations between the neighbouring houses of the Grange and Laws were therefore sour, so too were those between Omachie and Kingennie: Alexander Lauder of Omachie had slain Ninian Guthrie's heir.[77] When the contract of assythment was subscribed in 1562, it was witnessed for Lauder by the earl of Morton as tutor of Omachie's superior the earl of Angus, whereas Kingennie's main "friend" was Patrick Lord Gray whom he served as deputy-sheriff.[78] The Grays were involved in disputes against other lairds who supported the Monifieth establishment; Gilbert Auchinlek of that ilk and John Lovell, fiar of Ballumbie.[79] Given the event of 1562 and Kingennie's association with the Grays, it is hardly surprising that his part in the affairs of his parish kirk was limited.[80]

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77. See chapter 5 ns.70-73,100-102 and table 5.2.
78. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.639 and Reg.Deeds RD 1.5.384.
79. RPC i p.655: Gilbert Auchinlek of that ilk raised letters against Patrick Lord Gray and others for their protection of those who slew James Ramsay tutor of the Laws, in which quarrel Auchinlek's brother Alexander lost an arm: 19 April 1569. For the Gray/Lovell feud, see below ns. 81-94.
80. Kingennie did stand caution for the learning of "ye .3." on 24 November 1577: OPR 310/1 f.35v. His heir William Guthrie had his marriage to Elspeth [blank] proclaimed on 21 August 1580: f.46r.

The longest-running feud to affect Monifieth was that between Henry Lovell of Ballumbie and his son John. The lands of Ballumbie had been subject to a dispute against the house of Fowlis since at least 1536 for control of the fishing off Broughty.[81] In the 1560s and 1570s, the Grays were able to exploit to their advantage the aggressive personality of Henry Lovell of Ballumbie. John Lovell had been put into the fee of the estate in 1551 by his uncle Andrew: in 1555/6, while still a minor, he granted a life-interest in the lands to his father Henry and to Jonet Scott, Henry's wife. When his father re-married, John again granted a charter of life-interest to his father and to Margaret Moncreiff his new stepmother.[82] Henry Lovell was to have six children by Margaret Moncreiff and a considerable clash of interests arose between him and his eldest son. Unfortunately, Henry Lovell was more than usually inclined to solve problems by force.[83]

In 1567, the Privy Council heard the complaint of John Lovell against his father, alleging that the latter had unnaturally burnt his son's crops, chased away his tenants and lifted his sheep.[84] The dispute continued: again in 1569 the Council heard complaints concerning Henry Lovell, and his son John. On the 20 July, Henry Knight and others acting for John Gray, steward of Lord Gray, had by force prevented the Lord Lyon putting Henry Lovell, John's brother and procurator, into possession of the Tay fishings.

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81. See chapter 8 n.102.
82. See appendix B nos. 157-161 for the succession in Ballumbie.
83. Henry Lovell's occupation of the glebe of Monifieth from 1565 has already been noted. In 1566, he and six others attacked the house of James Durham of Pitkerro with "lang culverins and vther wappins", allegedly seeking Durham's life. Durham complained to the Privy Council against Lovell, "sic a crewell man as he is knawin,": chapter 5 n.108; RPC i 460.
84. RPC i p.555.

Gray's defence was that he had the tack of the fishings himself, from Henry Lovell of Ballumbie.[85] During 1572, an attempt was made to bring these divisions between Henry and John Lovell to an end. In May, Henry had been put to the horn as a rebel: by July, he was ready to give surety not to molest John.[86] In November, a contract embodying this agreement was signed at Ballumbie and later registered in the books of Council. Henry's cautioners included Patrick Lord Gray, Patrick master of Gray and their kin by marriage the lairds of Inchmartine, Tealing and Carmyllie.[87] Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk was the only Angus laird to support John Lovell, whose main friend was Scott of Balwearie, of his mother's kin. Despite this accord, John Lovell was forced to sue the Grays in February 1572/3 for violent dispossession of his lands and fishings; for failing to attend the hearing, the lord, the master and four Grays were escheated.[88] Next, Henry Lovell attacked the homes of the tenants of West Ferry and Monifieth; eleven "puir tenants" brought a complaint to the Council in January 1574/5. Whereas Henry Knight had defended "auld Ballumbie" in 1569, he now found himself pursued for his life, and his "brewing lums" broken up.[89]

Even after Henry Lovell's death, the effects of the long conflict continued. When John eventually gained full possession of Ballumbie, he found the estates seriously embarrassed. Under a contract of August 1573, he had obliged himself to pay his father's debts. This promise was taken up by Margaret

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85. RPC i p.685.
86. RPC ii p.138.
87. Reg.Deeds RD 1.9 f.162r. At some point, Henry Lovell slew the brother of Ogilvy of that ilk: RSS vii 474.
88. See chapter 8 n.102.
89. RPC ii p.429.

Moncreiff, Henry's widow, and John Peebles, a burgess of Perth: and probably by others.[90] In 1579, John Lovell was forced to raise money by selling lands of Ballumbie to the master of Glamis; in 1581, he was escheated twice for non-payment of debts. The gifts of the escheats were granted to Andrew Gray, son of Patrick Lord Gray.[91] While Lovell had been in ward in Edinburgh, the Grays took the opportunity to raid Ballumbie's lands with a force of 200 men.[92] Involved with this raid was Fotheringham of Powrie, another of the cautioners for Henry Lovell in 1572. Patrick Lord Gray received a further gift of an escheat of John Lovell in September 1584 for non-payment of teinds to Powrie's brother, Mr James Fotheringham, during the years 1577 to 1580.[93] It appears to have been a characteristic of the Grays never to forget an injury. By 1591, William Lovell of Ballumbie, John's heir, was still being forced to raise money: in his case, a loan of 12,000 merks against the security of lands in Monifieth.[94]

A feud of this magnitude, continued for so long, could not fail to have had a detrimental impact on the development of the kirk in Monifieth. The Lovells were an important element of the population. The lairds of Ballumbie held sections of Monifieth itself: other Lovells possessed lands in Balmossie, Linlathen and Barnhill. John, fiar of Ballumbie, and Henry Lovell in Barnhill were elders in 1573 and 1579 respectively. Another Henry Lovell was a deacon in 1579.[95] When John Lovell's wife Barbara Ogilvy, sister to Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk, died in July 1579, she

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90. RPC ii p.335, RSS vii 474.
91. RMS iv 2874; RSS viii 476,535.
92. RPC iii pp.436-7.
93. RSS viii 2387.
94. NLS ch.4772.
95. See chapter 5 diagram 5.2

was buried in the kirk.[96] When Henry Lovell in Barnhill had his son Alexander baptised, one of the witnesses was Robert Durham of Grange.[97] The long-serving reader of the kirk was James Lovell, brother to Thomas in Linlathen.[98] The lairds of Ballumbie could have been a major source of support for the kirk in Monifieth, especially as their own parish kirk at Ballumbie was provided with no reformed services of its own.[99] John Lovell was missing from the elders' lists of 1575 and 1579, however, having been second-named after William Durham of Grange in 1573. A laird with such considerable family, financial and factional troubles must have proved a liability rather than an asset to the eldership.[100]

The troubles of John Lovell of Ballumbie illustrate both the strengths and weaknesses of the congregation of Monifieth. The kirk was rooted in the local population. Within its register can be found the spectrum of local society: the major lairds, the chief tenants, the brew-house keeper, the prostitutes, the "gangarell puir". All three ministers and the reader during the Reformation period were of local kin. The leaders in the kirk were the natural leaders of Monifieth parish society. In an age when loyalties could be divided, the parish kirk offered a familiar society where men and women had their alloted places within a corporate fellowship. Its institutions provided a link between the normal events of birth,

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96. OPR 310/1 f.42v, 30 July 1579 and see appendix B no.160.
97. OPR 310/1 f.42r, 12 May 1579.
98. See appendix A.c no.131; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.8 f.375r.
99. "Ballumbie neidis na reidar": the parish was linked to Dundee, see appendix A.2. Its rental had not been given up in 1561, so that the "superplus" was available as a gift to John's heir William in 1579: RSS vii 2042.
100. The laird of Ballumbie was in fact prosecuted for fornication with Kristen Kay in 1582, three years after his wife died: OPR 310/1 f.52r.

marriage and death, and the eternal. In all these factors, the local roots of the kirk were its great strength. On the other hand, weakness could also flow from the kirk's closeness to local society. It was impossible to separate the religious duties of the lairds from their factional disputes. Monifieth was controlled by the Durhams of Grange; to a lesser extent by the lairds of Omachie. From this establishment, the Guthries of Kingennie were excluded. Further, the reformed system worked best when the natural leaders of society were also men of firm personal faith. This had been true of William Durham of Grange: his heir, Robert, though he heads the elders' lists in 1575 and 1579 played a less active role. He appears in connection with baptisms, but not as a cautioner for future obedience. His part in day-to-day kirk discipline must therefore be open to question, and his younger son Alexander was actually brought to repentance for fornication in August 1585.[101] Problems were also experienced with Alexander Lauder of Omachie, who succeeded his father in 1580.[102] An unknown woman was summoned in the spring of 1585 for fornication with the young laird: both were ordered to show repentance. Alexander Lauder younger seems also to have had difficulty with his financial affairs. A letter exists from the earl of Angus, his superior, to the baron-bailie Ogilvy of Inverquharity ordering the apprising of Omachie's goods to repay a cautioner who had been fined when Lauder failed to meet a debt. For those with retentive memories of the godly early days of the congregation, Lauder's election to the session of 1596 must have lacked credibility.[103] Dependence on local leadership could be a tremendous asset to the kirk: it could also be a liability.

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101. OPR 310/1 f.61r, 29 Aug.1585.
102. RSS vii 2651.
103. OPR 310/1 f.60r, 11 Apr 1585; Fraser, Douglas Book iv no.221; OPR 310/1 f.87v, 30 Mar.1596.

Just as the divisions of parochial society weakened the congregation of Monifieth, so the wider feuds and factional strife of Forfarshire affected the development of the reformed kirk throughout the province. The 1570s and 1580s were marked by a series of violent clashes between the major groupings of the shire: clashes which also merged into the general political turmoil of those years. A note for James VI on feuds between the great families of Scotland listed that between the neighbouring central Angus families the Guthries and the Gardynes as one of eight begun since the king's assumption of the government.[104] Patrick Gardyne of that ilk was murdered 10 May 1578 by William, son of Guthrie of that ilk. Various actions of lawburrows were fought between the two sides through the Privy Council during 1578 and 1580; nevertheless, Alexander Guthrie of that ilk was slain on 5 October 1587 by the Gardynes.[105] This was a dispute between two former king's men; during the 1570s both had been clients of John Lord Glamis, the chancellor. The causes of the feud are now forgotten, but the fact that only a few miles separated the houses of the two sides must have rendered the dispute the more bitter.[106]

The main political effect of the Guthrie/ Gardyne feud was to weaken the party of Mr Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis, who with his responsibilities for the house of Glamis after the chancellor's death took over the feud between his kin and the earl of Crawford. The latter, who persisted in proclaiming his innocence, found general support from his kin in Angus: among his cautioners were

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104. BL, Add.mss.33,531 f.263.
105. RPC ii p.701; iii pp.92,118,249,266; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.19 f.347.
106. See chapter 8 ns.59,125-6. Though this feud is not mentioned in K.Brown, Bloodfeud, it is a good illustration of his thesis on the local feud: pp.65-80.

the Lindsays of Edzell, Evelick and Kinnettles.[107] Although a prosecution against him was begun, the earl had licence to go abroad in 1580,[108] returning in August 1581. Further bonds of caution were required of the master of Glamis and the earl in February 1581/2.[109] During the crises of the early 1580s, the master of Glamis and the eleventh earl of Crawford were invariably on opposite sides. Whereas Crawford supported Lennox, the master was a leading light of the Ruthven Raid that captured King James and banished Lennox.[110] Mr Thomas Lyon took the opportunity of the Raiders' success to renew his prosecution of Crawford; but the earl was among the faction that rallied to the king in the summer of 1583, being rewarded with the provostry of Dundee,[111] and of lands in the regality of Scone forfeit to the crown after the fall of Gowrie.[112] The master, meanwhile, was driven into exile in 1583 and 1584/5.[113] By the autumn of 1585, the fall of Arran brought Mr Thomas Lyon back into power and Crawford was warded. The dispute continued between the two men and their factions into the next century.[114]

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107. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 111 and JRL, The Crawford mss. box E; on 9 May 1578 Crawford wrote to Lord Ross seeking his support at a trial summoned for 3 November: "as God knawis I am most innocent and as all yat sawe and knawis ye circumstances of yat unhappy accident vnderstandis and hes beine ewer sensyne villing to hawe had ye mater tryit..." Bands of caution for the earl: RPC ii 705, ibid. iii 233,288,245.
108. RPC xiv 349; Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 85.
109. CSP(S) vi 51; RPC iii 500-1. Scrymgeour of Dudhope, two Rollocks and Lyon of Cossins were sureties for the master; the Lindsays of Edzell, Vane and Evelick and Mr Walter Lindsay for the earl.
110. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii p.119; CSP(S) vi 121,154,156,177,179.
111. CSP(S) vi 549,580,608,654. Dundee protested this imposition of Crawford in place of "their old provost": Flett, "Geneva of Scotland" pp.104-5; M.Lynch, The Early Modern Town in Scotland ed. by him (London 1987) pp.56-8,63.
112. RMS v 772.
113. CSP(S) vi 617; Hamilton Papers ii p.697: the master was reckoned by the English Council to be of the best judgment of all the exiled lords.
114. K.Brown, Bloodfeud pp.124-127 traces the national politics involved in this feud.

The support granted by David Lindsay of Edzell to his brother-in-law the eleventh earl of Crawford in the aftermath of the 1578 killing of Lord Glamis has already been noted as extending to his participation in the murder of Campbell of Lundie in 1582.[115] One consequence of this support was the enmity of the Lyons and their friends. On 13 October 1581, the master together with a formidable gathering of over 230 men, "bodin with jakis, speiris, steilbonettis, lang gunnis" attacked and captured Edzell's brother Robert, wounding him and killing members of his party. Major lairds who assisted the Lyons in this fray were Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Ogilvy of Inverquharity, Lauder of Omachie, Wishart of Logie, Lyall of Murthill, Thornton of that ilk and Gray of Dunninald with Gilbert Gray, son of Patrick Lord Gray. All these families had supported the king's regents during the civil wars and been clients of the chancellor,[116] though the faction was by no means as comprehensively representative of the shire as the 1568 bond had been.

The master of Glamis and his faction had a respite for these murders in October 1582; in addition, Ogilvy of Inverquharity and his sons were also respited for their prior killing of Alexander Lindsay of Blairyfeddon. This occurred during a violent clash on 4 July 1581 during which John Lindsay, Alexander's successor, also killed John Ogilvy fiar of Inverquharity.[117] Inverquharity's support for Glamis' conflict with the Angus Lindsays not only cost him a son. His association with Morton and Glamis during the civil wars had led him into opposition to James Lord Ogilvy, at whose expense

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115.See above, ns.35-6;107,109.
116.RSS viii 965; also chapter 8 ns.59,125-6.
117.RSS viii 1466.

Morton had rewarded him.[118] Ogilvy, however, with Crawford, was in favour with the court, dominated by Lennox until August 1582. With the fall of Angus earlier in 1581, the master of Ogilvy had been appointed by the crown to Inverquharity's previous office as justiciar and bailie of the regality of Kirriemuir.[119] In September 1581, Inverquharity was accused of the murder of Alexander Lindsay; his castle was forfeit, his goods escheated and gifted to the master of Ogilvy. With this gift as his bargaining counter, Ogilvy persuaded Inverquharity to renounce the tacks of teinds Morton had engineered for him.[120] Inverquharity was understandably a supporter of the Ruthven Raid, and was warded in Blackness by July 1585 - when the keeper complained that the old laird, his wife and their servants had refused to pay their expenses.[121] Inverquharity, who had been one of the first members of the Congregation in Angus, had died by October 1587; his successor and grandson made peace with Lord Ogilvy by subscribing a band of manrent in 1591.[122]

The defeat and exile of the master of Glamis after the failure of the Ruthven Raid had the effect of rendering more acute the isolation of the house of Dun in Angus. John Erskine opposed the actions of the retrenched Arran regime against the church in 1583:[123]

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118. See chapter 8 ns.117-120.
119. Airlie mss., GD 16.25.87.
120. Airlie mss., GD 16.41.53-4; RSS viii 464-5; GD 16.41.60,79; Airlie mss., GD 16.48.26; GD 16.11.6-8 - whereby the murdered fiar of Inverquharity's lands were adjudged to have fallen to the crown with the Angus forfeiture and were gifted to the master of Ogilvy. The marriage of John, apparent of Inverquharity, was also gifted to the master.
121. RSS viii 1713: remission for participation in the Ruthven Raid; RPC iii p.756.
122. NLS ms.593.2038; Airlie mss. GD 16.25.9 for the bond which is listed by J.Brown/Wormald, "Bonds of manrent in Scotland" no. 512.
123. CSP(S) vi 721: 29 Dec.1583.

> "The laird of Dunne, father of the religious and well affected in Scotland, has written earnestly to the King to persuade him to stay his violent course, and chiefly against the church, concluding that otherwise he will be the last of his name that shall reign in that realme."

Erskine's Knoxian admonitions were ignored, however. With Dame Katherine Campbell dead, her son Lindsay of Edzell supporting Crawford, and Ogilvy of Inverquharity escheated, Dun had fewer friends willing to support his views of the spiritual independence of the kirk than perhaps at any time in his career. His son Robert and his grandson John of Logie had supported John earl of Mar in his coup of 1578 when the earl had seized Stirling Castle;[124] in view of the Ruthven Raiders' appeal to Dun for assistance,[125] it would not be surprising if at least one of the younger members of the house was not compromised by his presence soon after the capture of the king. Robert was in fact a cautioner for Adam Erskine commendator of Cambuskenneth and was fined £2,500 when his principal was forfeited in August 1584.[126] With Crawford and Ogilvy triumphant in Angus, the laird of Dun did not seek to resist the Black Acts. He was named, in fact, in November and December 1583, together with the aged John Wishart of Pittarrow, David Carnegy of Colluthie, the laird of Braid and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, as arbiters to attempt to secure the surrender and return of the Ruthven Raiders.[127]

In some respects, 1583-4 saw a reversal of the victory of the Angus king's party of 1568-70: Glamis' faction had, however, considerably shrunk from its original size. With James VI's assumption of the government, however nominally, older Angus

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124. RPC iii 688-692; Band of the Friends of Mar.
125. See chapter 7 n.120.
126. T.Crockett, "Life of Erskine of Dun" p.254.
127. CSP(S) vi 611,698,700,714.

traditions reasserted themselves. The lairds of the shire, mainly men of small names and fortunes, looked to preserve their independence by service to the crown. Certainly they traditionally resisted outside interference, and looked askance at the aspirations and poor lordship of the house of Finavon. In the late 1570s and 1580s, however, there was again an adult king to be served - even if that meant co-operation with Ogilvy and Crawford. Thus Mr John Lindsay and Sir David of Edzell, John Carnegy of that ilk, Mr Peter Young of Seaton and Alexander Fullerton younger of Craigo all in their own ways supported the dominant court factions during the early 1580s.[128] Even Mr Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis, should be seen in this perspective. Forced into opposition by his inherited feud against Crawford, he early won the respect of the king - who appears to have protected the master as far as he was able.[129] James, like his predecessors, appears to have appreciated the loyalty of men from Angus: no less than three, Menmuir, Colluthy and Young, were to be Octavians. John Erskine of Dun's service, too, was not unrecognised.[130] Loyal service to James VI and his governments was welcomed, and could be profitable.[131]

Angus and the Mearns have been described

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128. See ns.24-27,35-36 above for the Lindsays; chapter 6 ns.34-40 for Carnegy and Young; Fullerton was granted Scone from the Ruthven forfeiture and had assisted with Strachan of Brigton at the murder of Campbell of Lundie: RMS v 695, RSS viii 1476.
129. CSP(S) vi 492: on May 1583 it was reported that James had sought the master's assistance in freeing himself from the Raiders. James also sought to reconcile Crawford and Thomas Lyon: CSP(S) vi 583. See also K.Brown, Bloodfeud p.225.
130. T.Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" p.270 suggests that Dun contemplated a simoniacal bargain with Ludovic duke of Lennox in 1586 whereby Lennox and Blantyre his tutor were granted by Dun a pension of 500 merks annually and Dun had his stipend as superintendent restored to its former level. Certainly Dun's stipend did remain high after 1586: ibid.
131. K.Brown, Bloodfeud p.234. Brown also emphasises the importance of the court in Jacobean Scotland before 1603: pp.117-123.

as part of the "conservative north" of Scotland during the sixteenth century.[132] From such facts as the submission of the northern ministers to the Black Acts and their later episcopalian tendencies, Professor Donaldson seeks to demonstrate that John Erskine of Dun's "diocese" fits his thesis of the ecclesiastical conservatism of the provinces north of the Tay. The facts can hardly be disputed;[133] the explanation provided is somewhat less secure. John Erskine of Dun can not safely be described as "emphatically" in favour of episcopacy.[134] Given Dun's contacts with Wishart and Knox, and his life-long advocacy of an Oecolampadian independent jurisdiction for the church, the only form of episcopacy that he could have supported wholeheartedly was one similar to that attempted by archbishop Grindal of Canterbury - who was sequestrated for refusing to implement injunctions from Queen Elizabeth I to limit preaching and the ministerial "prophesying" conferences. Moreover, evidence from the writings of Dun and James Anderson show that the later, radical, Edwardian prayer book was well-known in Angus whereas Professor Donaldson speculated that their influence probably had not reached north of the Tay to "efface the Lutheran tradition which had taken root in Angus, Kincardineshire and Aberdeenshire".[135] It has been argued earlier that, if the laird of

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132. G.Donaldson, "Scotland's Conservative North in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in Scottish Church History pp.191-203; and especially p.201: "Angus and Kincardine, though south of the Mounth, are quite distinctly part of the conservative north."
133. J.Kirk, "The Melvillian Movement" i p.391 suggests that Angus and the Mearns were among the areas "particularly receptive" to presbyterianism. Besides the Melvilles, only five of its long-term ministers appear in his lists of Melvillians: Andrew Milne, James Balfour, Henry Duncan, Patrick Galloway and William Christison, together with John Durie after his banishment from Edinburgh.
134. G.Donaldson, ibid. p.200.
135. See chapter 4 ns.47-71 and chapter 8, passim; for Grindal, P.Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (London 1967) p.191f., The remains of Edmund Grindal ed. W.Nicholson (London 1843) p.382; citation from Donaldson, "Conservative North" p.201.

Dun's theology can be equated with any continental model, it was closest to the first Helvetian Confession: there is no evidence of substance for developed "Lutheranism" in Angus and the Mearns.[136] Moreover, the traditions of Angus and the Mearns, whether political or religious, have been distinguished from those of Aberdeenshire north of the Dee.[137]

Instead of looking primarily to wholly ecclesiastical causes to explain the increasing conservatism of the church in Angus and the Mearns, a broader explanation should be sought that refers to more general social trends,[138] as well as to the personalities involved. Although the province had been one of those showing the "greatest fervency" for the Reformation before 1558, it has been argued that John Erskine of Dun's circle of Mearns lairds were more committed than many of those further south in Angus; that the Reformation was rather more accepted than welcomed in the southern of these two shires.[139] Further, among the motives that led to lairds accepting the new kirk were ones that were inherently conservative: approval of the new religion of "discipline" or social control,[140] and of an anticlericalism that promised to restore to them a measure of control over the economic resources devoted to the church by their predecessors.[141] The new kirk succeeded best where its principles meshed with those of the shires; where they did not, for example regarding burying within churches, they were ignored. If

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136.See chapter 2 ns.57-68,82-88,120-130.
137.See, for example, chapter 1 n.4.
138.The value of such studies as C.Haws,"Continuity and change: the reformation in the diocese of Moray 1560-1574" Northern Scotland v (1983), similarly limited to ecclesiastical factors, must be restricted.
139.See chapter 4 n.126.
140.See above, ns.64-69.
141.See chapter 6 after n.122

spiritual purity was thus compromised, a broader acceptance was achieved. The pragmatism of John Erskine of Dun's exercise of his superintendency in favour of local interests has been noted.[142] Many factors apart from the theological weighed with the gentry, whose sponsorship was critical both in the establishment of the reformed kirk and in prescribing the general direction of its development.

If a certain degree of conservatism was inherent in the Reformation in Angus from the beginning, political events conspired to enhance this trend. The circumstances of the crisis of 1559-60 were unique, enabling the reformers to lay claim to a patriotic zeal in both the religious and political aspects of their programme. Support for the Congregation in 1560 and support for the regents after 1567 could plausibly be represented as support for "the authority", and hence not out of step with the traditions of the Angus gentry. Once the king assumed the government, not only did he attract loyalty to his policies as well as to his person, but the very existence of a royal court gave new weight to the magnates like Crawford and Ogilvy who composed it. They were therefore vastly less easy to ignore, as the queen's lords had been ignored between 1568 and 1573. As the nobility, whether of Angus (the tenth earl of Crawford and lords Ogilvy and Gray) or of the Mearns (the earl Marischal) had been less than enthusiastic for the Reformation throughout the 1560s, King James' support for Lennox and his Angus clients the eleventh earl of Crawford, Ogilvy, Carnegy and Edzell had added significance.[143] The defeat of the Ruthven Raiders and their Angus supporters, the

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142. See chapter 5 n.142.
143. J.Wormald, "'Princes' and the regions in the Scottish Reformation" Church, politics and society ed. Macdougall p.65f. demonstrates the difficulty caused to magnates by the kirk's demands upon them.

master of Glamis and Ogilvy of Inverquharity, confirmed the increasing conservative tone north of the Tay.

Moreover, it is difficult to find among the second generation of the kirk's lay supporters in Angus or the Mearns men quite as devoted to the spiritual aspects of the cause as John Erskine of Dun, John Wishart of Pittarrow or Mr James Haliburton. Mr Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis, leader of the Angus faction opposed to the catholic lords, was a hard and resolute man - but hardly an especially spiritual one. His protestantism may have been genuine, but its importance to him appears to have been its political appeal.[144] It is note-worthy that Glamis retained the older form of linked ministry longer than the rest of Angus; the master can hardly have made it a priority to obtain the sole services of a minister.[145] The problems of leadership observed in microcosm at Monifieth were replicated on the larger scale of the shire itself. Increasingly it fell to the ministers to assert the spiritual priorities of the kirk, for which they could incur the wrath of local magnates. Mr Andrew Milne, minister of Fetteresso, was said to have become so obnoxious to William Douglas, catholic heir of the laird of Glenbervie, that the latter threatened his life.[146] Protestant leaders like the master of Glamis, however, could equally fall victim to the kirk's hostility to the feud when they sought to maintain the honour of their kin.[147] The shrunken influence of the house of Dun by the 1580s may well be due to the laird's decision to opt out, as far as possible, from the

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144.J.G.B.Young, "Scottish political parties" pp.90,355.
145.See appendix A.2
146.See appendix A.c no.152.
147.K.Brown, Bloodfeud p.192.

more violent forms of political involvement.[148] The difficulty John Erskine experienced in riding both secular and ecclesiastical horses at once cannot have encouraged others to do likewise once the initial impetus of Reformation zeal had dwindled. Besides, by the 1580s a full four-fifths of the lairds active in 1540 had died. The new generation had priorities and horizons of its own.[149]

Nevertheless, despite difficulties and the necessity to compromise, the Reformation endured and the reformed kirk secured a lasting place in the society of Angus and the Mearns. If the aspirations of the more godly were disappointed, the interaction of the kirk's ministry and institutions with those of the shires was thorough; the kirk's parochial discipline and polity was harmonised with traditional Scottish cultural patterns. In time, the processes of education, preaching and social control initiated at the Reformation were to spread the Christian faith in its protestant form to an ever-broader social spectrum. The lives of martyrs like David Straiton and George Wishart had not been given in vain. At the end of his life, John Erskine of Dun could look back with some satisfaction at the financial and institutional integrity and security that had been obtained for the kirk in his province. Many obstacles had been overcome and challengers - both religious and political - thwarted. His conclusion might well have been that of the minister and historian

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148. K.Brown, Bloodfeud p.80: "aggressive competition was necessary if power was to held onto." John Erskine of Dun, however, obtained exemption from attendance at sheriff courts while superintendent: R.Wodrow, Collections upon the lives of the Reformers (Maitland Club 1834) appendix v p.62.

149. Of the 300 lairds surveyed for this thesis, 112 were active in 1540. This number shrunk decade by decade as follows: 1550: 73; 1560: 56; 1570: 37; 1580: 21; 1590: 6. John Erskine of Dun's longevity was exceptional. Figures from appendix B.

John Row:[150]

"The Lord God, that workes his workes marvelouslie, wrought his worke of Reformation of Religion in Scotland aboue men's expectation, considering the instruments whom God used in the same, and the power and authoritie that wer against them."

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150.J.Row, Historie of the Kirk of Scotland (Maitland Club 1842) pt. i, p.1.

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER NINE

THE LETTER OF JAMES, LORD OGILVY TO HIS GRANDSON, 11 JUNE, 1606

"Seeing it hes pleisit God, of His unspeakabill mercie, to bryng me through infinite trubil and feudis with honoure, ye particulars whairof I commit to uthers declaratioun and in speciall to my wyffe, youre Guidam, quha knows best of ony lewand my estait, and of quhais counsall I pray you to follow, as ane quha hes lived maist cairfullie in yat hous for ye honoure and weil of it. God tooke my Lorde, my Guidsire, and my Father of Guid Memorys fra me of a few yeirs auld, and ye haill freindis and name all in ane daye. Sae I wes parentless and freindless altogethir. Quhat in my tyme I hev done for ye weilfair of my hous my Charter Chest will testifie. Now efter a lang and trubilsome tyme yat I have lived in yis worlde, it hes plesit God, Fatherly, to visit me with extreme sair seikness, to bryng me out of yis miserabill lyfe, to enjoy yat blest lyfe yat came never in ye heart of man to know quhat it is. Now, sine my request sall be to you, - gif yourself aluterly to God and His service, and to tak sum hours particularlie for yat effect; and to learn sum psalms and prayers perquire out of ye auld and ancient doctors, yat whan ye are in ye feilds, ganging or rydding, ye may meditat with God thairon. Haunt grave and wyse companie and frequent yourselfe meickle with redding historys.

Honoure youre father and mother as ye are commandit. The breach whairof hes brocht kingdomes and housis to decaye, as daily experience giffs proofe will be punishit as weil here as hereaftir; love and respect your freindis and followers thairof: and know thair natturis weil yat you may accommodat yourselff thairto. Seeing many of thame hald nothing of you but Guidwill and Kyndness,be cheerful in youre countenance and readie and honest to thame, for it is a gryt tressure yat my hous hes, thair freindis. Eschew pryde sae far as it is possibill in you, for it is a sin against God, and it hes brocht houssis in our tyme to ruine. Eschew covetousness, sic-lyke, quhilk is the root of all evil. Keep a cleyn lyfe, quhilk is werie acceptabil to God.

Quhan it sall plese God yat you sall cum to ye Roume yat I and youre fathir possessit afore, hald ane guid and honest hous aye weil plenisit. Be favourabill to youre tenantis. Place in youre Bailierys honest and discreet men to execute justice equallie amang thame; gif thame a guid continuance. And giff I have overseen, myselff or your fathir, in taking more than eneuch fra thame, amend it; for thay say yat riche tenantis mak a riche maister; for thay aucht, being ye image oof God, to have ever the pairt of thair labours as ye Maister sould. Be helpful to ye poor, and look ever with pityful eyes upon thame. And seeing now-a-days many young scholars gif thameselffs curiously to understand Magick and Necromancy, quhilk are the grytest sins against God yat can be, and hes been ye destructioun of baith soul and bodie to many, and thair houssis, I will beseech you, name it nocht, never let yat enter youre mind. Betwixt Prosperity and Adversity, tak a magnanim pairt and constante course, neither with ye one to be puffed up, nor with ye uther to be dejectit; but to thank

God for either of ye twa as thay sall happen. Serve and obey youre King above all worldlie thingis, for my hous hes ever done sae, and thay flourishit ye better. Albeit, in battle we receivit gryt skaith in thair service, yet God hes ever augment the number of us. Yis I end with God's blessing and mine to you, Guid Sire, and to youre broddirs and sisters.

At Farnell, 11th June 1606. Ogilbe."

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Given as printed in R.Wilson, The House of Airlie (London 1924) pp. 162-4 and now both out of copyright and out of print. Wilson commentated, "It is a document to possess which any noble family might feel justly proud..."

FAITH, FAMILIES AND FACTIONS:

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION IN ANGUS AND THE MEARNS

by

F.D.BARDGETT

VOLUME TWO

APPENDICES

A .1: SUMMARY OF HOLDERS OF BENEFICES c.1530 TO 1590.
.a: BIOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF SECULAR CLERGY c.1530 TO 1560.
.b: BIOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF HOLDERS OF BENEFICES AS PENSIONS, GIFTS OR STUDENT BURSARIES 1560-90.
.c: BIOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF MINISTERS, EXHORTERS AND READERS 1560-90.
.2: SUMMARY OF SERVICE IN PARISHES OF MINISTERS AND READERS 1560-90, BEING A CALENDAR OF APPROPRIATE NATIONAL REGISTERS.

B : BIOGRAPHICAL LISTS OF LAIRDS AND MAGNATES IN ANGUS AND MEARNS.



APPENDIX A: CLERGY AND BENEFICES

1 Summary of benefice-holders c.1530 - 1590.

a Biographies of pre-reformation secular clergy.
b Biographies of those holding benefices as pensions, student-bursaries or gifts, 1560 - 1590.
c Biographies of ministers, exhorters and readers.

2 Summary of service in parishes by reformed clergy, 1560 - 1590; being a calendar of the Register of assignation and modification of stipends for Angus and the Mearns. [RAMS, E 47.1-10]

Notes on organisation and conventions

i] The parishes selected for survey cover the whole of Angus and the Mearns as it was in the sixteenth century, bearing in mind that the old shire of Angus extended further towards Perth than does the modern District authority. Choice of an eastern boundary was complicated by several factors. The Angus deanery of the diocese of Dunkeld included parishes otherwise in Perthshire. The earldom of Crawford united adjacent baronies that spanned the Angus/Perth boundary. Further, after the Reformation, the jurisdiction of the superintendent/commissioner of Angus and the Mearns extended for a considerable distance into Perthshire and Atholl. Finally, the territories of the Lords Gray and the Scrymgeours of Dudhope linked some parishes in the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee, despite their location in Perthshire. The final choice therefore follows no political or ecclesiastical map precisely, whether past or present.

ii] The summary of benefices [A.1] is listed alphabetically by parishes. No authorities are provided; but reference-numbers beside each name refer to the biographical lists [a,b,c] where full authorities are given.

iii] Where an over-lap between biographical categories occurs, for example where a priest conformed at the Reformation, his career is split between the sections at the appropriate date. Underlining is used to draw attention to these cases.

iv] Names of people and places have been modernised where possible.

v] A considerable debt is owed to the biographical works of reference for this period: i.e.

I.B. Cowan, The parishes of medieval Scotland (SRS 1967)

C.H. Haws, Scottish parish clergy at the Reformation (SRS 1972)

D.E.R. Watt, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi (2nd draft, SRS 1969)

H. Scott (ed.) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae
(Edinburgh, 1915-)
These works are only cited in the text where their information has not otherwise been located.

vi] These appendices differ from their predecessors in the following ways. First, Dr Haws' coverage of the pre-Reformation is extended back to c.1530, as recommended by Prof. G. Donaldson. [SHS 53 (1974) p.83] Similarly, D.E.R. Watt's coverage of mediaeval clergy is extended from the major to the minor benefices: special sections cover the chaplains of Brechin and Dundee. Third, new materials are used. Document collections local to Angus and Mearns have been surveyed. The Ross Fund materials from the Vatican Archives [cited "RFVA"] have provided considerable information prior to 1560. The register summarised in appendix 2 ["RAMS"] is an important source for 1576-1590. All sources are cited with their current reference-numbers.

vii] The purpose of the three biographies is to cast light on events in Angus and the Mearns. They are constructed by listing known occurrences in chronological order, with relevant authorities cited. Information on the careers of individuals that does not primarily relate to these shires has been abbreviated or omitted. As the Book of Assumption in its known form [E 48.1.1] is a 1605 copy/compilation, the date of its entries is uncertain. [Haws, Parish Clergy, "at the Reformation" p.2 etc.] Although rentals were ordered for 1561/2, some clearly date from the 1570s. Where entries are dated, these dates are given: otherwise, 1561/2 is assumed. (See G.Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.99-100.)

viii] These biographies are provided in the spirit of D.E.R. Watt's FESMA and in a similar format. They are given as complete as possible, yet in the knowledge that further facts are yet to be uncovered. In particular, priests who were neither chaplains nor held parochial stipends have been excluded. It is assumed that references to men of the same name, occuring at the same time in roughly the same location, can be said to refer to the same man. M. Dilworth's methodology and criticism of identifications in Haws, Parish Clergy have thus been taken into account. [RSCHS 18 (1974) 201f.] The sequence of two Mr Robert Mersers as successive parsons of Banchory-Devenick is a warning that this presumption of identity can be rebutted.

ix] Conventions

BVM	altar/chapel of the Virgin Mary
CC	collegiate church
d.	had deceased
dep./depr.	deposed/ deprived
chtr.	charter
gift	gift of a bursary/pension
inst.	(notarial) instrument
occ.	occurs
par.	parson
perpet. vic.	perpetual vicar

preb.	prebendary
pres.	presented
RFVA	Ross Fund Vatican Archives (held at Glasgow University unless otherwise stated)
sub.	subscribed
sup.	supplicated (at Rome)
vic. pens.	vicar pensioner
vic. port.	vicar portioner
wits.	witnessed

Sources are abbreviated in accordance with the "List of Abbreviated Titles" SHR October 1963: or in accordance with the conventions in the body of the thesis. Document collections are at the SRO, Edinburgh, unless otherwise stated. Possible links between the witness of a charter and one of the principals to the document are shown by giving the name of the principal in (brackets).

Where documents are transcribed, the conventions used in the body of the thesis apply, except that (to save space) not all occurrences of such contractions as "qlk" [quhilk] are given in expanded form.

APPENDIX A

1: SUMMARY OF BENEFICE-HOLDERS c.1530 - 1590.

Example of format

IDVIES[1]	(St Andrews[2] / Angus[3])	
Parson[4]	prebend St Mary on the Rock collegiate church [5]	
[6] a 164[7]	Hay, Mr David	[8] occ. 1529 - 1536[9]
a 165	Hay, Mr Edmund	sup. 1530 - 1547
a 168	Hay, Mr William	pres.1547 - 1583
	Hay, Mr George	pres.1583 - 1590
	[10] *Drummond, Mr Andrew	pres.1590

1: name of parish.
2: diocese
3: deanery
4: benefice
5: appropriating institution.
Where this is an individual, as here, the prebendaries' names are given in chronological order. Where the institution was a corporation, for example a college *per se*, or an abbey, individual names are not possible; the summary then continues with the next benefice. Notice that some benefices were appropriated during the course of the period surveyed: in which case the institution appears, underlined, at the appropriate place of the chronology.
6: reference-letter to biography-list a, b or c.
7: reference-number to an individual biography.
8: earliest-known appearance in association with this benefice.
9: latest known or implied appearance in association with this benefice before 1590; but the entry "1590" indicates only that the benefice was still held at that date.
10: Men who served the reformed church have their surnames preceded by an *.

ABERLEMNO (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Jedburgh abbey
Vicar perpetual
a 103 Erskine, John res. 1533
a 139 Garden, John sup. 1533
a 140 *Garden, Mr William occ. 1542 - 1590
Curate
a 212 *Lyall, sir George occ. 1546 - 1569

ABERLETHNOTT (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson King's College, Aberdeen
Vicar perpetual King's College, Aberdeen
"The Rentall of ye kirk of Abirlethnot in ye Mernis annexit to ye college of Abirdene. The teind schaves extendis to 200 lib. Scottis money the vicarage extendis to 20 lib. quhen it wes weill payit. This is ye gritest p[air]t of ye leving of ye said college to ye nummer of fourtie [and] six maisteris and studentis .... qlk college wes neuir taxit be king gownor nor bischope. sit sub Mr Alex Skene pro[curat]or collegii."
[Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.362v]
Vicar pensioner
a 053 Carnegy, Mr Alexander pres.1547

AIRLIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Coupar Angus abbey
Vicar perpetual Coupar Angus abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 321 *Smith, sir John occ. 1539 - 1571

ALDBAR (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Methven collegiate church
a 162 Haliburton, Mr David occ. 1549 - 1573
b 054 *Hering, Mr James pres.1573 - 1586
c 189 *Ramsay, James occ. 1586 - 1590
[James Ramsay held by assignation, not presentation]

ARBIRLOT (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath Abbey
Vicar perpetual
a 122 Fotheringham, Mr Charles pres.1483 - 1524
a 202 Lekprevik, sir James pres.1524 - 1569
c 151 *Michelson, Charles pres.1569 - 1590

ARBROATH/ ST VIGEANS (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual Arbroath abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 127 Fowler, Mr Andrew d.1536
a 016 Auchmowty, sir James pres.1536 - 1547
a 017 Auchmowty, Mr Robert pres.1547 - 1578
c 084 *Grainger, Mr John pres.1578 - 1590

Chapel of Our Lady at the Bridge End of Arbroath

b 021 Cumming, Mr Thomas [Robert ?] occ. 1562 - 1566
[see David Black - c 016: as schoolmaster, paid from the fruits of this chapel,1564.]

Chapel of St Duthac in Arbroath

a 271 Pettilock, sir William Bk.Assumpt.

Chapel of St Nicholas in Arbroath

a 046 Brown, sir William occ. 1544 - 1555
a 221 Makison, sir Thomas Bk.Assumpt.-1566

Chapel of St Ninian in Arbroath

a 271 Pettilock, sir William occ. 1559

Chaplainry

a 108 Farrar, sir David d.1579
b 080 Scott, James gift 1579

ARBUTHNOTT (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson

a 148 Gordon, Mr William occ. 1533-9
a 103 Erskine, sir John occ. 1540 - 1548
a 296 Rynd, sir William pres.1548 - 1552
a 104 Erskine, Mr Robert pres.1552 - 1563
b 078 Rawlet, Pierre gift 1563 - 1567
a 060 Chalmer, Mr William pres.1567 - 1569
b 004 Arbuthnott, Mr Alexander pres.1569 - 1583
c 006 *Arbuthnott, Mr Robert pres.1583 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 267 *Patrick, Mr Andrew occ. 1516 - 1568

Curate pro tempore

a 075 Cummingson, John occ. 1548

Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Arbuthnott

a 003 Allardice, sir Alexander occ. 1532
a 007 Arbuthnott, sir Andrew occ. 1532 - 1576

AUCHTERHOUSE (Dunkeld/ Angus)

Parson/vicar Dunkeld cathedral

c 143 *Melville, Mr James pres.1568 - 1590

vicar pensioner

a 152 *Gray, sir Duncan Bk.Assumpt.-1586

BAIKIE (St Andrews/ Angus) [Chapel]

Chaplain

a 362 White, sir Nicholas pres.1494 - 1515
a 241 Monorgund, Mr Robert pres.1515, res. 1519
a 352 Tyre, sir John pres.1519
a 355 Wardropper, sir Gilbert occ. 1525
a 206 Lindsay, Mr David pres.1525
a 270 Pettilock, sir George occ. 1537 - 1541
a 172 Henderson, Mr David pres.1537 - 1567
a 033 Blakey, sir Richard pres.1543
b 043 Gray, Robert pres.1567
b 062 Lyon, Mr Thomas pres.1568 - 1583
b 045 Gray, Thomas pres.1583 - 1619
b 068 Murray, Archibald occ. 1621 - 1626

This chapel, founded 1308, was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St John the Baptist. Patronage by the 16th century belonged

to the Lords Glamis; but exercise by the crown during the Glamis forfeiture led to dispute once the forfeiture was reversed.
Strathmore Writs NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.1

BALLUMBIE (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar	Fowlis collegiate church		
a 123	*Fotheringham, Mr James	pres.	1550 - 1590
a 091	Duncan, sir Andrew	occ.	1552 - 1554
a 225	McCartney, James	pres.	1554 - 1558
Vicar pensioner			
a 364	Wigton, sir John	pres.	1540 - 1564

BANCHORY-DEVENICK (Aberdeen/ Aberdeen)

Parson	Aberdeen cathedral		
a 090	Dunbar, Patrick		d.1534
a 222	Marshall, George	sup.	1534
a 147	Gordon, Mr James	occ.	1552 - 1566
b 035	Gordon, Mr Robert	pres.	1566 - 1567
a 234	*Merser, Mr Robert [1]	occ.	1567 - 1578
c 150	*Merser, Mr Robert [2]	pres.	1578 - 1590
Vicar pensioner			
a 216	Lyon, John	occ.	1542
a 234	*Merser, Mr Robert [1]	Bk.	Assumpt.
	[united to parsonage	1567]	

BARRAS (St Andrews/ Mearns) [Chapel]

a 267	*Patrick, Mr Andrew	pres.	1541 - 1568

The patronage of this chapel belonged to the baron of Wester Kinneff, Straiton of that ilk.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vi no.295

BARRY (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar	Balmerino abbey		
vicar pensioner			
a 254	Naughty, Mr John	occ.	1516 - 1533
a 255	Naughty, sir Walter	pres.	1533
a 144	Gilbert, sir John	occ.	1536 - 1558
a 004	*Anderson, Mr Thomas	occ.	1558 - 1581
c 004	*Anderson, Thomas	pres.	1581 - 1590

BENHOLM (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson	St Mary on the Rock collegiate church		
a 182	Irvine, Mr John	occ.	1524
a 347	Thornton, Mr John	occ.	1526 - 1529
a 348	Thornton, Mr John	pres.	1529 - 1565
a 346	Thornton, Mr James	pres.	1565 - 1577
b 025	Douglas, William of Glenbervie	gift	1577
c 159	*Morrison, William	pres.	1578 - 1587
b 029	Erskine, Mr John of Braidfurd	gift	1587
c 114	*Keith, Alexander	occ.	1588 - 1590

In 1566, archbishop Hamilton's earlier presentation of Mr John Hamilton to par. Benholm on the decease of Mr Hercules Carnegy

was confirmed. Carnegy may have obtained limited rights as part of Mr John Thornton's tack of the teinds to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird; however, neither Mr Hercules nor Mr John Hamilton can be shown to have obtained full possession.

RSS v 2828; E 48.1.1 f.362r

Vicar pensioner

a 085	Doloquhy, sir Patrick	occ. 1538
a 100	*Elder, Mr William	Bk. Assumpt.- 1573

BENVIE (St Andrews/ Gowrie)

Parson

a 309	Scrymgeour, Mr James	occ. 1529 - 1533
a 209	Luid, sir David	occ. 1547 - 1563
a 324	*Spittal, Nicholas	occ. 1568 - 1576
c 254	*Scrymgeour, Robert	occ. 1585

Vicar pensioner

a 210	Luid, sir William	pres.1560 - 1563
	[reunited to parsonage	1568]

BRECHIN (Brechin)

Parson prebend of the bishop of Brechin

Bishops of Brechin

a 176	Hepburn, John	occ. 1516 - 1557
a 050	Campbell, abbot Donald	occ. 1557 - 1560
b 081	Sinclair, John	pres.1565 - 1566
b 015	Campbell, Alexander	pres.1566 - 1590

Vicar perpetual Canon of Brechin

a 231	Meldrum, Mr William	occ. 1528 - 1533
a 232	Meldrum, William	sup. 1533
a 066	Cockburn, Mr John	sup. 1533 - 1536
a 169	Hay, Mr John	occ. 1537 - 1565
b 053	Hepburn, James	pres.1562 - 1565
b 086	Watt, David	pres.1565 - 1579
b 029	Erskine, John	pres.1579
c 118	*Kinnear, Robert	occ. 1576 - 1590

curate

a 113	*Finlayson, sir Richard	occ. 1556-7

BRECHIN CATHEDRAL

Three related types of material have been listed under this heading. First come the two prebends of Brechin to which specific parishes were not appropriated. (All other prebends will be found under their respective parishes.) Secondly come the chaplains of Brechin, including those of the Brechin College, and of the Maisondieu. Third are post-reformation gifts from various diocesan revenues to scholars and others.

Subdean of Brechin (Brechin) [an independent prebend]

a 257	Nudry, Thomas	sup. 1527
a 326	Steel, Robert	occ. 1536 - 1547
a 057	Carnegy, Mr Robert	occ. 1556 - 1590
a 058	Carnegy, William	pres.1559
a 055	Carnegy, Mr Hercules	Bk.Assumpt.

Note: this prebend was independent of the parish of Cookston, to which it has been incorrectly associated. See COOKSTON.

Treasurer of Brechin (Brechin) [an independent prebend]

a 035	Boece, Mr Patrick	occ. 1493 - 1528
a 034	Boece, Mr Arthur	occ. 1527 - 1532
a 122	Fotheringham, Mr Charles	sup. 1532 - 1536
a 240	Moneypenny, Mr Robert	occ. 1536 - 1537
a 298	Salmond, James	sup. 1538
a 179	Hucheson, Thomas	sup. 1538-9
a 318	Sinclair, Henry	sup. 1538 - 1544
a 011	Arrat, James	occ. 1541
a 356	Wawane, James	res. 1543
a 010	Ard, James	occ. 1543 - 1547
a 175	*Hepburn, Mr John	occ. 1549 - 1590

Altar of All Saints

Chaplain

a 041	Brown, sir David	occ. 1528 - 1569
c 067	*Fowler, Mr Thomas	occ. 1586 - 1590

Chaplain

a 114	Finlayson, sir Thomas	occ. 1526 - 1547
a 232	Meldrum, William	d.1552
a 112	Finlayson, sir Andrew	occ. 1566 - 1569

Chaplain of the Nomine Jesu at the altar of All Souls

a 047	Brown, sir William	occ. 1541 - 1569
b 058	Lindsay, Jeremiah	gift 1569 - 1579
b 028	Erskine, David	gift 1579 - 1586
b 076	Purdie, John	gift 1586 - 1590

Altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary

Chaplain

a 344	Thomson, sir Nicholas	occ. 1556

Chaplain

a 367	Williamson, sir John	occ. 1530 - 1556

Altar of St Agnes

a 110	Ferrar, sir John	Bk.Assumpt.

Altar of St Ann

b 031	Ferrier, John	d.1588
b 008	Balfour, David	gift 1588 - 1590

Altar of St James, Apostle [founded on Boath and Cairncortie]

a 195	Lamont, William	dep.1533
a 143	Gilbert, sir George	sup. 1533 - 1535
a 086	Drummond, William	occ. 1534 - 1541
a 247	Mount, James	occ. 1552 - 1558
a 344	Thomson, sir Nicholas	pres.1558
a 113	*Finlayson, sir Richard	pres.1558 - (1586)
b 065	Maule, George	gift 1586 - 1590

Altar of St John the Baptist

a 366	Williamson, sir Gilbert	d.1533
a 367	Williamson, sir John	pres.1533

Altar of St Laurence of Ardett

b 073	Nicholson, Thomas	gift 1580

b 064 Marshall, Gilbert d.1582
b 060 Lindsay, John gift 1582

Altar of St Ninian
Chaplain
a 146 Gilbert, sir William occ. 1541 - 1558
a 242 Morris, sir Alexander occ. 1574
Chaplain of Caldhame, at St Ninian's altar
a 301 Sandilands, Mr Peter occ. 1540
a 094 Durward, sir Robert res.1558
a 177 Hepburn, Matthew occ. 1549 - 1571

The College (or Sang Schule)
Chaplains
a 351 Tyndale, sir Patrick occ. 1513 - 1535
a 366 Williamson, sir Gilbert occ. 1524 (1533)
a 281 Ramsay, sir Thomas occ. 1524 (1541)
a 282 Ramsay, sir William occ. 1524-8
a 093 Duncanson, sir John pres.1535
c 168 *Norie, Mr Alexander gift 1584 - 1590

Chapel of the Holy Cross
[to which was annexed, The Hospital of St Mary Magdalene at Arrat]
The Magdalene chaplain
a 369 Wilson, sir George pres.1552-Bk.Assumpt.
b 034 Fullerton, Patrick gift 1568
regift 1575
[as "Mr" ...] regift 1581
b 009 Bannatyne, John gift 1587
For the union of these two chaplaincies, see -
D.G.Adams, Celtic and mediaeval religious houses in Angus (Brechin 1984) p.20.

Choral chaplains [not otherwise listed]
Beadle
a 242 Morris, sir Alexander occ. 1549 - 1575
b 077 Ramsay, James gift 1575
b 061 Lockie, Matthew gift 1583
Chaplains
a 223 Martin, sir Robert occ. 1549 - 1569
a 315 *Sharp, sir James occ. 1549 - 1570
a 111 Fethe, Thomas occ. 1549
a 343 Thin, John occ. 1556

The Hospital of St Mary the Virgin - the Maisondieu of Brechin
The Preceptor
a 215 Lyn, Mr James res.1531-2
a 102 Erskine, sir James pres.1531
a 006 Annand, Mr Andrew pres.1532 - 1547
a 320 Smart, sir Richard pres.1548
a 058 Carnegy, sir William occ. 1549 - 1550
a 054 Carnegy, Mr David occ. 1552
a 057 Carnegy, Mr Robert Bk.Assumpt.-1590
Chaplaincies of Our Lady of Maisondieu
a 359 Wemys, sir David d.1552
a 113 *Finlayson, sir Richard pres.1552
a 296 Rynd, sir William d.1584

Other chaplains of Brechin

Chaplain at St Andrew's altar

a 203	Leslie, sir James [or John]	occ. 1529 - 1556

Chaplain of the Barclay stall

a 203	Leslie, sir James	occ. 1537

Chaplains paid from the fermes of Dundee

a 106	Etal, sir John	occ. 1526 - 1534
a 048	Buchan, sir Alexander	occ. 1534
a 290	Robson, sir John	occ. 1539 - 1543
a 357	Webster, sir John	occ. 1543 - 1547

Chaplain

a 251	Murray, sir William	occ. 1530 - 1541

Chaplain/priest/notary

a 249	Murray, sir James	occ. 1530 - 1579

Commissary - chaplain

a 250	Murray, sir Thomas	occ. 1557 - 1577
b 055	Hutton, William	gift 1577

Other gifts of revenues from the diocese of Brechin

From the bishopric of Brechin

Pension of 500 merks from the bishopric

b 069	Murray, David	gift 1562 - 1584

Pension of victual from the bishopric

b 038	Graham, Mr John	gift 1579

From the commons of Brechin

teinds of Bonnyton

b 082	Small, James	gift 1582

teinds of Claylek and Kinnaber

b 076	Purdie, John	gift 1576 - 1587
b 075	Purdie, Alexander	gift 1587

teinds of Meikle Dysart and Little Dysart

b 014	Bryson, Mr James	gift 1573
b 013	Bryson, Mr Alexander	gift 1578 - 1583
b 083	Stewart, James	gift 1583

teinds of Middle Drums

b 072	Nicholson, Mr John	gift 1577

mails of Drumgrains

b 073	Nicholson, Thomas	gift 1580

mails of surplus ecclesiastical land

b 074	the poor of Brechin	gift 1578

From the deanery of Brechin

Pension of £40 from the deanery

b 070	Nesbit, Hugh	gift 1577 - 1588

Pension of victual from the deanery

b 005	Auchinlek, George	gift 1578

BURGHILL (Brechin)

Parson/vicar prebend of Brechin

a 228	Meldrum, Mr John	occ. 1511 - 1547
a 002	Abercromby, sir Thomas	sup. 1541 - 1559
a 001	Abercromby, sir Robert	occ. 1559 - 1587

John Leslie was pres. preb. Burghill, 16 Apr.1566, as successor to sir Robert Abercromby. Sir Robert, however, did not resign.

RSS v 3490

CARMYLLIE (St Andrews/ Angus) [chapel]

Chaplain

a 297 Saddler, sir John occ. 1547

This chapel was founded 20 Jan.1512/13 by David Strachan of Carmyllie and remained in the patronage of his house.

REB i no.112

CATTERLINE (Brechin)

Parson Bishop of Brechin

Vicar perpetual

a 238 Mitchell, sir Andrew occ. 1543 - (1547)
a 018 Austen, sir William occ. 1544 - 1576
c 216 *Sim[p]son, James pres.1576 - 1589
c 107 *Hepburn, Mr John occ. 1590

CLOVA (St Andrews/ Angus) [chapel of Glamis]

Chaplain

a 292 Rolland, Mr James Bk.Assumpt.-1570

CONVETH (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson

a 194 Lamb, Mr William sup. 1514 - 1550
St Mary's College, St Andrews app. 1554

Vicar pensioner

a 207 Lindsay, Mr Hugh res. 1549
a 372 *Wylie, Mr Alexander pres.1549 - 1563

COOKSTON (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar

a 014 *Auchinlek, sir John occ. 1546
a 054 Carnegy, Mr David pres.1546 - 1549
a 149 Graham, sir Patrick pres.1549
a 150 Graham, sir Walter Bk.Assumpt.
a 057 Carnegy, Mr Robert occ. 1556 - 1590

This parish was not, as stated in Cowan, Parishes annexed to the subdeanery of Brechin. Lying beside the Carnegy estates of Kinnaird, it was part of the barony of Rescobie - a regality of St Andrews - and also within the diocese of St Andrews.[REB ii no.liv; RSS iii 1865; Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.346v.] Mr Robert Carnegy, however, held both the subdeanery and the parish of Cookston in plurality; and the revenues were united and annexed to the new parish of Kinnaird in 1606. [RMS vi 1730]

CORTACHY (Brechin)

Parson/vicar Canons of Brechin

c 171 *Ogilvy, James pres.1572 - 1576
c 166 *Nicholson, Mr James pres.1580 - 1582
c 183 *Rae, Mr Thomas pres.1582 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 056 Carnegy, Mr Patrick occs.1529-30
a 252 Murray, sir William occ. 1532 - 1540
a 130 Fowler, sir Robert occ. 1556

a 277	Rae, Mr Alexander	occ. 1561 - 1566	
Curate			
a 095	Duthie, sir John	occ. 1545	

COWIE (St Andrews/ Mearns) [Chapel]

Chaplain of St Nathan			
a 221	Makison, Mr David	res. 1547	
a 070	Cook, Mr George	pres.1547	
b 050	Hay, Mr Robert	occ. 1568 - 1575	
b 051	Hay, William	pres.1574	
b 066	Milne, Richard	occ. 1584	

DUN (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson	Elcho priory		
c 052	*Erskine, Mr James	pres.1570 - 1575	
b 030	Erskine, Thomas	pres.1575	
c 053	*Erskine, John of Dun	pres.1575 - 1583	
c 228	*Strachan, Mr Andrew	pres.1583 - 1590	
Vicar perpetual			
a 133	Fullerton, sir George	occ. 1517 - 1553	
a 017	Auchmowty, Mr Robert	pres.1553 - (1583)	
b 030	Erskine, Thomas	pres.1575	
b 007	Auchmowty, Mr William	d.1583	
	[united with the parsonage	1583]	

DUNDEE (Brechin)

Parson	Lindores abbey		
Vicar perpetual			
a 023	Barry, John	res.1531	
a 358	Wedderburn, Robert	sup. 1531 - 1553	
a 165	Hamilton, Mr John	sup. 1555 - 1569	
c 030	*Christison, William	pres.1569	
c 120	*Kyd, William	pres.1569 - 1590	

DUNDEE CHAPLAINS

Altar of Little St John

a 304	Scott, Mr George	- 1563	
a 083	Deuchar, sir Thomas	pres.1563 - 1567	
	[donated by him to the Burgh Council, 1567]		

Altar of St Cartier

a 001	Abercromby, sir Robert	Bk.Assumpt.	

Altar of St John, Baptist

a 307	Scrymgeour, Mr David	occ. 1558 - 1562	
a 188	*Kinloch, sir James	occ. 1563	

Chaplaincy of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St Clement's, Dundee

a 185	Jackson, sir Richard	sup. 1533 - 1540	

Chaplaincy of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wellgate, Dundee

a 304	Scott, Mr George	pres.1551 - 1563	
a 307	Scrymgeour, Mr David	pres.1563 - 1565	

Chaplaincy of St Adwall, Virgin and Martyr

a 217	*Lyon, Patrick	pres.1559 - 1583

Chaplaincy of St Agatha and Erasmus

a 102	Erskine, sir James	occ. 1540 - 1543

[Had devolved to the Burgh Council by 1564 and was disponed to the "doctoris of the grammer schowill" the same year; further payment to the keeper of the clock, 1566: I.E.Flett, "Geneva of Scotland" pp.97 n.109, 93 n.69]

Chaplaincy of St Anthony in Seagate

a 307	Scrymgeour, Mr David	occ. 1562 - 1569

Chaplaincy of St James the Less

a 304	Scott, Mr George	d.1563
a 210	Luid, sir William	pres.1563, res.1563
b 090	Wenton, Thomas	gift 1563
b 089	Wedderburn, Robert [jun.]	dem.1586
b 087	Wedderburn, David	gift 1583, 1586

Chaplaincy of St James the Greater

a 210	Luid, sir William	occ. 1537 - 1563
a 312	Scrymgeour, Mr Thomas	d.1560
b 088	Wedderburn, Robert [sen.]	gift 1560
b 090	Wenton, Thomas	gift 1563
b 089	Wedderburn, Robert [jun.]	gift 1567 - 1586
b 063	Malice, Adam	gift 1588, dem.1588?
b 087	Wedderburn, David	gift 1583, 1586

Chaplaincy of St Margaret and St Helen

a 219	Maitland, Mr John	occ. 1539
a 307	Scrymgeour, Mr David	occ. 1563
b 079	Rolland, Mr John	occ. 1572
b 003	Annand, David	gift 1572
a 060	Chalmer, Mr William	gift 1575 - 1592
c 030	*Christison, William	pres.1592

Chaplaincy of St Margaret the Queen

a 210	Luid, sir William	pres.1547
a 209	Luid, sir David	d.?1569
b 044	Gray, Robert	pres.?1569- 1584
b 084	Traill, Walter	occ. 1582 - 1584
b 089	Wedderburn, Robert [jun.]	gift 1586, res. 1586
b 087	Wedderburn, David	gift 1586

Chaplaincy of St Nicholas

a 021	Balfour, Mr John	occ. 1559

Chaplaincy of St Paul, Apostle

a 149	Graham, sir Patrick	d.1565
b 037	Graham, James	pres.1565

Chaplaincy of St Salvator

a 311	Scrymgeour, Mr John	occ. 1557-9

Chaplaincy of St Saviour

a 309	Scrymgeour, Mr James	occ. 1532-3

Chaplaincy of St Severus

b 087	Wedderburn, David	gift 1583

Chaplaincy of St Stephen

a 049	Burrell, sir John	Bk.Assumpt.

Chaplaincy of St Thomas

a 322	Souter, sir John	occ. 1524 - 1573
b 018	Cockburn, Samuel	gift 1586

Chaplaincy of the Three Kings of Cologne

a 101	Erskine, Mr James	occ. 1540
a 264	Ostler, Mr Gilbert	Bk.Assumpt.-1566
b 011	Barton, John	d.1588
b 012	Bennet, John	gift 1588
b 010	Barns, William	gift 1589
c 086	*Gray, Mr William had the third,	1576 - 1588

Choral chaplains [not otherwise mentioned]

a 002	Abercromby, sir Thomas	occ. 1543
a 029	Bell, Thomas	occ. 1529 - 1543
a 053	Carnegy, Mr Alexander	occ. 1543
a 072	Couper, Mr Andrew	occ. 1543 - 1565
a 083	Deuchar, sir Thomas	occ. 1543 - 1567
a 134	Futhe, Henry	occ. 1543
a 196	Lawson, Hugh	occ. 1523 - 1543
a 263	Oliver, George	occ. 1543
a 280	Ramsay, James	occ. 1543
a 374	Young, sir James	occ. 1543

Other chaplaincies

Chaplains

a 151	Gray, sir Andrew	Bk.Assumpt.
a 308	Scrymgeour, Mr Henry	occ. 1530 - 1573

All Saints, St Tredwall, St Magdalene

b 087	Wedderburn, David	pres.1583

St Katherine

a 358	Wedderburn, Robert	pres.1528 - 1532

DUNLAPPIE (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar

a 200	Leighton, James	occ. 1548 - 1569

[no reformed clergy held this benefice before 1590.]

DUNNICHEN (Brechin)

Parson Arbroath abbey

Vicar perpetual

a 232	Meldrum, William	d.1533
a 062	Christison, David	occ. 1533
a 143	Gilbert, sir George	occ. 1533-4
a 086	Drummond, William	occ. 1535 - 1541

a 180 Hunter, Mr William sup. 1541-2
a 175 *Hepburn, Mr John sup. 1541
a 066 Cockburn, John res. 1558
a 065 Cockburn, James pres.1558 - 1565
[no reformed clergy held this benefice before 1590.]

DUNNINALD (St Andrews/ Angus) [also called ST SKAA]
Parson/vicar Restenneth priory
[no known evidence of service before 1560]

DUNNOTTAR (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson/vicar Trinity collegiate church, Edinburgh
preb. dean of Trinity
a 099 Elder, Mr John occ. 1560 - 1578
[united to preb. subdean 1578]
preb. subdean of Trinity
a 299 *Salmond, Mr William occ. 1557 - 1576
c 152 *Milne, Mr Andrew pres.1576 - 1579
c 114 *Keith, Alexander pres.1579 - 1588
c 121 *Leask, Mr William occ. 1588 - 1590
Vicar pensioner
a 201 Leith, John occ. 1523

DURRIS (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson
a 084 Dick, Mr Alexander occ. 1521 - 1560
a 089 Duff, Mr John sup. 1550 - 1565
c 108 *Hogg, Mr Archibald pres.1565 - 1590
Vicar perpetual
a 298 Salmond, James occ. 1541 - 1550
a 088 Duff, sir James occ. 1552
[united to the parsonage 1565]

EASSIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson
a 241 Monorgund, Mr Robert occ. 1517
a 303 Sanquhar, John d.1539
a 302 Sanquhar, Mr James sup. 1539
a 148 Gordon, Mr William occ. 1540
a 026 Beaton, Mr Andrew sup. 1539 - 1547
a 092 Duncanson, John sup. 1544
a 153 Gray, John sup. 1544 - 1550
a 027 Beaton, George pres.1547 - 1550
a 298 Salmond, James sup. 1550-4
a 334 Stilison, John sup. 1550 res.1555
a 080 Currie, sir Hugh sup. 1550 - 1572
[No reformed clergy held this benefice before 1590]

ECCLESGREIG (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson St Andrews priory
Vicar perpetual
a 197 Lawson, Mr Robert occ. 1530 - 1548

a 032	Blair, Mr William	pres.1548
a 365	Wilkie, Mr James	Bk.Assumpt.-1590
c 081	*Gledstanes, Mr George	pres.1590

ECCLESJOHN (Brechin)

Parson/vicar

a 110	Ferrar, sir John	Bk.Assumpt.-1569
	[United to parsonage of Dun	1583]

EDZELL (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar

a 122	Fotheringham, Mr Charles	occ. 1496 - 1532
a 034	Boece, Mr Arthur	prov.1532 - 1536
a 126	Foulis, Mr John	occ. 1555 - 1571
b 026	Duncanson, John	pres.1571 - 1573
c 070	*Fullerton, Mr James	pres.1573 - 1589
c 227	*Stirling, Mr Harry	pres.1590

Vicar pensioner

a 045	Brown, sir Walter	before 1541
a 041	Brown, sir David	occ. 1535 - 1569

Curate

a 041	Brown, sir David	occ. 1531
a 237	Milne, sir William	occ. 1535
a 186	Jolly, sir Andrew	occ. 1553

ETHIE (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson — Arbroath abbey

Vicar perpetual

a 062	Clatto, sir James	d.1534
a 141	Ged, sir James	pres.1534

[No reformed clergy held this benefice before 1590: the reference to David Milne in Scott, Fasti viii 512 seems mistaken.]

FARNELL (Brechin)

Parson — Dean of Brechin

a 361	White, Mr Henry	sup. 1533 - 1542
a 333	Stewart, Patrick	occ. 1536 - 1545
a 103	Erskine, John	occ. 1542
a 253	Nasmyth, sir James	res. 1545
a 163	Hamilton, Mr James	occ. 1545 - 1554
a 079	Cunningham, Mr William	occ. 1555 - 1559/60
a 346	Thornton, Mr James	pres.1563 - 1577
c 166	*Nicholson, Mr James	pres.1577 - 1580
c 025	*Campbell, Mr Dougal	pres.1581 - 1590

Vicar perpetual

a 229	*Meldrum, Mr John	occ. 1534 - 1573
c 211	*Sewan, Thomas	pres.1573 - 1589

Chaplain

a 061	Chapman, Archibald	pres.1547

FERN (Dunkeld/ Angus)

Parson/vicar		prebend of Dunkeld	
	a 040	Boyd, Mr Archibald	pres.1528 - 1564
	a 248	Muir, Mr Patrick	pres.1550 - 1587
	c 168	*Norie, Mr Alexander	occ. 1588 - 1590
Vicar pensioner			
	a 375	Young, Walter	res. 1546
	a 087	Cunningham, Mr Archibald	pres.1546

FETTERCAIRN (St Andrews / Mearns)

Parson/vicar			
	a 314	Seton, Mr David	occ. 1514 - 1516
	a 336	Strachan, Mr Gilbert	occ. 1525 - 1534
	a 337	Strachan, Mr James	sup. 1529 - 1576
	c 126	*Lindsay, Mr James	pres.1576 - 1580
	c 034	*Collace, Mr John	pres.1580 - 1586
	c 061	*Forbes, Mr Alexander	occ. 1588 - 1590
Vicar pensioner			
	a 268	Pen, Mr John	occ. 1574

FETTERESSO (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson/vicar		prebend, St Mary on the Rock collegiate church	
	a 042	Brown, Mr James	sup. 1524-Bk.Assumpt.
	a 043	Brown, Patrick	sup. 1554 - 1579
	c 152	*Milne, Mr Andrew	pres.1579 - 1590
Vicar pensioner			
	a 266	Paton, Mr David	occ. 1548 - 1580
		[united to the parsonage	1580]

FINAVON (Brechin)

Parson/vicar		prebend of Brechin	
	a 052	Carmichael, Mr Henry	occ. 1486 - 1505
	a 361	White, Mr Henry	occ. 1508 - 1533
	a 331	Stewart, Mr John	occ. 1533 - 1549
	a 206	Lindsay, Mr David	occ. 1541 - 1559
	a 207	Lindsay, Mr Hugh	Bk.Assumpt.
	c 124	*Lindsay, David of Pitairlie	occ. 1574 - 1580
	c 189	*Ramsay, James	occ. 1588 - 1590

[It is unclear in the sources whether Lindsay of Pitairlie and James Ramsay held the parsonage or just occupied it.]

Curate			
	a 353	*Wallace, sir John	occ. 1543 - 1550
Chaplains in Finavon parish church			
	a 300	Samson, sir Thomas	occ. 1529/30
	a 286	Richardson, Mr Matthew	occ. 1530/31
	a 069	Connelson, sir Richard	occ. 1531/32
	a 279	Ramsay, sir Alexander	occ. 1532 - 1544
Chaplaincy of St Leonard's in Finavon			
	a 175	*Hepburn, Mr John	pres.1588

FORDOUN (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson		St Andrews priory	
Vicar perpetual			
	a 198	Learmonth, sir David	occ. 1536 - 1554

a 068	Collace, Mr David	occ. 1561 - 1562
b 020	Collace, Mr William	occ. 1563 - 1577
c 019	*Boncle, Patrick	pres.1577 - 1590

FORFAR (St Andrews/ Angus) [Chapel]

Chaplain — Restenneth priory

[No evidence of service exists for before 1560]

FOWLIS (St Andrews/ Gowrie) [Collegiate church]

Provost [parson/vicar of Lundie]

a 244	Mortimer, Malcolm	occ. 1538
a 243	Mortimer, sir Alexander	occ. 1541
a 118	Forrest, Mr Alexander	occ. 1549 - 1552
a 324	*Spittal, Nicholas	occ. 1552-Bk.Assumpt.
b 040	Gray, Gilbert	pres.1564 - 1590

Vicar perpetual — St Andrews priory

a 275	Preston, Henry	occ. 1532
a 262	Oliphant, Mr Laurence	occ. 1538
a 261	Oliphant, Mr Andrew	occ. 1539 - 1544
a 019	Baldowy, sir James	res. 1557
a 294	Row, sir John	pres.1557 - 1575
a 293	Row, sir Andrew	occ. 1560 - 1574
c 160	*Mortimer, Patrick	pres.1574 - 1581
c 200	*Rhynd, Mr Robert	pres.1581 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 151	Gray, sir Andrew	pres.1563 - 1575
	[united to vicarage-perpetual	1586]

Curate

a 327	Stephen, Alexander	occ. 1552

Prebend of Cuthilbank and Bowhouse

a 316	Sim, sir David	pres.1550

Prebend of Easter and Wester Keith

a 151	Gray, sir Andrew	occ. 1555 - 1558
a 245	Mortimer, sir John	pres.1558 - 1561

Prebend (unnamed)

a 245	Mortimer, sir John	pres.1541 - 1549
b 042	Gray, Patrick	pres.1563

GARVOCK (St Andrews/ Mearns)

Parson — Arbroath abbey

Vicar perpetual

a 142	Gibson, Mr William	occ. 1540 - 1542
a 354	Wardlaw, Mr John	Bk.Assumpt.-1587
c 114	*Keith, Alexander	pres.1587 - 1588
b 085	Wardlaw, David	pres.1588
c 158	*Morrison, Mr Walter	pres.1588 - 1590

Curate

a 341	*Symmer, sir James	occ. 1563 - 1569

GLAMIS (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson — Arbroath abbey

Vicar perpetual

a 276	Preston, William	res. 1530

a 136 Galbraith, Robert sup. 1530
a 292 Rolland, Mr James occ. 1554 - 1570
c 133 *Lyon, Patrick pres. 1570 - 1575
c 193 *Ramsay, Robert pres. 1575 - 1590
Chaplain of St Thomas' aisle
a 360 White, sir George occ. 1537 - 1541
a 213 Lyall, sir Robert occ. 1537 - 1542

GLENBERVIE (Brechin)
Parson/vicar prebend of Brechin
a 104 Erskine, Mr Robert sup. 1525 - 1563
c 029 *Christison, John occ. 1568 - 1580
c 041 *Douglas, Archibald occ. 1581 - 1584
c 042 *Douglas, Mr Duncan occ. 1585 - 1589
c 043 *Douglas, Mr James occ. 1589 - 1590
Vicar pensioner
a 097 *Elder, Mr Andrew Bk.Assumpt.
Chaplaincy-perpetual at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary
a 013 Auchinlek, sir James res. 1530
a 296 Rynd, sir William sup. 1530
Chapel of Drumlithie
a 013 Auchinlek, sir James occ. 1536
a 285 Reid, sir James occ. 1549
a 015 Auchinlek, Mr Robert occ. 1565 - 1571
b 024 Douglas, George pres. 1571 - 1590

GLENISLA (Brechin)
Parson/vicar Coupar Angus abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 096 Edward, sir David pres. 1529

GUTHRIE (Brechin)
Parson/vicar Guthrie collegiate church: three prebends
Provost
a 168 Hay, Mr John occ. 1512 - 1529
a 139 Garden, John sup. 1530 - 1535
a 337 Strachan, Mr James occ. 1536 - 1576
b 049 Guthrie, Gabriel gift 1576 - 1590
c 127 *Lindsay, Mr Patrick occ. 1590
preb. Langlands and Hilton of Guthrie
a 159 Guthrie, sir Patrick occ. 1574
b 046 Guthrie, Andrew gift 1576
preb. Little Lour
a 157 Guthrie, sir James occ. 1574
preb. Kirkbuddo [parson/vicar]
a 157 Guthrie, sir James occ. 1530-Bk.Assumpt.
b 048 Guthrie, David occ. 1562
a 140 *Garden, Mr William occ. 1569 - 1574
Vicar pensioner of Guthrie
c 008 *Arrat, David occ. 1574 - 1590

IDVIES (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson		prebend St Mary on the Rock collegiate church	
	a 166	Hay, Mr David	occ. 1529 - 1536
	a 167	Hay, Mr Edmund	sup. 1530 - 1547
	a 170	Hay, Mr William	pres.1547 - 1583
	c 103	*Hay, Mr George	pres.1583 - 1590
	c 044	*Drummond, Mr Andrew	pres.1590
Vicar portioner			
	a 338	Strachan, Mr Thomas	occ. 1538
	a 342	Symmer, sir John	Bk.Assumpt.-1569
		[united to the parsonage	1583]
Vicar pensioner			
	a 218	Macnab, sir John	occ. 1536 - 1563
		[united to the parsonage	1583]

INCHBRAYOCK (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar			
	a 258	Ogilvy, Mr Anthony	pres.1516 - 1526
	a 257	Nudry, sir Thomas	sup. 1517-31
	a 087	Drury, George	sup. 1525-37
	a 044	Brown, Robert	sup. 1526
	a 192	Lamb, Mr James	pres.1531 - 1533
	a 332	Stewart, Matthew	sup. 1531-2
		St Mary's College, St Andrews	app.1537
Vicar pensioner			
	a 156	Guthrie, Donald	d.1526
	a 161	Guthrie, William	sup. 1526
	a 207	Lindsay, Mr Hugh	sup. 1526 - 1554
	c 146	*Melville, Richard of Baldovie	occ? 1563 - 1575
	c 145	*Melville, John	assigned 1576 - 1580

[John Melville disputed with St Mary's College their respective claims to revenues from this vicarage.]

INVERARITY (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson			
	a 142	Gibson, Mr William	occ. 1540 - 1542
	a 292	Rolland, Mr James	sup. 1542-4
	a 235	Methven, David	sup. 1542
	a 028	Beaton, James	sup. 1545
	a 207	Lindsay, Mr Hugh	occ. 1561 - 1569
	c 124	*Lindsay, David of Pitairlie	occ. 1574 - 1580
	c 190	*Ramsay, Mr John	occ. 1590
Vicar perpetual			
	a 292	Rolland, Mr James	pres.1537
	a 207	Lindsay, Mr Hugh	pres.1537 - 1569
		[united to parsonage from	1574]

INVERBERVIE [otherwise known as BERVIE; a chapel of Kinneff]

Chaplaincy	Archdean of St Andrews	
	[no evidence for this chapel exists after 1560]	

INVERGOWRIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar — Scone abbey
Vicar pensioner

a 178	Hepburn, William	d.1580
c 028	*Christison, Mr John	pres.1580 - 1590

Curate

a 098	Elder, John	occ. 1556

INVERKEILOR (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson — Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 162	Haliburton, Mr David	res. 1529
a 329	Stewart, sir Alexander	pres.1529 - 1531
a 199	Leckie, sir Murdoch	pres.1531 - 1536
a 141	Ged, sir James	pres.1536
a 260	Ogilvy, Mr James	res. 1548
a 295	Rutherford, dom. Thomas (subprior of Arbroath)	pres.1548
a 118	Forrest, Mr Alexander	Bk.Assumpt.-1574
c 182	*Pitcairn, John	pres.1574 - 1590

parish priest

a 269	Petrie, John	around ? 1540

KETTINS (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar — Holy Cross friary, Peebles
[No known service before 1560]
Chaplain of the Virgin Mary in Kettins parish church

a 183	Jack, sir David	occ. 1533
a 224	Matheson, Mr John	occ. 1547

KILMOIR (Brechin)
Parson/vicar — prebend of Brechin

a 065	Cockburn, Mr John	occ. 1544 - 1576
b 017	Cockburn, James	gift 1576
c 122	*Leitch, Mr Andrew	pres.1577 - 1590

KINGOLDRUM (Brechin)
Parson — Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 162	Haliburton, Mr David	occ. 1529 - 1580
a 329	Stewart, sir Alexander	pres.1529 - 1531
c 016	*Black, David	pres.1580 - 1588
c 136	*Mann, John	pres.1588
c 135	*Malcolm, Mr William	pres.1588
c 063	*Forbes, Mr William	occ. 1590

KINNEFF (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson/vicar — archdean of St Andrews

a 051	Cantley, John	occ. 1524 - 1537
a 087	Drury, George	occ. 1526 - 1559
a 274	Pitcairn, Mr Robert	occ. 1539 - 1584

Vicar pensioner of Kinneff

a 345	Thomson sir William	occ. 1532
a 284	Reid, sir Florentine	d.1549
a 134	Fullerton, sir Walter	pres.1549
a 018	Austen, sir William	occ. 1553 - 1576
	[united to archdeanery of St Andrews]	

KINNELL (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar prebend of St Salvator's College

a 194	Lamb, Mr William	occ. 1517 - 1550
a 204	Liddell, Mr Patrick	sup. 1550 - 1587
b 041	Gray, James	occ. 1567 - 1587
c 073	*Futhe, Mr Arthur	pres.1587 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 132	Fullerton, sir Charles	Bk.Assumpt.-1573
c 057	*Fife, David	pres.1573 - 1586

KINNETTLES (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson prebend of St Salvator's College

a 190	Knollis Mr William	occ. 1525
a 304	Scott, Mr George	occ. 1559
a 306	Scott, Mr James	occ. 1561 - 1563
b 032	Fraser, Robert [sen.]	res. 1564
b 002	Angus, sir William	pres.1565 - 1566
b 022	Davidson, Mr Andrew	pres.1564 - 1587
b 023	Davidson, Mr James	pres.1587 - 1588
c 185	*Rait, Mr James	pres.1588 - 1590

Vicar perpetual

a 335	Strachan, sir George	occ. 1577 - 1586
b 001	Anderson, Mr William	pres.1586
c 185	*Rait, Mr James	pres.1586
	[united to parsonage	1586]

KIRKBUDDO (Brechin)
Parson/vicar prebend of Guthrie collegiate church
[See under Guthrie]

KIRRIEMUIR (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 116	Flesher, Mr George	pres.1518 - 1567
a 309	Scrymgeour, Mr James	pres.1524
a 064	Clepen, Mr George	pres.1547 - 1585
b 016	Clepen, John	pres.1585 - 1587
c 119	*Kinnimonth, Mr Alexander	pres.1587 - 1590

LETHNOT (Brechin)
Parson/vicar prebend of Brechin

a 105	Erskine, Thomas	res.1531
a 206	Lindsay, Mr David	occ. 1531-9
a 370	Wood, Alexander	sup. 1531 - 1539
a 371	Wood, sir Andrew	occ. 1539 - 1560

b 059 Lindsay, Mr John pres.1560 - 1590
Vicar pensioner
a 051 Cantley, John occ. 1517 - (1536)
a 138 Garden, Mr David occ. 1537
[No reformed clergy had access to these revenues before 1590]

LIFF (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Scone abbey
Curate
a 098 Elder, John occ. 1553
[No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590]

LINTRATHEN (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Inchmahome priory
Vicar perpetual
a 059 Carpentyne, Mr John occ. 1541
a 259 Ogilvy, sir George d.1547
a 009 Archibald, sir James pres.1547 - 1580
c 170 *Ogilvy, David pres.1580 - 1587
c 226 *Stewart, Robert pres.1587 - 1590

LOCHLEE (Brechin) [Chapel]
Chaplaincy annexed to Lethnot
[no separate service before 1560]

LOGIE-DUNDEE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Scone abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 178 Hepburn, William Bk.Assumpt.-1580
Curate
a 098 Elder, John occ. 1553
[No reformed clergy had access to these stipends before 1590]

LOGIE-MONTROSE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar
a 257 Nudry, Thomas d.1528
a 194 Lamb, Mr William sup. 1529 - 1550
a 118 Forrest, Mr Alexander occ. 1552 - 1574
c 086 *Gray, Mr William pres.1574 - 1590
Curate
a 119 Forsyth, Andrew occ. 1548

LONGFORGAN (St Andrews/ Gowrie)
Parson St Andrews priory
Vicar perpetual
a 034 Boece, Mr Arthur occ. 1532 - 1536
a 304 Scott, Mr George pres.1541 - 1552
a 036 Bonar, Mr David sup. 1550 - 1558
a 283 *Rattray, Mr John Bk.Assumpt.-1595

LUNAN (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Arbroath abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 030 Blair, Mr Patrick d.1526
a 062 Christison, sir David pres.1526
a 278 Rae, Mr John occ. 1569 - 1574
c 091 *Guthrie, David pres.1574 - 1590
Curate
a 236 Milne, sir Walter occ? 1520s
a 039 Bowak, sir John occ. 1556-7

LUNDIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Fowlis collegiate church [q.v.]
Vicar pensioner
a 181 Ireland, sir Thomas occ. 1554 - 1585
[No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590]

MAINS (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual
a 137 Garden, Mr Alexander d.1532
a 149 Graham, sir Patrick pres.1532-Bk.Assumpt.
b 039 Graham, Mr Robert occ. 1563
b 036 Graham, Alexander res.1589
c 022 *Bruce, William pres.1589

MARYCULTER (Aberdeen/ Aberdeen)
Parson/vicar Knights Hospitallers, Torphichen
Vicar pensioner
a 256 Nicolson, Mr David occ. 1540
a 288 *Robertson, Alexander occ. 1574

MARYTON (Brechin)
Parson Brechin cathedral, mensal
Vicar perpetual
a 226 *Meldrum, Mr David occ. 1546 - 1580
c 145 *Melville, John pres.1580 - 1590

MEATHIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar Coupar Angus abbey
Vicar pensioner
a 121 Foster, Mr Walter occ. 1508
[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice before 1590]

MENMUIR (Dunkeld/ Angus)
Parson prebend of Dunkeld
a 008 Arbuthnott, Mr Patrick occ. 1526 - 1531
a 164 Hamilton, Mr James sup. 1552 - 1566
a 075 Crichton, George sup. 1557
b 059 Lindsay, Mr John pres.1566 - 1590
[No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590]

Vicar perpetual of Menmuir

a 180	Hunter, Mr William	sup. 1524 - 1548
a 015	Auchinlek, Mr Robert	occ. 1549 - 1568
b 006	Auchinlek, John	pres.1568
a 097	*Elder, Mr Andrew	pres.1568 - 1590

Curate

a 107	*Fairweather, sir Walter	occ. 1528 - 1563

MONIFIETH (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar Arbroath abbey

a 025	Beaton, Mr Alexander	occ. 1545 - 1590
c 010	*Auchinlek, Andrew	occ. 1588 - 1590
c 045	*Duncan, Mr Henry	occ. 1588 - 1590

Alexander Beaton had a gift of the fruits of Monifieth, not of the kirk itself. Similarly, both Andrew Auchinlek and Henry Duncan had gifts from the fruits of Monifieth as part of their stipends: but neither the parsonage nor the vicarage were formally detached from Arbroath abbey.

Vicar pensioner

a 291	Roch, sir John	occ. 1557-8

MONIKIE (Brechin)

Parson Arbroath abbey

Vicar perpetual

a 309	Scrymgeour, Mr James	sup. 1533 - 1552
a 307	Scrymgeour, Mr David	sup. 1552 - 1566
a 312	Scrymgeour, Mr Thomas	d.1560
a 155	*Greiff, sir Matthew	pres.1568 - 1574
c 087	*Greiff, Henry	pres.1574 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 155	*Greiff, sir Matthew	occ. 1561 - 1568
	[united with vicarage	1568]

MONTROSE (Brechin)

Parson Brechin cathedral, mensal

Vicar perpetual of Montrose

a 287	Roach, Mr Henry	occ. 1522 - 1543
a 175	*Hepburn, Mr John	sup. 1543 - 1569
a 174	Hepburn, James	pres.1558 - 1582
c 081	*Gledstanes, Mr George	pres.1582 - 1588
c 172	*Ogilvy, Mr John	occ. 1590

Vicar perpetual of the hospital of Montrose

a 144	Gilbert, sir John	occ. 1527 - 1569
a 024	*Baty, sir John	pres.1571 - 1584

Curate

a 129	*Fowler, sir David	occ. 1536 - 1568

Chaplain at the altar of St Bride

a 305	Scott, Mr Henry	occ. 1536

Chaplain at the altar of St Andrew

a 073	Craigie, sir David	occ. 1528 - 1540
a 160	Guthrie, Mr Robert	occ. 1548

MURROES (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 317	Simson, Mr James	occ. 1526 - 1532	
a 070	Cook, Mr George	occ. 1540	
a 078	Cunningham, sir David		Bk.Assumpt.
a 071	*Cook, Mr Ninian	occ. 1561 - 1579	
c 173	*Oliver, William	pres.1579 - 1594	

NAVAR (Brechin)
Parson/vicar Chancellor of Brechin

a 230	Meldrum, Thomas		d.1531
a 347	Thornton, Mr John	sup. 1531-2	
a 338	Strachan, Mr Thomas	sup. 1533	
a 067	Colden, Mr John	sup. 1532 - 1538	
a 034	Boece, Mr Arthur	occ. 1535	
a 350	Turing, Mr Alexander	occ. 1540 - 1548	
a 173	Hepburn, Mr George	pres.1548 - 1580	
c 106	*Hepburn, Mr Edward	pres.1585 - 1590	

Curate

a 233	Melville, sir George	occ. 1568

NEVAY (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson

a 022	Barclay, Mr Thomas	sup. 1525 - 1552
a 340	Swinton, Mr George	occ. 1561 - 1566

[No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590]
Vicar perpetual

a 328	Stevenson, Mr Andrew		d.1572
a 239	*Moncur, sir Matthew	pres.1572 - 1585	
b 067	Moncur, Thomas	pres.1585	
c 020	*Boyd, Mr Robert	pres.1588 - 1590	
c 021	*Brown, David	occ. 1590	

Vicar pensioner

a 239	*Moncur, sir Matthew	occ. 1562 - 1585
	[united to vicarage-perpetual	1572]

NEWDOSK (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson/vicar

a 117	Forman, James		res. 1529
a 127	Fowler, Andrew	sup. 1529	
a 038	Boswell, sir Thomas	occ. 1539 - 1552	
a 187	Kinghorn, sir Adam	sup. 1539 - 1555	
a 060	Chalmer, Mr William	occ. 1558 - 1577	
b 019	Collace, David	occ. 1573 - 1589	

[David Straiton, c 232, had a gift from this benefice 1574-86.]

NEWTYLE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 208	Lindsay, sir James	sup. 1531 - 1536
a 205	Lindsay, sir Andrew	sup. 1531 - 1571
c 020	*Boyd, Mr Robert	pres.1571 - 1590

NIGG (St Andrews/ Mearns)
Parson — Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 081	Davidson, Mr John	Bk.Assumpt.-1598

PANBRIDE (Brechin)
Parson — Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual — prebend of the canon-pensionary of Brechin

a 313	Seton, Mr Alexander	occ. 1519 - 1528
a 037	Bonar, Mr William	pres.1532
a 189	Kinnimonth Mr Alexander	occ. 1534
a 036	Bonar, Mr David	sup. 1533 - 1558
a 179	Hucheson, Thomas	sup. 1542
a 184	Jackson, John	occ. 1549
a 191	Laing, sir William	pres.1558 - 1565
b 057	[Laing, Neil	occ. 1561 - 1569]
b 056	Laing, John	gift 1565 - 1590

[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice by 1590]

PERT (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar — St Mary's College, St Andrews

[Current reference books list Pert as a post-reformation parish. In RAMS, however, its revenues were appropriated to "the New College" by 1574 - and hence probably from the creation of St Mary's. NLS, ms 17.1.4 f.30v;E 47.1 f.25r]

[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice by 1590]

RESCOBIE (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar — archdean of St Andrews

a 051	Cantley, John	occ. 1524 - 1537
a 087	Drury, George	occ. 1526 - 1559
a 274	Pitcairn, Mr Robert	occ. 1539 - 1584
c 221	*Spalding, Mr John	occ. 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 005	Anderson, William	d.1550
a 187	Kinghorn, sir Adam	sup.1550

RUTHVEN (Dunkeld/ Angus)
Parson — Arbroath abbey
Vicar perpetual

a 074	Crayle, sir James	d.1531
a 271	Pettilock, sir William	pres.1531
a 031	Blair, Mr Patrick	Bk.Assumpt.-1569
c 129	*Lindsay, Walter	pres.1569 - 1574
c 038	*Cumming, David	pres.1574 - 1576
c 027	*Carmyllie, Robert	pres.1576 - 1580
c 038	*Cumming, David [again]	pres.1580 - 1582
c 188	*Ramsay, David	pres.1582 - 1590

Vicar pensioner

a 115	*Fleming, sir James	occ. 1563 - 1570

STRACATHRO (Brechin)

Parson	Precentor of Brechin	
a 231	Meldrum, Mr William	occ. 1500 - 1518
a 109	Ferne, George	occ. 1518 - 1527
a 310	Scrymgeour, Mr James	occ. 1521 - 1547
a 312	Scrymgeour, Mr Thomas	occ. 1541 - 1560
b 032	Fraser, Robert [sen.]	gift 1564 - 1565
b 033	Fraser, Robert [jun.]	gift 1565 - 1566
c 069	*Fraser, Mr Paul	pres.1566 - 1590
Vicar perpetual		
a 368	Willock, sir John	occ. 1525 - 1535
a 158	Guthrie, Mr John	Bk.Assumpt.-1565
b 047	Guthrie, Mr David	d.1570
c 214	*Sim, John	pres.1570 - 1580
c 168	*Norie, Mr Alexander	pres.1583
c 069	*Fraser, Mr Paul	pres.1584 - 1590
	[united with the parsonage	1584]

STRACHAN (Brechin)

Parson/vicar	archdean of Brechin	
a 272	Pitcairn, Mr David	occ. 1500 - 1554
a 273	Pitcairn, Mr James	pres.1526 - 1564
b 027	Erskine, Mr David	pres.1565 - 1590

[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice before 1590]

STRATHMARTIN (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson	four prebendaries, Trinity collegiate church, Edinburgh	
Preb. Strathmartin		
a 020	Balfour, sir Alexander	d.1548
a 349	Towers, sir James	pres.1548
a 363	*Wight, sir James	occ. 1550 - 1572
c 012	*Auchmowty, Mr William	pres.1573 - 1583
Preb. sacristan		
a 131	French, sir Adam	occ. 1550
a 316	Sim, sir David	d.1561
a 325	Spreule, sir Patrick	occ. 1561 - 1583
Preb. master of the hospital		
a 171	Henderson, sir Alexander	occ. 1550 - 1583
Preb. Brodderstanes		
a 193	Lamb, Mr Mark.	occ. 1563 - 1567
a 316	Sim, sir David	occ. 1550
b 052	Henderson, James	occ. 1575 - 1583
Vicar perpetual		
a 096	Edward, sir David	occ. 1530 - 1549
a 245	Mortimer, sir John	pres.1549 - 1561
b 021	Cumming, Mr Thomas	occ. 1562 - 1566
c 238	*Tyrie, David	occ. 1574
c 239	*Tyrie, James	occ. 1576 - 1585

TANNADICE (St Andrews/ Angus)

Parson/vicar

a 265	Paniter, Mr Patrick	occ. 1513 - 1520	
a 257	Nudry, Thomas		d.1527/8
a 298	Salmond, James	sup. 1532-3	
a 211	Lumsden, Mr Henry	occ. 1529 - 1540	
	St Mary's College, St Andrews		

Vicar pensioner of Tannadice

a 082	Dempster, Alexander	occ. 1531
	St Mary's College, St Andrews	

TEALING (Dunkeld/ Angus)

Parson archdean of Dunkeld

a 227	Meldrum, Mr David	occ. 1532	(d.1557)
a 323	Spens, Mr David	occ. 1554 - 1585	
c 190	*Ramsay, Mr John	pres.1591	

[In 1591, this benefice was disjoined from the archdeanery.]

Vicar perpetual

a 319	Small, Walter		d.1534
a 214	Lyall, William	sup. 1534	
a 070	Cook, Mr George	pres.1544	
a 124	*Foulis, Mr Adam	occ. 1563 - 1572	
c 080	*Gibb, Andrew	pres.1573 - 1590	

APPENDIX A - CLERGY AND BENEFICES

a: biographies of pre-Reformation secular clergy from c.1530.

ABERCROMBY, sir ROBERT

001 Mar.1552: supplicated at Rome for a perpetual chaplaincy at the All Saints altar at Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2760,f159r

9 Dec.1557: executor to umq. Mr David Meldrum, archdean of Dunkeld. Register of Deeds, RD 1.2 304v

18 Aug.1559: pres. par. Burghill (preb. Brechin) in succession to sir Thomas Abercromby. RSS v 649

12 Apr.1560: The Lords of the Congregation attempted to depose him in the name of "Francis and Mary, King and Queen of France and Scotland". JRL, Craw. mss. box P iv 63

"Frances and Marie be ye grace of god king and quene of France and Scotland; to oure louittis Alex[ande]r Samesoun [blank] messingeris ...in yat p[air]t ... greting. For sameikle as ye lordis of oure secrete counsall understandand y[at] all kerkmen sa callit of lait wer chargeit to haif comperit in Sanctandrois at ane certane day to haif gevin confessioun of yair fay[th] maid upon renunciatioun of all idolatrie and papistrie and to haue admit yair selffis to the Christane congregatioun and submittit yame to ye ordnances yairof w[i]t[h] certification gif thay failzeit yair benefices suld be disponit be ye saidis lordis as at mair lenth is contenit in ye saidis proclamationis. And yat schir Robert Abircrumbie lait intrusit persone of Buttergill quha be simony and vther unruleful moyenis purchest ye samin [notwithstanding] yat it was first disponit be ye quene dowriar regent for ye tyme to James Hepburne, he contempueslie disobeyit ye saidis chargis and proclamationis and continuis still in his wickit papistrie. Thairfore ye saidis lordis hes maid and constitut and ordainit and be ye ten[our]e heirof makis constitutis and ordainis the said James Hepburn yair ye newcar fact[our]e and ... intromet[our]e w[i]t[h] all the ... teindis and emolumentis of ye saidis personage of Buttergill. Gevin under o[ur]e signet at Halyrudhous ye xii of Apryll... ex deliberando dno consilii."

Book of Assumption: held par. Burghill. E 48.1.1 f356r

Book of Assumption: held chaplaincy of St Cartier's altar in Dundee. E 48.1.1 f360r

c.1561: litigating for par. Caputh (preb. Dunkeld). Haws, Parish Clergy p.36

30 Apr. x 1 May 1567: held par. Burghill and expected to resign. RSS v 3490

19 Dec.1571: deprived of par. Caputh as a Jesuit living overseas. RSS vi 2241

16 Oct.1578: owed teinds as par. Burghill. Brechin tests. CC 3.3. 1 f10r

7 Jun.1587: sub. as member of chapter of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.966

16 Jun 1587: sub. as member of chapter of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.967

ABERCROMBY, sir THOMAS

002 22 May 1537: as chaplain, wits. in the court of the archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxv

30 May /17 Jul. 1541: sir John Meldrum resigned par. Burghill

(preb. Brechin) in his favour, reserving right of regress. This was exercised, and Meldrum resumed the preb., but granted Abercromby rights of regress and a pension. Both promised annates in 1542. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2423,f134r; vol.2434,f95v-96v; also, Reg.Lat.vol.1723,f58-9;vol.1724,f174-7; and Annates vol.74 f21r

9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

5 Jan.1552/3: as a canon of Brechin received letters of appointment as judge on behalf of John, archbishop of St Andrews. Register House letters: RH 1.2.373

10 Jan.1552/3: held par. Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB i no.114

18+27 Jun.1556: par. Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.cxxxiv

18 Aug.1559: had deceased as par. Burghill. RSS v 649

ALLARDICE, sir ALEXANDER

003 28 Feb.1531/2: chaplain of Chapel of the Virgin Mary at Arbuthnott. WRH, Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5,258

ANDERSON, Mr THOMAS

004 26 May 1544: wits.chtr. as secretary of the bishop of Brechin. REB ii no.ccxxxiii

1 May 1544: wits.chtr. (sir John Gilbert) Montrose mss, M/W1/13

19 Aug.1547: wits.chtr. REB ii no.ccxxxiv

28 May 1552: wits. chtr. with Durham of Grange, Lindsay of Pitairlie. (Ramsay of Ardownie) Southesk Papers,box 4 bund.15

1 May 1558: as vic. Barry, wits.chtr. (sir John Gilbert) Montrose mss, M/W1/13, RMS vi 438

Conformed as minister, Montrose: c 003.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM

005 Jul.1550: had deceased as perpet.vic. Rescobie. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2696,f265v

ANNAND, MR ANDREW

006 15 May 1532: pres. to be preceptor of the Maisondieu of Brechin, after the expected resignation of Mr James Lyn. RSS ii 1245

23 Sept.1540: wits. letters confirming James Lord Ogilvy as bailie of Coupar abbey. CA Chrs. ii 189,190,191

10 Sept.1547: slain at Pinkie. RSS iii 2678

ARBUTHNOTT, sir ANDREW

007 17 May 1532: Legatine dispensation to admit him as a churchman though illegitimate. WRH, Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5,260

1541: chaplain Chapel of the Virgin Mary at church of Arbuthnott. WRH, Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5,296

19 Aug.1548: procurator for curate of Arbuthnott. Spald.Misc. iv 50

1552: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Dun). RMS iv 908

21 Apr.1553: wits.chtr. at Lauriston. RMS iv 882

20 Sept.1553: as notary and chaplain, legitimated. WRH,Arbuthnott Inventory,NRA(S) 5,353 = RMS iv 846 = RSS iv 2313

20 Mar.1553/4: wits.chtr. at Pittarrow. RMS iv 916

31 Oct.1555: wits.chtr. at Pitcarles. RMS iv 1071

13 Apr.1558: wits.chtr. at Arbuthnott as chaplain. RMS iv 1271

Died Mar.1575/6:Andrew Arbuthnott at the kirktoun of Arbuthnott, dwelling at the kirktoun called the Chapel, left £260 4s 8d. "He

left his soul to almighty God creator thereof and his body to the earth to be buried ... in hope of the resurrection ...."
Edin.tests.reg. 1 May 1576, CC 8.8.4. f121v-122r

ARBUTHNOTT, MR PATRICK

008 Patrick, a natural son of David Arbuthnott of that ilk, went by the advice of his father to France where he studied medicine. As a doctor he was employed first by the Duke of Bourbon, then by King James V, and was held in great estimation by all the nobility of Scotland and France. He held the parsonages of Menmuir and Newlands.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 "Originis ... Arbuthnoticae" f88
18 Aug.1526: wits. as par. Menmuir. (preb. Dunkeld)
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.v;no.238
5 Aug.1531: par. Menmuir vacant by decease of "N. Arbuthnot" [sic] last possessor. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2052,f16r
17 Oct.1531: par. Menmuir vacant by death of Patrick Arbuthnott.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2059,f31v

ARCHIBALD, sir JAMES

009 25 Oct.1547: pres. perpet.vic. Lintrathen. RSS iii 2513
1548 and following: acted as factor to David (Erskine), commendator of Inchmahome and Dryburgh.
J.R.Todd, "The Reformation in the diocese of Dunblane", (Edinburgh PHD 1973) pp.221,228.
1548x1559: discharges for payment of teinds to him as perpet. vic. Lintrathen. Airlie mss., GD 45.47.1
27 May 1560: obtained letters in four forms for payment of his teinds, on the grounds that he had adhered to the Congregation.
Spald.Misc. iv pp120,121

> "... and hes causit the commone prayeris and homilies be red owkklie to the parrochineris of the said parrochin, and vther wyiss is content to abyde sik reformatioun as the lordis of our secreit counsale plesis mak thairintill, and als is adionit to Goddis congregatioune, and takis part with the saidis lordis in setting fordwart the commone caus, to the gloir of God and commone weill of our realme."

12 Feb.1563/4: escheated for non-fulfillment of contract.
RSS v 1569
14 Nov 1580: contract with James Lord Ogilvy to demit office in favour David Ogilvy. Airlie mss., GD 16.41.23

> "At Airlie ye fourten day of Noue[m]ber The zeir of god [1580] zeiris. It is appoyntit aggreit and finalie [con]cludit betuix ane noble and my[ch]tie lord James lord Ogilvye of Airlie on yat ane pairt And James Archibauld burges of Stirling and vicar of Lyntrathyn on ye vther pairt as followis. To wit ye said James Archibauld bindis and oblissis him be yir pr[esen]tis To pas to Edinburgh or quhair it salhapin ye kingis mat. to be for ye tym betuix yis and ye xxviii day of Nove[m]ber i[n]stant. And to demit his said vicarage in ye kingis m. hand, as als to obtene ane signat[oure] of presenta[tiou]n y[air]of subscrivit be his ma. direct to ye Superintende[n]t of Angus to admit and provyd David Ogilvye thrid lau[cht]full sone to ye said lord Airlie to ye said vicarage induri[n] his lyftym [con]form to ye ordo[our]e now observant in sic causses. Ffor ye qlk causs

ye said noble lord be ye teno[ure] heirof oblissis him to haiff ane servand of his awin in Edin[burgh] ye said xxviii day of Nove[m]ber i[n]stant w[i]t[h] ye sowme of foure hundre[th] m[er]kis. And to deli[ver] ye samin to ye said James Archibauld for ye dimissioun of ye said vicarage as said is. And in [com]pleit payme[n]t of all vyair dewtie yairof. And to resaue ye said signat[oure] fra him dewlie exped as said is. qlk ye said James oblessis him to deliv[er] efter ye resait of ye foirsaid sowme to ye effect aboue wrettin. And heirof bay[th] ye saidis pairties oblissis yaim leillalie [and] trewlie to fulfill to vy[er]is. Be thir pr[esen]tis subscrivit w[ith] yair handis day zeir and place foirsaid befoir yir vitnessis Willia[m] Ogilvye in Kelo[our]e Willia[m] Balfour. And Mr Du[n]ca[n] Skene notar publict w[ith] vy[er]is. J. L. Ogilvy Jamis Archbald "

ARD, JAMES

010 31 Jan.1542/3: collated, treasurer of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.51
19 Aug.1547: occ. as treasurer of Brechin. REB ii ccxxxiv

ARRAT, JAMES

011 [x] Jun.1541: occ. as treasurer of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxvii

AUCHINLEK, ALEXANDER

012 6 Jul.1525: had deceased at Rome at par. Glenbervie (preb. Brechin). RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1858,f140v

AUCHINLEK, sir JAMES

013 11 Feb.1530: inhabiliated or incapacitated when resigned perpet. chaplaincy at BVM altar at Glenbervie; but ...
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2001,f147
2 Jun.1536: wits.chtr. (Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie) as chaplain of Drumlithie. Prot.Bk.Cristison (SRS) p.201

AUCHINLEK, sir JOHN

014 24 Aug.1537: wits.chtr. (Learmonth of Dairsie) RMS iii 1710
26 Apr.1539: wits.chtr. (Learmonth of Dairsie) RMS iii 1981
27 Apr.1539: pres. vic. Kiltearn. RSS ii 3004
22 Aug.1546: forfeited vic. Kiltearn. RSS iii 1857,2566-7
25 Aug.1546: as par. Cookston forfeited and declared traitor for the murder of cardinal David Beaton. RSS iii 1865
7 Sept.1548: respite for 19 years for treasonable assistance to Norman Leslie in holding the castle of St Andrews. RSS iii 2945
21 Feb.1552/3: wits.chtr. (Wishart of Pittarrow)
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi 346
12 Mar.1552/3: wits.chtr. (Elizabeth Learmonth) RMS iii 767
June 1554: as a priest of St Andrews, sought absolution for killing in defence of the castle of St Andrews from Arran after the murder of cardinal Beaton. RFVA,ASPA,vol 137,vi
Conformed as reader, Glenbervie: c 011.

AUCHINLEK, MR ROBERT

015 12 Oct.1549: wits. chtr. as vicar of Menmuir.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box 3, bund. no.14
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Menmuir. E 48.1.1 f359r
1565,1567: had failed to pay the thirds for perpet.vic. Menmuir and the chapel of Drumlithie. TB p.111,236

21 Jan.1567/8: had deceased as perpet.vic. Menmuir. RSS vi 124

AUCHMOWTY, sir JAMES

016 1535: pres. vic.pens. Arbroath. Arb.Lib. ii 830
20 Aug.1536: vic.pens. Arbroath. Arb.Lib. ii 836
20 Sept.1542: wits.chtr. (cardinal David Beaton) RMS iii 2788
3 Oct.1547: had resigned as vic.pens.Arbroath in favour of Mr Robert Auchmowty. RSS iii 2475
6 Feb.1551/2: had deceased at legitimation of his natural son Thomas. RSS iv 1512
Regular member of the household of cardinal David Beaton: see - M.H.B. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland (Edinburgh 1986) index.

AUCHMOWTY, MR ROBERT

017 1531/2-1533: determined and licentiate, St Leonard's College at St Andrews. StA Recs 126,128: ActaFacArt ii 367,370
20 Sept.1542: wits.chtr. (cardinal David Beaton) RMS iii 2788
1546: Graniter of Arbroath: see - M.H.B. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland (Edinburgh 1986) p.221.
3 Oct.1547: pres. vic.pens.St.Vigeans/Arbroath, RSS iii 2475
and also held vic. Forteviot. RSS iii 1476
1 Jan.1547/8: pres. vic. Stirling. RSS iii 2578
8 Jan.1547/8: had resigned vic. Forteviot. RSS iii 2591
24 Apr.1549: as Steward and Master Almoner gifted an escheat. RSS iv 222n
19 Dec.1549: pres. preb. Ruffhyll (Dunkeld). RSS iv 517
1551: Steward to the governor. ADCP p610
12 Feb.1550/51: vic.pens.Arbroath. Cal.Chtrs., RH 6.7.1505
28 Feb.1550/51: as vic. Stirling pres. chaplaincy of the Virgin Mary at Bannockburn. RSS iv 1129
28 Jun.1553: exchanged preb. Ruffhyll for perpet. vic. Dun, having feued the lands of the preb. RSS iv 2041,2196
Book of Assumption: held vic.pens.Arbroath. E 48.1.1 f358r
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Dun: E 48.1.1 f345v,358v
"all restis in ye handis of ye lard of Dun and his tennantis: I knaw nocht quhat it will be for I gat nathing of it yir zeiris bygane".
2 Jan.1565/6: shared general remission to the duke and other Hamiltons. RSS v 2523
1 Mar/1577/8: had resigned vic.pens. St Vigeans/Arbroath. RSS vii 1508
1583: had been succeeded as perpet.vic. Dun by Mr William Auchmowty. CH 4.1.2 (RPB) ii 94v
Died 5 July 1587: Mr Robert Auchmowty vicar of Stirling had his testament testamentary registered 1 Aug.1587 by John Auchmowty, burgess of Stirling, his nephew. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.18 f23v

AUSTEN, sir WILLIAM

018 30 Apr.1544: as vic. Catterline wits.inst. at Inverbervie. AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi 331
30 Jun.1553: [sir William (blank)] helped find a hoard of coins in the choir sidewall of Kinneff kirk. RSS iv 2050
Book of Assumption: held vic. Catterline. E 48.1.1 f359r
Book of Assumption: held vic.pens. Kinneff. E 48.1.1 f359r
1562-3-5-9: owed third for perpet.vic. Catterline. TB 167,236
1563-9: held vic.pens. Kinneff. TB p236
31 Oct.1576: had deceased as vic. Catterline. RSS vii 749

BALDOWY, sir JAMES

019 24 Jul.1557: canon of St Andrews, resigned perpet.vic. Fowlis.
Haws, Parish Clergy p94

BALFOUR, sir ALEXANDER

020 21 Jul.1548: had deceased as preb. Trinity CC (joint-par. Strathmartin).
RSS iii 2872

BALFOUR, MR JOHN

021 1559: held St Nicholas chapel in Dundee. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.50

BARCLAY, MR THOMAS

022 1527/8-9: determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery at St Andrews. StA Recs 120,122: ActaFacArt ii 357,361n
24 Oct.1525: supplicated for the par. of Nevay. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1869,f139r
1536: par. Nevay [Clovay, sic] when £45 from its fruits granted to the College of Justice.
ADCP 448
1541: par. Nevay, rector of St Andrews. Herkless, Archbishops 221
4 Dec.1546: wits.chtr. (commendator of St Andrews priory)
RMS iv 41
31 Aug.1542: as par. Nevay, pres. preb. of St Mary of the Rock.
RSS ii 4853
9 Jul.1548: headed the list of kin and servants of John commendator of Coldingham on his going abroad.
ADCP 576
2 Sept.1552: had deceased.
RSS iv 1681

BARRY, JOHN

023 10 Jan.1531: resigned as perpet.vic. Dundee in favour of Robert Wedderburn.
RFVA, Annates vol.68 f.201v; and RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2036,f214r; Reg.Lat.vol.1559,f30v-32r

BATY, sir JOHN

024 26 Sept.1548: wits. institution of a chaplain in Montrose.
Montrose mss, M/W1/13
30 Mar.1553: as a priest, wits.chtr. (John Erskine as Provost of Montrose)
RMS iv 918
1 May 1558: wits.chtr. (sir John Gilbert, vicar of Montrose hospital)
Montrose mss, M/W1/13
Conformed as reader, Montrose, Dun and others: c 014.

BEATON, MR ALEXANDER

025 Born c.1525 x c.1534/5: son of cardinal Beaton and Marion Ogilvy; tutored by Mr Adam Mure in 1544, resident in France in the 1550s.
c.1545: gifted fruits of the revenues of Monifieth and Abernethy from the abbey of Arbroath. Sanderson, Cardinal pp.39,40,142,110
Book of Assumption: held par./vic.of Monifieth. E 48.1.1 f356v
4 Aug.1562: registered decreet-arbitral whereby Henry Ramsay of Ardownie gave up his assignment of the teinds of Monifieth (made by abbot Hamilton 14 Jan.1551/2) in favour of Mr Alexander's earlier, papally-confirmed, grant. Described as archdeacon of Lothian.
RD 1.5 f297v
1566: had failed to pay thirds on the vic. of Monifieth. TB p.237
6 Jun.1590: William Lovell of Ballumbie tacked the teind sheaves

of Monifieth, having right to them under lease from Mr Alexander, for the latter's life. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.27

BEATON, MR ANDREW

026 1535-7: matriculated, determined and Licentiate, St Salvator's College, St Andrews. (nation "Albaniae")
StA Recs 236,134,137: ActaFacArt ii 378,382
2 Sept.1539: having prov. to par. Eassie by the bishop [of St Andrews: David Beaton], he sought new provision by the Pope to counter challengers. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol. 2344, f297v
16 Nov.1539: cardinal David Beaton making enquiries at Rome about the validity of Mr James Sanquhar's nomination to par. Eassie.
James V Letters p382/3
12 Jul.1544: renewed supplication for papal provision.
RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol. 2525, f102v
31 Jul.1547: had deceased as par. Eassie when George Beaton pres. by crown. RSS iii 2415

BEATON, GEORGE

027 31 Aug.1547: pres. par. Eassie: son of John Beaton of Balfour.
RSS iii 2415
Nov.1550: had deceased as par. Eassie.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2723, f70r

BEATON, JAMES

028 11 May 1545: claimed par. Inverarity by pres. by David, ninth earl of Crawford and supplicated for new provision, being aged twelve. Illegitimate; probably son of cardinal David Beaton.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2539, f294v:Sanderson, Cardinal p.39-40,142

BELL, THOMAS

029 16 Feb.1528/9: wits. as chaplain, at Dundee. RMS iii 758
27 Mar.1533: wits. as chaplain, at Panmure. RMS iii 1274
9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4
[Possibly related/successor to David Bell, chaplain at the altar of St George in Dundee parish church: 7 Apr.1510. REB ii no.xcix]

BLAIR, MR PATRICK

030 29 Jul.1526: had deceased as vic.pens. Lunan. Arb.Lib. ii 623

BLAIR, MR PATRICK

031 1528/9-30: determined (pauper) and Intrant, at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 121,124: ActaFacArt ii 359,363
12 May 1543: chtr. to him and his brother David of lands in Alyth, by David, earl of Crawford. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 22
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Ruthven. E 48.1.1 f293r
22 July 1569: had deceased as perpet.vic. Ruthven. RSS vi 680

BLAIR, MR WILLIAM

032 1532-4: determined and Licentiate of St Leonard's College, St Andrews. ("dives") StA Recs 127,130: ActaFacArt ii 369,374n
6 Apr.1548: pres. perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig. RSS iii 2706

BLAKEY, sir RICHARD

033 20 May 1543: pres. to chaplaincy of Baikie by John Lord Glamis and was given entry thereto "by book, chalice and ornaments of

the altar". Despite these formalities, Mr David Henderson's pres. by the crown during the Glamis forfeiture was not reduced and Blakey's claim failed. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.55

BOECE, MR ARTHUR

034 Brother of Mr Hector Boece, principal of Aberdeen University; wits. chtr. at Aberdeen (23 Sept.1525) RMS iii 3004,336
21 Jan.1527: Treasurer of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.51
27 May 1532: chosen in parliament to be of the Lords of Council and Session. ADCP p374
12 Jul.1532: with Mr Charles Fotheringham petitioned the Pope to exchange their benefices; Fotheringham to obtain the treasurership of Brechin - Boece, the par. Edzell. Boece also held the perpet.vic. Longforgan. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2055, f234r
also: Reg.Lat.vol.1577,f10v-14r; Annates vol.69 f.91r
3 Apr.1533: John Hepburn bishop of Brechin had refused to admit Fotheringham and the Pope ordered an inquiry.
RFVA, Arm.xxxix 53,f346v-348v
14 Nov.1533: Commissary-General at Aberdeen. RMS iii 1323
25 Feb.1533/4: as a canon of Aberdeen and par.Edzell received protection on the departure of William bishop of Aberdeen to England as ambassador. ADCP p416
22 Jun.1535: took oath as member of the Session and chancellor of Brechin (par. Navar). ADCP p440
18 Jan.1535/6: with Mr Hector Boece his brother provided for the dowry of their sister on her marriage to an Aberdeen burgess.
RMS iii 3004
28 Aug.1536: had deceased as par. Edzell. James V Letters p322

BOECE, MR PATRICK

035 1481/2: determined at St Andrews. StA Recs 65: ActaFacArt ii 213
8 Jun.1493: treasurer of Brechin. REB ii 138
16 Jun.1526: treasurer of Brechin. REB ii 181
21 Jul.1528: inst. sasine in favour of him as treasurer of Brechin. REB ii no.cxiv

BONAR, MR DAVID

036 8 Nov.1533, 9 Sept.1534: supplicated at Rome for perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. Brechin) against royal nomination and support for Mr Alexander Kinninmonth. James V Letters p.270;
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2120,f73v; vol.2150,f189v
21 Mar.1538/9: action by the king's advocate against David Bonar, brother of William Bonar of Rossy, for passing abroad without consent of his ordinary. ADCP p.481
11 Apr.1540: further supplication for perpet.vic. Panbride.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2377,f64r; Reg.Vat.vol.1554,f325r
2 May 1543: Arran prohibited him from going to Rome or sending writings without permission. ADCP p.581
19 Dec.1545: escheated for barratry as "pensioner of Panbride".
RSS iii 1444
13 Jan.1546: fought case at Rome against Thomas Hucheson for perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. Brechin).
Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 213.492r,504r,560r
17 Aug.1547: further supplication to provision to any right that Thomas Hucheson might have obtained in perpet.vic. Panbride.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2617,f253r;
see also: Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 244.135v,182r

[For Hucheson's claim, see Reg.Sup.vol.2470,f85v]
12 Feb.1548/9:further action against him for barratry. ADCP p.581
24 Jan.1549/50: further action by Bonar as par. of Strathbrock against Arran concerning his claim to perpet.vic. Longforgan. ADCP p.596
Jun.1552: further supplication for vic. Panbride, as a canon of Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2763, f238r
11 Mar.1557/8: had deceased as perpet.vic. Panbride, canon of Brechin. RSS v 351

BONAR, MR WILLIAM
037 16 May 1532: pres. perpet.vic. Panbride; but see - Mr Alex Kinninmonth and David Bonar. RSS ii 1252

BOSWELL, sir THOMAS
038 18 Mar.1538/9: as par. Newdosk, wits.chtr. RMS iii 1950
31 Jan.1539: resigned as par. Newdosk in favour of Adam Kinghorn, reserving all fruits and right of regress. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2388,f2v
1551,1552: as par. Newdosk, gave discharge to David, ninth earl of Crawford, for teinds of Newdosk. WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 32

BOWAK, sir JOHN
039 3 Dec.1556: wits.inst. as curate of Lunan. RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilok) f9r
4 Jun.1557: as chaplain resigns lands to sir Alexander Bowak. RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilok) f26r
9 Jul.1557: wits.inst as curate of Lunan. RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilok) f29v

BOYD, MR ARCHIBALD
040 30 Mar. x 10 Jun.1528: pres. par. Fern (preb.Dunkeld). Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.1: box no.2 bund.no.24
15 Nov.1550: as provost of Dalkeith CC granted power to resign par. Fern choosing his own successor; Mr Patrick Muir pres. in expect. same date, with fruits reserved to Boyd for life. RSS iv 969, 976
2 Aug.1561: tacked all teinds from lands of the lairds of Edzell to Dame Katherine Campbell; and issued discharges 1561 and 1562. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2
23 Nov.1564: had deceased when Muir challenged his tacks to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. Acts & Decs.,CS 7.30 f236v

BROWN, sir DAVID
041 21 Jul.1528: as chaplain, had sasine in garden and tenement in Brechin from the vicar of Brechin, Mr William Meldrum. REB ii no.cxv
15 May 1531: wits.inst. as curate of Edzell. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc.box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund 5
25 Jan.1531/2: wits.chtr. (Mr William Meldrum) REB ii no.cxx
26 May 1535: wits.chtr. as vic.pens. Edzell, at Edzell. (David Lindsay of Edzell) RMS iii 1477
26 Mar.1537: wits.chtr.as chaplain. REB ii no.cxxiv
6 Jun.1541: as vic.pens.Edzell founded the chaplaincy of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls altar at Brechin Cathedral and appointed sir William Brown as the first chaplain, to pray for the souls of

sir David's parents (David Brown and Katherine Ramsay), Mr William Meldrum and sir Walter Brown. REB i no.114
4 May 1547: grants feu-chtr. as co-chaplain at altar of All Souls (founded by Mr William Meldrum) with consent of Meldrum of Segy as patron. REB ii no.cxxix
6 Aug.1551: wits. discharge as vic.pens. Edzell.
JRL: Craw. mss box E (Haigh Inv. p28)
10 Jan.1552/3: had foundation-chtr. for Nomine Jesu chaplaincy registered. REB i no.114
24 Feb.1568/9: had deceased as vic.pens. Edzell. RMS iii 1477
1569: late chaplain of Brechin. CH 4.1.1 (RPB i) 18

BROWN, MR JAMES

042 23 Jul.1524: ceded par. Fetteresso (preb. St Mary on the Rock CC) by Mr Robert Forman, at Rome. ADCP p207 and
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.1833, f220v,221r
repeated 28 Apr.1525, vol. 1848, f298v,299r
6 May 1530: renewed supplication for the par./preb., as vacant by death of David Brown, last possessor, at Rome; and defended his case against John Leith.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2006, f231v;vol.2040, f114v
11 May 1531/2 Jan.1533: formally resigned the par./preb., presumably reserving right of regress on payment in order to extinguish other claims.
RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol:2045, f117v, 118r; vol.2099,f195r
16 Feb.1533/4: wits.chtr. as apostolic protonotary. RMS iii 2920
20 Oct.1544: wits.chtr. RMS iii 3029
2 Apr.1554: wits.chtr. RMS iv 945,8
Sept.1554: resigned par./preb. to Patrick Brown, clerk of St Andrews, reserving pension-rights.
RFVA,Reg Lat:1834, f145-147 1834, 147-149v
and Reg. Sup. vol:2834, f77v-78r
Book of Assumption: held par. Fetteresso. E 48.1.1 f362r
(The resignation to Patrick Brown took effect; he was the last possessor on his decease 1579. RSS vii 2096)

BROWN, PATRICK

043 Sept.1554: as clerk of St Andrews, was ceded par. Fetteresso (preb. St Mary on the Rock CC) by Mr James Brown, who reserved pension rights and still occupied the par. 1561/2.
RFVA, Reg Lat:1834, f145-147 1834, 147-149v
and Reg. Sup. vol:2834, f77v-78r; E 48.1.1 f362r
29 Nov.1579: had deceased as par. Fetteresso. RSS vii 2096

BROWN, ROBERT

044 25 Mar.1526: Thomas Nudry resigned as par. Inchbrayock in his favour; but Brown resigned back to him, 6 Jan.1527, during continued litigation.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1886,f.178r; vol.1916,f.48r

BROWN, sir WALTER

045 1541: as former vic.pens. Edzell had a chaplaincy founded for masses for his soul by sir David Brown. REB i no.114

BROWN, sir WILLIAM

046 21 Mar.1554/5: chaplain of St Nicholas in the parish church of Arbroath discharging feu-duties owned on his properties in

Edinburgh, the land having been burnt by the English in 1544.
RH 2/1/20 transcript Prot Bk James Harlaw no 107b

BROWN, sir WILLIAM

047 6 Jun.1541: nominated as original chaplain of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls' altar at Brechin by the founder, sir David Brown vic. pens. of Edzell.
15 Jun.1541: chaplain at Brechin, and common procurator for the chaplains of the choir. REB ii no.cxxviii
[n.d. ?1557-8] corresponded with David, ninth earl of Crawford, about the false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon.
JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.2.2,3
24 Feb.1568/9: as chaplain of Nomine Jesu feued lands of the chaplaincy. REB ii no.cclxviii
12 Apr.1569: had deceased as chaplain of Nomine Jesu. RSS vi 568

BUCHAN, sir ALEXANDER

048 1534: chaplain at Brechin, supported from the fermes of Dundee.
ER xvi p.370

BURRELL, sir JOHN

049 Book of Assumption: held St Stephen's chapel in the town of Dundee. E 48.1.1 f360v

CAMPBELL, DONALD

050 Abbot of Coupar Angus abbey from c.1529. For his career as abbot, see, ed. D.E.Easson, Charters of Coupar Angus ii pp.276-79
1548: nominated unsuccessfully by Châtelherault for the archbishopric of Glasgow. Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls" SHR xxii p.34
27 Feb.1554/5: wits. inst. David ninth earl of Crawford appointing Dame Katherine Campbell his sole executrix and tutrix to his heir. Other wits. inc. Mr William Cunningham, dean of Brechin. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p76
Dec.1557-Jul.1558: nominated bishop of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.41
27 Jan.1557/8: registered obligation to repay 500 merks to Dame Katherine Campbell and David, ninth earl Crawford. RD 1.2.f359r
11 Feb.1557/8: Timothy Cagnoli, Italian, had sent Donald abbot of Coupar a letter of finance for delivery to Mr James Thornton solicitor in Rome, of 12 hundred crowns: the abbot had paid him £858 in part payment and acknowledged debt for rest; finding Lord Erskine and Carnegy of Kinnaird as cautioners. RD 1.2 f.380v
23 Jul.1558: discharge by Cagnoli for remaining debts. RD 1.3.57r
18 Oct 1558; John Lord Erskine and Robert Graham of Morphie promised payment to Timothy Cagnoli banker in Scotland for 200 pounds of great money of Flanders he had sent to Mr Andrew Graham. Register of Deeds, RD 1.3 80v
16 Mar 1558/9; James Baron burgess of Edinburgh received from Timothy Cagnoli,Italian Banker, £1327 13s 4d and was bound to pay this to Donald abbot of Coupar on authorisation from Cagnoli or from James Thornton in Rome, when the silver paid by the abbot to Cagnoli for expediting bulls for the bishopric of Brechin had been sent. Register of Deeds, RD 1.3 228r
?c.1559: agreed to conditions set out by the Lords of the Congregation for the reform of Coupar. CA Chrs. p.278-9
26 April 1559; Donald abbot of Coupar discharged banker Timothy Cagnoli for monies paid to James Baron as repaid under conditions of contract in case his holiness the Pope should not expedite the

bulls for the bishopric of Brechin: or in case the monies should not reach James Thornton. Register of Deeds, RD 1.3 255r
11 May 1559: the Pope reported as unenthusiastic about his nomination to Brechin while the abbey of Coupar was retained. Watt, FESMA p.41
19 May 1559: reported to have "put on secular weed". CSP(S) i 455
9 Jan.1559/60: extract from the court book of Brechin recording that James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie had been elected a freeman of Brechin and chosen provost under Donald, abbot of Coupar, postulant bishop of Brechin. Airlie mss,GD 16.25.49
20 May 1560; Donald abbot of Coupar granted discharge to James Baron for sums paid under his obligations to the abbot, to Archibald earl of Argyll and to Dame Katherine Campbell as all due to the abbot. Register of Deeds, RD 1.3 343r
8-10 Aug.1560: at the Reformation parliament: included in list of Lords of the Articles. CSP(S) i 879
18 Aug.1560: reported as one of those consenting to a marriage between the earl of Arran and Queen Elizabeth I. CSP(S) i 885
29 Sept 1560; Donald abbot of Coupar gave further discharge to James Baron for monies paid under authorisation from James Thornton, Rome, 5 July 1559. Register of Deeds, RD 1.3 472r
16 Dec.1562 x 20 Jan.1562/3: died. Watt, FESMA p.41
20 Mar.1563/4: had deceased, leaving Dame Katherine Campbell various legacies and possession of a collection of ecclesiatical vestments and ornaments. Acts & Decs., CS 7.29 f106r

CANTLEY, JOHN

051 Oct.1517: priest of Aberdeen, vicar of Lethnot, aged 32. James V Letters p.54-5
26 May 1524: archdeacon of St Andrews, (pars. Rescobie and Kinneff); fought George Drury for possession. Watt, FESMA p.308
Jun.1525: ambassador to France. James V Letters p125
24 Oct.1534: described as the king's familiar servant, "a man of loyal and liberal mind"; James V supported his litigation for the archdeaconry of St Andrews. James V Letters p.249,323
30 May 1535: resigned as archdeacon to Drury, reserving a pension. Watt, FESMA p.308

CARMICHAEL, MR HENRY

052 1486,1505: par. Finavon (preb.Brechin). RMS iii 1489,2874
(Forbes-Leith, Scholars cites him as par. in 1535, mistaking the date of registration of RMS iii 1489 with the date the charter was subscribed.)

CARNEGY, MR ALEXANDER

053 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4
26 Sept.1547: presented as vic. pens. Aberlethnott. RSS iii 2454

CARNEGY, MR DAVID

054 25 Aug.1546: pres.par. Cookston, being vic. Kingussie. RSS iii 1865
15 Apr.1548: pres. treasurer of Caithness. RSS iii 2717
2 Jun.1549: to resign Cookston. RSS iv 283
21 Apr.1552: as preceptor of the Maisondieu, Brechin, gave collation to the chaplaincy of Our Lady of Maisondieu. RH 2.1.20 (prot.bk. James Harlaw) nos.1a,34a

CARNEGY, MR HERCULES

055 1557: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 264
1560/62: Intrant at St Andrews. StA Recs 157: ActaFacArt ii 415
Book of Assumption: held subdeanery of Brechin, as set to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, on the same terms as it was previously set to the archdean of Brechin, [Mr David Pitcairn]. [See also Mr Robert, William Carnegy.] E 48.1.1 f357r
15 May 1566: had deceased, claiming par. Benholm; but see, Mr John and Mr James Thornton. RSS v 2828

CARNEGY, MR PATRICK

056 13 Apr.1524: notary, clerk of St Andrews. RMS iii 757
7 May 1529, Oct.1530: vic.Cortachy, wits. RMS iii 782,946,1057
1530/1-1532: determined and Licentiate, St Leonard's College, St Andrews. ("Dives") StA Recs 125,127: ActaFacArt ii 365,368n

CARNEGY, MR ROBERT

057 1553/4-55/6: matriculated, BA and Intrant at St Mary's College, St Andrews ("Potent"). StA Recs 259,153: ActaFacArt ii 406
27 Mar.1556: wits.chtr. as subdean of Brechin, and par.Cookston. Laing Chrs 169
2 Feb.1557: pres. par. Aberdour (preb. Aberdeen). RSS v 57
10 Jul.1559: held par. Kinnoull. RMS iv 1355
20 Jul.1559: to resign par. Aberdour - ineffective. RSS v 617
8 Aug.1559: to resign as subdean to William Carnegy: apparently a temporary exchange for the latter's Preceptory of the Maisondieu of Brechin. RSS v 639
Book of Assumption: preceptor of Maisondieu, Brechin, as set to Sir Robert Carnegy less a pension to sir Walter Graham. E 48.1.1 f355v
10 Dec.1566: wits. chtr. as subdean of Brechin. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1 bund. no.15, no.316
3/10 Jun.1568: as canon of Aberdeen, feued the kirklands of par. Aberdour. RMS v 683
26 Oct.1569: wits. transumpt as subdean of Brechin. Northesk muns., GD 130 box 1 bund.3
31 Jul.1576: wits.chtr. as subdean. REB ii 286
23 Aug.1577: as preceptor of Maisondieu (also par. Kinnoull), confirmed the feu of Easter Dalgety to Sir John Carnegy. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund.22
3 Aug.1580: as master of Maisondieu, with Alexander bishop of Brechin and Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird, was named overman to the executors of Alexander Norie, citizen of Brechin. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.11 f263v
2 Nov.1580: wits.inst. (Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird) Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1 bund.10
3 Aug.1582: grants chtr. as preceptor of Maisondieu of Brechin: lands of Bank of Maisondieu, Little Maisondieu, and Hill of Maisondieu to Mr David Carnegy of Colluthy. RMS v 597, Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.965; and Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1,bund.15
14 Apr.1585: discharge by the vicar of Brechin to him as master of Maisondieu, for teinds. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2,bund.6
25 Jul.1590: vic. Brechin set teinds to him for 19 yrs, being master of Maisondieu. Kinnaird,Southesk Charters box no.2 bund.6

20 Jul.1596: wits.chtr. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.971
19 Apr.1597: had deceased. REB ii 371, no.ccclxxxvii
12 Jan.1598: had deceased as par. Kinnoull. RSS, lxxvii 213

CARNEGY, WILLIAM

058 16 Jun.1549: Preceptor of the Maisondieu, Brechin, granting Easter Dalgety to Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird with consent of the patron, Erskine of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.959;
[See also: REB ii no.cclxii; and for the precept of sasine, with commissions for inquiry and legatine confirmation, 1552; Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund.22]
Nov.1550: described as a clerk of Brechin; [?] resigned as preceptor of the Maisondieu in favour of Patrick Graham. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2711,f283r
8 Aug.1559: ineffectively pres. subdean of Brechin on expected resignation of Mr Robert Carnegy. RSS v 639

CARPENTYNE, MR JOHN

059 20 Apr.1541: legitimation of Alexander, natural son of Mr John Carpentyne, vic. Lintrathen. RMS iii 2341

CHALMER, MR WILLIAM

060 28 Aug.1550: notary at Fetteresso. (earl Marischal) RMS v 510
11 Sept.1551: had remission with the master of Marischal and other Keiths. RSS iv 1347
20 Nov.1558: wits.chtr. as par. Newdosk. (earl Marischal) RMS iv 1337
Book of Assumption: held par. Newdosk: return given for years and crops 1558-1561. E 48.1.1 f346v
1 Jul.1563: action by David Lindsay of Glenesk to reduce a tack of par. Newdosk made to him by his predecessor Adam Kinghorn. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 144
6 Apr.1564: wits.inst. (earl Marischal) Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund.12
3 Apr.1565: wits.chtr at Dunnottar as par. Newdosk; Dunnottar kirk set to William, earl Marischal. Col.Ch.Mid. p.173
10 May 1565: as par. Newdosk, wits. sasine (commendator of Deer) Benholm and Hedderwick mss, GD 4.31
13 Jun.1566: wits. inst. as par. Newdosk. Benholm and Hedderwick mss, GD 4.61
1 Jun.1567: pres. par. Arbuthnott; Mr Alexander Arbuthnott pres. (in his place) 25 Jul.1569. RSS v 3554; vi 685
4 Sept.1574: notary at Dunnottar. RMS iv 2306
26 Jun.1575: as chamberlain of Lindores, gifted chaplaincies of St Margaret and St Helen in Dundee parish kirk. RSS vii 223
2 Feb.1576/7: as par. Newdosk, wits. testament testamentary of James Keith of Drumtochty. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.5 f18
28 Jan.1577: had deceased as unlegitimated par. Newdosk; and, [31 Nov.1592] as chaplain of Saints Margaret and Helen. RSS vii 875; RSS lxiv f175v

CHAPMAN, ARCHIBALD

061 23 Oct.1547: appointed to a chaplaincy at Farnell by the bishop of Brechin after examination "in literature and suchlike". B 51.15.28; cited J.Durkan,"Chaplains in late medieval Scotland" RSCHS xx (1980) pp.91-2

CHRISTISON, sir DAVID

062 29 Jul.1526: pres. vic.pens. Lunan. Arb.Lib. ii 623
20 Apr.,16 Oct.1533: supplicated at Rome for perpet.vic. Dunnichen, and was supported by sir George Gilbert..
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vols.2113,f258r+v;2119, f229v
16 Oct.1533: resigned interest in perpet.vic. Dunnichen to sir George Gilbert. RFVA,Resignations no. 133, Res A 48,229
18 Jun.1535: granted an 80-merk pension from preb. vic. Brechin by Mr John Cockburn to reward his services to the bishop and see of Brechin; also to please the king, being one of James V's familiars. James V Letters p.291
Servant of cardinal David Beaton. Sanderson, Cardinal ,pp.27,142

CLATTO, sir ANDREW

063 7 Dec.1534: had deceased as perpet.vic. Ethie. Arb.Lib. ii 800

CLEPEN, MR GEORGE

064 28 May 1549: had perpet.vic. Kirriemuir resigned to him by Mr George Flesher who, however, reserved to himself all fruits, property and right of regress thus remaining in occupation until c.1567. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2675,f146v
24 Sept.1565: as perpet. vic. Kirriemuir, to pay thirds from 1562: his cautioner, John Clepen of Burntisland. RD 1.7 f.452r
1569: held perpet.vic. Kirriemuir. TB 236
9 Jun.1571: described as perpet.vic. Kirriemuir and chaplain of St Magnus the Martyr within St Andrews parish church. RSS vi 1174
31 Jul.1572: enforced obligation of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity dated 2 Jan.1569/70. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.10 f216v
22 Sept.1573: had been horned by the procurators of the kirk for nonpayment of the third for "divers years by-past"; escheat of debts owed to him by Ogilvy of Inverquharity as tacksman of the vic. gifted to Mr James Ogilvy, son of Sir John. RSS vi 2136
28 Apr.1574: sought ruling of the Lords as to the priority of his debtors: Abraham Piggot (reader at Kirriemuir), Abraham Crichton (tacksman), the Comptroller-General. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.1v
1585: had resigned as perpet.vic. Kirriemuir. PS 1 (RSS) 53.45

COCKBURN, JAMES

065 22 Apr.1558: pres. perpet.vic. Dunnichen in expect. RSS v 386
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Dunnichen. E 48.1.1 f359v
1563-5: held perpet.vic. Dunnichen. TB p236
(No ministers or readers have access to this vic. before 1590.)

COCKBURN, MR JOHN

066 Possibly related to William Cockburn of Newhall, a servitor of Erskine of Brechin c.1530. RSS ii 644
11 May 1528: pres. perpet.vic. Gamrie. Arb.Lib. ii 695
20 Apr.1533: as nominee of the bishop of Brechin, supplicated at Rome for vic. Brechin (preb. Brechin) against William Meldrum junior. By 18 Jun.1535 had won royal support by a pension to David Christison, a royal familiar; and by 1536 had probably resigned in favour of Mr John Hay, becoming tacksman of the vic. instead of possessor.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2107,f225v; James V Letters p.291;
Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 181 f361v; f437r
22 Aug.1534: sent by the bishop of Brechin to arrest Mr George Gilbert for heresy. ADCP p.427

5 May 1539: recipient of Papal commission as a canon of Brechin.
RFVA, ASPA, vol.101
23 Sept.1540: wits. CA Chrs ii 190
26 May 1544, 19 Aug.1547: wits. as par. Kilmoir, (preb. Brechin).
REB ii nos.ccxxxiii, ccxxxiv
27 Jun.1550: summoned at instance of sir John Wallace as a co-defendent for the spulzie of the manse, glebe and kirklands of Finavon with James master of Ogilvy in 1543.
JRL, The Craw. mss box E; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.89
12 Nov.1552: occ. as wits. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2215
10 Jan.1552/3: occ. as par. Kilmoir. REB i no.114
15 Apr.1556: a commissary of Brechin.
JRL, The Craw. mss box E; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p29
27 May 1556: accused with John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, of isssuing the false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon.
JRL, The Craw. mss box E; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p29
4 Feb.1556/7: summoned to give witness on charges that he as commissary of Brechin gave absolution to Mr William Laing for issuing a false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon.
JRL, The Craw. mss box P bund.iv
22 Apr.1558: to resign perpet.vic. Dunnichen. RSS v 386
14 Dec.1559: possibly the commissary of Brechin ordered by the Lords of the Congregation (as the privy council on behalf of "Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots") to refrain from holding ecclesiastical courts in the city on pain of death.
Petrie, Compendious History p.115 citing papers of John Erskine of Dun now lost.
Book of Assumption: held preb. Kilmoir, tacked to John Lord Erskine and Crawmond of Aldbar. E 48.1.1 f344v
(Note: not the preb. pensionary as in Haws, Parish Clergy p.31.)
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Gamrie. E 48.1.1 f387v
1570: held perpet.vic. Gamrie. TB p.226
4 Oct.1576: had deceased as perpet.vic. Gamrie. RSS vii 724
15 May 1577: had deceased as par. Kilmoir. RSS vii 1029
(Note: this Mr John Cockburn, the parson of Kilmoir, has been distinguished from his contemporary Mr John Cockburn citizen and bailie of Brechin: see appendix B no.027.)

COLDEN, MR JOHN

067 31 May 1532: had been nominated to par. Navar (preb. chancellor Brechin), against claims at Rome of John Thornton and others.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2080,f271v
22 Sept.1532: occ. as chancellor of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.49
22 Aug.1533: litigation continued. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f197v
1 Nov.1533: supplicated for new provision to par. Navar; described as chancellor to the king of Scots. John Thornton and Thomas Strachan continued their litigation - unsuccessfully.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2124,f274r; vol.2142,f122r
28 Feb.1537/8: as chancellor of Brechin, pres. par. Aldbar (= provost of Methven CC) in succession to Mr Alexander Turing (probably a benefice-exchange) and held in 1541. RSS ii 2457,4128
27 Sept.1547: had deceased as provost of Methven (par. Aldbar).
Watt, FESMA p.368

COLLACE, MR DAVID

068 1552-56: matriculated (Angus nation), determined and Intrant at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 257,151; ActaFacArt ii 404,406

1557/8: Regent, St Leonard's; examiner, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 412

1561: allowed third of perpet.vic. Fordoun, though he may have held the fruits rather than the benefice, whose rental was handed in by James Learmonth. [See sir David Learmonth] TB p90; E 48.1.1 f362r

1562/3: examiner and auditor, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 421-2

1562: had deceased as perpet.vic. Fordoun. TB p147

CONNELSON, sir RICHARD

069 1531/2: chaplain at Finavon parish church, paid by dues from the burgh of Forfar. ER xvi p.157

COOK, MR GEORGE

070 13 Mar.1533/4: procurator for Erskine of Brechin. ADCP p420

8 Nov.1539: preb. Creiff, Dunkeld. RMS iii 2170

1539-42: scribe to the privy seal. RSS ii p772-3

4 Mar.1542/3: appointed scribe for life, but his signature dropped from register 1545. RSS iii 128; RSS iii p.xxx

1540: signed as vic. Murroes. RSS ii p772-3

13 Oct.1544: pres. vic. Tealing by crown. RSS iii 917

29 Sept.1545: pres. chaplaincy in Dunkeld cathedral. RSS iii 1339

28 Jan.1546/7: pres. chaplaincy Cowie in expect. RSS iii 2126

23 Dec.1547/8: pres. preb. Corstorphine CC. RSS iii 2573

20 Mar.1560/61: described as servitor of John, archbishop of St Andrews. RMS iv 2314

18 Apr.1574: canon of Dunkeld. RMS iv 2226

COOK, MR NINIAN

071 1509-1511/2: matriculated and determined ("dives" at the College, St Andrews. StA Recs 203,99; ActaFacArt ii 301

7 Jan.1522/3: notary, priest of St Andrews. StA Formulare i p.52

Book of Assumption: held vic. Murroes. [Mr "Wlm" Cook - sic - a mistranscription from the original.] E 48.1.1 f359v

Conformed as reader, Murroes: c 035.

COUPER, MR ANDREW

072 1519-1520: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate (pauper) at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs p.215,109,110: ActaFacArt ii 332,337

9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

7 Jul.1562: with the Council's authority to act as co-factor for the priests' and choristers' annual rents; to collect them, apply half to their own use and support, and pay the rest to the treasurer of the common good of the burgh. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.123

28 Aug.1565: given contract by the Council to be their master gunner, and for mending windows in exchange for liferent on his house. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.75

CRAIGIE, sir DAVID

073 8 Aug.1528: as chaplain of the altar of St Andrew in Montrose parish church had a gift from the magistrates of a legacy.
MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13
22 Jan.1531/2: wits.chtr. (sir John Gilbert, vicar of the hospital of Montrose) RMS iii 1146
11 Jan.1534/5: as chaplain of St Andrew, had sasine in a waste tenement in Montrose. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
16 Jul.1540: as chaplain at the parish altar at Montrose, agreed to registration in the books of the Lords of Council of an agreement whereby Fullerton of Kinnaber was to pay £20 as a final payment for by-run annuals. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
26 Sept.1548: had deceased as chaplain of St Andrew.
MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13

CRAYLE, sir JAMES

074 11 Sept.1531: had deceased as perpet.vic. Ruthven.
Arb.Lib. ii 761

CRICHTON, GEORGE

075 15 Jun.1557: claimed previous provision to par. Menmuir (preb. Dunkeld) and supplicated for new pres.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2918,f209v
[Note that James Crichton had supplicated for the par. in April and September of 1550: RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2700,f140v; vol.2701, f22r. It seems likely that neither James nor George held the par. See Mr James Hamilton.]

CUMMINGSON, JOHN

076 19 Aug.1548: curate pro temp. Arbuthnott. Spald.Misc. iv 50

CUNNINGHAM, MR ARCHIBALD

077 1533/4-1534/5: determined and Licentiate, St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 130: ActaFacArt 373,376
11 Jan.1546: pres.vic.pens. Fern. RSS iii 1465

CUNNINGHAM, sir DAVID

078 Book of Assumption: received a pension from the perpet.vic. of Murroes - possibly having resigned a claim in his favour.
See Mr Ninian Cook: a 071 and c 035. E 48.1.1 f359v

CUNNINGHAM, MR WILLIAM

079 Brother of Alexander, fifth earl of Glencairn:
1539: provided to bishopric of Argyll (Lismore); but failed to obtain consecration.
R.K. Hannay, "Some Papal Bulls" SHR xxii p.37
10 Dec.1542: as bishop of Argyll, at Paris university; described as noble. McNeill, "Scottish entries", SHR xliii p75
14 Jul.1553: provided to the par. Farnell (preb. dean Brechin) in exchange for resigning rights in Argyll to Mr James Hamilton.
Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls" SHR xxii pp37-9
27 Feb.1554/5: wits. inst. David ninth earl of Crawford appointing Dame Katherine Campbell his sole executrix and tutrix to his heir. Other wits. inc. Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p76
25 Jun.1555: as dean of Brechin, sued to enforce a gift of nonentries. Acts & Decs., CS 7.12 f30r

27 Mar.1556: sub. with chapter of Brechin. Laing Chrs 648
[20 Nov.1557: Mr John Hepburn president of the chapter of Brechin pro. temp. feued lands to David, ninth earl of Crawford. RMS v 884]
4 Dec.1558: as dean and Vicar-General of Brechin during the vacancy of the see, collated Matthew Hepburn to a chaplaincy. REB ii no.ccxxxvii
10 Oct.1559: as vicar general of Brechin, gave absolution to Dame Katherine Campbell for unspecified offences. JRL, Craw.mss 3.1.6
19 Feb.1559/60: had deceased when Hugh his natural son resigned an annual rent to the earl of Glencairn. Laing Chrs 714
(M.Mahoney suggests that "Cunningham was closely associated with the leading reformers". Erskine of Dun was bailie of the bishopric while he was Vicar-General, and the earl of Argyll had a gift of the temporalities.
Mahoney, "The Scottish hierarchy", Innes Review x p.41)

CURRY, sir HUGH

080 6 Feb.1537/8: disputed parish clerkship of Jedburgh. ADCP p464
23 May 1547: one of executors for archbishop Dunbar. ADCP p566
16 Jun.1548: prior of Strathfillan; executor for Gavin archbishop of Glasgow. ADCP p575
26 Apr.1549: as prior of Strathfillan, pres. chaplaincy, and resigned 24 Nov.1550. RSS iv 223,977
Nov.1550: supplicated for provision to par. Eassie. RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol:2712, f187v
23 Dec.1551: pres. preb. Creiff in Chapel Royal. RSS iv 223
22 Oct.1555: John Stilison par. Eassie resigned in his favour. RFVA, Resignations, no.256,ResA 171,18: and Consensi 32,381r
24 Feb.1556: in possession par. Eassie. Haws, Parish Clergy p77
Book of Assumption: held par. Eassie. E 48.1.1 f368r
24 Aug.1564: as par. Eassie owed teinds by Helen Frarar. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.5 f279v
28 May 1569: escheated for non-payment of Third for year and crop 1568. RSS vi 636
7 Sept.1569: George Drummond of Blair found lawburrows that Curry should be skaithless by him. RPC ii 26
8 Aug.1572: wits.chtr. as par. Eassie, preb. Creiff. RMS iv 2089
16 Oct.1572: his goods gifted following escheat for non-payment of thirds for year and crop 1571. RSS vi 1771
(Revenues of par. Eassie were not available to the reformed church before 1590; the minister sued the par. of Eassie for stipend on 8 May 1588 and 29 Mar.1589. Airlie mss, GD 16.41.72)

DAVIDSON, MR JOHN

081 Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Nigg and other benefices, as reforming principal of Glasgow University.
[Note that this Nigg was stated to be in Aberdeenshire - not in Ross, as assumed by Dr. J. Kirk.] E 48.1.1 f.375r; PS 1.69 f.129
J.Kirk, "The Kirk and the Highlands" NS vi (1986) p.10
Conformed as minister: Hamilton,1563-74.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.265

DEMPSTER, ALEXANDER

082 15 May 1531: wits. transumpt as vicar of Tannadice.
Kinnaird,Southesk Misc. box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5

DEUCHAR, sir THOMAS

083 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4
3 Apr.1559: occ. as chaplain at Dundee.
DAC, prot.bk. no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f44v
7 Jul.1562: with the Council's authority to act as co-factor for the priests' and choristers' annual rents; to collect them, apply half to their own use and support, and pay the rest to the treasurer of the common good. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.123
4 Dec.1563: as former chaplain of the choristers, granted the benefice of Little St John as a pension of £3 a year.
Maxwell, Old Dundee p.124
18 Jun.1567: as the Town's Collector, to be paid £40 a year, because he had resigned his own benefices to the town, including the chaplaincy of Little St John. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.126

DICK MR ALEXANDER

084 19 Dec.1521: wits.chtr. as par. Durris. RMS iii 212
25 Nov.1538: had gift of nonentries of Castleton of Durris and others as archdean of Glasgow. RSS ii 2776
12 Jul.1543: as archdean of Glasgow, took part in foundation of Cullen CC, Aberdeenshire. RSS iii 356
26 Apr.1544: archdean Glasgow, associated with the relict of Mr John Duff of Maldaviot in gift of ward of the heir. RSS iii 726
Oct.1550: had resigned par.Durris to John Duff, clerk of Aberdeen - probably remaining co-adjutor.
RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol.2711, f81v
Oct.1560: died. Mr Alexander Dick, parson of Durris and archdean of Glasgow had his testament testamentary registered 9 Jun.1576. The legacy-clause was drawn up by himself, 24 Aug.1560 in traditional Catholic form. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.4 f182r
"I leve my saule to god almychty ye fa[th]ler sone [and] halie gaist the blessit virgin marie and all ye halie angelis [and] sanctis in heuin, my bodie to be..."

DOLOQUHY, sir PATRICK

085 18 May 1538: wits. sasine in Inverbervie as vic.pens. Benholm.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.v,278

DRUMMOND, WILLIAM

086 26 Feb.1534: supplicated against sir George Gilbert for perpet.vic. Dunnichen and chaplaincy of Boath.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2128, f252v
[?1535]: granted perpet.vic. Dunnichen and chaplaincy of Boath on Gilbert's death. RFVA,Reg.Lat.1598,, f41r-43r
1541: had deceased as perpet.vic. Dunnichen.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2427, f293r

DRURY, GEORGE

087 14 Mar.1524/5: claimed par. Inchbrayock at Rome against Thomas Nudry and continued the case until Nudry's death c.1531.
ADCP p215; James V Letters p233
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1857,f266r; vol.1883,f153r;vol.1884,f148v; vol.1891,f153r: and Arm.xxxix,51,fos.601v-604v
1531f: after Nudry's death, disputed the par. vs Mr James Lamb.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2013,f172v; 2040,f13v,14r; vol.2094,f197v

1526f: claimed archdeanery of St Andrews; had possession, 1 Sept. 1534, against claims of John Cantley. Watt, FESMA p.308
5 Jun.1537: lost Inchbrayock at appropriate to St Mary's College. RFVA,Resignations no.168, Res A 62,21v
11 Dec.1539: as archdeacon of St Andrews (= par. Rescobie and par. Kinneff) and commendator of Dunfermline, had resigned to Robert Pitcairn; but retained possession to 10 Oct.1559.
L+P Henry VIII 14,ii p673; StA Formulare ii 94-7; Watt, op.cit.

DUFF, sir JAMES

088 5 Mar.1539/40: legitimation of sir James Duff, chaplain, being son of sir Andrew Duff, chaplain. RSS ii 3437
28 Aug.1552: legitimation of Andrew, John and William Duff, natural sons of sir James Duff, vic. of Durris. RSS iv 1675
(Book of Assumption entry of vic. Durris names no occupant: the benefice was vacant 2 Aug.1565.) E 48.1.1 f364v, RSS v 2233

DUFF, MR JOHN

089 Oct.1550: as clerk of Aberdeen, supplicated for par. Durris, vacant by resignation of Mr Alexander Dick - who probably remained co-adjutor. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2711, f81v
22 Nov.1550: granted lands of Maldaviot by his brother George Duff, who had succeeded their father John in 1544.
RMS iv 595: RSS iii 726
22 Jul.1554: wits.chtr. (Gordon of Findlater) RMS iv 1014
Book of Assumption: held par. Durris. E 48.1.1 f362v
Oct.1562: struck a woman in Aberdeen and later escheated for not underlying the law. RSS v 1482
2 Aug.1565: new presentation to par. Durris on his resignation or dismissal. RSS v 2233
29 May 1565: sir George Duff, provost of Cullen CC, sets him a vicar's croft in Banffshire. RMS iv 1626
10 Jul.1575: resigned lands of Maldaviot to his son John. RMS iv 2444

DUNBAR, PATRICK

090 2 May 1534: said to be deceased at Rome as par.Banchory-Devenick. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2133,f39V
30 Jul.1534: par.Banchory-Devenick, brother of Mr Alexander Dunbar, dean of Moray; both resigning their canonries. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2149, f256v,257r

DUNCAN, sir ANDREW

091 28 Jul.1552: par. Ballumbie (preb. Fowlis collegiate church) wits.chtr. (Patrick Lord Gray) RMS iv 705
11 Jul.1554: resigned as preb. Ballumbie.NP1.16.3r/RH 2.1.22 p163

DUNCANSON, JOHN

092 17 Oct.1531: supplicated at Rome for par. Menmuir (preb. Dunkeld) as a priest of Glasgow. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2059,f31v
3 Sept.1544: supplicated for papal provision to par. Eassie by regress from unnamed previous holder - thus challenging possession by Mr Andrew Beaton; and also resigned his interests to John Gray, par. of Tarbat. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2521, f67r and Resignations, no.209, ResA 95,115 and Dundee, RFVA, SRR manualia 208.505

DUNCANSON, sir JOHN

093 12 Aug.1535: pres. to be a chaplain of the College of Brechin. RSS ii 1765

20 Aug.1540: as chaplain and wits., at Edzell. JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.1.1

DURWARD, MR ROBERT

094 22 Nov.1558: expected to resign as chaplain of Caldhame at St Ninian's altar at Brechin, to Matthew Hepburn. [q.v.] RSS v 508

DUTHIE, sir JOHN

095 23 Jun.1545:curate of Cortachy, wits.chtrs.there. RMS iii 3141,2

EDWARD, sir DAVID

096 13 Dec.1524: wits.chtr. (Fenton of Ogil) RMS iii 285

22 Oct.1529: pres.vic.pens. Glenisla. RSS ii 379

2 Dec.1530: said to have intruded into the perpet.vic. of Strathmartin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2031, f.154v

20 Feb.1530/31: wits.chtr. (Master of Crawford) RMS v 515

14 Oct.1531: pres. perpet.vic. Strathmartin. RSS ii 1035

1545: legitimation of his son Martin. RSS iii 1076

1549: had deceased as perpet.vic. Strathmartin. RSS iv 80

ELDER, MR ANDREW

097 Born c.1539. Notarial admissions, NP 2.1. f113r

Son of Alexander Elder at the Stone of Benholm: wits. his will and joint-residual legatee on 31 Aug.1565. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.4 f332v

10 Jan.1557/8: notary, wits. at Glenbervie. RMS iv 1254

20 Oct.1558: notary for precept of sasine by Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie to infeft William his heir in Glenbervie. Laing Chrs. 690

13 Feb.1561/2: Book of Assumption; was vic. pens. of Glenbervie with manse and glebe held from Mr Robert Erskine, par. Glenbervie, dean of Aberdeen. E 48.1.1 f363v

21 Mar.1562: notary, wits. at Montrose. (John Erskine of Dun and Graham of Morphie) RMS iv 1414

28 Feb.1564/5: had notary protocol-book registered in name of Andrew Elder from the Stone of Benholm, aged twenty-six or thereby, resident with John Erskine of Dun. NP 2.1 f113r

26 Apr.,28 Apr.,7 Jun.1565: notary for insts. for John Erskine of Dun. Benholm and Hedderwick mss, GD 4.246,247,249,250

Conformed as reader, Menmuir: c 049.

[Note: the above biography rejects the identification of this Mr Andrew Elder with the references in Forbes-Leith, Scholars p.112, which date from 1503. Also rejected is Haws, Parish Clergy p.269; identification of the reader with the Aberdeen student of theology in 1549. The 26-year-old notary of 1564/5 might have been an Aberdeen student in 1549, but he was not old enough to be enrolled for theology. The theology graduate may have been the notary for the Lundie/Carnegy marriage contract, 8 Sept.1549:- Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7.]

ELDER, JOHN

098 7 Mar.1555/6: as curate of Liff, Logie, [Logie-Dundee] and Invergowrie nominated his executors. NP1.16 f6v/RH 2.1.22 p168

ELDER, MR JOHN

099 1533-36: matriculated, determined and Licentiate, St Leonard's College at St Andrews. ("Pauper": nation of Angus)
StAUL: graduates' index: StA Recs 131,135: ActaFacArt ii 375,379
1547: at Paris University.McNeill "Scottish entries" SHR xliii 74
6 Feb.1559/60: wits.chtr. as par. of Dunnottar. (earl Marischal)
Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.30
Book of Assumption: co-par. of Dunnottar as dean of Trinity CC;
Book of Assumption: held vic. Fetterangus. E 48.1.1.fs.362v,391r
3 Apr.1565: as co-par. Dunnottar, set the kirk for 19 years to the earl Marischal "for divers gratitudes done, payment making in these troublous times...." At Dunnottar. Col.Ch.Mid. p173
10 Jun.1565: pres. by earl Marischal to Longley and Fetterangus united vic. RSS v 2148
5 Nov.1567: as co-par. Dunnottar, feued the kirklands to the earl Marischal, at Dunnottar. Col.Ch.Mid. p131
24 May 1566: as joint curator of Isobel Lundie, Lady Benholm, agreed to her marriage to Robert Keith, commendator of Deer.
Register of Deeds, RD 1.8. 361v
2 Jul.1566: as joint curator of Isobel Lundie, Lady Benholm, agreed to her resignation of the lands of Benholm for joint infeftment with her husband the commendator of Deer. RMS v 2919
3 Nov.1578: had deceased as par. Dunnottar. RSS vii 1698
9 May 1579: had resigned as par. Dunnottar. A&D., CS 7.55. f192r

ELDER, MR WILLIAM

100 1525-1529: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 221,120,122; ActaFacArt ii 357,361
Book of Assumption: had 20 merks from the par. of Benholm as vic. pens. E 48.1.1 f362r
Conformed as reader, Benholm: c 050.

ERSKINE, MR JAMES

101 1529-1531/2: matriculated and Licentiate ("dives") at St Leonard's, St Andrews. StA Recs 226,127: ActaFacArt ii 368
8 Mar.1538/9: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 1942
13 Mar.1539/40: chaplain of the chaplaincy of the Three Kings of Cologne in Dundee, setting part of its lands to their occupants. RMS iii 2836
[It is possible but, in view of his disappearance after 1540, unlikely that this Mr James was pres. archdean of Aberdeen (15th Apr.1565) and minister of Dun 1567-1574. A more probable candidate for these two references is the Mr James who matriculated at St Leonard's in 1557 and was an Intrant 1560/62. See appendix c 052.]

ERSKINE, sir JAMES

102 9 Nov.1531: ineffective pres. to the Maisondieu of Brechin. RSS ii 1058
19 Jun.1540: described as chaplain of St Agatha and Erasmus in precept of sasine to his brother John, by James Scrymgeour constable of Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3869
9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

ERSKINE, JOHN

103 son of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin. James V Letters 362
8 Nov.1533: perpet. vic. Aberlemno: resigns in favour.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2124, f58v,59r
7 Mar.1538/9: in 13th year when James V requested for him from Pope Paul III a pension from Whithorn priory - later charged to a request to hold successive benefices as he grew older.
James V Letters 362,366
7 Aug.1540: as par. Arbuthnott tacked the parish to his father.
Spald.Misc. iv 35
19 Jun.1542: par. of Arbuthnott, revoked procuratory.
RFVA, Resignations no 199: Res A 87, 84v
20 Nov.1542: James V supported a claim to the par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin) on resignation from Patrick Stewart. Erskine was described as of noble blood, "happy personal qualities" and already holding pars. Turriff and Arbuthnott. The Pope was asked to grant dispensation in respect of age or other obstacles. No further evidence links Erskine to this preb. James V Letters 445
19 Aug.1548: resigned as par. Arbuthnott. Spald.Misc. iv 50

ERSKINE, MR ROBERT

104 Son of John Erskine, fourth laird of Dun; brother of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin; uncle of John Erskine sixth of Dun, superintendent of Angus and the Mearns.
EUL, Crockett, "John Erskine of Dun" (Edin.D.Litt.1924)p.3
His library: included a 1521 edition of Aristotle from Paris.
Durkan/Ross, Early Scottish libraries p.68
6 Jul.1525: supplicated at Rome for par. Glenbervie (preb. Brechin) having bought out Mr Henry White's claim with a pension.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1858,f140v; Resignations no.79,Consensi 1,7v
14 Jul.1526: as par. Glenbervie, curator to John Erskine of Dun.
StAUL: St Salvator's mss 'B' 10r; Spald.Misc. iv 23
8 Aug.1528: wits. inst. at Montrose. Montrose mss, M/W1/13
Jan.[1528/9]: pres. by crown to priory Inchmahome.
RFVA, Reg.Lat.vol.1524,f202v
1 Feb.1530/31: as par. of Glenbervie and commendator of Inchcolm matriculated at St Andrews in the college of St Salvator, nation of Angus. StA Recs 228
29 Aug.1536: occ. as par. Glenbervie and Commendator of Inchmahome. Airlie mss GD 16.47.6
25 Feb.1538/9: Douglas of Glenbervie registered objection to the presentation of Erskine by the king to Glenbervie.
Prot.bk. sir John Cristisone (SRS) p.64 no.280
5 Sept.1539: pres. Provost Trinity CC, Edinburgh as par. Glenbervie, on resignation of Thomas Erskine, but had resigned in turn by 28 Jul.1540. Action by succeeding provost to reduce his tacks, 25 May 1542. Spald.Misc. iv 31; RSS ii 3138,3594; also: ADCP p.519
1 Sept.1540: successful pres. deanery of Aberdeen by the crown.
James V Letters p.406; RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2392,f154v:vol.2391,f141 also: Reg.Lat.vol.1702,f266r
20 Jun.1545: wits.chtr. (John Erskine of Dun) (confirmed by Erskine of Brechin) Spald.Misc. iv p.46
1 Jan.1545/6: acting as Vicar-General of Aberdeen, sede vacante RSS iii 1452
9 Aug.1546: wits. inst. (bond of service master of Crawford to David, ninth earl of Crawford)

JRL, Craw.mss box E: WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 45; SRO,RD 2.410
13 Aug.1546: chosen judge-arbiter for John Allardice of that ilk in dispute against James Wishart of Pittarrow.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.2
8 Sept.1549: wits. with Erskine of Brechin to marriage contract, Lundie of Benholm with Helen, daughter of Carnegy of Kinnaird.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7
1 Jul.1550: The Lords prohibited Lord Gray as Sheriff of Forfar from proceding against him for spulzie, upholding his privilege of clergy as subject to the bishop and chapter of Aberdeen.
ADCP p.603
Feb.1552: Nominated to par. Arbuthnott as dean of Aberdeen, under contract with his predecessor sir William Rynd and John Erskine of Dun, tacksman of the par.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2755, f232r; Spald.Misc. iv p.52
12 Jul.1552: as dean of Aberdeen, was commissioned by John, archbishop of St Andrews, to confirm a feu-chtr. (preceptor of Brechin Maisondieu to Carnegy of Kinnaird with consent Erskine of Brechin) Cf, 12 Oct.1549: feu by chaplain of Caldhame to Carnegy of Kinnaird. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.959
14 Jul.1552: collated to par. Arbuthnott. Spald.Misc. iv 53
12 Nov.1552: as dean of Aberdeen and par. Glenbervie, wits.chtr. (bishop and chapter of Brechin confirming a feu)
Dalhousie mss, 45.16.2215
18,27 Jun.1556: wits. as preb. Glenbervie. REB ii no.cxxxiv
5 Mar.1556/7: summoned as dean of Aberdeen to give witness in the case against the laird of Arrat for forgeing the false discharge for the "spulzie of Finhaven". JRL, Craw.mss box P, bund.iv
20 Nov.1557: with chapter of Brechin under Mr John Hepburn ("president pro temp.") feued lands to David ninth earl of Crawford and Dame Katherine Campbell. RMS v 884
5 Jan.1558/9: led chapter of Aberdeen to give counsel to the bishop of Aberdeen for reformation of the diocese and his own life. Spald.Misc. iv p.57
13 Feb.1561/2: held pars. Glenbervie and Arbuthnott, the latter set to Wishart of Pittarrow. E 48.1.1 f363r-364r: RD 1.6 f106r
19 May 1563: had deceased as par. Arbuthnott. RSS v 1321

ERSKINE, THOMAS

105 3 Oct.1531: had resigned as par. Lethnot (preb Brechin); possibly having been nominated to the par. by resignation of David Lindsay. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2058,f262r

ETAL, sir JOHN

106 12,16 Jun.1526: occ. as notary and chaplain at Brechin.
REB ii nos.cxiv,cxv
1530-32-34: chaplain at Brechin supported from the fermes of Dundee. ER xvi pp.51,157,370

FAIRWEATHER, sir WALTER

107 13 Dec.1524: wits.chtr. (Fenton of Ogil) RMS iii 285
3 Mar.1527/8: occ. as priest of Dunkeld and curate of Menmuir.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol. 2 no.32
1530: notary. (Symmer of Balzeordie)
JRL, The Craw. mss.,box P bund.ii no.25
10 May 1539: as a chaplain, summoned as a witness to give evidence in the case of the Montrose friars against Alexander,

master of Crawford. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/7
3 Dec.1541: summons at instance of sir Walter Fairweather curate of Menmuir, against George Symmer of Balzeordie for violent and masterful spoilation from the manse of the vicar of Menmuir. JRL, The Craw. mss., box P bund.ii no.5
15 Jan.1547/8: notary, priest of Dunkeld. REB ii no.ccxxxv
13 May 1549: as a chaplain, appeared in the Court of Justiciary to repledge an accused to the court of the bishop of Brechin. Justiciary courts, JC 1.6 f7v
5/8 Dec.1553: wits. and notary at Edzell. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.27: JRL, The Craw. mss.,box C
[x][x] 155-: decreet in Forfar sheriff court at the instance of sir Walter Fairweather, for the recovery of the vicar's glebe and kirk-croft of Menmuir, as tacked by deceased Mr William Hunter, vic. Menmuir. JRL, The Craw. mss.,box P bund.iv no.60
3 Dec.1558: notary. (inst. by Fenton of Ogil) REB ii no.ccxxxvi
9 Dec.1560: wits. entry for the Book of Assumption by Mr James Hamilton, par. Menmuir. E 48.1.1 f342v
Conformed as reader, Fern: c 055. [Not in Haws, Parish Clergy]

FARRAR, sir DAVID

108 24 Jun.1579: occ. as deceased former holder of annuals gifted for singing of diriges in the kirk of Arbroath. RSS vii 1954

FERNE, GEORGE

109 1488-9: determined and Licentiate at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 231,232
19 Feb.1507/8: occ. as archdean Dunkeld (par. Tealing). Watt, FESMA p.121
12 Jan.1518: probably had possession of par. Stracathro as chanter of Brechin by exchange with William Meldrum. Watt, FESMA pp.47,121
1525: assessor at St Andrews as chanter of Brechin: but see, Mr James Scrymgeour. ActaFacArt ii 351
9 Jul.1527: occ. as chanter of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.47
Also canon of Aberdeen, Rector and auditor at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 315

FERRAR, sir JOHN

110 10 May 1549: wits.chtr. at Bonnyton. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2. bund. no. 2
6 Oct.1556: wits. sasine as chaplain. REB ii no.cclxiii
24 Mar.1556/7: wits.chtr. (bishop of Brechin) RMS v 860
30 Oct.1561: wits.chtr. at Bonnyton. RMS iv 1439,1572
Book of Assumption: held par./vic. Ecclesjohn and the chaplaincy of St Agnes in Brechin cathedral. The rental was given up as pertaining to sir John, by sir William Laing. E 48.1.1 f340v
1561-69: held preb. Ecclesjohn. TB p236
1577: described as an poor blind man. Fasti viii 500
[Possibly the blind man maintained by John Erskine of Dun for psalm-singing ? Melville, Diary p.22]

FETHE, THOMAS

111 [x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of the Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii

FINLAYSON, sir ANDREW

112 15 May 1531: notary at Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc.box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund 5
31 May 1542: wits.chtr. as vic. St Machar's, Aberdeen. (Erskine of Brechin) (Mr Robert Erskine dean of Aberdeen, preb. St Machar also wits. RMS iii 2678
4 May 1547: wits.chtr. at Brechin. (sir Thomas Finlayson) REB ii no.cxxix
1549: one of the chapter of weekly chaplains at Brechin, feuing lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
23 Apr.1552: wits. at Brechin. (Mr Robert Erskine dean of Aberdeen/ John Erskine of Dun/ par. of Arbuthnott) Spald.Misc. iv p.52
18,27 Jun.1556: occ. REB ii no.cxxxiv
[n.d. ?1557-8] said to have debated the truth of the false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon with sir William Laing. JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.2.3
1566-9: had failed to pay the third of the Allhallows altar. TB 236

Conformed as reader: Aberdeen,1574.

FINLAYSON, sir RICHARD

113 4 May 1547: wits. as chaplain at Brechin. REB ii no.cxxix
[x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
21 Apr.1552: as curate of Brechin, collated to the chaplaincy of Our Lady in the Maisondieu of Brechin; pres. by patron Richard Chapman, citizen of Brechin.
RH 2/1/20 prot bk James Harlaw no 1a,34a
18,27 Jun.1556: occ. at Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
24 Jun.1556: as curate of Brechin, discharged Sir Robert Carnegy for his teinds. (13/4d and 18/4d on two properties)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund.1
5 Mar.1556/7: as curate of Brechin, summoned to give evidence in the case regarding the false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon. JRL, The Craw. mss., box P bund.iv
30 Mar.1558: pres. chaplaincy of Boath, Brechin cathderal. RSS v 378

Conformed as reader, Brechin: c 059.

FINLAYSON, sir THOMAS

114 10 Jun.1526: wits.chtr. at Auchterhouse (John earl of Buchan). RMS iii 358
15 Sept.1527: wits.chtr. at Auchterhouse (John earl of Buchan). RMS iii 597
15 May 1531: wits. transumpt at Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
25 Jan.1531/2: wits. at Brechin at chaplain. REB ii no.cxx
15 Jun.1533: notary at Brechin. RMS iii 1289
26 May 1535: notary at Edzell. RMS iii 1477
22 Mar.1539/40: notary at Brechin. RMS iii 2130
20 Aug.1540: chaplain and wits., at Edzell.
JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.1.1
28 Apr.1541: notary at Brechin. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 2347
6 Jun.1541: wits. at Brechin as chaplain at All Saints altar. REB i no.114
11 Aug.1541: notary at Brechin. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 2432

1542: wits. chtr. (John Erskine of Dun)
Erskine of Dun mss., GD 123.27
22 Jul.1542: notary, chaplain at Brechin. (Erskine of Brechin).
RMS iv 194
20 Sept.1543: wits.chtr. as chaplain. (Erskine of Brechin)
Spald.Misc. iv p.44
4 Feb.1544/5: notary at Edzell. RMS iii 3066
20 Jun.1545: wits.chtr. at Brechin. as chaplain. (Erskine of Brechin) Spald.Misc. iv p.46
9 Aug.1546: wits. at Brechin bond of service by David, master of Crawford to David, ninth earl of Crawford.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.45: RD 2.410
4 May 1547: as one of the chaplains of the All Saints altar at Brechin, feued some of the altar's lands. REB ii no.cxxix

FLEMING, sir JAMES

115 27 Mar.1570: celebrated a marriage at Ruthven being described as minister and vic.pens. Probably vic.pens. Ruthven before the Reformation. Prot.Bk.Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f62r/RH 2.1.22 p.221
Conformed as reader, Ruthven: c 060.
[Note: "antecedents not known": Haws, Parish Clergy p.271]

FLESHER, MR GEORGE

116 1514/5-1524/5: ?determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery, St Andrews (1514/5-1516) or determined St Salvator's College, St Andrews (1524/5). StA Recs 103,105: ActaFacArt ii 312,318; and StA Recs 115: ActaFacArt ii 348
1518: pres. perpet.vic. Kirriemuir - papal bull; instituted, 6 Mar.1518/19.
Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss,GD 205 box 6 bund.12;box 6 bund.11
1525: assessor at St Andrews, as perpet.vic. Kirriemuir.
ActaFacArt ii 351
17 Jan.1535/6: perpet.vic. Kirriemuir. ADCP 448
28 May 1549: resigned perpet.vic. Kirriemuir to George Clepen, reserving all fruits and property and right of regress - hence remained in occupation. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2675,f146v
27 Jan.1560/61: as perpet.vic. Kirriemuir, with William his son, set lands of vic. in Newton to Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity.
Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss,GD 205 box 6 bund 12
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Kirriemuir. E 48.1.1 f358v
1566-7: held perpet.vic. Kirriemuir. TB 167,236
(George Clepen had succeeded by 1569. TB 236)

FORMAN, JAMES

117 23 Jan.1529: had resigned as par. Newdosk, reserving its fruits and rights of reversion. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1967,f181r

FORREST, MR ALEXANDER

118 1532-4: matriculated (nation "Laudoniae"), determined and Licentiate at St Salvator's, St Andrews ("dives").
StA Recs 231,129: ActaFacArt ii 373,376
1544: supported Patrick Lord Gray, Carnegy of Kinnaird and others against the governor at Glasgow Moor. RSS iv 2339
5 May 1549: occ. as provost of Fowlis CC. CS 7.3 f.428
4 Jul.1549: provost of Fowlis CC. RMS iv 361
12 Jun.1550: provost of Fowlis CC granted an escheat. RMS iv 771
7 Oct.1550: as provost of Fowlis CC collated sir David Sim to a

preb. RH 2.1.20 (prot.bk. James Harlaw) no.20b
8 Jan.1551/2: wits.chtr. (John, archbishop of St Andrews) RMS iv 1869
Feb.1551/2: said to be deceased as provost Fowlis; had actually resigned. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2758,f184v
Feb.1551/2 x 20 Dec 1552: provost, Kirk o' Field CC, Edinburgh. DAC, prot.bk. no 3 (Thomas Ireland) f21
1552f: Secretary to archbishop of St Andrews. CA Chrs ii 213
1 Oct.1552: par. of Logie-Montrose. CA Chrs ii 213
15 Jul.1553: occ. as provost of Kirk o' Field. Watt, FESMA p.358
15 Nov.1553: remission to him as par. Logie-Montrose for obstruction of the governor with Lord Gray, Carnegy of Kinnaird etc at Balgavie Law. RSS iv 2234
16 Jan.1553/4: remission to him as par. Logie-Montrose for opposing the governor at Glasgow Moor. RSS iv 2339
18 Feb.1553/4: wits. as provost, Kirk o Field. CA Chrs ii 213
6 Jun.1555: notary for Donald, abbot of Coupar appealing to archbishop of St Andrews against taxation imposed on Coupar's churches; done at Châtelherault's Edinburgh dwelling. CA Chrs ii 211
Mar.[1556]: supplicated for par.Logie-Montrose and succeeded against competition from Patrick Liddell. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2849,f35r and f248r
10 Dec.1556: wits.chtr. as par. Logie-Montrose. (archbishop of St Andrews) RMS iv 2778
5 Dec.1559: wits.chtr. as par. Logie-Montrose. (archbishop of St Andrews) RMS iv 2197
20 Mar.1560/61: wits.as provost, Kirk o' Field. RMS iv 2314
4 Dec.1561: secretary, par. Logie-Montrose, at Paisley. RMS iv 1718
23 Jan.1561/2: William Penicuik pres. to remain as provost Kirk o' Field by authority of the regent, by whose authority he occupied the preb. vs. Mr Alexander Forrest who had been pres. by John, archbishop of St Andrews against the privileges of the crown. RSS v 965: Watt, FESMA p.358
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. E 48.1.1 f99v
Book of Assumption: held par.and vic. Logie-Montrose, with teinds set to Henry Fullerton of Craigo, William Fullerton of Ardoch and John Erskine of Dun; and a papally-approved pension to Patrick Liddell. E 48.1.1 f342r
1563,1566: owing thirds as perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. TB 236
4 Nov.1564: wits.chtr. (John, abbot of Arbroath) RMS v 558
2 Apr.1565: secretary, par. Logie-Montrose, at St Andrews. RMS iv 2825
[x] Aug,1565: secretary, par.Logie-Montrose, at Paisley. RMS iv 1691

12 Jan.1567/8: wits.chtr. (John, abbot of Arbroath) RMS iv 2516
6 Feb.1573/4: had deceased as par. Logie-Montrose. RSS vi 2311
9 Jul.1574: had deceased as perpet.vic.Inverkeillor. RSS vi 2577

FORSYTH, ANDREW
119 26 Sept.1548: wits. inst. as curate of Logie-Montrose. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13

FORSYTH, JOHN

120 May 1532: as possessor or claimant of perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. canon pensionary of Brechin), had died at Rome.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2120,f73v; vol.2150,f189

FOSTER, MR WALTER

121 1493-1496: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery at St Andrews.
StA Recs 191,81,84: ActaFacArt ii 243,259; CA Chrs. ii 140n
Before 1508, pres. vic.pens. Meathie. CA Rent. i 273-4
26 Jun.1516: notary at Logie-Meigle. RMS iii 80
25 Aug.1534: notary at Kingoldrum. RMS iii 1417

FOTHERINGHAM, MR CHARLES

122 Son of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie. Arb.Lib. ii 221
1480 and 1481: matriculated and determined as student in arts at Cologne. These and several other refs.: CA Chrs ii 128n
9 June 1483: pres. perpet. vic. Arbirlot. Arb.Lib. ii 221
1484: matriculated and Licentiate at St Andrews. (nation:Angus)
StAUL: graduates' index, StA. Recs. 68, ActaFacArt ii 217
1489/90: examiner at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 234
1493-1528: assessor at St Andrews. StAUL: graduates' index
3 Nov.1496: dean of St Andrews, par. Edzell. ActaFacArt ii 259
14 Apr.1505: par.of Edzell. RMS iii 2850
16 Feb.1507/8: wits.chtr., par.Edzell. RMS iv 2946
1512: assessor, St Andrews, par. Edzell. ActaFacArt ii 303
23 Dec.1520: par.of Edzell. CA Chrs. ii 127
6 Jul.1526: par.of Edzell. RH 6.990
10 Jul.1526x13 Mar.1530/31: brother of Mr Alexander Fotheringham, chaplain of the altar of St Ninian in Bruges; acting for him in dispute against Scottish skippers trading in Flanders about their payments to the altar. ADCP pp245,246,250,252,307,352.
25 Jan.1528/9: wits. discharge at St Andrews as par. Edzell.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.318
26 May 1530: thought to be guilty of [unspecified] ecclesiastical offence: described as a "son of iniquity" and his benefice supplicated for. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2009,f55v
12 Jul.1532: with Arthur Boece petitioned the Pope to exchange their benefices; Fotheringham to obtain the treasurership of Brechin - Boece, the par. Edzell. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2055, f234r; Reg.Lat.vol.1577,f10v-14r; Annates vol.69 f91r; Watt, FESMA p.51
8 Apr.1533: John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, having refused to admit Fotheringham as treasurer, the Pope ordered Mr Gilbert Strachan with the bishops of Worcester and Moray to hold an inquiry. RFVA, Arm. xxxix 53 fs.346v-348v
6 Jul.1536: had resigned as treasurer of Brechin in favour of Mr Robert Moneypenny, reserving pension/regress. Watt, FESMA p.51; Reg.Sup.vol.2218,f223v; Reg.Lat.vol.1663,f61r; Ann.vol.73 f101v

FOTHERINGHAM, MR JAMES

123 Brother of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie. RSS viii 1287
19 Jun.1550: pres.par.Ballumbie (preb. Fowlis collegiate church).
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.2353
Apr.1552: as a clerk or scholar of St Andrews, supplicated for papal approval of pres. to Ballumbie by Patrick Lord Gray.
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2761,f224v-225r:237v-238r
Book of Assumption: held the "chapel of Ballumbie".E 48.1.1 f344r

Book of Assumption: held the par. of Ballumbie. E 48.1.1 f360v
Conformed as minister, Inverarity etc: c 065.

FOULIS, MR ADAM

124 13 Oct.1544: as son of Mr James Foulis of Colinton, pres. preb. St Mary on the Rock CC, on death of James Foulis, who had also held perpet.vic. Tealing. This latter benefice was simultaneously pres. to Mr George Cook; but later reverted [?] to Adam Foulis.
RSS iii 918,917
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Tealing. E 48.1.1 f.334r
20 Jan.1562/3: wits. deed by which Thomas and James Foulis, executors of the deceased Katherine Brown their mother, sold her plenishings to Mr Henry Foulis of Colinton, with the advice of their curators Thomas Sinclair and Mr John Foulis par. Edzell.
RD 1.6 f.23r
Conformed as minister: Whithorn, Newbattle, Heriot, from 1563.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.272 and index
1563: had the third of perpet.vic. Tealing allowed as part of his stipend; also in 1568-9. TB p.231; E 46.4 f.14v
[x] 1572/3: died as preb. St Mary on the Rock and perpet.vic. Tealing. His testament testamentary was registered at Edinburgh on 17 Feb.1574/5, having been made 1 Mar.1572/3.
Edin.tests. CC 8.8.3 f.216v: RSS vi 1974

"Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith, I .... In ye first, I leavis all my buikis, ... ane signet of gold w[i]t[h] my motheris armes on it ... to my brother Mr James Foulis.... Item I leave my soule to god to be ressavit in to ye eternall glorie of hevin through ye merits of ye passioun of Jesus Christ o[ur]le lord and my bodie to be interit in ye kirkyard of Ed[inburg]h besyde Jhone Knox sepulcre gif it may be possible...."

FOULIS, JAMES

125 13 Oct.1544: had deceased as perpet.vic. Tealing; had also held a preb. at St Mary on the Rock CC, St Andrews. RSS iii 917,918

FOULIS, MR JOHN

126 30 Jan.1545/5: wits. as par. Edzell. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.1 f54r
[n.d. ?before 1558] Katherine Brown, widow; letter to David, ninth earl of Crawford requesting payment of dues owed for her son's benefice. (prob. Mr John's mother) Craw. mss 1.2.1
Book of Assumption: held par. Edzell, which was set to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. E 48.1.1 f345r
20 Jan.1562/3: par. Edzell; co-curator to Thomas and James Foulis in executory of their deceased mother, Katherine Brown. The sale of her plenishings to Mr Henry Foulis of Colington was authorised. Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 23r
1566: held par/vic. Edzell (as Mr "James":entry deleted) TB p236
23 Apr.1571: had deceased as par. Edzell. RSS vi 1152

FOWLER MR ANDREW

127 1517-1521: matriculated (nat.Albaniae), determined and licentiate at the Pedagoguery, St Andrews.
StA Recs 213,109,111: ActaFacArt ii 332,337
1536: vic.pens.Arbroath vacant by his death. Arb.Lib. ii 830

FOWLER, ANDREW

128 23 Jan.1529: James Forman par. Newdosk resigned in favour of Andrew Forman, priest: St Andrews. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1967,f181r

FOWLER, sir DAVID

129 5 Nov.1536: occ. as curate of Montrose.
Erskine of Dun mss, GD 123.59
19 Dec.1542: as curate of Montrose, wits. mortification of annual rent to Montrose hospital. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
1 May 1558: as curate of Montrose, wits. grant of tenements to the magistrates. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
Conformed as reader, Aldbar: c 066.

FOWLER, sir ROBERT

130 22 Oct.1530: agreed to accept a decreet-arbitral.
Banff Charters,GD 83.1092 (prt.style bk sir Alexander Ramsay) p.2
22 Sept.1535: wits.chtr. RMS iii 1513
1 Apr.1550: pres. vic.pens. Alyth. RSS iv 635
16 Apr.1550 x 1559: occ. as vic.pens. Alyth: but seems to have temporally exchanged posts with sir Alexander Rae, vic. pens. Cortachy, around 1556. See appendix A.a no.227
6 Nov.1556: occ. as vic.pens. Cortachy in inst. at Alyth.
Airlie mss, GD 16.46.10,12: RMS iv 1122, Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2.8r

FRENCH, sir ADAM

131 25 Jun.1550: sub. as sacristan at Trinity CC, Edinburgh; hence as a co-par. of Strathmartin. RH 2.1.20 (prot.bk.James Harlaw)no.9a

FULLERTON, sir CHARLES

132 Book of Assumption: held vic.pens. Kinnell. E 48.1.1 f359r
16 Oct.1570: wits. test. testamentary of George Symmer of Balzeordie as vic. Kinnell. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.5 f60v
6 Jul.1573: had deceased as vic. Kinnell. RSS vi 2028

FULLERTON, sir GEORGE

133 19 Apr.1515: notary, testament of Erskine of Dun.
Spald.Misc. iv p12.
6 Jun.1517: wits. inst. as perpet. vic. Dun. REB ii no.cx
28 Jun.1553: exchanged perpet.vic. Dun with Mr Robert Auchmowty for preb. Ruffhyll (Dunkeld). RSS iv 2041

FULLERTON, sir WALTER

134 23 Mar.1548/9: pres. vic.pens. Kinneff. RSS iv 173

FUTHE, HENRY

135 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

GALBRAITH, ROBERT

136 8 Jul.1530: William Preston perpet.vic. Glamis resigned the vic. in his favour; both were clerks of St Andrews diocese.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2015,f.203v; also, Annates vol.68 f.39r

GARDEN, MR ALEXANDER

137 25 Sept.1532: had deceased as perpet.vic. Mains. Arb.Lib. ii 771

GARDEN, MR DAVID

138 1535-1537: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate ("dives") at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 236,133: ActaFacArt ii 378,381
19 Jun.1537: wits.chtr. as vic.pens. Lethnot. (David Garden of Newton)
RMS iii 1682
20 Nov.1549: wits.chtr. (Patrick Gardyne of that ilk) RMS iv 398

GARDEN, JOHN

139 27 May 1530: supplicated for par. Edzell and perpet. vic. Ecclesgreig - claiming the benefices vacant by [excommunication] of the holders. He failed to displace either incumbent.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2009, f55r
28 Oct.1530: supplicated for the provostry of Guthrie CC. Garden apparently obtained pres. by Andrew Guthrie of that ilk, patron, and hence possession. He continued to seek provision at Rome to at least Sept.1532.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol. 2025,f.166v; vol.2046,f.197r; and in 1532, vol.2087,f.203v; vol.2090,f.48r; vol.2123,f.109v
12 July 1532: held provostry of Guthrie. Watt, FESMA p.360
8 Nov.1533: perpet. vic. Aberlemno in expectation.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2124, f58v
21 Jan.1534/5: held provostry of Guthrie. Watt, FESMA p.360

GARDEN, MR WILLIAM

140 2 May 1542: as perpet. vic. Aberlemno and brother of Alexander Garden in Bractullo; gift of their escheats for mutilation granted and regranted 15 Mar 1553/4. RSS ii 4609: RSS iv 2580
6 May 1553: vic. Aberlemno, wits. sasine.
Dalhousie mss: GD 45.16.650
2 Dec.1558: vic.Aberlemno and brother Garden of Bractullo.
Register of Deeds, RD 1.3.109r,206r
26 Jun.1556: vic. Aberlemno, wits. chtr. RMS iv 1098
Book of Assumption: held vic. Aberlemno. E 48.1.1 f.343r
Conformed as reader, Kirkbuddo and Aberlemno: c 076.

GED, sir JAMES

141 7 Dec.1534: pres. perpet.vic. Ethie. Arb.Lib. ii 800
21 [x] 1536: pres. perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. Arb.Lib. ii no.835

GIBSON, MR WILLIAM

142 12 Apr.1526: wits. CA Chrs. ii 178n
26 Feb.1528/9 x 17 Jun.1538: Lord of Council. CA Chrs. ii 178n
4 May 1540: chosen by cardinal David Beaton as suffragan bishop; consecrated as bishop of Libaria. Held the deanery of Restilrig, par. Inverarity, perpet.vic. Garvock. James V Letters p397
7 Jul.1542: had deceased. James V Letters p440
See M.Sanderson, Cardinal pp.53,101,103,109,113,134.

GILBERT, sir GEORGE

143 30 Sept.1533: supplicated at Rome for perpet.vic. Dunnichen and chaplaincy of Boath, vacant through homicide by incumbent.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2120, f120r
16 Oct.1533: sir David Christison resigned to him any interest he had obtained in the perpet.vic. Dunnichen. sir William Gilbert, clerk to the town of Brechin as wits.
RFVA,Resignations no. 133, Res A 48,229

9 Jan.1534: supplicated to grant pension from fruits of perpet.vic. Dunnichen to his brother sir William Gilbert.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2127, f253v,254r
26 Feb.1534: challenged in perpet.vic. Dunnichen by William Drummond. RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol.2128, f252v
22 Aug.1534: released from imprisonment at Brechin. ADCP p426
2 Oct.1534: John Erskine of Dun surety that sir George Gilbert would be restored to the custody of the bishop of Brechin.
ADCP p428
12 Apr.1535: had been accused of heresy: and of marrying in Rendsburg, Germany. Was arrested and imprisoned by the bishop of Brechin on royal command: but had escaped, and with his brother sir William purchased royal letters of lawburrows against the bishop. The Lords of Council now suspend the letters for production. ADCP p437
1541: death of William Drummond as perpet.vic. Dunnichen recorded. Drummond had earlier [?c.1535] been granted the vic. and the chaplaincy of Boath on Gilbert's death.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2427, f293r; and Reg.Lat.1598, f41r-43r

GILBERT, sir JOHN

144 Son and heir of John Gilbert burgess of Montrose and Elizabeth Michelson. RMS iii 1146
19 May 1517: wits.chtr. as chaplain; with the vic. Barry.
RMS iii 175
5 Dec.1521: notary, priest of Brechin. MTH, Montrose mss.,M/W1/13
8 Oct.1525: wits.chtr. (parson of Conveth) RMS iii 338
14 Jul.1526: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Dun) Spald.Misc. iv 24
30 Apr.1527: wits.chtr. as vic. of Hospital of Montrose.
RMS iii 474
8 Aug.1528: wits.inst. (David Nudry, provost of Montrose)
MTH, Montrose mss.,M/W1/13
26 Jul.1529: notary, priest of Brechin. (John Erskine of Dun)
Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.244
5 Feb.1530/31: wits.inst. (Erskine of Dun) Spald.Misc. iv 28
22 Jan.1531/2: as vic. Montrose Hospital, with David Stirling of Easter Braikie (provost of Montrose) endowed a chorister-chaplain "skilled in the arts of music and grammar" at the altar of St Salvator in the parish church of Montrose, itself previously founded by them jointly. RMS iii 1146
(This mortification featured in a mss book, "A perfect inventare of all the pious donations given to kirks and hospitals since the days of King James the I to the regne of King James the 6.")
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.18 p68
10 Dec.1535: as vic.Hospital, wits.chtr. (Graham of Morphie)
RMS iii 1582
5 Nov.1536: vic.pens.Barry. Erskine of Dun mss, GD 123.59
26 Jun.1538: notary in Montrose. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/7
5 Oct.1540: notary, priest of Brechin. (Montrose friars)
MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/7
1541,1544: had sasine in tenements in Montrose.
MTH, Montrose mss, M 10.7 p29,37
2 Aug.1542: vic. Montrose resigned two annuals to him as vic. of the hospital. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/7
19 Dec.1542: a burgess resigned an annual to him as vic. hospital. MTH,Montrose mss, M/W1/13

16 Oct.1543: wits. sasine. (John Erskine of Dun)
Jackson of Kirkbuddo mss, NRA(S) 124, no.23
1 May 1544: as vic. Hospital mortified annual rents to the Hospital. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
21 Jul.1545: notary at Montrose. (Magistrates of Montrose)
MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/4
7 Sept.1546: wits.chtr. at Montrose. RMS iv 43
13 Mar.1548/9 x 10 Jan.1555/6: wits. chtrs. at Dun.
RMS iv 311, 1044 and see index.
30 Mar 1533,22 Apr.1555: notary at Montrose. RMS iv 773,918
Burghs, B 51.1.2 f5v
20 Dec.1555: a tenement of Montrose resigned to him as vic. hospital. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
19 Sept.1557: notary for contract of marriage John, heir of Robert Collace of Balnamoon with Elizabeth, daughter of John Erskine of Dun. Register of Deeds, RD 1.2. f276r
1 May 1558: renounced annual rents in favour of magistrates of Montrose. MTH, Montrose mss, M 10.7 p17: M/W1/13
1562: resigned annual rent in favour of the poor of Montrose.
Burghs, B 51.30: MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
3 Nov.1569, 25 Jul.1571: had deceased as vic. of Montrose Hospital. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13; RSS vi 1120

GILBERT, sir WILLIAM (elder)

145 22 Aug.1534: with sir William Gilbert younger and others, charged with releasing sir George Gilbert from prison; ordered to be punished by ecclesiastical authorities. ADCP p.426-7
6 Jun.1541: wits. inst. at Brechin as chaplain of St Ninian; with sir William younger. REB i no.114
[Note: further references to sir William Gilbert are assumed to refer to William, younger.]

GILBERT, sir WILLIAM (younger)

146 22 Aug.1534: with sir William Gilbert (elder) charged with releasing sir George Gilbert from prison; ordered to be punished by the ecclesiastical authorities. ADCP p.426-7
6 Jun.1541: notary, wits. with sir William (sen.). REB i no.114
[Note: further references to sir William Gilbert are taken to refer to sir William, younger,in the absence of further evidence]
17 Apr.1556: at the horn for non-production of sir Richard Capper's asserted discharge of the spulzie of Finavon.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.29
26 Jun.1556: wits. chtr. at Brechin. RMS iv 1098
5 [Apr.] [1557]: convicted for his part in the issue of the false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon; to be imprisoned until a commission "minister justice upon him".
JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.2.8,10: WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.91; see also RSS v 250
9 Mar.1557/8: had deceased as chaplain of St Ninian's altar, Brechin, his goods having been escheated for issue of a false instrument. (Had he been executed as well ?) RSS v 350

GORDON, MR JAMES

147 15 Sept.1552: held par.Banchory-Devinick. Haws, Parish Clergy p20
Book of Assumption: par. Banchory-Devenick. E 48.1.1 f384v
2 Mar. 1565/6: deceased as par. Banchory-Devenick. RSS v 2669

GORDON, MR WILLIAM

148 1533: par. Arbuthnott, wits.chtr. RMS iii 1295
1539: par. Arbuthnott, wits.chtr. RMS iii 2248
24 Jul.1540: had gift of an escheat as par. Eassie; but cannot have held this benefice long against considerable competition at Rome. See Mr Andrew Beaton. RSS ii 3593
Extensive further career, but not in Angus or the Mearns.

GRAHAM, sir PATRICK

149 25 Sept.1532: pres. perpet.vic. Mains. Arb.Lib. ii 771
2 Jun.1549: pres. par. Cookston in expect., as perpet.vic. Mains. RSS iv 283
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Mains. E 48.1.1 f357r
[1563: Mr Robert Graham was vic. Mains.]
31 May 1565: had deceased as chaplain of the chapel of St Paul the Apostle in Dundee parish kirk, in the patronage of Graham of Fintry. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f49r

GRAHAM, sir WALTER

150 Book of Assumption: held par. and vic. Cookston, having set them to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. E 48.1.1 346v

GRAY, sir ANDREW

151 21 Aug.1555: chaplain preb. Fowlis CC, received discharge to self, mother and brothers for sister's tocher.
Prot.Bk. Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 5r/ RH 2.1.22 p166
13 Aug.1558: as chaplain preb. Fowlis CC (Easter and Wester Keith) had resigned to provost Nicholas Spittal.
NP 1.16 f16r/ RH 2.1.22 p179
Book of Assumption: held a chaplaincy in the kirk of Dundee.
E 48.1.1 f344v,358r
8 Mar.1562/3: he or another pres. preb. [vic.] Fowlis.
Fowlis-Easter chtrs, GD 212 Maitland Thomson no6: p.151,no. 100
7 Mar.1574/5: had deceased as vic. Fowlis. RSS vii 72

GRAY, sir DUNCAN

152 10 Apr.1543: wits.chtr. at Fowlis. (Patrick Lord Gray)
RMS iii 2932
See his protocol book 1554-1572. NP1.16 = RH 2.1.22
First entries from 11 Jul.1554 mainly at Fowlis for Patrick Lord Gray: then 8 Jan.1558/9 for John earl of Buchan.
NP1.16 f18/ RH 2.1.22 p182
Book of Assumption: vic.pens. Auchterhouse. E 48.1.1. f314v
Conformed as reader, Auchterhouse: c 085.

GRAY, JOHN

153 3 Sept.1544: had resigned to him John Duncanson's interests in par. Eassie. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2521, f67r
and Resignations, no.209, ResA 95,115
15 Jan.1544/5: supplicated for fresh papal provision to par. Eassie to counter opponents - viz. Mr Andrew Beaton, who in fact retained the par. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2530, f18r
Aug.1550: resigned his interests to John Stilison.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2721, f274r

GRAY, ROBERT

154 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

GREIFF, sir MATTHEW

155 1533: notary, priest of St Andrews.
JRL, The Craw. mss.,box P bund.ii no.24
6 May 1553: notary. (Thomas Maule of Panmure)
Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.650
Book of Assumption: held vic.pens. Monikie. E 48.1.1 f358r
Conformed as reader, Monikie: c 088.

GUTHRIE, DONALD

156 22 Apr.1526: had deceased as vic.pens. Inchbrayock.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1890,.205r

GUTHRIE, sir JAMES

157 1530: perpet.vic. of Kirkbuddo. RSS ii 586
1531: held par. Kirkbuddo, when purchased lands in Kirriemuir - together with his son John. RSS ii 1106; RMS iii 1104
1554: action before the Lords anent 500 crowns, the ransom of sir James Guthrie, par. Kirkbuddo, paid to the English at Broughty. ADCP p.639
Book of Assumption: held par. Kirkbuddo (preb. Guthrie CC). E 48.1.1 f355v
13 Jan.1573/4: Book of Assumption: ? held the preb. Little Lour (Guthrie CC) E 48.1.1 f.355r

GUTHRIE, MR JOHN

158 26 Mar.1530: wits as "artium professoribus" and notary. (Ogilvy of that ilk/ Mr Gilbert Strachan) RMS iii 926
20 Sept.1531: as notary. wits. chtr. (Mr Gilbert Strachan) RMS iii 1075
18 Jul.1534: wits. as notary. (Mr James Strachan) RMS iii 1401
30 Jun.1545: notary at Melgund. RMS iii 3138
29 Apr.1550: summoned with David, master of Crawford, George Arrat of that ilk and others at the instance of sir Richard Capper to produce lawburrows. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.91
1 May 1550: described as servant to David, master of Crawford. JRL, The Craw.mss box B; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.77
15 Jun.1552: pres. vic. Lethendy. RSS iv 1631
16 Jun.1558: appeared at Forfar sheriff court for George Arrat of that ilk, accused of spoilation. RMS iv 1305
1559: paid dues of the royal burgh of Forfar. ER xix 87
Book of Assumption: held vic. Stracathro. E 48.1.1 f345r
1562-3,1565: had failed to pay the third for vic. Stracathro. TB p.167,237

GUTHRIE, sir PATRICK

159 13 Jan.1573/4, Book of Assumption: held the preb. Hilton and Langlands of Guthrie CC, as set to Gabriel Guthrie, son of Alexander Guthrie of that ilk. E 48.1.1 f.355r

GUTHRIE, MR ROBERT

160 26 Sept.1548: instituted to the chaplaincy of St Andrew in Montrose parish church. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
[Note, this ms. is endorsed "David Guthrie" in error: which

misreading appears to be the source of an identification of this chaplain with David Guthrie, reader at Lunan, 1574.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.172]

GUTHRIE, WILLIAM

161 22 Apr.1526: supplicated at Rome for vic.pens. Inchbrayock on death of Donald Guthrie: but defeated by Mr Hugh Lindsay.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1890,.205r; vol.1897,f237r

HALIBURTON, MR DAVID

162 1520: matriculated at the College, St Andrews. StA Recs 217
7 Mar.1525/6: to have £40 from the abbot of Arbroath due to the earl of Moray until a suitable benefice can be provided to him.
ADCP p240
2 Sept.1529: pres. perpet.vic. Kingoldrum, possibly in a benefice exchange with sir Alexander Stewart. Arb.Lib. ii no.736
2 Sept.1529: had resigned perpet.vic. Inverkeilor.
Arb.Lib. ii no.736
27 Nov.1539: subchanter of Ross as preb. Urray.
Haws, Parish Clergy p243
19 Apr.1549: provost of Methven collegiate church as par. of Aldbar. Haws, Parish Clergy p179
2 Sept.1550: confirmation of prior charter of his as provost to endow a hospital. RSS iv 869
1560: tacks par. Aldbar to David Beaton of Melgund and James Crawmond of Aldbar. Acts and Decs.,CS 7.55 f113r
Book of Assumption: held provostry of Methven. E 48.1.1. f286r
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Kingoldrum. E 48.1.1. f345r
20 Oct.1570: grants chtr. as provost of Methven and subchanter of Ross. RMS iv 2170
10 Jul.1573: provostry of Methven vacant by his excommunication for not taking the oath as required by Act of Parliament:
30 Jul.1580: similarly for perpet. vic. Kingoldrum.
RSS vi 2123,vii 2450

HAMILTON, MR JAMES

163 Natural son of James, earl of Arran.
Kinnaird, The Southesk Charters box no.2 bund.no.24
3 Jan.1551/2: to resign par. Menmuir (preb. Dunkeld) in favour of John Hamilton. However, either this Mr James or another was pres. or re-pres.; was this an attempt to grant John Hamilton a reversion interest? (30 Nov.1553) RSS iv 1466,2263
10 Sept.1559: had a gift of the escheat of George Symmer younger of Balzeordie, who was at the horn for failing to pay Hamilton the fruits of par. Menmuir under a tack previously agreed between them. RSS v 674
9 Dec.1560: Book of Assumption; held par. Menmuir, as tacked to Robert Collace of Balnamoon and George Symmer younger of Balzeordie. E 48.1.1 f342v
6 Feb.1561/2: in a case before the Lords of Session he defended his letters in four forms issued against George Symmer younger of Balzeordie; the latter claimed his tack exempted him from payment of teinds, and (further case 20 Nov.1562) raided the Menmuir manse to abstract documents vital to Hamilton's case, attacking his daughter Christine in the process.
Acts and Decs., CS 7.23 f84r, 7.25 f15r
21 Sept.1562: tacked teinds to Dame Katherine Campbell.

WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 83: JRL, The Craw. mss.,box Eii
1563: had failed to pay the third of par. Menmuir. TB p.235
13/16/25 Jun.1566: resigned par. Menmuir (preb. Dunkeld), in favour of John Lindsay, second son of David, ninth earl Crawford and Dame Katherine Campbell under a contract promising him an annual rent of 240 merks or a redemption-payment of 1000 merks.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 89: JRL, The Craw. mss.,box Eii; and Kinnaird, The Southesk Charters box no.2 bund.no.24; and Prot.Bk.Gilbert Grote (SRS 43) 276
7 Dec.1568: discharge to Dame Katherine Campbell for the 240 merk annual rent. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.92
[x] Dec.1573: renounced and discharged Dame Katherine Campbell for the 240 merk annual rent, "for sindre gratitudis done to me". WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.100

HAMILTON, MR JAMES

164 Natural brother of the duke of Châtelherault.
1543/4: dispensation to hold minor benefices, though illegitimate, later extended to include major benefices;
1545: par. Spott (preb. Dunbar CC); and ...
5 Oct.1545: sir James Nasmyth resigned the par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin) to cardinal Beaton as legate, in his favour; R.K. Hannay, "Some Papal Bulls among the Hamilton Papers", SHR xxii pp.25-41
2 May 1546: wits.chtr. (David ninth earl of Crawford/ David, master of Crawford) WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p188
1547: unsuccessfully nominated by Châtelherault to the archbishopric of Glasgow. SHR xxii p.32
16 Nov.1549: pres. par. Erskine; to resign same, 10 Oct.1550. RSS iv 498, 932
10 Oct.1550: pres. par.Cadder (preb.subdean Glasgow) RSS iv 931; also, RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2720,f44r
3 Nov.1551: legitimised. RSS iv 1404
20 Mar.1551/2: pres. par. Methlick (preb. Aberdeen), being subdean of Glasgow. RSS iv 1548
14 Jul.1553: provided to the bishopric of Argyll (Lismore), retaining par. Cadder, in exchange for resigning par. Farnell to William Cunningham, previously "elect" of Argyll. SHR xxii p.37-9
13 Feb.1580: had deceased as par. Cadder. RSS vii 2229

HAMILTON, MR JOHN

165 Feb.[1555]: provided to perpet.vic. Dundee. RFVA, Reg.Lat.vol.1842,f175v
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Dundee. E 48.1.1 f357v
"item Mr Johnne Hamiltoun is vicar of Dundie as wes set in assedatioun beffoir ye rysing of ye congregatioun for xl lib be zeir payit be ye said Mr Johnne. And of pensioun to Mr James Thorntoun, xx lib: summa lx lib. And payit not ane penney yir last thrie zeiris bypast."
1563: ["Mr James" sic] remitted third for vic. Dundee. TB p.230
24 Mar.1567/8: Mr John Hamilton vicar of Dundee set the whole vic. for three years to John Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee. RD 1.9 f276r
1567-9: failed to pay third for vic. ["Mr John"] TB p.236
17 Nov.1569: deprived for treason. RSS vi 2808

HAY, MR DAVID

166 3 Dec.1529: par. Idvies (preb. St Mary on the Rock CC).
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.195 f57v
4 Aug.1530: resigned par. Idvies to Edmund Hay, reserving a pension. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2018,f36r; Annates vol.68 f.39
17 Jan.1535/6: held fruits of par. Idvies. ADCP p448

HAY, MR EDMUND

167 4 Aug.1530: ceded par. Idvies (preb. St Mary on the Rock CC) by Mr David Hay. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2018,f36r; Annates vol.68 f.39
8 Mar.1541/2: wits.chtr. as par. Idvies. (George, earl of Errol)
RMS ii 2616
16 Dec.1542: ? at Paris university.
McNeill,"Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.76
24 Sept.1547: deceased as par.Idvies. RSS iii 2448
25 Sept.1547: deceased as vic. Errol. RSS iii 2452

HAY, MR JOHN

168 1512: provost of Guthrie CC. Watt, FESMA p.360
30 Jan.1521/2: provost of Guthrie. RMS iii 219
8 Feb.1526/7: tutor to William, earl of Errol. RMS iii 441
3 Aug.1529: occ. as provost of Guthrie. Yester writs no.451
11 Feb.1530: ref. to him as provost of Guthrie having a pension from the canonry of Turriff. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2001,f.145v
28 Oct.1530: had deceased as provost of Guthrie.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2025,f.166v and vol.2087,f.204r

HAY, MR JOHN

169 c.1536: obtained preb.vic. Brechin.
Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 181 f361v; f437r
20 Oct.1544: wits.chtr. (cardinal David Beaton/Patrick Lord Gray)
RMS iii 3029
12 Nov.1552: wits.chtr. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2215
1561-3: had third of vic. Brechin remitted. TB pp.85,147,230
10 Sept.1561: (par. Monymusk) gifted Balmerino abbey by Mary queen of Scots for service to herself and her mother. RSS v 845
20 Mar.1561/2: additionally gifted the priory of Monymusk.
RSS v 1009
6 Dec.1562: resigned vic. Brechin to James Hepburn - but retained possession. RSS v 1159
3 Jun.1565: as Master of Requests sent to England to reconcile Queen Elizabeth to the Darnley marriage; described by Randolph as "a man godly, learned and wise", who favoured "Christ's true religion" and England; and who had the favour of Moray. Hay also brought a letter of commendation from Maitland, as "an honest gentleman and my old friend and companion."
CSP(S) ii 192,196,198,199
1 Apr.1565: further resignation of vic. Brechin to David Watt, this time effectively. RSS v 2006
24 Aug.1565: as commendator of Balmerino, had gift of escheat of Mr James Haliburton, provost of Dundee. RSS v 2287
23 Feb.1572/3: had resigned par. Monymusk. RSS vi 1861
18 Jan. 1573/4: had deceased as par. Monymusk. RSS vi 2275,2583

HAY, MR WILLIAM

170 15 Dec.1536: ? at Paris university.
McNeill, "Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.76

8 Jun.1544.Nov.1547: chaplain of BVM chapel in the Garioch and expected to resign. RSS iii 842,2524
24 Sept.1547: pres. par. Idvies. (preb St Mary on the Rock CC) RSS iii 2448; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2847,f92v
21 Feb.1565/6:Book of Assumption, held par.Idvies. E 48.1.1 f343r
27 Jun.1571: member of chapter St Mary on the Rock CC. RH 6.10.2225
6 Jul.1583: had resigned par./vic. Idvies. RSS viii 1406

HENDERSON, sir ALEXANDER

171 25 Jun.1550: master of Hospital, Trinity CC. (joint-par. Strathmartin) RH 2/1/20 prot.bk.James Harlaw no.9a
27 Feb.1562/3: as a preb. Trinity CC, one of the joint-pars. of Strathmartin. Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 f.82r
[x] 1567: Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin the procurator for the joint-pars. of Strathmartin taking sasine in lands from the regality of St Andrews. p.b.Gray, NP 1.16 f/47r/ RH 2.1.22 p.210
4 Nov.1567: joint-par. Strathmartin in action re the setting of the kirklands, manse and glebe. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.318v
16 Dec.1575: joint-par. Strathmartin tacking the teinds to Thomas, son and heir of Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin. Col.Ch.Mid. no.95
18 Apr.1583: master of the hospital of Trinity CC, joint-par. Strathmartin, confirming a feu. RSS viii 1260

HENDERSON, MR DAVID

172 24 Mar.1522/3: at Paris university. McNeill, "Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.76
5 Aug.1537/10 Mar.1537/8: : pres. chaplaincy of Baikie, and held against competition, succeeding his uncle Mr George Pettilock. RSS ii 2343,2462,4310.
5 Oct.1546: had also succeeded Mr George Pettilock as perpet.vic.Rossie, and took sasine as his heir in lands in Longforgan. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 14.4 no.62
10 Aug.1550: as vic.Rossie and chaplain of Baikie had licence to pass to France with James, commendator of St Andrews: or to the schools, and to do his lawful business. RSS iv 839
6 Sept.1550: shared general licence and protection to pass to France with James, commendator of St Andrews issued to the convent of St Andrews.
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Rossie. E 48.1.1 f92r
29 Apr.1564: occupied the lands of Millhill on a wadset from Campbell of Lundy, redeemed by Hering of Haltoun of Eassie; but continued to hold under a new tack - which he assigned to his brother William. William and Mr David Henderson also shared a tack of the teinds of Millhill from St Andrews Priory. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 14.5 nos.83-88,90
23 Jul.1566: lying sick in the house of John Henderson, burgess of Edinburgh when his rights to the Baikie revenues were challenged. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 134.7
17+19 Mar.1566/7: resigned chaplaincy of Baikie to Robert Gray, reserving liferent. DAC: prot.bk. Thomas Ireland f3v/ RSS v 3355
Jul.1570: William Henderson executor to deceased Mr David Henderson, vic. Rossie. DAC: prot.bk. Thomas Ireland f90r.

HEPBURN, MR GEORGE

173 1539: matriculated at St Andrews (nation "Laudoniae").
StA Recs 243
11 Oct.1548:pres.par. Navar (chancellor of Brechin). RSS iii 2990
16 Oct.1548: Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchthoun procurator for Mr George his natural son produced the pres. to John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin, as made by the crown via the governor, Arran; and took instruments when the bishop rejected the pres. as contrary to his episcopal privilege. REB ii no.cxxx
Jul.1550: supplicated at Rome for chancellorship of Brechin.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2697, f123v
12 Nov.1552: occ. as chancellor of Brechin.
Dalhousie mss,GD 45.16.2215
1566: had failed to pay his third. TB p.235
5 Sept.1580: as chancellor of Brechin feued the waste land where the chancellor's manse used to be situated. RSS vii 2482
21 Oct.1585: had deceased as chancellor of Brechin.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f138v

HEPBURN, MR JAMES

174 11 Dec.1558: pres. perpet.vic.Montrose on expected resignation of Mr John Hepburn, treasurer of Brechin - who continued to occupy the vic. Mr James secured reversionary rights. RSS v 532
10 Oct.1582, 19 Feb.1582/3: the perpet.vic. Montrose vacant by his death. RSS viii 958, Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f220r

HEPBURN, MR JOHN

175 Born ?c.1530. [see below]
2 Jul.1541: described as scholar, of Brechin diocese, born of a bishop [John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin] and an unmarried woman.
RFVA, ASPA vol.107
15 Jun.1543: supplicated at Rome for renewed provision to perpet. vic. Montrose; with licence to hold though under eighteen years of age and when of age, to hold in titulum.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2495,f79v; vol.2480,f33v,189v
12 Oct.1549: wits.chtr. as treasurer of Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund. no.14
12 Nov.1552: occ. as preb. treasurer of Brechin.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2215
10 Jan.1552/3: occ. as treasurer of Brechin. REB i no.114
1556: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs p.263
18,27 Jun.1556: occ. as treasurer of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
20 Nov.1557: as president of the chapter of Brechin pro.temp. [his father having died], feued lands to David, ninth earl of Crawford. RMS v 884
11 Dec.1558: to resign perpet.vic. Montrose to James Hepburn - but apparently with right of regress, as Mr John did not loose possession. RSS v 532
Conformed as minister, Montrose: c 107.

HEPBURN, bishop JOHN

176 29 Oct.1516: prov. to bishopric of Brechin.
Watt, FESMA p.41, Dowden, Bishops p.189
c.1530: unsuccessfully accused friar William Arth of heresy.
Knox, History i 15
1532: to arrest friar Alexander Dick from Aberdeen who fled to

Dundee.
1534: to arrest sir George Gilbert for heresy. ADCP p372
6 Jul.1534: appeared at Council for Patrick, earl Bothwell. ADCP p427
27 Feb.1527/8: attended trial and execution of Mr Patrick Hamilton. ADCP p425
1538: unsuccessfully summoned George Wishart for heresy. Calderwood, History i p.80
10 Dec.1540: at Parliament for forfeiture of Glamis and Douglas. Rogers, Memoir of Wishart p7
1 Feb.1542/3: four natural sons legitimised. RMS iii 2232/3
23 Aug.1546: accused of not paying the clergy's contribution/tax. RSS iii 75
17 Apr.1556: included among those charged with the spulzie of Glenesk; discharged from recognising the case to his own court. ADCP p557
24 Mar.1556/7: feued lands to Mr John Cockburn for 400 merks, in order to repair the cathedral and rebuild the bishop's palace. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p29
27 Mar. x 22 May 1557: died. RMS v 860
RMS v 1294, RSS v 134

HEPBURN, MATTHEW

177 12 Oct.1549: as chaplain of Caldhame, feued the mill of Caldhame to Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. Sasine: 2 May 1550: legatine confirmation, 26 Sept.1552. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3. bund.14
Mar.1550: supplicated for the chaplaincy of Caldhame at Rome, as a clerk of Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2652,f190r
18 Feb.1556/7: had feued lands of Caldhame to Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoule. RSS v 3265
4 Apr.1558: had issued letters in four forms to compel payment of his dues as Caldhame chaplain. RSS v 381
22 Nov.1558: pres. by the crown (sede vacant Brechin) to the chapel called Caldhame at St Ninian's altar at Brechin on the expected resignation of Mr Robert Durward. RSS v 508
4 Dec.1558: collation as chaplain of Caldhame, notwithstanding defect of birth being the son of a bishop (John Hepburn, bishop of Brechin?) and an unmarried woman. REB ii no.ccxxvii
17 Jun.1561: confirmed resignation of the mill of Caldhame by Sir Robert Carnegy to Sir John Carnegy. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3. bund.14
Book of Assumption: held chaplaincy of Caldhame. E 48.1.1 f345r
1563,1565,1567-8: failed to pay the third for the chaplaincy. TB p.236
1566: re-pres. to chaplaincy of Caldhame. REB ii p.332
[1566]: re-feued lands of Caldhame to Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoule. MTH, Montrose mss., M/WC/11; Reg.Deeds, RD 1.11 f100v
1 Jun.1567:feued lands to Mr John Cockburn.Reg.Deeds RD 1.9 f112v
3 Jun.1567: gift to him as "of Caldhame" of an escheat. RSS v 3562
20 Jan.1567/8: gift to Mr John Cockburn of the un-paid superplus of the third of the chaplaincy still due for years 1561-5. RSS vi 121
25 Jan.1570/71: at the horn and his goods escheated for non-payment of the third of the chaplaincy from 1569. RSS vi 1103

HEPBURN, WILLIAM

178 Canon of Scone. Haws, Parish Clergy pp.113,167
Book of Assumption: vic.pens. Logie-Dundee. E 48.1.1 f360r
14 Jan.1579/80: had deceased as perpet.vic. Invergowrie.
RSS vii 2192

HUCHESON, THOMAS

179 28 May 1538: with several others, supplicated at Rome for the preb. treasury of Brechin; resigned his claim, 14 Aug.1539.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2294,f253v; vol.2344,f121v
also, Resignations no.188, Res.A.68,f209; Watt, FESMA p.51
9 Oct.1542: supplicated for new provision to perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. pensionary, Brechin); and fought a prolonged case against the [stronger] claim of David Bonar. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2470,f85v; and Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 213.492r,504r,560r
17 Aug.1547: had deceased. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2617,f253r; and Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia, 244.135v,182r

HUNTER, MR WILLIAM

180 1515-1517: matriculated (nation of Britain), determined ("pauper") and Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 211,104: ActaFacArt ii 316,323
15 Jul.1524: Alexander Moncreiff resigned the perpet.vic. Menmuir to William Hunter, clerk of St Andrews.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1833,f255r
20 Apr.1528: as perpet.vic. of Menmuir: wits, notary. RMS iii 587
15 Dec.1540: gifted an escheat. RSS ii 3753
16 Aug.1541: in contest with John Hepburn - both supplicated for perpet.vic. Dunnichen.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vols.2427, f293r; 2434, f236v
5 Oct.1542: renewed supplication for perpet.vic. Dunnichen.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2468, f265v
17 May 1548: his goods escheated to the crown on his death, being unlegitimated. RSS iii 2784
[x][x] 155-: action by the curate of Menmuir to recover the lands of the glebe and kirk-croft of the vicarage, as tacked by the former vic., Mr William Hunter. JRL, The Craw. mss.,box P bund.iv
Book of Assumption: had had a tack of the vic. of Stracathro from Mr John Guthrie. E 48.1.1 f345r

IRELAND, sir THOMAS

181 10 Nov.1545: sub. as notary and priest of Dunkeld.
Strathmore muns. NRA(S) 885, box 14 bund 3 no. 60.
11 Jul.1554: as vic.pens. Lundie, wits. at Fowlis.
NP 1.16 f3r/RH 2.1.22 p.163 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
31 Aug.1557: notary at Fowlis.
NP 1.16 f12v/RH 2.1.22 p.175 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
12 Aug.1558: joint procurator for Patrick, master of Gray.
NP 1.16 f15v/RH 2.1.22 p.179 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
31 Jan.1562/3: wits. chtr. and notary. (Sir John Campbell of Lundie) Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885, box 14 bund.5 no.83
12 Feb.1562/3: as vic. Lundie, had confirmed a purchase of lands from John Campbell, apparent of Lundie. RSS v 1252
4 Nov.1564: given sasine in lands in Lundie.
NP 1.16 f22v/RH 2.1.22 p.186 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
2 Apr.1567: as vic. Lundie acted a procurator for Lord Glamis.
Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885 box 38 bund.8 no.16

9 Feb.1570/71: notary at Dundee. (John Carnegy of that ilk/ Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.no.2
26 Jun.1571: wits. testament of Christine Spens at Dundee.
Edin.tests. CC 8.8.5 f238r
"... and hes requirit ane vigilant pastour in Christ William Cristisoun minister in Dundee and Thomas Ireland notare public to subscrive this my latterwill and testament...."
22 Jan.1574/5: described as notary, cleric of Dunkeld and vicar of Lundie. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2 bund.no.10,170
Oct.1585: deceased as vicar of Lundie; his testament dative registered at Edinburgh by Elizabeth Ireland his sister and executor, 4 Mar. 1585/6. He left a total of £680 12s.
Edin.tests. CC 8.8.14 f370r
See also his protocol books, DAC prot.bks. nos.3,4; 1534-1575.

IRVINE, MR JOHN

182 13 Dec.1524: wits.chtr. as par. Benholm. RMS iii 285

JACK, sir DAVID

183 24 Jan.1526/7: notary, at Pitcur. RMS iii 416

JACKSON, JOHN

184 12 Oct.1549: wits. chtr. as pensionary of Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund.14
2 Oct.1527: notary, Perth. RMS iii 504/5/6
9 Apr.1529: notary. (Haliburton of Gask) RMS iii 773
29 Sept.1529: notary. (Haliburton of Gask) RMS iii 843
26 Feb.1530/31: notary. RMS iii 1011
16 Jan.1531/2: notary. RMS iii 1117
31 Jan.1532/3: mortification by Alexander Rattray in Pitcur of an annualrent from the mill of Eassie alias Balgownie, to sir David Jack and his successors as chaplains at the altar of the BVM in the parish church of Kettins;Haliburton of Gask to have patronage after Rattray's death. RMS iii 1279
20 Dec.1532: wits.chtr. (Haliburton of Gask) RMS iii 1334
8 Feb.1535/6: wits.chtr. (Alexander Rattray in Pitcur)
RMS iii 1546

JACKSON, sir RICHARD

185 12 May 1533: said to have intruded as chaplain of the BVM in St Clement's church, Dundee. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2115,f67v
Jul.1540: as perpet. chaplain of the BVM at St Clements, supplicated with Walter Scrymgeour of Glasswell to raise a rent due to the chaplaincy. RFVA, ASPA vol.106
Aug.1540: as perpet. chaplain of the BVM at St Clements, supplicated with John Jackson, burgess of Dundee, to raise a rent due to the chaplaincy. RFVA, ASPA vol.106

JOLLY, sir ANDREW

186 10 Dec.1553: wits.chtr. as curate of Edzell. (David, ninth earl of Crawford) Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.1
1 Oct.1558: as curate of Edzell, notary for will of David, ninth earl Crawford. JRL, Craw.mss. 1.1.14

KINGHORN, sir ADAM

187 1522: student at Glasgow, later at St Leonards: also for his library:- Ross/Durkan, Early Libraries p.121
31 Jan.1539: Thomas Boswell resigned par. Newdosk in his favour, though reserving all fruits and right of regress.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2388, f2v: Reg.Lat.vol.1697,f302v-305v
2 Aug.1549: vic. Linton, obtained after conflict at Rome, including request for dispensation, being the son of priest and an unmarried woman. RMS v 1548;
and RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2519,f210r; vol.2610,f246; vol.1785,f323r
Jul.1550: supplicated for perpet.vic. Rescobie, being a clerk of Glasgow. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2696,f265v
7 Nov.1553: had three sons legitimated. RSS iv 2204
22 Aug.1555: tacked teinds of Newdosk as par. to David, ninth earl of Crawford. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 32
Book of Assumption: held vic. Linton. E 48.1.1 f251r
4 Feb.1562/3: had deceased as vic. Linton. RSS v 1223
1 Jul.1563: alleged to have given a tack of par. Newdosk to Mr William Chalmer. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 144

KINLOCH, sir JAMES

188 1563: as chaplain of St John Baptist in the parish kirk, had assigned the chaplaincy as security for a debt; so that, on the Council repaying the debt, they secured the chaplaincy for the almshouse. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.124
Conformed as reader, Tannadice: c 117.

KINNINMONTH, MR ALEXANDER

189 1508-1512: matriculated (nation "Albaniae"), determined and Licentiate at the College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 202,98,100: ActaFacArt ii 299,302
1 Jun.1534: had held perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. canon pensionary of Brechin) for two years; his possession was defended by James V against litigation at Rome by David Bonar. James V Letters p.270
[See 8 Nov.1533, 9 Sept.1534 for Bonar's suits.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2120,f73v; vol.2150,f189v]
7 Sept.1534: supplicated for extension of time before taking major orders. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2149,f139r
17 Jan.1535/6: held perpet.vic. Panbride when £14 granted to the College of Justice. ADCP p.448
16 May 1542: granted lands. RMS iii 2667
14 Nov.1543: wits. as chamberlain to cardinal David Beaton.
RMS iii 2985, StA Rent. p.164;Sanderson, Cardinal p.133
30 Apr.1544,24 Dec.1546: occ. as escheated for not delivering the castle and place of Craighall to John, Lord Lindsay of the Byres.
RSS iii 731,2080

KNOLLIS, MR WILLIAM

190 1485: matriculated in nation of Lothian at St Andrews.
StAUL, graduates' index
1525: held par. Kinnettles, assessor at St Andrews.
ActaFacArt ii 351
Later subprior of St Andrews. StAUL graduates' index

LAING, sir WILLIAM

191 4 Sept.1541: for service, gifted a royal pension until a suitable benefice become available. RSS ii 4195

8 Jan.1547/8: appointed royal almoner "for life", and also pres. perpet.vic. Forteviot. RSS iii 2590,2591
17 Apr.1556: horned for not appearing to produce documents in the aftermath of the spulzie of Finavon.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.29
4 Feb.1556/7: as school-master of Brechin, summoned to prove validity of documents in the case against the laird of Arrat for passing a false discharge for the spulzie of Finavon.
JRL, The Craw. mss, box P bund.iv
5 [Apr.] 1557: assolzied for production of false discharge; but entries in his protocol-book were to be quashed and he was prohibited from acting as a notary again.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.91: JRL, The Craw. mss 1.2.10
11 Mar.1557/8: pres. perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. pensionary of Brechin). RSS v 351
29 May 1558: issued letters in four forms against Strachan of Carmyllie for payment of teinds for vic. Panbride.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.191
1 Oct.1559: teinds of vic. Panbride paid by Strachan of Carmyllie to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, tax-farmer for sir William Laing. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.193
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Panbride. E 48.1.1 f341v
Book of Assumption: gave in rental of par. Ecclesjohn on behalf of the possessor, sir John Farrar - not as possessor himself.
E 48.1.1 f340v:Haws, Parish Clergy p.78
1563: had his third remitted. TB p.230, E 46.4 f14v
2 Mar.1564/5: had resigned both perpet.vic. Panbride and vic. Forteviot. RSS v 1941
11 Jul.1566: to receive payment as a canon of Brechin via his procurator Neil Laing. Register of Deeds, RD 1.7. f304r
31 Aug.1566: had deceased as perpet.vic. Panbride (preb. pensionary of Brechin). RSS v 3045

LAMB, MR JAMES

192 1508: matriculated (nation of Angus) at St Andrews. StA Recs 202
10 Jun.1531: had Papal. pres. to par.Inchbrayock; but his claim was disputed by George Drury. RFVA,Arm.xxxix,51 f601v-604v; Reg.Sup.vol.1990,f22v; vol.2013,f172v; 2040,f13v,14r; Reg.Sup.vol.2094,f197v; Annates vol.66 f.4r (15 Nov.1529)
17 Oct.1533: had deceased at Marseilles.
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2125,f185r

LAMB, MR MARK

193 27 Feb.1562/3: as a preb. Trinity CC, one of the joint-pars. of Strathmartin. Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 f.82r
16 May 1565: wits.chtr. as preb. Trinity CC. RMS iv 1657
[x] 1567: Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin the procurator for the joint-pars. of Strathmartin taking sasine in lands from the regality of St Andrews. p.b.Gray, NP 1.16 f/47r/ RH 2.1.22 p.210
4 Nov.1567: joint-par. Strathmartin in action re the setting of the kirklands, manse and glebe. Register of Deeds, RD 1.9 f.318v

LAMB, MR WILLIAM

194 Author of Ane resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis c.1550: ed. R.J.Lyall (Aberdeen 1985).
The following account of his career is substantially derived from the above work from which most references cited are taken. Items

not so cited are additional to those supplied by Lyall.

Nephew, adopted son of Patrick Paniter, royal secretary. p.x
1513: supplicated for par. Logie-Montrose. p.xv
1514: supplicated for par. Conveth. p.xi
1517: held par. Conveth, par. Kinnell (preb. St Salvator's College), par. Croy (canon of Moray). p.xii
1522f active at St Andrews: notary chtr. (Erskine of Dun) p.xiii
1525f abroad in France: resigned benefices under reservation, and later fought to be reestablished. p.xiv-xv
1 Oct.1529: had obtained par. Logie-Montrose, granting a pension from the revenues to Sixtus Zuchellus.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.1992, f262r+v: vol.1994, f259v,260r; Resignations, no.97, res.A 45,16v; Annates vol.78 f.78v
11 Feb.1530: defended pres. par. Logie-Montrose against intrusion by Peter Balfour. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2001,f145r: vol.2013,f172v
23 Dec.1530: as canon of Moray, par. Conveth, preb. St Salvator, resigned par. Croy (to Patrick Liddell), par. Kinnell (to David Paniter), par. Conveth (to Gavin Logie) reserving rights of regress. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol:2029,f260r
1534 x 1543: involved in legal dispute as one of the heirs of Patrick Paniter. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.583,591,598: RMS ii 3086 GD 45.16.611
1538-9: litigation at Rome re Logie-Montrose and Conveth. Dundee, RFVA, SRR manualia 196.67v, 196.318v,319r
4 Feb.1537/8: appointed a Lord of Council and became a professional administrator for James V's government. p.xv-xvi
30 Mar.1542: granted rights of reversion to John Erskine of Dun on lands of Hedderwick (wadset to him by Dun) for 644 merks. Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.245
Sept.1550: Mr Patrick Liddell supplicated for pars. Logie-Montrose and Conveth, vacant by the death of Mr William Lamb. RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol.2704, f209r
21 Sept.1550: had deceased as par. Conveth, par. Kinnell, par. Logie-Montrose. p.xvii

LAMONT, WILLIAM

195 30 Sept.1533: as perpet.vic. [?Dunnichen] and chaplain of Boath had committed homicide; hence "the son of iniquity" was said to have forfeited the benefices. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2120, f120r

LAWSON, HUGH

196 26 Apr.1523: wits.chtr. at Dundee. RMS iii 2387
20 Sept.1529: granted protection on departure abroad of Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis and Patrick Charteris of Cuthilgurdy. RSS ii 334
18 May 1530: wits.chtr. at Dundee. RMS iii 946
9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

LAWSON, MR ROBERT

197 1495-1505: matriculated and Licentiate at St Andrews. (nation "Albaniae") Assessor,1520. StA Recs 193,92: ActaFacArt ii 278,335
11 Sept.1514: wits.chtr. at St Andrews. RMS iii 43
24 Oct.1526: wits. at St Andrews. RMS iii 897
27 May 1530: was said to have committed some [unspecified] ecclesiastical offence; was described as a "son of iniquity" when

his benefices of perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig and chaplain of Holy Trinity at St Andrews were supplicated for.
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2009, f55r
9 Nov.1530: common form protection issued to him. RSS ii 764 17
Jan.1535/6: perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig. ADCP p448
17 Jan 1537/8: perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig purchased lands.
RMS iii 1982
16 Mar.1537/8 x 25 Jan.1539/40: perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig - associated with John, abbot of Lindores.
RMS iii 2089,2636; RSS ii 3105,3381,3383,4342,4344
26 Apr.1540: held lands in the Mearns from the abbey of Lindores.
RFVA,ASPA,vol 105
6 Apr.1548: had deceased. RSS iii 2706

LEARMONTH, sir DAVID

198 17 Jan.1535/6: held perpet.vic. Fordoun. ADCP p448
12 Dec.1554: ? deceased provost St Mary of the Rock. RSS iv 2876
(James Learmonth gave in the rental for Book of Assumption.
E 48.1.1 f362r)
(27 Apr.1583: legitimation of Walter, son of sir David.
RSS viii 1300)

LECKIE, sir MURDOCH

199 22 May 1531: pres. perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. RSS ii 922
17 Jan.1535/6: perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. ADCP p448
21 [x] 1536: had deceased as perpet.vic. Inverkeilor.
Arb.Lib. ii no.835

LEIGHTON, JAMES

200 7 May 1548: par. Dunlappie. He revoked procurators previously appointed by him at the port of Dieppe for resigning his benefice. RFVA, Resignations:no 232: ResA 117,180; and Consensi 21, 561v
1 Dec.1561: par. Dunlappie; insisting on pursuing murderer of Helen Stirling, Lady Usan, to the death: whereon accused asked instruments and demanded that he resign his benefice.
Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i/ii 411*
1569: had payment from thirds at command of the kirk, but seems never to have served as a minister or reader. TB p235
(No revenues from Dunlappie were available to the kirk by 1590.)

LEITH, JOHN

201 26 Mar.1516: wits.chtr. at Aberdeen. RMS iii 94
18 Nov.1523: wits.chtr. as vic.pens. Dunnottar. (earl Marischal)
Scott of Brotherton mss, GD 70.6
17 Mar.1531: supplication for the par./preb. of Fetteresso against Mr James Brown. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2040, f144v
11 May 1531: Brown formally resigned the par./preb. to him, presumably reserving right of regress on payment in order to extinguish other claims. Brown remained par.Fetteresso.
RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol:2045, f117v, 118r

LEKPREVIK, sir JAMES

202 17 Sept.1524: as previously provided by crown to perpet. vic. Arbirlot. ADCP 211
4 Oct.1529: wits. chtr. (Wood of Bonnyton) RMS iii 844
26 Aug.1530: wits. chtr. (Wood of Bonnyton) RMS iii 1056

Book of Assumption: entry for vic. Arbirlot. E 48.1.1. f358v
5 Jun.1567: as perpet.vic. Bothkennar grants a chtr. at Arbirlot. RMS iv 1946
10 Mar.1567/8: tacked perpet.vic. Abirlot. Acts&Decs,CS 7.42.510v
14 Apr.1569: vic. Arbirlot vacant by his death. RSS vi571

LESLIE, sir JAMES

203 30 Apr.1530: wits. as chaplain, at Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
9 Aug.1530: common procurator of the vicars, chaplains and choir of Brechin. REB ii no.cxviii
5 Dec.1531: wits. as chaplain, at Brechin. REB ii no.cxix
26 Mar.1537: as chaplain of the Barclay stall, mortified an annual rent of 13s.4d.from his tenement for a mass with dirige at the altar of St Andrew, for the souls of King James V, Norman Leslie and Elizabeth Ross (his parents), sir Patrick Leslie his brother: and himself, his predecessors, successors, friends, benefactors, and all the faithful departed. REB ii no.cxxiv
[This, or another sir James Leslie, was the chaplain at the altar of St Andrew supported from the fermes of Fettercairn to pray for the soul of Robert de Erskine, knight. Payments to him by name were recorded from 1529/30 to 1559 (1534/5-1535/6 as "sir John"), and ceased at the Reformation.
ER xvi pp.6,425,460; xvii pp.84,225,317,437,492; xviii pp.9,78,96,134,346; xix pp.16,49,93,103,145]

LIDDELL, MR PATRICK

204 c.1509 - born. [see below]
1529: matriculated; St Leonard's, St Andrews. StA Recs 226
11 Feb.1530: had archdeaconry of Moray resigned to him by Sixtus Zuchellus who had obtained it at Rome after the death of Thomas Nudre. Liddell described as a priest of Brechin and aged c.22. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol:2001,f147v
23 Dec.1530: aged c.21, a clerk of Brechin; had resigned to him par. Croy (preb. Moray) by Mr William Lamb. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol:2029,f260r
17 Jun.1536: promised annates for the subdeanery of Ross. RFVA, Annates vol.73 f.73r
29 Mar.1538: procurator at Rome for Mr William Lamb. Dundee, RFVA SRR,manualia 196.67v,106v,318v,319r
4 Mar.1548/9: had a gift of nonentries. RSS iv 146
? 1550: responsible for the circulation of Mr William Lamb's Ane Resonyng". ed. J.Lyall, (Aberdeen 1985) p.1
"Ihs Maria. Ane Resonyng of ane Scottis and Inglis merchand betuix Rowand and Lionis etc. Complit be Maister William Lambe, person of Conveht and Consull of our Souerane Ladies Colege of Justice, bruther of M. Patric Liddale, author that this buke is cum to knawlege of the redar."
11 Sept.1550: supplicated at Rome for pars. Logie-Montrose, Conveth and Kinnell, all vacant by the death of Mr William Lamb. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2704,f209r:vol.2706,f205r
11 Feb.1550/51: pres. par. Caputh. (preb. Dunkeld) RSS iv 1083
Feb.1552: supplicated for a perpetual chaplaincy at the All Saints altar at Brechin - unsuccessfully. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2756,f300v
Feb.1552: supplicated for provost Fowlis CC claiming (wrongly) that Mr Alexander Forrest had died; later disputed

unsuccessfully against him for provision at Rome to pars. Logie-Montrose and Conveth. Liddell did, however, obtain a pension from the par. of Logie-Montrose and had it confirmed at Rome. 50 merks was deducted as Mr Patrick Liddell's pension from the stipend of the minister of Logie-Montrose, Mr William Gray, until 1580. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2758,f184v; vol.2849,f35r,f248r; and see Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f342r; RAMS, E 47.1f
Aug. [1553]: as a canon of St Salvator's and MA, provided at Rome to par. Kinnell. RFVA, Reg.Lat.1827,f190v-191v
14 Jun.1561: wits.chtr. as par. Kinnell. RMS iv 1744
1562-3: remitted third for par. Kinnell. TB p148,230
1565-6: had failed to pay third for par. Kinnell. TB 236
23 Sept.1565: his servant John Durham protested in Kinnell church after prayers that none should intromit with the teinds without consent of the par. Prot.bk.Gray, NP1.16 f35r/RH 2.1.22 p198
19 Mar.1566/7: resigned par. Kinnell (preb. St Salvator), par. Croy and Moy (preb. Moray in Elgin cathedral) to James Gray - reserving fruits for life under contract. RSS v 3353
11 Nov.1569: wits.chtr. as par. Kinnell. (Patrick lord Gray) Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885,box 23.2
4 Apr.1575: denied liability for vic. Kinnell's assessment for tax for the men of war to combat Border thieves; accepted liability for tax as par. Kinnell. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f98v
8 Jul.1577: one of the "special friends" of David and Patrick Paniter of Newmanswalls; agreed to latter's marriage-contract with Jane, daughter of John Erskine (son of Robert, fiar of Dun). Still par. Kinnell. Register of Deeds, RD 1.16 f443r
1577/8: testament dative of David Paniter of Newmanswall drawn up in his presence; confirmed 5 Nov.1582. Mr Patrick Liddell described as "minister". Brechin tests. CC 3.3. 1 f61r
20 Mar. 1583/4: as "minister" of Kinnell, gave consent to tack of teinds by James Gray. No other evidence of service in the reformed church exists for Liddell - by now a man aged almost 70.
1 Apr.1587: had deceased as vic. Kinnell. PS 1 (RSS) 57.81v

LINDSAY, sir ANDREW

205 19 May 1531: James Lindsay perpet.vic. of Newtyle resigned in his favour; repeated, 30 Jul.1534. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2046,f261r; vol.2151,f217r
13 May 1546: as vic. Newtyle, wits.chtr. (cardinal Beaton/ David, master of Crawford) RMS v 1191
10 Dec.1553: as vic. Newtyle, notary inst. to David, earl of Crawford. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.1
24 Apr.1555: wits.chtr. (David,ninth earl of Crawford) RMS iv 992
1 Oct.1558: wits. testament of David, ninth earl Crawford. JRL, The Craw. mss, 1.1.14
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Newtyle, as set to Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. E 48.1.1 f358v
20 Jun.1562: reference to his letters charging parishioners to make payment to him as perpet.vic. Newtyle. RSS v 1289
25 Aug.1562: tutor to David Lindsay, heir of Edzell. RPC i 218
1565: the factor of perpet.vic. Newtyle, David Lindsay of Barnyards, had failed to pay the thirds. TB p.237
30 Apr.1566: royal letters sent to him and others, to show infeftments since 1525. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885,box 134 bund.7 no.2
12 Jan.1566/7: at Barnyards, set the croft and church lands of

the vic. of Newtyle to David Lindsay of Lethnot. RMS v 237
5 Jul.1571: had deceased as perpet.vic. Newtyle. RSS vi 1202
13 Jun.1572: his son Alexander involved in the murder of John, brother of David Fenton of Ogil. RSS vi 1993

LINDSAY, MR DAVID

206 1509: matriculated at St Andrews. StA Recs 203
8 Oct.1525: collated to chaplaincy of Baikie.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.29
3 Oct.1531: appears to have been penultimate occupier of par. Lethnot (preb. Brechin), having resigned - perhaps reserving right of regress. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2058,f262r
12 Apr.1539: during period of obscurity re par. Lethnot, tacked its teinds to David Lindsay of Edzell.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.39
[x] Jun.1541: par. Finavon (preb.Brechin), overlapping with Mr John Stewart. REB ii no. cxxvii
1547: par. Finavon. REB ii 279
1 May 1549: tacked teinds of par. Finavon to David earl of Crawford for £80 a year, reduced to 40 merks on account of Crawford's redemption of the par. for him. This tack was renewed in 1551 and 1554.
JRL, Craw. mss. box E; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii pp28,29
11 Aug.1549: had bought out Mr John Stewart's interest in par. Finavon for £300, paid on his behalf by David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p28
7 May 1550: wits.inst. sasine of John Lord Erskine in the lordship of Brechin and Navar on resignation of Erskine of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.960
5 Jan.1552/3: appointed as judge on behalf of John, archbishop of St Andrews. Register House letters, RH 1.2.373
18+27 Jun.1556: par. Finavon. REB ii no. cxxxiv
1557: par. Finavon. RMS v 884
1 Oct.1558: owed £62 13s 4d by David ninth earl of Crawford in his testament. JRL, Craw. mss. 1.1.14
9 Aug.1559: par. Finavon. DAC,prot.bk.no.7 (Alex.Wedderburn) f53r (Book of Assumption: entry for par. Finavon - held by Mr Hugh Lindsay. E 48.1.1 f346r)

LINDSAY, MR HUGH

207 31 Oct.1514: wits. as chaplain. RMS iii 171
8 Jun.1526: supplicated at Rome for renewed pres. to vic.pens.Inchbrayock. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.1897,f237r
7 May 1533: Dean of Christianity, Angus deanery - St Andrews diocese; also Dean for the Mearns division. Watt, FESMA 318,9 and ADCP p403
10 Aug.1535: occ. as vic.pens. Inchbrayock. (David eight earl of Crawford) RMS iii 1525
13 Dec.1537: pres. perpet.vic. Inverarity by archbishop of St Andrews contrary to James Rolland, who was pres. by David, eighth earl of Crawford. Rolland petitioned the Pope for an inquiry. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2268,f67
1 Feb.1538/9-2 Feb.1539/40: Rolland further petitioned for an inquiry. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2319,f83r;vol.2365,f10r
24 Sept.1541: Rolland resigned his interest to Lindsay and petitioned for a pension to be accepted.
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2457,f114r

12 May 1542: supplicated for new papal provision to perpet.vic. Inverarity. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2457,f114r
1544: occ. as vic.pens.Inchbrayock. StA Rent 173
28 Mar.1549: had resigned as vic.pens.Conveth. RSS iv 187
29 Apr.1550: associated with David, master of Crawford in the aftermath of the spulzie of Finavon. WRH, The Haigh Inventory, i p91
14 Apr.1551: wits. chtr. (David, master of Crawford/ David, ninth earl of Crawford) WRH, The Haigh Inventory, ii p65
22 Mar.1554/5:occ. as vic.pens.Inchbrayock. Airlie mss GD 16.47.1
Book of Assumption: held par. Inverarity, set in tack to the tenth earl of Crawford. E 48.1.1 f346r
Book of Assumption: held par. Finavon (preb. Brechin), the parish being tacked to the tenth earl of Crawford.
E 48.1.1 f346r [Haws, Parish Clergy p.87 misreads as "George"]
1561-69: failed to pay thirds for vic. Inverarity and chaplaincy of Denside. TB p.167
29 May 1561: wits.chtr. (earl of Crawford) RMS v 1704

LINDSAY, sir JAMES

208 19 May 1531: as perpet.vic. Newtyle resigned in favour of Andrew Lindsay; repeated, 30 Jul.1534. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2046,f261r; vol.2151,f217r
17 Jan.1535/6: held perpet.vic. Newtyle when £21 granted by the abbot of Arbroath to the College of Justice. ADCP p.448

LUID, sir DAVID

209 29 Jul.1526: wits.chtr. at Dundee RMS iii 377
14 Jan.1527/8 x 4 May 1537: wits.chtr. at Dundee as chaplain and notary. RMS iii 539,1663: and see index.
4 Sept.1537: brother of sir William Luid, chaplain of St James' altar in Dundee parish kirk.Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss GD 137.3868
3 Sept.1538 x 19 Jun.1542: wits.chtr. at Dundee as chaplain and notary. RMS iii 1835, 2698 and see index.
24 Mar.1540/41: pres. chapel of St James the Less in Dundee, by the constable of Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss.,GD 137.3870
1 Apr.1547: par. Benvie, wits.chtr. (Robert Wedderburn) Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.4
27 Aug.1550: par Benvie, wits. constable of Dundee given sasine. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.633
Book of Assumption: held par. Benvie. E 48.1.1. f312r
20 Aug.1563: ratification by archbishop of his pres. of sir William Luid to vic. Benvie: sir David being factor of Benvie and having consent of John Scrymgeour constable of Dundee. Scrymgeour Inventory (SRS) nos.50,162
1563: notary for sasine of constable of Dundee in Benvie. Scrymgeour Inventory (SRS) no.33
? c.1569: had deceased as chaplain of St Margaret the Queen, Dundee. Spalding Misc. iv p.66

LUID, sir WILLIAM

210 18 Jan.1528/9: wits. chtr. at Dundee as notary. RMS iii 1528
21 Jul. 1531: wits.chtr. at Dundee as notary. RMS iii 1339
28 Feb.1531/2 x 20 Oct.1534: wits. at Dundee as chaplain and notary. RMS iii 1162,1529 and see index.
4 Sept.1537: chaplain of St James' altar in Dundee parish kirk: and brother of sir David Luid.

Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3868
9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee, as curate of Dundee.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4
[Note: SRO's handlist to these muniments incorrectly reads "Hude" for "Luid" in its abstract of this chtr.]
15 Jun.1547: pres. to the chapel of St Margaret the Queen, in Dundee parish church. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f15v
15 Jun.1547: pres. to the chapel of St Thomas Martyr, beside the Tay in Longforgan parish. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f14v
20 Aug.1563: confirmed by archbishop of St Andrews after pres. to vic.pens. Benvie and chaplain of St James.
Scrymgeour Inventory (SRS) nos.50,162
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss GD 137.3887
10 Sept.1563: instructed by the constable of Dundee to institute Mr David Scrymgeour in the BVM chaplaincy in Wellgate, Dundee.
Prot.bk.Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f25r/ RH 2.1.22 p.188
26 Dec.1563: resigned vic.pens. Benvie in favour of Thomas Wenton, student at St Andrews. NP 1.16 f35r, RH 2.1.22 p188
26 Dec.1563: to resign chaplaincy of St James.
Prot.bk. Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f26v, RH 2.1.22 p.190
3 Jun.1569: decreet at instance of Robert Wedderburn chaplain of St James for removal for sir William Luid pretended occupier of a chamber in St James' land. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss GD 137.3904
26 May 1574: sued for the teinds of the chapel of St Thomas Martyr beside the Tay in Forgund parish, claiming he had not been paid since 1560. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f14v
26 May 1574: sued for the teinds of the chapel of St Margaret the Queen, in Dundee parish church. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f15v

LUMSDEN, MR HENRY

211 22 Jul.1527: chamberlain to archbishop James Beaton. RMS iii 482
28 Sept.1529: purchased provision at Rome to par. Tannadice.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1989, f.258v
6 May 1531: chamberlain and par. Tannadice. RMS iii 1017
30 Nov.1532: James V, asking the Pope to extinguish the various suits for benefices left vacant by the death of Thomas Nudry, claimed Tannadice for its current possessor, sir Henry Lumsden, "who is worthy of a greater benefice, but has Tannadice".
James V Letters p.233
27 Feb.1534: defended possession of par. Tannadice against James Salmond at Rome. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2133,f.187r; also, Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 181 f.311r-366v
8 Nov.1538: wits.chtr. as par. Tannadice. (cardinal David Beaton)
RMS iii 2170
20 Jan., 14 May, 2 Oct. 1539/40: wits.chtrs. as chamberlain and par. Tannadice. (cardinal David Beaton)
RMS iii 2330,2741,2905,2662; M.H.B.Sanderson, Cardinal p.133-4
14 Nov.1543: wits.chtr. as a canon of Aberdeen; had been replaced as chamberlain. (cardinal David Beaton) RMS iii 2985
20 Oct.1544: wits.chtr. as a canon of Aberdeen. (cardinal David Beaton) RMS iii 3029
11 Apr.1545: held par. Kinkell (preb. Aberdeen)
Haws, Parish Clergy p.139: also, pp.147,211
9 Dec.1566: had resigned par. Kinkell to Mr Thomas Lumsden his nephew, reserving liferent of half the fruits. RSS v 3125

LYALL, sir GEORGE

212 30 May 1546: curate of Aberlemno. Laing Chrs. no.514
Conformed as reader, Aberlemno: c 132.

LYALL, sir ROBERT

213 1537-42: chaplain of St Thomas' aisle at Glamis.
ER xvii pp.142,248,381,416,477

LYALL, WILLIAM

214 6 Mar.1534: as a priest of Brechin, claimed perpet.vic. Tealing by the pres. of Mr David Meldrum, par. Tealing and archdean of Dunkeld. He faced competition from John Garden and James Brown.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2133,f.186v; vols.2138,f.179v;2142,f.123v,122r

LYN, MR JAMES

215 9 Nov.1531: expected to resign as preceptor of the Maisondieu, Brechin; repeated 15 May 1532. RSS ii 1058,1245

LYON, JOHN

216 7 Jul.1542: vic.pens. Banchory-Devenick. Haws, Parish Clergy p20

LYON, PATRICK

217 19 Jun.1553: granted the Hospital of Balgownie-Eassie on resignation of his brother, John Lyon apparant of Haltoun of Eassie; on condition that the foundation was observed and God and the Holy Church duly honoured. RSS iv 2000
Apr.1559: as a burgess of Dundee was provided to the chaplaincy in Dundee kirk called St Adwall, virgin and martyr. CS 7.55 f270v
26 Jul.1565: feued the Hospital of Balgownie to John, son and heir of John Lyon of Haltoun of Eassie. RMS iv 1786

MACNAB, sir JOHN

218 5 Sept.1536: occ. as vic. Idvies. Arb.Lib. ii no.838
12 Apr.1560: set the glebe of Idvies vic. to Patrick Garden of that ilk. RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.103r
3 Feb.1562/3: wits. inst. at Arbroath as vic. Idvies.
RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.171r

MAITLAND, MR JOHN

219 8 May 1539: as chaplain of St Margaret in Dundee, feued a ruinous tenement of the chapel. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.2349

MAKISON, MR DAVID

220 28 Jan.1546/7: to resign as chaplain of Cowie. RSS iii 2126

MAKISON, sir THOMAS

221 9 Nov.1556, 4 Apr.1557; wits. as curate of Arbroath, notary.
Prot.bk.Pettilock, RH 4.96 fs.6v,20v
2 Nov.1557: took sasine, being curate of Arbroath. RH 4.96 f38r
11 Jan. 1559/60: wits. inst. RH 4.96 f96v
8 May 1560: wits. sasine. RH 4.96 f105v
9 Jul.1560: wits.inst. RH 4.96 f110r
Book of Assumption: held St Nicholas chaplaincy in Arbroath.
E 48.1.1. f360v
31 Mar.1563: registered protocol book as notary in Arbroath where he was born, being currently 50 years old. NP 2.1. f62r
19 May 1563: resigned annual rents. RH 4.96 f181v

11 Aug.1563: wits. as notary. RH 4.96 f140r
21 Apr.1564: wits. protocol dated with papal regnal year. RH 4.96 f209v
9 Nov.1564: wits. sasine by abbot and convent of Arbroath to John Carnegy of Seaton, graniter. Northesk mss, GD 130 box 17 bund. "Ethie no.1."
8 Mar.1565/6: appointed collector of the annuals of St Nicholas chaplaincy by the burgh court of Arbroath, with a £3 fee. APL: Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f21r
20 Jun.1567: sought debt of 7s. at the burgh court. APL: Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f36v
25 Jan.1568/9: burgh court discharged him from by-run sums owing on the annuals and reappointed him factor to the chaplaincies. APL: Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f43v
24 Nov.1569: complaint against him as factor to "the good-wife of Eathie" and to John Carnegy of Seaton by the burgh custumar. APL: Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f50r
9 Feb.1570/71: as chaplain and notary, and factor to lands of Seton, gave sasine in half Seaton to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford, on an instrument by John Carnegy of that ilk/ of Seaton. Kinnaird: Southesk charters box 6 bund.2
Died 9 Mar.1574/5: sir Thomas Makison, notary in Arbroath had his testament testamentary registered 3 June 1577, whereby he made his master, John Carnegy of that ilk, overman to his executor, and left £77 14s "free gear". Edin. tests. CC 8.8.5. f161v

MARSHALL, GEORGE

222 2 May 1534: supplicated at Rome for renewed collation to par. Banchory-Devenick. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2133,f39V

MARTIN, sir ROBERT

223 [x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
1561-2: had his third remitted. TB p.149
1563-66-68-69: was granted his portion as a chaplain of the choir of Brechin from the par. Cortachy - which as a common church of Brechin was wholly claimed by the crown while the see was vacant. TB p.228

MATHESON, MR JOHN

224 1490: Licentiate at St Andrews, as a priest. StA Recs 76: ActaFacArt ii 235
30 Dec.1547: as chancellor of Caithness and chaplain of the BVM founded in Kettins, set lands of the chaplaincy to Mr Thomas Haliburton, with consent of the George Haliburton of Pitcur,patron. RMS iv 2252

MCCARTNEY, JAMES

225 11 Jul.1554: pres. preb. Ballumbie (preb. Fowlis CC) Prot.bk.Duncan Gray, NP1.16.3r/RH 2.1.22 p163
His claim seems to have been lost to Mr James Fotheringham.
23 Oct.1558: purchased lands in Wigtonshire. RMS iv 1309

MELDRUM, MR DAVID

226 1 Sept.1546: wits. as perpet.vic. Maryton. Erskine of Dun mss.,GD 123.1
13 May 1549: as curate of Maryton, he delated James Wood of

Bonnyton for art and part of the slaughter of Mr Hew Guthrie.
Justiciary courts, JC 1.6 f7v
18,27 Jun.1556: prob.occ. as one of the chaplains of the choir of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
Conformed as reader, Maryton: c 141.

MELDRUM, MR DAVID

227 1506-1509/10: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery at St Andrews.
StA Recs 200,94,97; ActaFacArt ii 286,294
25 Jan.1531/2: as 'archdean of Dunkeld, wits. chtr. (Mr William Meldrum, vicar of Brechin and former archdean of Dunkeld)
REB ii no.cxx
6 Mar.1534: made a pres. as archdean of Dunkeld (par. Tealing).
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2133,f.186v
23 Dec.1547: had resigned as archdean - though still in possession on 31 Aug.1548. Watt, FESMA p.121
4 Sept.1550: occ. as archdean of Dunkeld. RMS iv 514
9 Dec.1557: sir Robert Abercromby was executor to the deceased Mr David Meldrum, archdean Dunkeld. Reg.Deeds RD 1.2. f.304v

MELDRUM, MR JOHN

228 1505: priest and Licentiate, St Andrews.
StA Recs 92: ActaFacArt ii 278
30 May 1511: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.ccccviii
10 May 1518: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.cxi
30 Apr.1530: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin).
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6: formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
15 May 1531: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin)
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6: formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
30 May /17 Jul. 1541: resigned the preb. in favour of Thomas Abercromby, reserving right of regress. This was exercised, and Meldrum resumed the preb., but granted Abercromby rights of regress and a pension. Both promised annates in 1542.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2423,f134r; vol.2434,f95v-96v; Reg.Lat.vol.1723,f58-9;vol.1724,f174-7; Annates vol.74 f.21r
[x] Jun.1541: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.cxxvii
19 Aug.1547: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.ccxxxiv

MELDRUM, MR JOHN

229 1514: matriculated (nation of Angus) at St Andrews; or ...
1529-1530/31: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 210; 226,123,1126; ActaFacArt ii 363,365
22 Aug.1534: as perpet.vic. Farnell was to be arrested,with others, for assisting the escape from prison of sir George Gilbert, charged with heresy. ADCP p426
4 Feb.1545/6: granted gift of escheat of Patrick Brown, citizen of Brechin. RSS iii 1529
Conformed as reader, Farnell: c 142.

MELDRUM, THOMAS

230 26 Aug.1510: occ. as chancellor of Brechin (par. Navar), having been subdean of Brechin earlier. Watt, FESMA p.48
3 Jul.1524: occ. as chancellor of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.49
25 Jul.1531: had deceased at Rome as par. Navar (preb. chancellor of Brechin). RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2052,f7v

7 Aug.1531: had deceased at Rome as par. Strathcathro (preb. chanter of Brechin). RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2051,f252v

MELDRUM, MR WILLIAM

231 6 May 1500;2 Jan.1515: occs.as chanter of Brechin, then exchanged with George Ferne to be archdean of Dunkeld. Watt, FESMA p.46-7
12 Jan.1518: occ. as archdean of Dunkeld (par. Tealing); and ...
9 Jul.1527: occ. as archdean of Dunkeld. Watt, FESMA p.121
21 Jul.1528: feued his tenement and garden as vicar of Brechin to sir David Brown, chaplain. REB ii no.cxvi
25 Jan.1531/2: occ. as vicar of Brechin (preb. Brechin). REB ii no.cxx
20 Apr.1533: had resigned as vicar of Brechin to the Pope, in favour of William Meldrum junior; and had died at Rome. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f230r; also Arm.xxxix,53, f760-762
16 Oct.1533: had died at Rome as perpet.vic. Dunnichen. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f229v
4 May 1547: had deceased as archdeacon of Dunkeld and canon-vicar of Brechin; having founded chaplaincies at the All Saints altar in Brechin cathedral. REB ii no.cxxix

MELDRUM, WILLIAM

232 20 Apr.1533: had been nominated to be vicar of Brechin by the resignation of Mr William Meldrum senior to the Pope. William senior then died at Rome and William junior gained papal provision, but was refused admission by the bishop of Brechin. William junior does not seem to have maintained his claim. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f230r; vol.2112,f221v; James V Letters p.291; RFVA, Arm.xxxix,53,f760-762
Feb.1552: had deceased as All Saints chaplain, Brechin. RFVA,Reg.Sup. vol.2756,f.300v

MELVILLE, sir GEORGE

233 15 Jun.1568: sued by minister of Navar for possession of manse and glebe; hence presumably pre-Reformation curate or vic.pens. Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 247r

MERSER, MR ROBERT

234 1532-1534/5: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews (nation "Albaniae"); determined ("dives") and Licentiate at the same college. StA Recs 230,131,132; ActaFacArt ii 375,376
Book of Assumption: vic.pens. Banchory-Devenick. E 48.1.1 380v
Conformed as exhorter + minister, Nigg, Banchory-Devenick: c 149.

METHVEN, DAVID

235 25 Aug.1539: provided to be treasurer of Brechin on resignation of Thomas Hucheson. See also, James Arrat. Watt, FESMA p.51
6 Sept.1542: unsuccessfully claimed par. Inverarity. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2470,f85v; vol.2469, f94r
4/9/3/17 May 1545: further references to his claim to par. Inverarity. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2539,f174v; vol.2540,f261v + f268v; also Dundee, RFVA, SRR manualia 212.581

MILNE, sir WALTER

236 Priest at Lunan twenty years "before the cardinal's time"; disciplined by cardinal Beaton and ceased from ministry;

Apr.1558: burnt for various heresies when aged around 82. He was accused of allowing clerical marriage and private preaching; of holding the mass to be idolatry, of reducing the number of sacraments, and of attacking the office of bishop and the practice of pilgrimage.
Petrie, Compendious History p.189; Knox's History i 153

MILNE, sir WILLIAM

237 26 May 1535: wits.chtr. as curate of Edzell, at Edzell. (David Lindsay of Edzell) RMS iii 1477

MITCHELL, sir ANDREW

238 10 Feb.1538/9: chaplain when his natural son John legitimated. RSS ii 2889
23 Feb.1541/2: chaplain, taking sasine in Montrose. B 51.15.16
30 Jan.1542/3: vic. of Catterline; sasine at Montrose. B 51.15.19
1544: memorandum re Montrose magistrates' obligations to him in lieu of a mortification made by him to the hospital. B 51.15.25
14 Jul.1547: choir of Montrose resign a piece of waste ground in the burgh to him. B 51.15.27

MONCUR, sir MATTHEW

239 15 Nov.1562: as reader at Nevay, named as "sir Matthew Moncur". Possibly the pre-Reformation curate or vic.pens.
Edin.Tests. CC 8.8.5 f120r
Conformed as reader, Eassie and Nevay: c 157.

MONEYPENNY, MR ROBERT

240 6 Jul.1536: Mr Charles Fotheringham resigned as treasurer of Brechin in his favour, reserving a pension; Moneypenny was provided accordingly. RFVA, Annates vol.73 f.101v; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2218,f223v; Reg.Lat.vol.1663,f123v;f61r
29 Aug.1537: wits.chtr. as treasurer of Brechin. RMS iii 1710
31 May 1538: reported in Rome as dead. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2301,f64v

MONORGUND, MR ROBERT

241 1490-93: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at St Andrews. StA Recs 188,78,80: ActaFacArt ii 239,242.
23 Jun.1515: collated chaplaincy of Baikie. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.18
3+13 Mar.1516/17: par. Eassie. (Lord Gray) RMS iii 133,140
27 May 1519: resigned chaplaincy of Baikie. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.22

MORRIS, sir ALEXANDER

242 23 Apr.1540: pres. to a 20-merk chaplaincy of the provost of Methven CC. [Contemporary canons of Brechin were provosts of Methven.] RSS ii 3476
[x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of the Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
18,27 Jun.1556: a chaplain of the Brechin choir. REB ii no.cxxxiv
27 Apr.1574: as chaplain of St Ninian the bishop at Brechin, feued St Ninian's tenement and garden with two acres of arable land; for the rebuilding of the ruined tenement. RMS v 863
30 Jun.1575: had resigned the chaplainry or beadleship of Brechin. RSS vii 235

MORTIMER, sir ALEXANDER

243 18 Feb.1540/41: provost of Fowlis CC (par. Lundie).
GD 212 Maitland Thomson no.6 p151 (Fowlis-Easter Charters no.97)

MORTIMER, MALCOLM

244 13 Mar.1516/17: wits.chtr.(Isobel Gray,Lady Dudhope) RMS iii 140
1538: provost of Fowlis CC (par. Lundie).
DAC,prot.bk.no.3 (Thomas Ireland) f3r

MORTIMER, sir JOHN

245 1536-38: made payment of the fermes of Fettercairn for John Wood of Balbegno. ER xvii p.16
18 Feb.1540/41: pres. a preb. Fowlis (addressed to provost sir Alexander Mortimer).
Fowlis-Easter chtrs, GD 212 Maitland Thomson no6: p151,no.97
May 1544: with Carnegy of Kinnaird at Glasgow against the governor at Glasgow Moor. RSS iv 2339
4 Apr.1547: as chaplain, wits.chtr. (Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1; bund. no.9
1 Feb.1548/9: pres. vic. Strathmartin. RSS iv 80
8 Sept.1549: wits.chtr. (Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7
31 Jul.1549: wits.chtr. with Carnegy of Kinnaird. RMS iv 359
13 Feb.1552: wits.chtr. as graniter of Arbroath, with John Carnegy, chamberlain of Arbroath. (Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2096
15 Nov.1553: with Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird and others, as vic. Strathmartin, had remission for opposing the governor at Balgavie Law. RSS iv 2234
9 Jan.1553/4: wits.chtr. as graniter of Arbroath, with John Carnegy, chamberlain of Arbroath. (Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2097
16 Jan.1553/4: with Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird and others,as vic. Strathmartin, had remission for opposing the governor in arms at Glasgow Moor in May 1544 and for going to England without licence. RSS iv 2339
13 Aug.1558: installed as chaplain preb. of Fowlis (Easter and Wester Keith) by Provost Nicholas Spittal.
Prot.bk.Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f16r/ RH 2.1.22 p179
13 Feb.1560/61: had deceased holding lands from John earl of Buchan in the kirkton of Auchterhouse. John Mortimer in Parkford succeeded him. NP 1.16 f19r/ RH 2.1.22 p182

MOUN, HENRY

246 27 Sept.1547: pres. par. Aldbar (provost Methven CC). RSS iii 2458
19 Apr.1549: resigned as provost of Methven. Watt, FESMA p.368

MOUNT, JAMES

247 [x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
2 Nov.1552: chtr. by him as chaplain of Boath in the cathedral of Brechin, to David Maule. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2215
30 Mar./5 Apr.1558: had resigned as chaplain of St James the Apostle, in Brechin cathedral, founded on the lands of Boath. RSS v 378,382

MUIR, MR PATRICK

248 15 Nov.1550: pres. par. Fern (preb. Dunkeld) in expect., by nomination of his predecessor Mr Archibald Boyd. RSS iv 969, 976
20 Jan.1561/2: instituted in par. Fern.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2
1562: Book of Assumption: held par./vic. Fern. E 48.1.1 f359v
18 May 1562: tacked all teinds from lands of the lairds of Edzell to Dame Katherine Campbell; and issued discharges 1562-1565.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2
23 Nov.1564: took instruments against a tack of teinds by his predecessor to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford.
Acts and Decs., CS 7.30 f236v
Mar.1569: petitioned the General Assembly for reduction of the third due from Fern as estimated by the superintendent and collector for Angus and Mearns. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f340r
3 Nov.1569: had privy seal letters in four forms issued for payment of his teinds.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2
22 May 1572: had a tack of lands in Ayrshire. RSS vi 1619
18 Jun.1572: wits.chtr. RMS iv 2081
12 Aug.1577: wits. inst. at Brechin. (Dame Katherine Campbell)
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.16 f270r
25 Mar.1585: owed teinds as par.Fern by Alexander Lindsay of Vane. Edin. tests. CC 8.8.19 f288r
12 Oct.1585 x 1587: sued by Sir David Lindsay of Edzell for unpaid "superplus" of thirds for the par. since 1563.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2
2 Jan.1586/7: put to the horn for non-payment of third to the minister of Fern since 1583 and for non-payment of the superplus of the rental (as undeclared for 23 years) to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3 bund. no.2

MURRAY, MR JAMES

249 9 Aug.1530: wits. as notary and priest of Brechin.
REB ii no.cxviii
15 May 1531: wits. at Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6.formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
5 Dec.1531: wits. as notary and priest at Brechin. REB ii no.cxix
26 Mar.1537: wits. to a mortification by a Brechin chaplain.
REB ii no. cxxiv
22 Apr.1579: had deceased. REB ii no.cclxv

MURRAY, sir THOMAS

250 4 Feb.1556/7: chaplain and commissary of Brechin.
JRL, The Craw. mss., box P bund.iv
25 Mar.1577: had deceased, and his annual pension of £10 5s. from the teinds of Montrose gifted to a student. RSS vii 978

MURRAY, sir WILLIAM

251 14 May 1532: as vic.Cortachy, had gift of an escheat. RSS ii 1240
12 Mar.1539/40: had killed himself: his possessions escheated.
RSS ii 3449

MURRAY, sir WILLIAM

252 30 Apr.1530: wits. as chaplain, at Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
9 Aug.1530: wits. as notary and chaplain at Brechin.

REB ii no.cxviii
20 Aug.1540: wits. as chaplain, at Edzell.
JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.1.1
6 Jun.1541: wits. as chaplain, at Brechin. REB i no.114
[x] Jun.1541: the annual rent mortified by the bishop of Brechin for masses for the soul of Mr Henry White, deceased dean of Brechin, had been resigned to him by sir William Murray, chaplain.
REB ii no.cxxvii

NASMYTH, sir JAMES

253 5 Oct.1545: resigned as dean of Brechin to cardinal Beaton, the papal legate. Hannay,"Some papal bulls" SHR xxii p.37

NAUGHTY, Mr JOHN

254 5 Nov.1511: notary, priest of Brechin for chtr. (Hospital of Montrose) MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
3 Jun.1513: wits.chtr., chaplain and notary. RMS iii 1353
19 Apr.1515: wits. testament of John Erskine of Dun.
Spald.Misc. iv p12
16 May 1516: as vic. Barry appeared before Kincardine sheriff court as procurator for Mr Patrick Paniter. Montrose mss, M/W1/2
3 Nov.1515: notary for kenning of terce to relict of John Erskine of Dun. Spald.Misc. iv p20
19 May 1517: wits.chtr. as vic. Barry. RMS iii 175
6 Jun.1517: wits. inst. sasine at Montrose. REB ii no.cx
13 Apr.1522: wits.chtr. at Montrose. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
22 Jan.1531/2: wits.chtr. at Montrose as vic. Barry. RMS iii 1146
15 Oct.1533: had resigned vic.pens./vic.port. Barry to sir Walter Naughty. Arb.Lib. ii 783

NAUGHTY, sir WALTER

255 22 Jan.1531/2: wits.chtr. at Montrose. RMS iii 1146
15 Oct.1533: pres. vic.pens./vic.port. Barry vacant by resignation of Mr John Naughty. Arb.Lib. ii 783

NICOLSON, MR DAVID

256 14 Jun.1530 x 30 Jan.1538/9: as notary, priest and chaplain: wits.chtrs. at Aberdeen. RMS iii 951,1918 and see index
18 Feb.1539/40: vic.pens. Maryculter when his natural son Robert was legitimised. RSS ii 3379
5 Mar.1539/40:as vic.pens. Maryculter with his son, Robert, granted (conjunctly and severally and to the longest-liver of them) the office of sheriff-clerk for Aberdeenshire, for life.
RSS ii 3434
30 Mar,24 May 1543: notary at Aberdeen. RMS iii 2910,2945
29 May 1563: had deceased; the office of sheriff-clerk had been exercised by Robert Nicholson and his deputies for the previous five years. RSS v 1325

NUDRY, sir THOMAS

257 1515: prosecuted before the Lords for purchase at Rome of vic. Inverness. ADCP p56
1517: prosecuted before the Lords for purchase at Rome of par. Inchbrayock contrary to the crown's pres. ADCP p100
14 Mar.1524/5: as commendator of Culross and par. Inchbrayock, principal protonotary apostolic, petitioned the Lords against George Drury also claiming Inchbrayock. ADCP p215

15 Apr.1525: supplicated at Rome for pres. to par. Inchbrayock; and continued his case vs. Drury.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1857,f266r; vol.1883,f153r [1 Mar.1526]
10 Jan.1527: supplicated for the sub-deanery of Brechin.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1916,f.139v
Dec.1527: had deceased as subdean of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.53
23 May 1528: had deceased,leaving par. Logie-Montrose vacant.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1925,f151v; vol.1945,f235r
1531: had deceased, the Inchbrayock case being unsettled.
RFVA, Arm.xxxix,51,fos.601v-604v; James V Letters p233
30 Nov.1532: James V wrote desiring the extinction of suits still pending for benefices left vacant by Nudry's death, in favour of the current possessors. These benefices also included par. Tannadice, probably acquired after the death of Patrick Paniter. [Nudry may have been, like Paniter, a native of Montrose - certainly one David Nudry was Provost of the burgh in 1528.]
James V Letters p.233:MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13

OGILVY, Mr ANTHONY

258 1516: pres. par. Inchbrayock by the crown; but ...
1517: disputed by Thomas Nudry claiming papal pres. ADCP p100
1526: had died at Rome. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1857,f266r

OGILVY, sir GEORGE

259 25 Oct.1547: had deceased as perpet.vic. Lintrathen. RSS iii 2513

OGILVY, MR JAMES

260 1540: matriculated (nation of Angus) in St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 245
24 May 1548: expected to resign perpet.vic. Inverkeilor.
RSS iii 2789

OLIPHANT, MR ANDREW

261 See: M.Sanderson, Cardinal pp.89,97-8,101,105,107,115,118,137.
9 Aug.1532: Henry Preston agreed to nominate him as co-adjutor, perpet. vic. Fowlis; and later, Oliphant resigned the parish clerkship of Musselburgh to him. Further litigation at Rome does not seem to have disrupted his possession of the vic.
RFVA, Resignations no 164, Res A.59,206v
and no.166, 15 Feb 1537, Res A 61, 16v-17
also Reg Lat:1820, f215v,217r
27 Aug.1534: notary, at Holyrood. James V Letters p275
1 Feb.1538/9: a procurator at Rome. James V Letters p275
16 Nov.1539: as perpet.vic. Fowlis, being at Rome, received instructions from cardinal Beaton. James V Letters p382
20 Oct.1544: perpet.vic. Fowlis: wits.chtr. (Cardinal Beaton and Patrick Lord Gray) RMS iii 3029
10 Feb.1544/5: wits.chtr. (cardinal Beaton) RMS iii 3065
c.1550: procurator at Rome for the duke of Châtelherault's campaign to prevent Alexander Gordon obtaining the archbishopric of Glasgow. Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls", SHR xxii p.35
1558: prosecuted sir Walter Milne for heresy.
Petrie, Compendious History p189
4 Feb.1559/60: ? [sir Andrew...] the "faithful chaplain" of archbishop John Hamilton captured by the Duke and imprisoned in Glasgow. CSP(S) i 642

OLIPHANT, MR LAURENCE

262 1487-90: matriculated, determined and Licentiate, St Andrews. StA Recs 184,74,75: ActaFacArt ii 231,235
30 Apr.1529: wits.chtr. at Perth. RMS iii 809
26 Apr.1538: vic. Fowlis. [See also, Andrew Oliphant.] RMS iii 2605

OLIVER, GEORGE

263 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

OSTLER, MR GILBERT

264 Book of Assumption: held chaplaincy of the Three Kings of Cologne at Dundee. E 48.1.1 f346r
1566: had failed to pay the third for the altar of the Three Kings. TB p.236
[Possibly this Mr Gilbert also held a chaplaincy at Perth (9th Oct. 1560. RMS iv 1719]

PANITER, MR PATRICK

265 Native of Montrose: Chief Secretary to James IV from 1505: renaissance scholar. See James IV Letters pp.xxviii-xxxiv; R. Nicholson, Scotland, The Later Middle Ages p.589+index
5 May 1509: had royal gift to be Master of the Hospital of Montrose. Montrose mss, M/W1/9
19 Oct.1509: John Erskine of Dun resigned the lands of Spittal Fields to Paniter as master of hospital, having previously held them in feu. This resignation was disputed (16 May 1516), unsuccessfully, by Thomas Erskine of Haltoun on behalf of Dun's heir and grandson, John, on his succession. Montrose mss, M/W1/9 and M/W1/2
1513: wits.royal chtrs. as Secretary and par. Tannadice. RMS iii 2,5
2 May 1514: Leo X granted him absolution and licence to retain his holy orders and the abbey of Cambuskenneth, despite having manipulated engines of war at Flodden, being James IV's chief secretary. James V Letters p.8
[Jul.] 1514: wits.chtr. as abbot of Cambuskenneth. RMS iii 22
28 Nov.1514: Leo X granted him dispensation from assuming the habit and making profession as abbot of Cambuskenneth. James V Letters p.15 [See also pp.15,17,32,59]
18 May 1517: Leo X accepted a petition from Albany (on behalf of Paniter) to dissolve the foundation of the ancient hospital of Montrose and annex it to a revived Dominican friary in the burgh. Albany had stated that the revenues of the hospital had been misappropriated by previous masters and that the former friary had been burnt in war. Paniter had rebuilt the hospital building and church, recovered the lands and re-endowed the foundation with annuals, and by procuring from Julius II an indulgence to those who contributed. The lands of the hospital were to be feued to provide for a vicar to minister to their inhabitants: the patronage for this benefice to be held by Paniter for life and afterwards by the feuar. James V Letters p.45
[Note that earlier and later documents refer to this complex re-establishment of two houses. MTH, Montrose mss, M/WC/8 - 2 Jul.1513: APS ii 395; RMS iii p.23: Leo's bull appointing conservators, 9 Jun.1518 James V Letters pp.60,70]

[1519]: letter from Albany to Leo X on Paniter's behalf, stating that the latter had been delayed in Paris by ill-health, and asked for dispensation from a vow to visit Rome and for permission to choose his own confessor in the hour of death. Paniter was dead by Feb.1519/20. James V Letters pp.70,73

PATON, MR DAVID

266 26 Jun.1548: wits.chtr., vic.pens. Fetteresso.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund vi, 329
15 Oct.1554: natural son John legitimated. RMS iv 959
29 Jul.1580: had deceased as vic.pens. Fetteresso. RSS vii 2441

PATRICK, MR ANDREW

267 1497: matriculated (nation of Angus) at St Andrews. StA Recs 196
8 Nov.1516: vic. Arbuthnott, wits.chtr. RMS iii 119
7 Mar.1521/2: James Arbuthnott of that ilk left Mr Andrew Patrick, "his vicar", £3 5s 8d to pray for his soul.
WRH: Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5:232
3 May 1530: Papal licence to hold benefices secular or regular with or without cure. WRH: Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5:251 6 May 1530: as vic.pens.Arbuthnott supplicated to hold another benefice. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2006, f228v
22 Jan 1531/2: wits.chtr. as vic. Arbuthnott. RMS iii 1146
10 Dec.1535: wits.chtr. RMS iii 1582
28 Apr.1541: wits.chtr. RMS iii 2347
28 Jul.1541: as vic.pens.Arbuthnott presented to chaplaincy of St John of Barras by Andrew Straiton of that ilk, patron. AUL: Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi
Book of Assumption: vic.pens.Arbuthnott with manse and croft. E 48.1.1. f363v
19 Jul.1561: notary, contract Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk with George Straiton of that ilk.
WRH,Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5,379
Conformed as reader, Arbuthnott: c 176.
(Note that, with Haws, Parish Clergy and against Donaldson, review of Haws' "Scottish Parish Clergy", SHR liii (1974) p.83 these references are all held to belong to a single individual - whose signature by 19 Jul.1561 was extremely shakey.)

PEN, MR JOHN

268 30 Oct.1574: as vic.pens. Fettercairn, with others summoned the reader to quit his manse, unsuccessfully. A&D., CS 7.55 f39r

PETRIE, JOHN

269 c1540: priest of Inverkeilor; arrested by the bishop of St Andrews with sir Walter Milne, and with him condemned by cardinal David Beaton to be burned whenever apprehended.
Petrie, Compendious History p189

PETTILOCK, MR GEORGE

270 1506: licentiate, St Andrews. StA Recs 93, ActaFacArt ii 281
1514: perpet.vic. Rossie.
Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 14.2 no.17
5 Jun.1525: wits.chtr.(Elizabeth countess of Huntly, Lady Glamis) RMS iii 315
10 Dec.1528: wits.chtr. (John Lord Glamis) RMS iii 728

12 Dec 1530: vic. Rossie, gifted ward, relief and nonentries of lands in Errol on resignation of Mr Alexander Lyon chanter of Moray. RSS ii 778
23 Feb.1531/2: had royal protection on granting of licence to Mr Alexander Lyon to travel to France. RSS ii 1180
23 Jan 1533/4: chaplain, notary for chtr. (Ogilvy of that ilk) RMS iii 1397
5 Aug.1537: to resign chaplaincy of Baikie for pres. to his nephew Mr David Henderson; had died by Nov.1541. RSS ii 2343,4310
Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 14.4 no.62

PETTILOCK, sir WILLIAM

271 11 Sept.1531: pres. perpet. vic. Ruthven. Arb.Lib. ii 761
24 Jun.1533: graniter of Arbroath, and servant of cardinal Beaton. Airlie mss, GD 16.47.2: Sanderson, Cardinal p.27
15 Feb.1549/50: wits.chtr. (Abbot and Convent of Arbroath) Northesk mss: GD 130 box 1 bund.3
26 Apr.1558: notary chtr. (John Carnegy, graniter of Arbroath) Northesk mss,GD 130 box 2 bund.4
30 Sept.1558: notary inst. sasine by abbot and convent of Arbroath to James Lord Ogilvy.
Kinnaird, Southesk papers box 4 bund 8
23 Nov.1559: gave consent as chaplain of the Chapel of St Ninian, Arbroath to tack of St Ninian's croft with teinds, by John commendator of Arbroath to John Carnegy of Seaton.
Kinnaird, Southesk papers box 4 bund.19 = RMS v 559
Book of Assumption:St Duthac's chaplain, Arbroath. E 48.1.1 f345r
29 Feb.1563/4: registered protocol book as notary in Arbroath and currently aged 63 years - hence born c1500. Admissns,NP 2.1. f61r
26 May 1564: wits.chtr. (John Carnegy of Seaton) RMS iv 1670
9 Nov.1564: notary inst. sasine by abbot and convent of Arbroath to John Carnegy, graniter.
Northesk mss, GD 130 box 17 bund."Ethie no.1"
10 Mar.1567/8: notary tack by sir James Lekprevik of his vic. CS 7.42. 510v
Deceased by 4 Feb.1583/4 - so cannot be the William Pettilock who was reader at Eassie 1574-90. Kinnaird,Southesk papers box 4 b.8
See his protocol book 1556-1564: RH 6.94
8 Jan 1559/60; from this date use of papal regnal year no longer routine; out of use by April/May. RH 6.94 f94v
21 April 1564; reverted to old form with papal regnal year. RH 6.94 f209v

PITCAIRN, MR DAVID

272 1489-93: matriculated, determined and Licentiate as [arch]-dean of Brechin at St Andrews.
StA Recs 188,78,80, ActaFacArt ii 239,242
15 Mar.1499/1500: occ. as archdean of Brechin (par. Strachan). Laing Chrs. 61
10 May 1518: occ. as archdean of Brechin (par. Strachan). REB ii no.cxi
29 Apr.1524: wits.chtr. as archdean of Brechin. RMS iii 265
31 May 1525: wits. precept to infeft John Erskine of Dun in the customs of Montrose. Spald.Misc. iv p.22
4 Aug.1526: wits.chtr. as archdean of Brechin. RMS iii 371
8 Oct.1526: had resigned as archdean of Brechin (par.Strachan) to James Pitcairn - but continued to possess the preb.

REB ii ccccxxxvii; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1908,f65r
26 Jan.1527/28: wits.chtr. as archdean of Brechin. RMS iii 566
14 Feb.1527/28: wits.chtr. as archdean of Brechin. RMS iii 569
22 Apr.1528: wits. as archdean of Brechin.
Northesk mss, GD 130 box 1 bund.2
12 Jul.1528: wits.chtr. as archdean of Brechin. RMS iii 613
21 Jul.1528: occ. as archdean of Brechin. REB ii nos.cxiv,cxvi
9 Aug.1530: occ.as archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.cxviii
22 May 1537: held court as archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxv
[x] Jun.1541: occ. as archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxvii
1545: part of commission appointed by archbishop of St Andrews to inspect and transumpt a feu-chtr.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms 2764, bund.vi,317
9 Aug.1546: curator to David, master of Crawford when latter sub. a bond of service to David, ninth earl of Crawford.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.45: RD 2.410
19 Aug.1547: occ. as archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.ccxxxiv
12 Nov.1552: occ. as archdean of Brechin.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.2215
1554: died that year, having made Alexander Lindsay (brother of David, master of Crawford) his assignee as tacksman of Middle Drums and Greenden to the chapter of Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.1

PITCAIRN, MR JAMES

273 1527-1529: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 224,120,122: ActaFacArt ii 257,361
8 Oct.1526: pres. par. Strachan (preb. archdean of Brechin), being aged around nineteen. Actually, gained the reversion of the preb. after Mr David Pitcairn who continued to hold possession.
REB ii ccccxxxvii; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1908,f65r
22 May 1537: at archdean's court of Mr David Pitcairn.
REB ii no.cxxv
11 Aug.1541: wits.chtrs. (Erskine of Brechin). RMS iii 2432,2439
27 Jun.1556: occ. as archdean of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
Book of Assumption: rental of preb. handed in for the archdean by Robert Pitcairn, as set to Robert Keith. E 48.1.1 f345v
27 Feb.1561/2: as archdean, owed £60 by Crawmond of Aldbar.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.5 f28r
1563-5: fruit of archdeanery tacked to Arthur Erskine, brother of John Lord Erskine: the former seems to have secured a reversionary claim to the preb. TB p.230,235; REB ii 327
27 Oct.1564: occ. as archdean of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.56
1 [Feb.] 1564/5: his testament registered at Edinburgh.
Edinburgh minute book of tests., CC 8.9.1
13 Dec.1565: occ. having deceased; confirmation of a feu by him of the lands of Drums to his nephew David Pitcairn. RSS v 2482

PITCAIRN, MR ROBERT

274 1539-40:matriculated (nation "Albaniae") and determined ("dives") at St Salvator's College, St Andrews, as commendator of Dunfermline. StA Recs p.242,141: ActaFacArt ii 390; and StAUL, graduates' index
16 Sept.1539: pres. par. Kinneff (= archdeanry of St Andrews) following resignation by George Drury. James V opposed the compact, claiming that Pitcairn was only a boy. Drury retained

possession to 10 Oct.1559. Watt, FESMA p.308
24 Mar.1541/2: at Paris university ("noble"). McNeill, "Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.79
12 May 1560: occ. as archdean. Watt, FESMA p.309
20 May 1565: archdean of St Andrews and Commendator of Dunfermline: commissioner for George, usufructuar of Dunfermline, "now being in the parts of France". RSS v 2064: RSS v 3037
18 Jan.1566/7: feued lands of the archdean in Fife. RSS v 3175
6 Feb.1566/7:feued lands of Dunfermline in Perthshire. RSS v 3220
1568-72: held preb. archdean. TB p241
12 Oct.1584: had deceased as archdean. Haws, Parish Clergy p.206

PRESTON, HENRY

275 9 Aug.1532: as perpet.vic. Fowlis agreed to appoint Andrew Oliphant as his co-adjutor; Oliphant later resigned the parish clerkship of Musselburgh to him.
RFVA, Resignations no.164,Res A.59,206v; no.166,Res A.61,16v

PRESTON, WILLIAM

276 8 Jul.1530: resigned as perpet.vic. Glamis in favour of Robert Galbraith. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2015,f.203v; Annates vol.68 f.39r

RAE, MR ALEXANDER

277 9 Nov.1556: wits.chtr. at Alyth as vic.pens. Alyth, having apparently exchanged posts with sir Robert Fowler qv. RMS iv 1122, Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2. 8r
1561-66: had his pension from the two-thirds of Cortachy (a common church of Brechin) remitted as vic.pens. Cortachy. TB 89,228
[Book of Assumption: Cortachy kirk - "haill to ye quene". E48.1.1. f356r]

RAE, MR JOHN

278 3 Jan.1552/3: notary, at Hamilton. RMS iv 759
7 Sept.1554: notary, at Hamilton. RMS iv 971
17 Aug.1560: notary, (Hamilton chtr.) RMS iv 1696
1569: as vic. pens. Lunan had his third remitted. TB p.230
24 Oct.1570: pursued an action against George Douglas, commendator of Arbroath, stating that Rae had "of old" been provided to the vic. of Lunan and was due 28 bolls victual from Arbroath's rents. Acts & Decs., CS 7.46. f267r
18 Aug.1574: had deceased as vic.pens. Lunan. RSS vi 2635

RAMSAY, sir ALEXANDER

279 1532/3: chaplain at Finavon parish church,paid by dues from the burgh of Forfar. Payments to him recur 1533/4, 1534/5, 1536-38, 1538/9, 1539/40, 1540/41, 1541/2, 1542/3, 1543/4. After that date, the payments continued to an unnamed recipient.
ER xvi p234,366,383; xvii p64,191,309,404,470, xviii p56,73

RAMSAY, JAMES

280 9 Jun.1543: sub.chtr. by choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4

RAMSAY, sir THOMAS

281 13 Apr.1524: one of the chaplains of the College of Brechin. RSS ii 757

6 Jun.1541: wits. as chaplain of the Holy Cross, at Brechin. REB i no.114

RAMSAY, sir WILLIAM

282 13 Apr.1524: a chaplain of the College of Brechin. RSS ii 757
22 Apr.1528: wits. as chaplain. Northesk mss, GD 130 box 1 bund.2

RATTRAY, MR JOHN

283 30 Dec.1547: wits. chtr. at Perth. RMS iv 2252
Bk.Assumpt.: held perpet.vic. Longforgan. E 48.1.1 f.299r
6 Oct.1584: had had Andrew Monorgund in Longforgan escheated for nonpayments of his vicar's teinds. RSS viii 2483
Conformed as reader, Longforgan: c 197.

REID, sir FLORENTINE

284 16 Dec.1531: wits.chtr. at Forfar as chaplain. RMS iii 1331,1104
2 Jul.1548: as chaplain, wits. inst. sasine to William Lundie in Benholm. Benholm and Hedderwick muns., GD 4.27
19 Aug.1548: wits.institution William Rynd in preb. Arbuthnott. Spald.Misc. iv 50
23 Mar.1548/9: had deceased as vic.pens.Kinneff.[umq.dom. Florentini (blank)] RSS iv 173

REID, sir JAMES

285 18 Dec.1549: as perpet.chaplain of Drumlithie, with consent of Mr Robert Erskine dean of Aberdeen, patron, set lands of the chapel to William Douglas, heir of Glenbervie, "because the peace is troubled by the increasing wickedness of men" and for a grant of lands. RMS v 816

RICHARDSON, MR MATTHEW

286 1491-96: ? one of possibly two men of the same name at St Andrews. StA Recs 189,78,81; ActaFacArt ii 239,245,260
1530/31: chaplain at Finavon parish church, paid by dues from the burgh of Forfar. ER xvi p.71

ROACH, MR HENRY

287 24 May 1519: wits.inst. REB ii no.cxii
13 Apr.1522: had chtr. as perpet.vic. of Montrose of tenement in the burgh. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13
1531: wits.chtr. RMS iii 1146
2 Aug.1542: resigned two annual rents to the vicar of Montrose hospital. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/7
4 May 1543: as vic. Montrose, resigned a tenement to the chaplains and choristers of the burgh church. Burghs, B 51.15.23
15 Jun.1543: perpet.vic. Montrose vacant by his death. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2495,f70v

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER

288 1574: as reader, was allowed the third of his own vic.pens. at Maryculter. NLS, ms.17.1.4 (RAMS) ad loc.
He was reader there 1564-1580, and hence may well have been the pre-reformation vic.pens.
Conformed as reader, Maryculter: c 203.

ROBERTSON, sir JAMES

289 15 Jun.1533: wits. at Brechin. RMS iii 1289
18 Dec.1549: wits. chtr. as commissary of Brechin. RMS v 816
12 Nov.1545: occ. as commissary-general of Brechin. RMS iii 3184
15 Jun.1541: wits. as notary and priest of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxviii
19 Aug.1547: occ. as commissary of Brechin. REB ii no.ccxxxiv
18 Jun.1550: occ. as commissary-general of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.631
10 Jan.1552/3: occ. as notary and clerk to the chapter of Brechin. REB i no.114
12 Jun.1555: occ. as commissary of Brechin. Watt, FESMA .57
14 Dec.1559: possibly the Commissary and Scribe of Brechin with other "malevolent members of the said antichrist" prohibited on pain of death from holding ecclesiastical courts at Brechin, by the Lords of the Congregation issuing privy seal letters in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots.
Petrie, Compendious History p.115 citing now lost Dun papers
20 Mar.1561/2: had deceased as commissary of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.57

ROBSON, sir JOHN

290 1539/40-42/3: chaplain at Brechin, supported from the fermes of Dundee. ER xvii pp.312,405,468; xviii p.56

ROCH, sir JOHN

291 29 Aug.,7 Sept. 1557 : wits.inst. at the church of Monifieth as vic.[pens.] there. RH 4.96 (Prot.bk. William Pettilock)f.32r,33v.

ROLLAND, MR JAMES

292 1517-21: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate, St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 213,109,111: ActaFacArt ii 322,337
2 Oct.1533: procurator (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 1326
6 Dec.1533: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin/ earl of Crawford) RMS iii 1336
13 Dec.1537: petitioned the Pope for an inquiry following rejection by the archbishop of St Andrews of his pres. by David, eighth earl of Crawford to perpet.vic. Inverarity; and into the counter-pres. of Mr Hugh Lindsay. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2268,f67
4 Sept.,27 Nov.1538: wits.chtrs.(earl Crawford) RMS iii 1835,1874
1 Feb.1538/9, 2 Feb.1539/40: further petitions for an inquiry into the dispute for perpet.vic. Inverarity. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2319,f83r;vol.2365,f10r
22 Jan.1540/41: wits.chtr. (earl of Crawford) RMS iii 2288
24 Sept.1541: resigned his interests in perpet.vic. Inverarity to Mr Hugh Lindsay in exchange for a pension. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2432, f186v
6 Sept.1542: claimed par. Inverarity. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2470,f85v; vol.2469,f94r
14 Jan 1542/3: appealed to the Pope for new provision to par. Inverarity as the ordinary refused to admit him. RFVA, Reg. Supp vol.2476, f87v-88r
22 May 1544: fought case for rights in par. Inverarity.
StA Formulare ii 496; also Dundee,RFVA, SRR manualia 212.581
24 Feb.1546/7: held preb. Balquhidder (Dunblane). RMS v 1274
10 Feb.1548/9: canon of Dunblane. RMS iv 298

8 Aug.1553: pres. preb. St Mary on the Rock CC. RSS iv 2080
28 Aug.1554: as perpet.vic. Glamis had confirmation of chtr. to him by Robert Rolland son of deceased John Rolland, burgess of Dundee, in acres of land held from the constable of Dundee; with gift of relief. RSS iv 2808-9
26 Jan.1561/2: Book of Assumption; held perpet.vic. Glamis with its pendicle the chaplaincy of Clova; also the preb. Balquhidder. E 48.1.1 f356v
Dec.1565: tacked the vic. Glamis less the chaplaincy of Clova and the manse and glebe of Glamis to Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk for three years. DAC, prot.bk. no.3 (Thomas Ireland) f99r
14 Oct.1570: had deceased as perpet.vic. Glamis. RSS vi 943
[Possibly held chaplaincy of St Margaret in Dundee. RSS vi 1670; vii 223]

ROW, sir ANDREW

293 21 Nov.1560: as perpet.vic. Fowlis, feued lands to Patrick Lord Gray; with precept and inst. sasine, 3 Feb.1560/61.
Fowlis-Easter chtrs, GD 212 Maitland Thomson no6: p147,nos 101-2
28 Nov.1560: held perpet.vic. Fowlis, ?a canon of Cambuskenneth. Haws, Parish Clergy p94
[?1575] had deceased as perpet.vic. Fowlis. NLS, ms 17.1.4 (RAMS)

ROW, sir JOHN

294 24 Jul.1557: pres. perpet. vic. Fowlis. Haws, Parish Clergy p94
7 Mar.1574/5: had resigned perpet.vic. Fowlis. RSS vii 72
[see also, sir Andrew Row]

RUTHERFORD, dom. THOMAS

295 6 Feb.1528/9: monk of Arbroath. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 4 bund.8
14 Apr.1545: monk of Arbroath. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 4 bund.2
14 Jun.1545: monk of Arbroath. Northesk mss, GD 130.15.C
1 Jun.1546: monk of Arbroath. Airlie mss., GD 16.47.2
24 May 1548: as subprior of Arbroath abbey, pres. perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. RSS iii 2789
3 Jan.1549/50: subprior of Arbroath. Northesk mss., GD 130.1.3

RYND, sir WILLIAM

296 11 Feb.1530: supp. for chaplaincy at altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Glenbervie. RFVA, Reg. Sup. vol.2001, f147r
28 Apr.1541: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 2347 20
Sept.1541: as chaplain, wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iii 2966
22 Jul.1542: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) RMS iv 194
20 Sept.1543: wits.precept sasine by Erskine of Brechin. WRH, Jackson of Kirkbuddo mss: NRA(S) 124 p25 no.22
20 Jun.1545: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) Spald.Misc. iv 46
20 Mar.1547/8: pres. par. Arbuthnott on resign. John Erskine. RSS iii 2683
7 May 1550: as chaplain wits. sasine by Erskine of Brechin. Dalhousie mss: GD 45.16.960
8 Jan.1550/51: wits.chtr. (Erskine of Brechin) Dalhousie mss: GD 45.16.961
Feb.1552: being preb.BVM, resigns as par. Arbuthnott to Mr Robert Erskine reserving a pension. RFVA, Reg. Sup. vol:2755, f232r

23 Apr.1552: contract to resign par. Arbuthnott to Mr Robert Erskine after tacking it to John Erskine of Dun for three years. Spald.Misc. iv 521

Book of Assumption: had a pension of twenty merks from parish of Arbuthnott. E 48.1.1. f363v

8 Oct.1583: chaplain of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Maisondieu of Brechin, confirmation of his earlier grant of a feu-chtr. with consent of John Lord Erskine as patron. RSS viii 1529

12 Aug.1584: deceased as chaplain of BVM in Brechin Maisondieu. RSS viii 2272

SADDLER, sir JOHN

297 3 Apr.1547: as chaplain of Carmyllie, acted for the commissary-general of Brechin in absolving Strachan of Carmyllie from excommunication. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.190

SALMOND, JAMES

298 22 Mar.1532: supplicated for par. Tannadice. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2076,f.110v

18 Mar.1533: supplicated for par. Tannadice again, claiming intrusion by Henry Lumsden. This conflict continued for several years at Rome: Lumsden was in possession in Scotland 1531-40. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2113,f.224v; vol.2133,f.187r; also, Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia vol.181, f.311r; vol.248 f60r

24 May 1538: with several others, supplicated for preb. treasurer of Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2308,f93v

11 Aug.1539: resigned his claim to treasury of Brechin to Henry Sinclair, the successful candidate. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2340,f47v

28 May 1541: vic. Durris. RFVA, Resignations no.197:ResA 80,123v

Sept.1550: perpet. vic. Durris. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2704, f61v

Nov.1550: supplicated for par. Eassie. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2723, f70r

24 Aug.1557: claimed to have been provided to par. Eassie. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2920, f269r-269v

(Salmond's claim to Eassie was unsuccessful: see sir Hugh Curry.)

SALMOND, MR WILLIAM

299 1542/1545: matriculated (nation "Albaniae") at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 249,251

8 Oct.1557:co-par. Dunnottar, preb.subdean Trinity CC. RMS v 2309

Book of Assumption: held co-par. Dunnottar. E 48.1.1 f362v

Book of Assumption: held vic. Clunie. E 48.1.1 f318r

21 May 1563: occ. as vic. Binning. Haws, Parish Clergy p25

Conformed as reader, Clunie, Dunnottar: c 209.

SAMSON, sir THOMAS

300 1529/30: chaplain at Finavon parish church, paid by dues from the burgh of Forfar. ER xvi p.49

SANDILANDS, MR PETER

301 15 Apr.1540: as par. Calder and chaplain of Caldhame at St Ninian's altar in Brechin, tacked lands of the chaplaincy by Brechin bridge. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3 bund.14

SANQUHAR MR JAMES

302 16 Nov.1539: had been unsuccessfully nominated for par. Eassie by deceased John Sanquhar. James V Letters p382/3

SANQUHAR, JOHN

303 16 Nov.1539: had deceased as par. Eassie having attempted to resign in favour of Mr James Sanquhar. James V Letters p382/3

SCOTT, MR GEORGE

304 1535-37: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 236,134,137: ActaFacArt ii 378,381
c1541: pres. perpet.vic. Longforgan by the crown, being "writer of accounts" to James V; defended in possession vs. claims of Mr David Bonar to papal provision. The case continued at Rome to at least 1552. ADCP 581,596
See also, Dundee RFVA, SRR manualia 248.60; 248.401v
28 Jul.1545: wits.chtr at Perth. RMS iii 3201
9 Jun.1546: wits.chtr. at Edinburgh. RMS iii 3288
8 Aug.1551: pres. to chapel of BVM in Wellgate, Dundee by the patron, the constable of Dundee.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3878
1559: held preb. Kinnettles - St Salvator's College. REB ii 204
17 Aug.1559: pres. perpet.vic. Glassary.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3885
10 Sept.1563: had deceased as chaplain of the BVM in Wellgate, Dundee. Prot.bk. Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f25r/ RH 2.1.22 p188

SCOTT, MR HENRY

305 1514: matriculated at St Andrews. StA Recs 209
5 Nov.1536: as chaplain of the altar of St Bride in Montrose parish church, set a tenement to a burgess.
Erskine of Dun mss, GD 123.59

SCOTT, MR JAMES

306 13 May 1532: writer for the Lords of Council. ADCP 373
18 Dec.1540: protested for his interest in vic. Kilbirnie, as scribe and member of the College of Justice, and provost of Corstorphine CC. ADCP 498
27 Nov.1546: The Lords suspended letters against him to compel payment of the tax for recovering St Andrews Castle. ADCP 559
7 Mar.1553/4: appointed joint collector of the contribution to the New College by the prelates. ADCP 632
1561-3: held par. Kinnettles (preb. St Salvator's College) and had third remitted "and geuin fre". TB 230; E 46.4. f14v
7 Sept.1563: member College of Justice, provost Corstorphine. RSS v 1446
24 Apr.1565: had deceased, after feuing kirklands of Kilbirnie to Robert Scott, scribe to the Lords. RSS v 2034,2909;2238

SCRYMGEOUR, MR DAVID

307 1533-35: matriculated (nation "Albaniae"), determined and Licentiate (pauper) at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 233,129,133: ActaFacArt ii 373,376
Feb.1552: as a priest of St Andrews, supplicated for perpet.vic. Monikie, vacant by the death of Mr James Scrymgeour.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2756,f300v
22 Dec.1558: chaplain of St John in Dundee parish kirk.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f30v
1562: had failed to pay thirds for the chapels of St Anthony and

St John in Dundee, and St John Baptist in Auchterhouse. TB p.167
1563: as chaplain of St Margaret in Dundee parish kirk, feued the lands of the chapel to John Simpson.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.2349
10 Sept.1563: described as a priest; pres. chapel of Our Lady in Wellgate by the patron, John Scrymgeour constable of Dundee, and instituted by presentation with Bible and ornaments by sir William and sir David Lind. p.b.Gray NP 1.16 f25r:RH 2.1.22 p.188
3 Jan.1564/5: as chaplain of Our Lady in Wellgate, feued the chapel to James Scrymgeour, baker, and Janet Dog his wife: the property being waste. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3890-1
5 Feb.1565/6: wits.chtr. as vic. Monikie. RMS iv 1715
17 May 1566: as chaplain of St John the Baptist in Auchterhouse parish kirk, contracted with John Reid in Auchterhouse and the latter's wife Elizabeth Scrymgeour to resume occupation of the house and outbuildings belonging to that altar, and to be responsible to the earl of Buchan for certain payments due to him. NP 1.16 f31r: RH 2.1.22 p.167
13 May 1567: as chaplain of St Anthony in Dundee, made obligation to James Scrymgeour in Ethiebeaton and Christian Scrymgeour his wife. DAC, prot.bk. no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f9r
2 Jan.1568/9: as chaplain of St Anthony in Dundee, feued lands of the chapel to James and Christian Scrymgeour "for repair of the chapel destroyed by the English occupation at Broughty Craig".
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3902

SCRYMGEOUR, MR HENRY

308 c.1505: born, son of James Scrymgeour burgess of Dundee.
J.Durkan, "Henry Scrymgeour, Renaissance Bookman", pages 1-32: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions v pt.1 (1978)
1532-34/5: matriculated and Licentiate at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StAUL graduates' index; ActaFacArt ii 376
c.1530: held a chaplaincy in Dundee. Durkan, op.cit. p.20
Further career in France, Italy and Germany as a scholar of law and the classics: also as agent for the Fuggers. Associated with an antipapal tract, Dec.1549; professor in Geneva: 1559,1563+5.
Durkan, op.cit. p.5 and passim;also, DNB
1559: [Mr/Sir] Peter Young [of Seaton] his nephew, educated at Geneva; by 1570, his factor for the Dundee chaplaincy.
Durkan, op.cit. pp.1,20
14 May 1566: described by Bucer (writing to Beza) as " "viro optimo et doctissimo Scrimger". Beza Correspondence viii 24
Nov.1572: died at Geneva. DNB

SCRYMGEOUR, MR JAMES

309 15 Jun.1524: as canon of Lismore, "of noble birth", had perpet. vic. Kirriemuir resigned to him. [The claim was not successful: see Mr George Flesher] RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.1815,f273v
1529: par. Benvie. RMS iii 811
1532-3: chaplain at St Saviour's altar, Dundee parish church. ER xvi p.226
Aug.1533: as dean of Glasgow died at Rome.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2125,f185r
1 Sept.1533: David Beaton abbot of Arbroath supplicated for cessation of Scrymgeour's £60 pension from the fruits of Arbroath as par. Benvie. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2119, f196r

SCRYMGEOUR, MR JAMES

310 24 Apr.1521: promised annates and obtained provision as chanter of Brechin (par. Stracathro) Watt, FESMA p.47
Brother of David Scrymgeour of Fardle and inherited after him; 28 Jul.1523 wits. as chanter of Brechin and of Fardle. RMS iii 759; Strathmore muns. NRA(S) 885,box 14.2 nos.25,31
1524/5-1526/7: determined and Licentiate at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 115,117: ActaFacArt ii 348,352
21 Jul.1528: occ. as chanter of Brechin. REB ii no.cxvi
2 Jul.1533: as priest of Dunkeld, supplicated at Rome for licence to hold incompatible benefices of chanter of Brechin and perpet.vic. of Monikie. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2114,f55v; ASPA vol.101
[x] Jun.1541: occ. as chanter of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxvii
4 Sept.1541: granted James Scrymgeour junior the lands and barony of Fardle, county of Perth, as the next legitimate heir. RMS iii 2441
6 Jun.1541: seems to have granted Mr Thomas Scrymgeour reversionary rights to preb. chanter of Brechin. REB i no.114
14 Jun.1542: as chanter of Brechin and laird of Fardle, purchased the lands of the Cottages of Longforgan from Patrick, Lord Gray. RMS iii 2697
2 Apr.1543: both Mr James Scrymgeour chanter of Brechin, laird of Fardle and James Scrymgeour apparent of Fardle granted protection on the departure overseas of James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.15.1
1545: one of commission appointed by archbishop of St Andrews to inspect and transumpt a feu-chtr. AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi 317
12 Nov.1545: sold the Cottages of Longforgan to Andrew Moncur and his wife, Margaret Scrymgeour, "for love". RMS iii 3184
19 Aug.1547: occ. as chanter of Brechin. REB ii no.ccxxxiv
Feb.1552: perpet.vic. Monikie vacant by his death. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2756,f300v

SCRYMGEOUR, MR JOHN

311 7 Sept.1557: chaplain at the altar of St Salvator in the parish kirk of Dundee founded by King Robert III for the soul of the duke of Rothesay. Scrymgeour received payments from the fermes of Dundee in 1557,1558 and 1559. No payment was recorded for 1560 or thereafter. ER xix pp.4,36,83,111

SCRYMGEOUR, MR THOMAS

312 1539-1541/2: matriculated (as chanter of Brechin, in the nation of Angus) determined and Licentiate ("pauper") at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 242,142,145: ActaFacArt ii 392,395
6 Jun.1541: sub. as chanter of Brechin - during tenure of Mr James Scrymgeour of Fardle. REB i no.114
24 May 1543: occ. as chanter of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.47
20/31 May 1553: occ. as chanter of Brechin. Scrymgeour Inventory (SRS) nos.32,37
18/27 Jun.1556: occ. as chanter of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
17 Nov.1556: described as chanter of Brechin; also brother and heir-male of deceased Andrew Scrymgeour of Fordy. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.794
2 Jul.1560: occ. as chanter of Brechin. DAC, prot.bk. no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f80v
31 Aug.1560: wits. inst. as chanter of Brechin. RD 1.4 f447v

[x] [x] 1560 [1560/61] : St James' chaplaincy in Dundee vacant by decease of the last possessor, Mr Thomas Scrymgeour chanter of Brechin. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.4032,3900
[x] Mar.1560/61: died in the "month of March" in account for 1561. TB p10,n.

SETON, MR ALEXANDER

313 1519 x 1522/3: as pensioner of Brechin (preb. perpet.vic. Panbride) wits.discharges made to Mr Gilbert Strachan. Dalhousie mss,GD 45.13.306
21 Jul.1528: occ. as canon pensionary of Brechin. REB ii no.cxiv

SETON, MR DAVID

314 19 Sept.1513: nominated to the Council. ADCP p1
18 Sept.1514f: on Council sederunt as par. Fettercairn. ADCP p21,23,28
13 Dec.1515: involved against sir John Chisholm in a dispute for the deanery of Dunblane. Mr Gilbert Strachan (his successor in Fettercairn) was his procurator at Rome. ADCP p62
16 Jun.1516: lord of Session. ADCP p68

SHARP, sir JAMES

315 [x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of the Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii
18,27 Jun.1556: a chaplain of choir of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv
Conformed as reader, Brechin: c 212.

SIM, sir DAVID

316 25 Jun.1550: preb. Holy Trinity CC, Edinburgh. RH 2/1/20 (Prot Bk James Harlaw) no 9a
7 Oct.1550: pres. by Patrick Lord Gray to preb. Cuthilbank, Fowlis CC. RH 2/1/20 (Prot Bk James Harlaw) no 20b
26 Aug.1561: had deceased as sacristan of Trinity CC. RSS v 2296

SIMSON, MR JAMES

317 1488-1492: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at St Andrews. StA Recs 186,77,79: ActaFacArt ii 237,240
24 Oct.1526: perpet.vic. Murroes and Official of St Andrews. RMS iii 897
26 Oct.1527: as Official of St Andrews had held court prejudicial to the king's right of patronage. ADCP 270
12 Sept.1532: as Official of St Andrews and procurator for the archbishop, protested that the Lords had no jurisdiction over his master. ADCP 362

SINCLAIR, HENRY

318 13 Jun.1538: supplicated at Rome for preb.treasurer of Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2295,f290v
15 Jul.1538: occ. as treasurer of Brechin. ER xvii 70
7 Sept.1539: further supplication for preb. treasurer. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2353,f247r
6 Jun.1543: collated as treasurer of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.51
29 May 1544: further supplication for papal provision. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2513,f221r

[A Lord of Session: see also James V Letters p.344,380f and at index.]

SMALL, WALTER

319 Jan.1534: as perpet.vic. Tealing, died at Rome.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2133,f.186v

SMART, sir RICHARD

320 8 Nov.1546: escheated for the slaughter of Archibald Durham, the previous October.
RSS iii 1981
12 Nov.1546: respite for art and part of the slaughter of Archibald Durham in the Mains of Ethie.
RSS iii 1991
19 Mar.1547/8: pres. to be preceptor of the Maisondieu of Brechin in place of Mr Andrew Annand, being the son of an aunt of the latter.
RSS iii 2678
22 Aug.1582: died, having made his testament testamentary the 15th Aug.1582 in the name of sir Richard Smart, in Inchock in the parish of Inverkeilor. He left £595 6s 8d and made his wife Helen Leslie and his eldest son William his executors.
Edin.tests. CC 8.8.25 f376v

"Sen y[air] is nathing mair certane yan deith that abydis all men and ye ho[ur]e [and] tyme y[air]of maist uncertane; thairfoir I, ye said sir Richard Smert, haill in spreit [and] mynd albeit weik and febill in body levis my soule to god thro[ugh]t Jesus Christ my saviour my onlie redemer and my bodie to be bureit in Innerkelo[ur]e kirk ... "

SMITH, sir JOHN

321 5 Aug.1539: wits. Coupar Angus chtr. as Johannes Fabri, priest of St Andrews, notary.
CA Chrs. ii 148
1542 and 1543: vicar of Airlie, tacking Drumdarne from the abbey of Coupar Angus.
CA Rent. ii 219. See also, ii 275,277
1547: wits. chtr. (Ogilvy of Airlie) as notary.
JRL, Craw. mss. box P bund.iii no.22
5 Dec.1548: vic. Airlie.
Airlie mss: GD 16.3.43
17 Dec.1549: wits. chtr. (Ogilvy of Airlie) as chaplain, notary.
RMS iv 567

Conformed as reader, Glenisla: c 219.

[Note: Other references to sir John Smiths in CA Chrs. ii 151n, with other links accepted in Haws' Parish Clergy, have been rejected for not demonstrating connections either with Airlie or the abbey of Coupar Angus. Other Smiths occured at Fordoun, Longforgan and Inchture: c 217,218. Haws, Parish Clergy p.312]

SOUTER, sir JOHN

322 31 Dec.1524: wits. as chaplain, at Pitcur.
RMS iii 298
2 Apr.1566: the Dundee Council suppressed his private school; and 1573: received payments from the queen's donation to Dundee.
Flett,"The Geneva of Scotland",(St Andrews M.Phil.1981) p.78
8 Jun.1586: had deceased as chaplain of St Thomas, in Dundee.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f149

SPENS, MR DAVID

323 23 Dec.1547: provided to archdeanery of Dunkeld (par.Tealing); gained possession after 1550.
Watt, FESMA p.121-2
22 Oct.1554: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)
Laing Chrs. 624
1558-59: successfully defended possession of archdeanery of

Dunkeld against intrusion of Alexander Crichton.
Watt, FESMA p.122
12 Oct.1566: sub.chtr. with chapter of Dunkeld. RMS iv 1805
16 Mar.1571/2:as archdean Dunkeld (par. Tealing) met with certain parishioners of Tealing in the parish kirk of Auchterhouse, and after long conversations required them to pay his teinds or to compound for them at the highest value.
Prot.bk. Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f.74r/ RH 2.1.22 p.229
26 Feb.1576/7: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)
Laing Chrs. 946
14 Mar.1580/81: had resigned as par. Tealing in favour of his son Mr James Spens, who was pres. in expect. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 52v
14 Nov.1584: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)
Laing Chrs. 1088
12 Jan.1584/5: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)
Laing Chrs. 1091
18/21 Jan.1584/5: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)
Laing Chrs. 1092

SPITTAL, NICHOLAS

324 6 Nov.1542: described as scholar or clerk of St Andrews "or other diocese", born of a priest and an unmarried woman; supplicated for defect of birth, Jun.1550.
RFVA, ASPA vol.109; Reg.Sup.vol.2697,f122v
1551: matriculated as a priest at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. (nation "Laudoniensis") StA Recs pp.296,255
20 Dec.1552: instituted as provost of Fowlis CC (par. Lundie).
DAC, prot.bk. no.3 (Thomas Ireland) f21
11 Jul.1554: as provost, received resignation of a chaplain.
NP 1.16 f3r/RH 2.1.22 p.163 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
24 Jan.1554/5: as provost, decided whether a couple were legally married. NP 1.16 f4r/RH 2.1.22 p.164 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
1555-1566: canon of St Andrews Priory. Haws, Parish Clergy p.94
13 Aug.1558: as provost, performed ceremony of installation.
NP 1.16 f16r/RH 2.1.22 p.179 (prot.bk. Duncan Gray)
20 Dec.1559: occ. as provost of Fowlis CC (par. Lundie)
GD 212 Maitland Thomson no.6 p151 (Fowlis-Easter Chrs. no.100)
Book of Assumption: held par. Lundie (provost Fowlis CC),as set to Marion, Lady Gray. E 48.1.1 f343v
Conformed as minister, Fowlis and others: c 224.

SPREULE, sir PATRICK

325 1561: pres. preb. of sacristan at Trinity CC. RSS v 2296
27 Feb.1562/3: as a preb. Trinity CC, one of the joint-pars. of Strathmartin. Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 f.82r
16 May 1565: wits.chtr. as preb. Trinity CC. RMS iv 1657
26 Aug.1565: new pres. preb. sacristan at Trinity CC. RSS v 2296
[x] 1567: Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin the procurator for the joint-pars. of Strathmartin taking sasine in lands from the regality of St Andrews. p.b.Gray, NP 1.16 f/47r/ RH 2.1.22 p.210
4 Nov.1567: joint-par. Strathmartin in action re the setting of the kirklands, manse and glebe. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.318v
16 Dec.1575: joint-par. Strathmartin tacking the teinds to Thomas, son and heir of Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin.
Col.Ch.Mid. no.95
18 Apr.1583: sacristan, joint-par.Strathmartin, confirming a feu.
RSS viii 1260

STEEL, sir ROBERT

326 28 Aprl.1536: held subdeanery of Brechin. RMS iii 2441
13 Aug.1538: challenged at Rome for possession of the subdeanery by Patrick Forrest, who resigned his interest 11 Jan.1538/9. ADCP p.472: Watt FESMA p.53
[x] Jun.1541: held subdeanery of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxvii
3 Apr.1546: as subdean of Brechin, had his nomination by the priory of St Andrews to the perpet.vic. Lathrisk challenged at Rome. ADCP p.545
19 Aug.1547: held subdeanery of Brechin. REB ii no.ccxxxiv
4 Feb.1547/8: had deceased as vic. Lathrisk. RSS iii 2618

STEPHEN, ALEXANDER

327 24 Aug.1528: wits.chtr. RMS iii 677
1552: curate of Fowlis. Haws, Parish Clergy p94

STEVENSON, MR ANDREW

328 1511-1515: matriculated, determined ("dives") and Licentiate at the College, St Andrews. StA Recs 206,101,104: ActaFacArt ii 307,313
4 Jan.1536/7: wits.chtr. as notary. RMS iii 1644
14 Jun.1572: had deceased as vic. of Nevay. RSS vi 1647

STEWART, sir ALEXANDER

329 2 Sept.1529: pres. perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. Arb.Lib. ii no.736
2 Sept.1529: had resigned perpet.vic. Kingoldrum. Arb.Lib. ii no.736
22 May 1531: had deceased as perpet.vic.Inverkeilor. RSS ii 922

STEWART, ALEXANDER

330 1523: occ. as dean of Brechin (par. Farnell); and ...
13 Sept.1529: provided to be bishop of Moray, while retained par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin). Watt, FESMA p.44
1 Jul.1534: being bishop of Moray resigned par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin) to Mr Henry White by mandate 11 Aug.1533; in exchange, White resigned his par. Finavon (preb. Brechin) to John Stewart, "clerk or scholar", the bishop's son, under inst. dated 31 Jul.1533. RFVA, Resignations no.139, Res.A. f28v-29; Reg.Sup.vol.2142,f126v; Annates vol.71 f.15v

STEWART, MR JOHN

331 1 Jul.1534: had par. Finavon resigned to him under contract between his father, Alexander bishop of Moray, and Mr Henry White. Stewart was described as aged around fifteen years in 1533: "of noble race" and illegitimate. RFVA, Resignations no.139, Res.A. f28v-29; Reg.Sup.vol.2118,f16r: vol.2142,f126v; Annates vol.71 f.15r
(1541: Mr David Lindsay wits. as par. Finavon. REB ii no. cxxvii)
24 Oct.1544: as Mr [x] Stewart escheated for treasonable passing to England in time of war in company with the earl of Lennox and giving assistance to burning Arran and Bute. RSS iii 928
11 Aug.1549: had resigned par. Finavon to Mr David Lindsay for £300, under contract with David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p28
24 Jun.1563: ? archdean of Aberdeen. RSS v 1403
15 Apr.1565: ? had deceased as archdean of Aberdeen. RSS v 2025

STEWART, MATTHEW

332 1531-2: involved in dispute for par. Inchbrayock, finally resigning to George Drury reserving a pension.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2038 f121v; vol.2094, f197v; Resignations no.119, Res A 46, 69v

STEWART, PATRICK

333 22 Feb.1535/6: nominated dean of Brechin in succession to Mr Henry White. James V Letters p313

"Henry White dean of Brechin, being advanced in years, desires a successor because of age and health render him daily less fit for duty. James asks the pope on White's resignation, to declare Patrick Stewart dean, a man much beloved by the king for his character and accomplishments in branches of letters."

27 May 1536: White agreed to Stewart, the archdeacon of Lothian, being his coadjutor as dean of Brechin. RFVA,Annates vol.73 f138v
RFVA, Resignations no.162, Res.A.59,f86v;Reg.Lat.1481,f55r

20 Nov.1542: said to be travelling abroad suffering from an almost uncureable disease, and resolved to resign the deanery in favour of John Erskine, par. Arbuthnott and Turriff.
James V Letters p445

19 Jan.1545/6: wits.chtr. Airlie mss, GD 16.42.10

STILISON, JOHN

334 Aug.1550: John Gray, par. Tarbat, resigned his interests in par. Eassie to John Stilison, who supplicated for provision describing himself as an apostolic protonotary.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2721,f274r: vol.2721, f274r

22 Oct.1555: resigned his interests in par. Eassie to sir Hugh Curry. RFVA, Resignations, no.256,ResA 171,18: Consensi 32,381r

STRACHAN, sir GEORGE

335 31 Oct.1538: ? wits.chtr. RMS iii 1851-4

17 Jan.1576/7: Book of Assumption, held perpet.vic. Kinnettles.
E 48.1.1 f355r,v

11 May 1586: had deceased as perpet.vic. Kinnettles.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f144v,145

STRACHAN, MR GILBERT

336 For his library: Durkan and Ross, Early Scots Libs p151

1486-89: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery, St Andrews. Assessor and examiner: 1501.
StA Recs 183,72,75: ActaFacArt ii 228,232,274

Jan.1506: as a canon of Brechin, supplicated at Rome for licence to dispense with impediments to marriages within the prohibited degrees in 40 cases. RFVA,ASPA,vol 54, f23-23v

12 Dec.1515: acting at Rome for Mr David Seton, par. Fettercairn.
ADCP p62

1519x1523: gave discharges for payments as par. Forteviot;and received discharges from David Smith, his staller,for the par. of Forteviot at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.13.306,324

1522/3: as canon of Aberdeen, farmed the par. of Strathbrock. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.307

15 Jul.1525: as par. Fettercairn sued for possession of vic. Strathmiglo. ADCP p225

1523-25: as canon of Aberdeen, par. of Fettercairn, farmed the deanery of Brechin for Alexander Stewart. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.309

17 Feb.1525/6: granted an annual rent from the barony of Flemington by his nephew John Mortimer of Flemington. RMS iii 352

16 [x] 1528: as par. Fettercairn + apostolic protonotary, with his cousins Mr James Strachan and John Strachan, was tacked teinds of par. Strathmiglo. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.13.317

10 Mar.1528/9: as canon of Aberdeen sued by (illegal) papal and imperial letters issued at instance of Mr Alexander and Mr Charles Fotheringham. ADCP p307

19 Jan.1529: resigned par. Belhelvie (preb. Aberdeen) and par. Fettercairn to his nephew Mr James Strachan, clerk of Brechin - then aged 23. (Mr James was described as par. Fettercairn in 26 Mar.1530/31.) RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1965,71r: RMS iii 926

5 Aug.1531: as a clerk of St Andrews and an apostolic protonotary, supplicated for par. Menmuir (preb. Dunkeld). RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2052,f16r

20 Sept.1531: granted an annual rent from Meikle-Barras. RMS iii 1075

17 Aug.1532:leased a chamber in Perth. Dalhousie mss,GD 45.13.323

30 Apr.1534: said to have deceased at Rome in previous Feb. or Mar. holding par. Spynie (preb. Moray) and vic. Strathmiglo. Mr James Strachan supplicated for pars. Belhelvie and Fettercairn the same date. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2137,f149r:vol.2138,f251r

20 Dec.1538: charter issued to execute his will, mortifying his annual rents from Flemington, Meikle-Barras etc to chaplains at the altars of the Trinity, the BVM and St Andrew at the chapel founded by Mr Gilbert in Creich parish church; prayers specified for, among others, Mr David Seton former canon of Aberdeen and par. of Fettercairn. RMS iii 1877: see also RSS iv 427,2368

STRACHAN, MR JAMES

337 Born c1506: brother of John Strachan of Claypotts. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.1965,71r; ASPA vol.105 [vi kal. Dec.1540]

(Dec.) 1526: "dominus, incipiens" at Paris university: from Brechin diocese. [or from Glasgow diocese ?] McNeill, "Scottish entries", SHR xliii pp.81,86

1529: before this date, had graduated MA from Aberdeen. RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.1965,71r; ActaFacArt ii 383

19 Jan.1529: described as a clerk of Brechin, aged 23 years, had resigned to him by his uncle Mr Gilbert Strachan the par. of Belhelvie (preb. Aberdeen) and par. Fettercairn. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.1965, 71r

4 Nov.1529 and 9 May 1531:supplicated not to take priest's orders for two years. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol:1992,f261r; vol.2045,f297r

26 Mar.1530/31: wits.chtr. as par. Fettercairn. RMS iii 926

22 Aug.1532: as par. Fettercairn supplicated for perpet.vic. Fettercairn against intrusion of Alexander Rait. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2088, f79v,80r

30 Apr.1534: on death of Mr Gilbert Strachan supplicated for new provision to par. Belhelvie and par. Fettercairn. (On this occasion, said to be aged 21.) RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2138, f251r

18 Jul.1534: obtained grant of liferent of a third of estates of Thornton for his sister, Mirabel Strachan, by services done by him to Ludovick Thornton of that ilk. RMS iii 1401
1536: matriculated in the nation of Angus at St Salvator's College, St Andrews, as canon of Aberdeen, provost of Guthrie CC and par. Fettercairn. StA Recs 238: ActaFacArt ii 383
20 Dec.1538: executor of Mr Gilbert Strachan. RMS iii 1877
Dec.1540: with his brother John supplicated to augment the feu-duties payable to the abbey of Lindores for Claypotts. RFVA, ASPA vol.105
29 Feb.1544/5-6: rector at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 383: StAUL, graduates' index
Oct.1545: as canon of Aberdeen, principal Official of St Andrews and rector of the University, had commission from cardinal Beaton as legate to receive the oath of Mr James Hamilton as new dean of Brechin. Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls", SHR xxii p.37
4 Apr.1548: made a wadset-loan to Seton of Parbroath. RMS iv314, RSS iv 267
31 May 1549: tacked par. Fettercairn to David, ninth earl Crawford, for three years. WRH, Haigh Inv. ii 46
13 May 1552: his services performed for David, ninth earl Crawford cited as reason for discharge by the earl to Strachan of Carmyllie for the latter's part in burning Edzell. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.646
26 Jun.1556: purchased half-lands of Scryne from Thomas Maule fiar of Panmure. RMS iv 1098
8 Jan.1558/9: chtr. by him of the kirklands of Fettercairn "otherwise known as Chapelton" to James Strachan son of deceased John Strachan of Claypotts. [Sasine dated 3 Mar.1564/5] Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4
Book of Assumption: held par. Fettercairn. E 48.1.1 f364r
Book of Assumption: held provostry of Guthrie. E 48 1.1 f355r
1561: accompanied principal Alexander Anderson of Aberdeen to his disputation against John Knox. J. Durkan, "Commentary" Northern Scotland v (1984-5) p.105
21 May [?1563] wrote to Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie asking him to send on property left in safe-keeping, to prevent it from being assessed for the thirds; items asked were his black gown, vestments and silver chalice, "for I feir [tha]t ye thrid p[ar]t of ye fruitis of ye be[ne]fices salbe takin yis zeir as it wes last zeir..." Dalhousie mss, GD 45.14.779
1 Nov.1570: associated with John Strachan of Claypotts and Gilbert his heir in making payments for a redemption. DAC: prot.bks. no 10 (Alex Wedderburn) f11v
12 May 1576: died. His testament dative was registered 7 July. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.4 f215v
29 May 1576: had deceased in par. Belhelvie. RSS vii 627
5 Jun.1576: had deceased in par. Fettercairn. RSS vii 631

STRACHAN, MR THOMAS

338 22 Aug.1531: wits. chtr. with Mr James Strachan. RMS iii 1062
20 Sept.1531: as cleric of Brechin, wits.chtr. (Mr Gilbert Strachan) RMS iii 1075
22 Aug.1533: unsuccessfully supplicated at Rome for par. Navar (chancellor of Brechin), being a clerk of Brechin. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f197v; vol.2142,f122r
20 Dec.1538: as vic. Idvies, wits.chtr. (Mr Gilbert Strachan)

RMS iii 1877

STRUBLE, MALCOLM

339 20 Jan.1512/13: original chaplain at chapel of Carmyllie.
REB i 112

SWINTON, MR GEORGE

340 Jan.1560/61: Book of Assumption, held par. Nevay. E 48.1.1 f336r
1563,1566: failed to pay teinds for par. Nevay. TB 236
2 Apr.1565: wits.chtr.(John archbishop of St Andrews) RMS iv 2825
22 Aug.1566: wits.chtr. RMS iv 1753
20 Mar.1606: his chtr. of the par. teinds of Nevay to Crichton of Ruthven confirmed. RMS vi 1726

SYMMER, sir JAMES

341 Book of Assumption: held part of perpet.vic. Garvock on tack from Mr John Wardlaw the possessor. E 48.1.1 f95v
Conformed as reader, Garvock: c 233.

SYMMER, sir JOHN

342 Book of Assumption: held vic.port. of Idvies and the chaplaincy of St Katherine's at New Burgh. E 48.1.1 f.344v
7 May 1561: prov. vic. pens. Idvies; confirmed 22 Nov.1569.
RSS vi 983

THIN, JOHN

343 18,27 Jun.1556: one of the chaplains of the choir of Brechin.
REB ii no.cxxxiv

THOMSON, sir NICHOLAS

344 18,27 Jun.1556: one of two chaplains at the altar of the BVM, founded for Lord Robert de Erskine, knight; agreed to refoundation by John Lord Erskine as a single chaplaincy.
REB ii no.cxxxiv
29 Jun.1556: pres. by John Lord Erskine to new single BVM chaplaincy. REB ii no.cclxvii
5 Apr.1558: pres. chaplaincy of St James the apostle at Brechin, (founded on the lands of Boath and Carncortie). RSS v 382

THOMSON, sir WILLIAM

345 28 Feb.1531/2: held vic.pens.Kinneff.
WRH,The Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5,258

THORNTON, MR JAMES

346 6 Jun.1555: as canon of Glasgow (coadjutor with Mr John Thornton [2] as par. Ancrum ?) acted for Donald Campbell abbot of Coupar.
CA Chrs ii 209,211n
11 Feb.1557/8,5 Jul.1559: as solicitor in Rome assists with suit of Donald Campbell, abbot of Coupar, for the bishopric of Brechin. RD 1.2. 380v, RD 1.3. 472r
Book of Assumption: par. Farnell, the deanery of Brechin, set to him. E 48.1.1 f334v
1561: had whole of deanery of Brechin remitted to him. TB p90
1562: had pension of £20 from the abbey of Coupar.
CA Rent. i 362 citing Book of Assumption
1563: remitted third for deanery of Brechin at the Queen's command. TB p230, E 46.6. f14v

3 Jul.1563: pres. dean of Brechin, par. Farnell by Queen Mary for service to her mother and herself: named as par. Ancrum. RSS v 1416

25 Apr.1565: gifted all benefices previously held by Mr John Thornton [2]: viz: chanter of Moray, subdeanery of Ross, par. Forteviot, par. Benholm, par. Ancrum. RSS v 2036; see also, RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.3154,f.297r (Benholm)

27 May 1565: as secretary to the archbishop of Glasgow, going to France on behalf of Mary, queen of Scots. CSP(S) i 189,192,364

4 Apr.1566: described as having "long been a trafficker at Rome" by Randolph. CSP(S) i 371

25 Apr.1566: credited by some as attempting to negotiate at Rome a divorce between Queen Mary and Darnley. CSP(S) i 375

4 Jul.1566: reported as returned to Scotland. CSP(S) i 405

30 Nov.1566: dean of Brechin. REB ii 284

10 Dec.1566: cautioner for James, archbishop of Glasgow. Register of Deeds, RD 1.9. 3r

1567-73: supported the queen's lords, especially Adam Gordon of Auchendoun. RSS vii 1208

9 Jun.1570: offered to set teinds of Farnell to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford; associating with James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie. JRL, Craw. mss., 3.2.8

12 May 1572: to be denounced rebel if he failed to appear before the Lords before 12th June. RPC ii 136

8 Oct.1577: horned for not appearing to be tried for assisting with the Gordon's assault on Corgarth. RSS vii 1208

27 Dec.1577: had deceased. RSS vii 1354

THORNTON, MR JOHN

347 1507-1512: matriculated, determined, Licentiate and examiner at St Andrews (The College): "pauper". StA Recs 201,97,98: ActaFacArt ii 294,300,302

19 Jun.1526: promised annates for par. Benholm as provided to him on the death of John Turing. RFVA, Annates vol.65 f.120v

25 Sept.1527: to be punished for barratry for purchase of par. of Benholm at Rome contrary ordinary's nomination of George Drury. ADCP p266

8 Nov.1527: above decree reduced on a formality. ADCP p271 24 Sept.1529: as par.Benholm and perpet.vic. Auchtermuchty resigned Benholm to John Thornton junior, clerk or scholar, his nephew. Glasgow, RFVA, archives Reg. Sup. vol.1990,f13r,14r (Note: between this date and 1538, it is possible that references credited below to Mr John Thornton [2] ought to refer to his uncle)

THORNTON, MR JOHN

348 24 Sept.1529: described as "clerk or scholar" when his uncle Mr John Thornton [1] resigned par. Benholm in his favour. RFVA, Reg. Sup. vol.1990,f13r,14r

(Note: between this date and 1538, it is possible that references credited below to Mr John Thornton [2] ought to refer to his uncle, Mr John Thornton [1]; they are listed here as the procurator in Rome in the 1530s was not referred to as "Mr".) 14 Jan.1529/30,1 May 1532: carrying royal letters to the Pope. James V letters p164/5,220

30 Jun.1531: King's procurator at Rome. James V letters p192

of Brechin). RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2052,f7v
31 May 1532: supplicated at Rome for par. Navar (preb. chancellor of Brechin) and perpet.vic.Crawmond. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2080,f271v
Aug.1533: described as "the Cardinal's man" by Erskine of Brechin, Secretary. James V letters p248
22 Aug.1533, 1 Jun.1534,) Sept.1534: continued litigation at Rome for par. Navar (preb. chancellor Brechin) [the latter as a preb. of Moray] - ultimately unsuccessfully.
RFVA. Reg.Sup.vol.2119,f197v; vol.2142,f122r; 2152,f65v
28 Aug.1536: carrying James V's pension to Sixtus Zuchellus.
James V letters p322
20 Dec.1538: wits.chtr. as subdean of Ross. RMS iii 1877
11 Dec.1540: wits.chtr. as subdean of Ross.
Strathmore mss box 14 bund.3 no.52
20 Oct.1544: wits.chtr. as precentor of Moray. (cardinal David Beaton) RMS iii 3029
1544: matriculated at St Andrews in the nation of Angus as canon of Moray. StA Recs p251
20 Nov.1545 as Mr John Thornton, par. Benholm, registered obligation to obtain dispensation and absolution from the court of Rome for John Ogilvy of Inverquharity to marry Elizabeth Fotheringham within the prohibited decrees, for 100 merks.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.3026
5 Apr.1547: Scottish procurator at the consistorial court at Rome. RSS iii 2238
8 May 1549: horned as par. Ancrum for non-payment of his share of the tax granted by the clergy. RSS iv 238
3 Jul.1549: as chanter of Moray and par.Ancrum disputed amounts due by him from Ancrum to the abbey of Culross, claiming the parish had been wasted by the English in 1545. ADCP p589
Book of Assumption: held par. Benholm, which was tacked to Mr Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. E 48.1.1 f362r
25 Apr.1565: had deceased when his parishes (viz. chanter of Moray, subdeanery of Ross, par. Forteviot, par. Benholm, par. Ancrum) were gifted to Mr James Thornton. RSS v 2036

TOWERS, sir JAMES

349 21 Jul.1548: pres. preb. Strathmartin (=joint-par. Strathmartin) of Trinity CC. RSS iii 2872

TURING, MR ALEXANDER

350 1532,1537: provost of Methven CC (par. Aldbar); seems to have exchanged benefices with Mr John Colden to become par. Navar (chancellor of Brechin). Watt, FESMA pp.368,36; RSS ii 2457,4128
29 Aug.1540: as chancellor of Brechin (par. Navar), at the horn for not fulfilling a contract with Henry Lord Methven.
RSS ii 3627
28 May 1541: as chancellor of Brechin and canon of Dunblane, revoked procurators to resign the chancellorship to William Cuni.
RFVA, Resignations no.197, Res.A.80,f123v; Watt, FESMA p.49
[x] Jun.1541: chancellor of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxvii
1545: as chancellor of Brechin, part of commission appointed by the archbishop of St Andrews to inspect and transumpt a feu-chtr.
AUL, The Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi,317
19 Aug.1547: chancellor of Brechin REB ii no. ccxxxiv
31 Aug.1548: chancellor of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.49
11 Oct.1548: had deceased as chancellor of Brechin. RSS iii 2990

TYNDALE, sir PATRICK

351 26 Apr.1513: occ. as chaplain, at Brechin. REB ii no.cvii
6 Jun.1517: occ. as chaplain, at Brechin. REB ii no.cx
13 Apr.1524: one of the chaplains of the College of Brechin. RSS ii 757
12 Aug.1535:had deceased as a chaplain of the College of Brechin. RSS ii 1765

TYRIE, sir JOHN

352 27 May 1519: collated to chaplaincy of Baikie. Provost, Methven CC. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.22; Watt, FESMA p.368

WALLACE, sir JOHN

353 2 Oct.1543: as curate of Finavon had his manse and glebe raided during the "spulzie of Finhaven", and subsequently raised actions against David, master of Crawford, during 1550. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p89
1558: ? paid dues of Fettercairn on behalf of Wood of Fettercairn. ER xix p.49
1560: ? paid dues of the burgh of Forfar. ER xix p.115
Conformed as reader, Fern: c 240.

WARDLAW, MR JOHN

354 1537-8: matriculated (nation "Albaniae"), determined and Licentiate ("dives") at St Salvator's College, St Andrews; with dispensation to graduate in a single year. StA Recs 239,138: ActaFacArt ii 385,386
Book of Assumption: held the perpet.vic. Garvock. E 48.1.1 f97v
13 Feb.1564/5: sued James Keith of Drumtochty as factor and intromitter with the fruits of vic. Garvock 1561-4. CS 7.33 f25r
8 Dec.1577: had feued vic. Garvock with glebe, houses and buildings to John Wardlaw in Leith. RSS vii 1320
3 Jan.1587/8: had deceased when the vic. granted to David Wardlaw, a student in Edinburgh. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f161v

WARDROPPER, sir GILBERT

355 5 Jun.1525: wits.chtr. with Mr George Pittilock. (Elizabeth, countess of Huntly, Lady Glamis) RMS iii 315
8 Oct.1525: deceased as chaplain of Baikie. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.29

WAWANE, JAMES

356 1543: occ. resigning as treasurer of Brechin. Watt, FESMA p.51

WEBSTER, sir JOHN

357 1543-47: chaplain at Brechin supported from the fermes of Dundee. ER xviii p.107

WEDDERBURN, ROBERT

358 c.1510: born; son of James Wedderburn, merchant of Dundee.
1526: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
See: A.M.Stewart, The Complaynt of Scotland (STS,1979):p.xii-xvi
1528-1532: held the chaplaincy of St Katherine's in Dundee.
A.M.Stewart, The Complaynt of Scotland (STS,1979):p.xii
10 Jan.1531: aged twenty-three when nominated to perpet.vic. Dundee on resignation of John Barry, his mother's brother.

RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2036,f214r; Reg.Lat.vol.1559,f30v-32r; Annates vol.68 f.201v

12 May 1548: perpet.vic. Dundee. Haws, Parish Clergy p.69

1548-1550: chamberlain of the Knights of St John at Torphichen; probable author of the "Complaynt of Scotland". A.M.Stewart, The Complaynt of Scotland (STS,1979):p.xv

10 Mar.1551/2: feued the vicar's house in Dundee to his "wife's" parents. A.M.Stewart, "Robert Wedderburn's feu-charter"; Aberdeen University Review xliii (1970) pp.403-7.

13 Jan.1552/3: legitimation of his two natural sons. RMS iv 742

Feb.[1553]: had deceased as perpet.vic. Dundee. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2845,f96v A.M.Stewart, The Complaynt of Scotland (STS,1979):p.xvi

WEMYS, sir DAVID

359 21 Apr.1552: had deceased as chaplain of Our Lady of Maisondieu, Brechin. RH 2.1.20 (prot.bk.James Harlaw) nos.1a,34a

WHITE, sir GEORGE

360 1537-41: chaplain at the aisle of St Thomas at Glamis. ER xvii pp.142,248,381,416

WHITE, Mr HENRY

361 1483/4-1485: determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery, St Andrews. StA Recs 67,69: ActaFacArt ii 216,220

1487/8,1491/2: examiner at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 229,240

1496: assessor at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 260

15 Apr.1506: wits. as par. St Madoes. (John, earl of Crawford) RMS iii 1572

16 Feb.1507/8: wits. chtr. as par. Finavon. RMS iv 2946

2 Nov.1518: wits. as par. Finavon. Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7

4 Nov.1516: wits.chtr. at Dunblane. RMS iii 107

25 Feb.1517/18: wits.chtr. (David, earl of Crawford) RMS iii 180

30 Oct.1521: occ. as Official of Dunblane. RMS iii 242

25 Jul.1523 x 6 Jul.1525: as canon of Moray, ceded his claim for par. Glenbervie (preb. Brechin) to Mr Robert Erskine, reserving a pension of £10. RFVA. Reg.Sup.vol.1858,f140v; also: Resignations no.79, Consensi 1,7v

13 Mar.1526/7: one of the Lords of Council to hear civil cases in session. ADCP p256

14 Mar.1529/30: as par. Finavon, grant of mails, nonentries etc for lands in Perthshire and Fife in his possession. RSS ii 581

30 Sept.1530: wits.chtr. as par. Finavon. RMS iii 969

14 Feb.1530/31:one of the Lords of Council to hear civil cases in session. ADCP p349

12 Dec.1531: one of the Lords of Council to hear civil cases in session. ADCP p368

9 Feb.1531/2: wits.chtr. as par. St Madoes. RMS iii 1130

27 May 1532: on the Session as par. Finavon. ADCP p373

15/26 Oct.1532: received lands under wadset contract; described as par. Finavon and a familiar of the king. RMS iii 1233, RSS ii 1427

31 Oct.1532: as par. Finavon, granted lands in Melginch by David earl of Crawford, White having redeemed them from an assignee of George earl of Rothes. RMS iii 1287

1 Jul.1534: was provided to par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin) by resignation of Alexander (Stewart) bishop of Moray, dated 11 Aug.1533, in exchange for White's resignation dated 31 Jul. 1533 of his par. Finavon (preb. Brechin) in favour of John Stewart ("clerk or scholar").RFVA, Resignations no.139, Res.A.49,f28v-29; also, Reg.Sup.vol.2142,f126v (15 Oct.1533);vol.2118,f16r; and Annates vol.71 f.73r, vol.71 f.15r

22 Feb.1535/6: James V to Pope Paul III; James V Letters p313

"Henry White dean of Brechin, being advanced in years, desires a successor because of age and health render him daily less fit for duty. James asks the pope on White's resignation, to declare Patrick Stewart dean, a man much beloved by the king for his character and accomplishments in branches of letters."

27 May 1536: as dean of Brechin agreed to accept Patrick Stewart, archdeacon of Lothian, as his co-adjutor as dean.
RFVA, Resignations no.162, Res.A.59,f86v; Annates vol.73 f.138v

12 Dec.1537: judge-arbiter, with other royal officials. RMS iii 2885

19 Aug.1538: as dean of Brechin purchased lands from Blair of Balthiok under wadset. RMS iii 1834, RSS ii 2708

27 Feb.1538/9: dean of Brechin. Forbes-Leith, Scholars p144

2 Nov.1539: purchased lands in Perthshire; with royal grant of rights of escheat for service done by him to James V and to his father. RMS iii 2036: see also 1997.

1 Mar.1539/40: "retired" from the Session. ADCP p483

"Chancellar and lordis of our counsale and cessioun, we grete yow weill. Forasmekle as oure weilbelovit clerk and counsalour maister Henry Quhite, dene of Brechin, hes done leill and trew service to our fader of gud mynd quhem god assolze, and als to us in our tyme, and chosin be us to be upoun our counsale and cessioun of ane of the first that wes chosin, and as continewit and continewis thairupoun, and now is of aige and subdit to infirmiteis swa that he may nocht continewalie tary upoun our counsale and cessioun like as he wes wont to do, heirfor it incumbis to us of our hie majesty ryale that quhat evir he be that makis to our forbearis and us gude, leill and trew service,that we suld remember tharupoun: quhairefor we haif dispensit with him of his continewale service in tymes tocum in our counsale and cessoiun bot at his awin plesour, and quhewn he may vaik tharupoun: heirfor our mynd is and we will that our said clerk and counsalour considering his leill, trew and gude service done in tymes bigane, that he jois all privelege in persoun and gudis and pentioun as ony of our counsale and cessioun broukis or is to brouk and chois the samin for his lifetyme siclike as he war daylie present as of before makand residens upoun our counsale and cessioun, and that he be admittit tharto eftir the forme of this our writing ... "

[x] Jun.1541: had deceased as dean of Brechin when John (Hepburn) bishop of Brechin gifted 22s. to the chaplains of the choir for prayers for Mr Henry White and the faithful departed. REB ii no.cxxvii

WHITE, sir NICHOLAS

362 3 Nov.1494: pres. chaplaincy of Baikie by John Lord Glamis.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.9
23 Jun.1515: deceased as chaplain of Baikie.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.18

WIGHT, sir JAMES

363 25 Jun.1550: held preb. Strathmartin, Trinity CC.
RH 2/1/20 prot.bk.James Harlaw no.9a
24 Jan.1560/61: chaplain of St Colme's altar, Dundee.
I.Flett "Geneva of Scotland",p.94 n.71,(ms Dundee Burgh Court) [all persons owing annualrents etc] "...pertening to James Wycht or to his benefices, to mak him thankfull payment therof. And that becaus it is notourlie knawin to the saidis Baileis that the said James is ane man of sinceir and trew religioun, and of guid conversatioun, and hes renuncit all papistrie and idolatrie."
27 Feb.1562/3: held preb. Strathmartin, Trinity CC (joint-par. Strathmartin) when Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin promised to pay £80 due under a tack. Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 f.82r
Conformed as exhorter/minister, Strathmartin: c 244.

WIGTON, sir JOHN

364 19 Aug.1540: pres. vic.pens.Ballumbie (annexed Fowlis collegiate church) by Patrick Lord Gray.
NLS ch.3802 = GD 212 Maitland Thomson no 6:p151.
1544: attempted to slay George Wishart at Dundee to regain the favour of cardinal Beaton who had held him prisoner for three years previously. Knox's History i p63; StA Rent. 130,141,200
1564: "alleged" vic.pens. Ballumbie. Haws, Parish Clergy p19

WILKIE, MR JAMES

365 1535-8: matriculated and Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. ("pauper:nation Laudoniae")
StA Recs 235,139: ActaFacArt ii 386
Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig, being a regent of St Leonard's. E 48.1.1 f357v
1563-9: at command of the queen, remitted third of perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig. TB 85,230
1570,71: principal of St Leonard's College. ActaFacArt ii 436
23 Sept.1590: had deceased as perpet.vic. Ecclesgreig.
PS 1 (RSS) lxi 38

WILLIAMSON, sir GILBERT

366 13 Apr.1524: one of four chaplains of the College of Brechin.
RSS ii 757
6 Feb.1532/3: had deceased as chaplain of the altar of St John Baptist at Brechin. RSS ii 1487

WILLIAMSON, sir JOHN

367 1530: chaplain of Brechin supported by the fermes of Dundee. Also 1532,1540-47. (Thereafter payments continued to unnamed recipient.)
ER xvi pp.51,157; xvii pp.312,405,468; xviii pp.56,107
6 Feb.1532/3: pres. chaplaincy of St John Baptist at Brechin.
RSS ii 1487
18,27 Jun.1556: one of two chaplains at the altar of the BVM,

founded for Lord Robert de Erskine, knight; agreed to refoundation by John Lord Erskine as a single chaplaincy. REB ii no.cxxxiv

29 Jun.1556: had resigned as a BVM chaplain in favour of sir Nicholas Thomson. REB ii no.cclxvii

WILLOCK, sir JOHN

368 15 Aug.1513: as chaplain, wits. testament testamentary of John Erskine of Dun. Spald.Misc. iv pp.12,16

30 Apr.1525: wits.chtr. as vic. of Stracathro. (John Erskine of Dun/ earl of Crawford) RMS iii 376

31 May 1525: wits. precept to infeft John Erskine of Dun in the customs of Montrose as vic. Stracathro. Spald.Misc. iv p.22

26 Jul.1529: wits. inst sasine to John Erskine of Dun. Benholm and Hedderwick muns., GD 4.244

24 Nov.1533: as vic. Stracathro, wits.chtr. (David earl of Crawford/ John Erskine of Dun). MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/15

WILSON, sir GEORGE

369 [x][x] 1549: one of the vicars, chaplains and choristers of Brechin; feued lands. REB ii no.cxxxiii

Feb.1552: as a clerk of Brechin, unsuccessfully supplicated at Rome for the perpet.vic. Monikie. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2758,f200r

13 Sept.1552: pres. by bishop of Brechin to the chaplaincy of St Mary Magdalene, of Arrat. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2. bund.13

12 Apr.1556: as chaplain of the Holy Cross chapel in Brechin cathedral, feued the town and fields of Chapelton to John Willock and wife. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund.4

14 Apr.1556: as chaplain of St Mary Magdalene, feued the lands of Chapelton to John Willock and wife. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2. bund.13

18,27 Jun.1556: chorister-chaplain, Brechin. REB ii no.cxxxiv

31 Aug.1560: wits. chtr. (John Low, citizen of Brechin) RD 1.4 f447v

1561: held the Magdalene chaplaincy by Dun. TB p.11

Book of Assumption: held Magdalene chaplaincy. E 48.1.1 f360r

27 Aug.1568: a new pres. made as a student bursary to the Magdalene chaplaincy. RSS vi 454

WOOD, ALEXANDER

370 Brother, David Wood of Craig, Comptroller. James V Letters p.378

3 Oct.1531: supplicated for par. Lethnot (preb. Brechin), having been presented by Alexander, earl of Crawford. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2058,f262r

15 Sept.1539: said to wish to resign par. Lethnot to his nephew Andrew, son of his brother David of Craig, reserving usufruct for life and right of regress. James V Letters p.378; [StA Formulare ii no.388 seems to refer]

WOOD, sir ANDREW

371 Son of David Wood of Craig, Comptroller; and ...

15 Sept.1539: nominated for par. Lethnot (preb. Brechin) by resignation of his uncle, Alexander Wood: who sought to retain usufruct for life and right of regress. James V Letters p.378

8 Sept.1541: commanded parishioners of Lethnot to pay teinds to him. JRL, The Craw. mss box P bund.ii

22 Feb.1547/8: took action against parishioners to compel payment of teinds. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.48
1555,1558: suit by parishioners of Lethnot against sir Andrew Wood about their teinds. JRL, The Craw. mss box P bund.iv
15 May 1555: summons against him as "pretended parson of Lethnot" at instance of David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford, for spulzie of a grey horse from Edzell. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.34
20 Nov.1557: wits.chtr as par. Lethnot. RMS v 884
5 Aug.1558: agreement by David, ninth earl of Crawford for his tenants of Lethnot to pay teinds to Wood as par. expressed in a letter to David Wood of Craig. JRL, The Craw mss. 1.2.17
1 Oct.1558: David Wood of Craig and sir Andrew, par. Lethnot, were owed £300 in inventory of David, ninth earl Crawford. JRL, The Craw. mss 1.1.14
31 May 1560: had deceased as par. Lethnot. RSS vi 2558

WYLIE, MR ALEXANDER

372 7 Aug.1536: notary inst. (Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk) AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.v 260
28 Mar.1549: pres. vic.pens. Conveth. RSS iv 187
22 Nov.1552: wits.chtr. as chaplain, notary. (Erskine of Dun) RMS iv 908
30 Aug.1557: wits.chtr., notary. (Falconer of Haulkerton) RMS iv 1209

Conformed as reader, Conveth: c 248.

YOUNG, sir ALEXANDER

373 31 Oct.1514: chaplain at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Strachan of Thornton's aisle in the parish kirk of Aberlethnott. RMS iii 171

YOUNG, sir JAMES

374 9 Jun.1543: chtr. by him as collector of the choir of the parish church of St Mary the Virgin, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4
9 Jul.1548: as chaplain, had protection in list of kin and servants of John, commendator of Coldingham. ADCP p.576

YOUNG, WALTER

375 11 Jan.1546: had deceased as vic.pens. Fern. RSS iii 1465
11 Nov.1565:? had deceased as chaplain of St Michael's in Dunkeld cathedral. RSS v 2426

APPENDIX A - CLERGY and BENEFICES

b: biographies of holders of benefices as pensions, student-bursaries or gifts, 1560-1590.

ANDERSON, MR WILLIAM

001 [April/May] 1586: as schoolmaster of Dysart, pres. perpet.vic. Kinnettles on decease of sir George Strachan; but failed to obtain possession against the pres. of Mr James Rait, minister, on 11 May 1586. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) fs.144v, 145r

ANGUS, sir William

002 4 Aug.1565: pres. par./vic. Kinnettles, being a canon of the Chapel Royal at Stirling; but resigned his rights to Mr Andrew Davidson in exchange for a 50 merk pension, 7 Aug.1566. RSS v 2238: Reg.Deeds RD 1.8 f.406r

ANNAND, DAVID

003 19 Jul.1572: son of Andrew Annand, macer; had confirmation of a gift at Montrose by John Erskine of Dun made 3 Jul.1572, of St Margaret's chapel in Dundee parish kirk for life, to sustain him in the schools and make him "apt and able" to serve in the ministry of the kirk. RSS vi 1670

ARBUTHNOTT, MR ALEXANDER

004 25 Jul.1569: pres. par./vic. Arbuthnott; principal of King's College, Aberdeen. RSS vi 685
See J. Durkan, "Commentary", Northern Scotland v (1984-5) p.103f
1575 etc: wits. various insts. of the house of Arbuthnott.
eg. RD 1.14 f.9r; AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms 2764 bund.vii,no.424
Wrote a Latin history of the house of Arbuthnott, (later translated into Scots by Mr William Morrison, par. Benholm) entitled "Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticae familiae descriptio historicae" AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms 2764

AUCHINLEK, GEORGE

005 27 Nov.1578: son of George of Balmanno; confirmation of his gift by Mr James Nicholson dean of Brechin (with consent of bishop and chapter), of a pension of victual from the fruits of the deanery. RSS vii 1733

AUCHINLEK, JOHN

006 21 Jan.1567/8: pres. perpet.vic. Menmuir; but defeated by counter-pres. of Mr Andrew Elder, 30 Aug.1568. RSS vi 124,460

AUCHMOWTY, MR WILLIAM

007 1583: had deceased as perpet.vicar of Dun, probably having held reversionary rights from Mr Robert Auchmowty [a 017] but not possession. (Possibly the same as Mr William Auchmowty, minister of Strathmartin.) CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.94v

BALFOUR, DAVID

008 29 Jul.1588: gift of the chaplaincy of St Ann in Brechin cathedral. PS 1 (RSS) 57 f.152

BANNATYNE, JOHN

009 4 May 1587: scholar, son of James Bannatyne writer; gifted the Magdalene chapel, Brechin, for life. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 172

BARNS, WILLIAM

010 8 Feb.1588/9: pres. the chapel of the Three Kings of Cologne, Dundee. PS 1 (RSS) 59 f.17v

BARTON, JOHN

011 20 Nov.1588: had deceased as chaplain of the Three Kings of Cologne, Dundee. PS 1 (RSS) 58 f.55v

BENNET, JOHN

012 7 Feb.1588/9: had demitted as chaplain of the Three Kings of Cologne, Dundee. PS 1 (RSS) 59 f.17v

BRYSON, MR ALEXANDER

013 9 Sept.1578: being presently at the study of theology, gifted the teinds of Meikle and Little Dysart from the commons of Brechin to support his further studies for seven years. RSS vii 1637
24 Dec.1583: had deceased. RSS viii 1685

BRYSON, MR JAMES

014 10 Sept.1573: bursar in theology; gifted the teinds of Meikle and Little Dysart from the commons of Brechin for six years to support him at the New College, St Andrews. RSS vi 2121

CAMPBELL, bishop ALEXANDER

015 6 May 1566: brother of Alexander Campbell of Ardkinglas; pres. to be bishop of Brechin, with power to alienate lands at his own choice. Mary sought confirmation of this pres. from Pope Pius V, recommending Campbell as a clerk of St Andrews, "for his purity of blood and singular learning, joined to his integrity of life". RSS v 2806; RPC xiv 256,7; CSP(S) ii 414
10 Dec.1566: granted Farnell and the office of bailie of the bishopric to the earl of Argyll. Airlie mss, GD 16.24.65
7 May 1567: licence to depart to France for seven years, with two companions. RSS v 3497
28 Jul.1569: present at the convention of Perth. CSP(S) ii 1110
10 May 1574: from Paris, confirmed a tack of teinds to James Lord Ogilvy. Witnesses in Paris included Mr Andrew Melville. Airlie mss GD 16.48.21
Mar.1574/5: required to accompany John Erskine of Dun to learn the order and proceedings used by a superintendent. BUK i 318
Apr.1576: present at the General Assembly. BUK i 348
[May] 1578: voted against Morton, with Argyll. CSP(S) v 351
[1578]: described as a heretical minister. CSP(S) v 397 25
Jun.1579: named as an arbiter between David Lindsay of Edzell and Alexander Lindsay of Vane. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.2
2 Apr.1588: the temporality of the bishopric was set to him. PS 1 (RSS) 67.58
Feb.1608: died. Watt, FESMA p.41

CLEPEN, JOHN

016 25 Sept.1585: the son of John Clepen of Burntisland; pres. perpet.vic. Kirriemuir on the resignation of Mr George Clepen, to be examined and to serve as a reader. No other evidence of service in the reformed kirk exists. Had deceased 15 Dec. 1587. PS 1 (RSS) vols.53 f.45r; 56 f.116r

COCKBURN, JAMES

017 31 Jul.1576: pres. par./vic.Kilmoir (preb. Brechin) as a schools' bursary for life; the son of John Cockburn of Clerkington. However Mr Andrew Leitch secured pres. 15 May 1577; Cockburn having been pres. in addition to vic. Gamrie on 4 Oct.1576 - which had been held, like Kilmoir, by Mr John Cockburn.
RSS vii 680, 724, 1029

COCKBURN, SAMUEL

018 8 Jun.1586: son of Andrew Cockburn: pres. chapel of St Thomas, Dundee; at the college of Elgin. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.149r

COLLACE, DAVID

019 Brother of John Collace of Balnamoon; later David of Auchfersie.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.1740; WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii p.145
1573-1579: Dame Helen Lindsay owed David Collace teinds as the fruits of par. Newdosk for these years. JRL, The Craw.mss., 5/1/4
1585: tacked the teinds of Newdosk to David Lindsay of Edzell.
Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.1740; WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii p.145
1585x1589: discharges by him as par./vic.Newdosk to David Lindsay of Edzell. WRH, The Haigh Inventory, ii p.145

COLLACE, MR WILLIAM

020 1563: had succeeded Mr David Collace both as a regent of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and as perpet.vic. Fordoun. His third was remitted 1563, 1568-9. TB 90,230, E 46.4. f.14v
Collace had close connections with the Melvilles: St Leonard's in his time had a reputation as a radically-protestant college.
Melville, Diary pp.24-6,51
1 Nov.1577: still regent; but deceased by 28 Jan.1577/8.
RMS iv 2750; RSS vii 871

CUMMING, MR THOMAS

021 1562-3, 1565-6: had failed to pay the thirds of the perpet.vic. Strathmartin and the Lady Provostry of Arbroath.
TB 167,235,237,255
Possibly identical with the Mr Robert Cumming, schoolmaster of Arbroath, complained upon by John Erskine of Dun to the General Assembly (Dec.1562) for "infecting the youth with idolatry".
BUK i 25

DAVIDSON, MR ANDREW

022 1549: at the Provincial Council of the church as a scholar and student in theology; appointed a preacher by archbishop Hamilton. Books associated with him indicate a visit to London and connections with the Austin friars there.
Durkan/Ross, Early Libraries p.88
3 Apr.1555: dispute for the benefice of Senwick against Mr William Blair. Acts & Decs., CS 7.11 f.34v
1563: tried as a mass-monger at Paisley.
Pitcairn, Trials i 2, 429
14 Jul.1564: pres. par. Kinnettles by John, archbishop of St Andrews at Paisley, as "preacher"; and ...
22 May 1566: this pres. was confirmed by the crown. RSS v 2846
7 Aug.1566: sir William Angus, who had had pres. by the crown to par. Kinnettles, resigned in return for a 50 merk pension.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.406r

22 Aug.1566: his pres. by the archbishop to be vic. Dalkeith also confirmed. RSS v 3042
23 Dec.1588: had deceased as last possessor of par.Kinnettles. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.331r

DAVIDSON, MR JAMES

023 15 Dec.1587: pres. par./vic. Kinnettles on decease of Mr Andrew Davidson; had demitted as "last titular" of the par. when Mr James Rait, minister, was pres. 10 Sept.1588 and had letters in four forms issued 23 Dec.1588. PS 1 (RSS) 56 f.115v, 58 f.24r; Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.331r

DOUGLAS, GEORGE

024 27 Jan.1570/71: gifted the chaplaincy of Drumlithie for seven years at the schools, being the son of William Douglas of Glenbervie, patron, and having collation by John Erskine of Dun. RSS vi 1109
1576: had a gift of half Panlathy from his father: but ...
15 Dec.1590: had deceased. Balfour Paul, Peerage i 198

DOUGLAS, WILLIAM OF GLENBERVIE

025 27 Dec.1577: pres. to the fruits of the par. and vic. of Benholm on the death of Mr James Thornton until a new parson or pastor be appointed. RSS vii 1354,1479

DUNCANSON, JOHN

026 23 Apr.1571: pres. par. Edzell; but demitted in favour of Mr James Fullerton, minister of Edzell, by 4 Aug.1573. RSS vi 1152,2053

ERSKINE, MR DAVID

027 15 Jan.1564/5: as commendator of Dryburgh, pres. par. Strachan (preb. archdean of Brechin), on decease of Mr James Pitcairn and resignation by Arthur Erskine of his reversionary rights. (Arthur Erskine, a brother of John Lord Erskine, had had a tack of the fruits and his teinds remitted in 1563 and 1565.) RSS v 1894; TB 230,235
20 Mar.1565/6: gift to Jane Stewart, daughter of the earl of Atholl, of tacks by David Erskine as commendator of Dryburgh to the earl of Morton, escheated from the latter. RSS v 2693
24 Aug.1569/ 29 Jul.1571: wits. chtrs. (earl of Mar) RMS iv 1903,2387
25 Nov.1572: one of the "friends of the house of Erskine", to whom, with the countess of Mar, the keeping of James VI was entrusted; and gave a bond to the master of Mar. cited, Young, "Scottish political parties" p.38
1578-1585: identified as central to the Morton/Angus faction in this period: supported Mar at Stirling against Erskine of Gogar, later a Ruthven Raider. Young,"Scottish political parties"p.68,74
30 Sept.1579: escheated for failure to pay thirds of Dryburgh and Inchmahome as commendator of both; also for nonpayment of the third of the archdeanery: 1573-1578. RSS vii 2049
25 Jan.1583/4: feued the archdean's manse in Brechin. RSS viii 1777

ERSKINE, DAVID

028 27 Mar.[1579]: son of John Erskine of Logie and aged under fourteen years; gift for seven years of the chaplaincy of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls altar in Brechin - to sustain him at the schools. RSS vii 1863; CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.15v

ERSKINE, MR JOHN OF BRAIDFORD

029 20 Nov.1587: pres. par./vic.of Benholm; held until Alexander Keith, minister, was inducted 1588. PS 1 (RSS) 56.103
[Possibly the reader who held the vic. Brechin in 1579, a son of Thomas Erskine of Braidford. See c 052.]

ERSKINE, THOMAS

030 24 Mar.1574/5: pres. par./vic. Dun; being a son of John Erskine of Dun, who was himself pres. to these stipends 11 Aug.1575. RSS vii 114,266

FERRIER, JOHN

031 29 Jul.1588: deceased chaplain of St Ann in Brechin cathedral. PS 1 (RSS) 57.152

FRASER, ROBERT [1]

032 10 Oct.1564: "oure soverane ladyis familiar servitoure,... ischeare [usher] of hir hienes prive chalmer dur". Resigned (his interest in) par. Kinnettles in exchange for the chantory of Brechin. RSS v 1785
2 Apr.1565: resigned as par. Stracathro (preb. chanter Brechin) in favour of Robert Fraser his son and heir, being ill. RSS v 2007

FRASER, ROBERT [2]

033 2 Apr.1565: pres. par. Stracathro (preb. chanter of Brechin) on resignation of Robert Fraser, his father. RSS v 2007
5 Mar.1565/6: pres. a preb of the Chapel Royal. RSS v 2676
18 Jul.1566: resigned as par. Stracathro. RSS v 2978

FULLERTON, PATRICK

034 27 Aug.1568: son of William Fullerton of Craigo; gifted the Magdalene Chapel of Brechin for support in the schools at St Andrews for seven years, provided that he offer himself to the superintendent of Angus for service in the kirk as soon as he could bear a charge. RSS vi 454
25 Jan.1574/5: having finished his grammar course and being of convenient age and having the aptitude to study philosophy, had his gift of the Magdalene chapel renewed for five years. The master of St Leonards was commanded to receive him under his discipline, to which Patrick had promised to be subject. RSS vii 18
6 Apr.1581: as Mr Patrick, had his gift renewed for six years to support his theological studies. In 1587, the next gift of the chaplaincy went to John Bannatyne. RSS viii 197; CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.172

GORDON, MR ROBERT

035 2 Mar.1565/6: brother of the earl of Huntly; pres. Chancellor of Moray, and par. Banchory-Devenick, succeeding Mr James Gordon in

the latter benefice. Mr Robert Merser was par. and minister by 1567.
RSS v 2669

GRAHAM, ALEXANDER

036 21 Feb.1588/9: had deceased as vic. Mains. No evidence of service in the reformed kirk exists.
PS 1 (RSS) 59.35

GRAHAM, JAMES

037 31 May 1565: brother of David Graham of Fintry, pres. chapel of St Paul, Apostle, in Dundee parish church by Graham of Fintry as patron. Sasine given in a tenement called St Paul's land.
DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.49r

GRAHAM, MR JOHN

038 7 May 1580: Justice-Depute; confirmation of his gift from Alexander bishop of Brechin of a pension in victual from the bishopric for life.
RSS vii 2355

GRAHAM, MR ROBERT

039 20 Jul.1563: vic. Mains, when the manse was searched for the goods of Edward Little, burgess of Edinburgh, who was living there when his moveables were appreciated for debt. Little was a leading member of the catholic faction in Edinburgh.
RMS iv 1488; Lynch, Edinburgh p.339

GRAY, GILBERT OF BANDIRANE

040 27 Nov.1564: pres. provost, Fowlis CC. Collation, 14 Apr.1567 and institution 30 Apr.1567.
GD 212 Maitland Thomson 6,p.151 (Fowlis-Easter Chtrs nos 101,102)
30 Dec.1580: wits. as provost of Fowlis, son of Patrick Lord Gray.
RMS iv 2505
19 Jul.1583: purchased the dominical lands of Ballumbie from Thomas master of Glamis subject to rights of reversion to Lovell of Ballumbie.
RMS v 598
16 Dec.1588: married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Hay of Melginch.
RMS v 1678
10 May 1591: grant of lands.
RMS v 1867

GRAY, JAMES

041 19 Mar.1566/7: Mr Patrick Liddell resigned par. Kinnell (preb. St Salvator's College) to James Gray, reserving fruits for a life pension under contract. Gray's pres. was ratified 11 Jul.1576.
RSS v 3353; vii 657
20 Mar.1583/4: as "minister" of Kinnell, consented to a tack of the teinds by Mr Patrick Liddell to James Lord Ogilvy. This was apparently during the absence of Mr James Melville, minister of Kinnell; no other evidence exists for Gray's supposed service in the reformed kirk.
Airlie mss, GD 16.48.32
1 Aug.1584: had gift of an escheat as par. Kinnell. RSS viii 2245
1587; late par., Kinnell.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.177r

GRAY, PATRICK

042 8 Mar.1562/3: pres. to an unnamed preb. of Fowlis CC.
GD 212 Maitland Thomson no6,p151 (Fowlis-Easter Charters no 100)

GRAY, ROBERT

043 19 Mar.1566/7: son of Patrick, Lord Gray; pres. chapel of Baikie by the crown on the resignation of Mr David Henderson, who reserved his liferent. This pres. was successfully challenged by John Lord Glamis who asserted his right to patronage. See, Mr Thomas Lyon. [b 063] RSS v 3355

GRAY, ROBERT

044 18 Jan. [? 1569] son of Patrick Gray of Baledgarno, pres. by James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, to the vacant chapel of St Margaret's in Dundee as a life-gift, he being a ...

Spalding Misc. iv 66-9

> "scolar of gud ingine, hable to incress in lituratur and sciences, ciuile and diuine... to support his buirding and expens at grammar scoles and scholes of uniuersiteis in his minorite, and to by his bukis to help his studie, to the fine, that he may cum to perfectioun of knawlege, and be plantit in the kirk of God to maintene the religioun and set furth the gospell of Jesus Christ..."

5 Dec.1584: occ. as chaplain of St Margaret; son of deceased Patrick Gray of Baledgarno.

Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3923

GRAY, THOMAS

045 25 Aug.1583: son of deceased George Gray of Schilhill; pres. to be chaplain of Baikie. Feued the lands of the chapel to Robert Ramsay, vicar of Glamis - who subinfeudated to Mr Thomas Lyon master of Glamis, the preceeding chaplain of Baikie.

Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 nos.102-107

20 Jun.1609: sued the tenants of the chapel for all rents since his pres. in 1583. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol. no.140

1 Jun.1619: resigned as chaplain.

Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.188

GUTHRIE, ANDREW

046 8 Nov.1576: an attempt by Alexander Guthrie of that ilk to present him to a preb. of Guthrie CC had been thwarted by John Erskine of Dun, superintendent,as contrary to the settlement of Leith. The Lords, holding that that settlement had no force in law, ordered Dun to collate. RPC ii 565-6

3 Feb.1576/7: being a son of Alexander Guthrie of that ilk, was pres. to the preb. of Hilton and Langtoun, Guthrie CC, by his father as patron. RSS vii 882

GUTHRIE, MR DAVID

047 18 Oct.1570: had deceased as perpet.vic. Stracathro; presumably had succeeded Mr John Guthrie in the vic. after 1565. RSS vi 965

GUTHRIE, DAVID

048 1562: held par. Kirkbuddo, and had failed to pay the third. TB 167

GUTHRIE, GABRIEL

049 13 Jan.1573/4: had a tack of the preb. Langlands and Hilton. (Guthrie CC) Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.355r

8 Nov.1576: an attempt by Alexander Guthrie of that ilk to

present him to a preb. of Guthrie CC had been thwarted by John Erskine of Dun, superintendent,as contrary to the settlement of Leith. The Lords, holding that that settlement had no force in law, ordered Dun to collate. RPC ii 565-6

3 Feb.1576/7: being a son of Alexander Guthrie of that ilk, and a student at St Leonard's College, was pres. to provostry of Guthrie CC by his father as patron. RSS vii 882

9 Mar.1576/7: action by his father on his behalf against Mr James Balfour, minister of Guthrie, to evict the latter from Guthrie manse. Balfour defended his possession as under act of parliament; and the letters against him were suspended, but only until lawful notice to quit could be given him. CS 7.55 f.116v

Nov.1583: with Alexander Guthrie of that ilk, resigned the lands of Hilton and Langlands of Guthrie in favour of John Lindsay of Keithock. NLS, ch.5871

11 Feb.1586/7: action against him for failure to appear as a witness in the case of Hugh Nesbit's pension, it being alleged that he had subscribed the original charter as a member of the chapter of Brechin, being provost of Guthrie. Acts & Decs., CS 7.111 f.78v, vol.114,f.115r

20 Dec.1593: was owed 100 merks by Mr Robert Ramsay, par. Idvies, his brother-in-law. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.26 f.66r

HAY, MR ROBERT

050 26 Nov.1568: as chaplain of St Nathlan in Cowie, feued a tenement in Cowie to its occupiers: with consent of William Hay of Ury, patron. RMS iii 2191

24 Mar.1574/5: was challenged as chaplain of Cowie by William, son of Hay of Ury. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.63r

HAY, WILLIAM

051 24 Mar.1574/5: lawful son of William Hay of Ury; claimed right to the chapel of Cowie against Mr Robert Hay, by provision dated 25 Jan.1573/4. Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.63r

HENDERSON, JAMES

052 16 Dec.1575: sub. as one of the co-pars. of Strathmartin, preb. Trinity CC. Col.Ch.Mid. no.95

18 Apr.1583: sub. as preb. Brodderstanes, Trinity CC. RSS viii 1260

HEPBURN, JAMES

053 1562: described as brother of Capt. Thomas Hepburn; pres. canon vicar of Brechin on demission of Mr John Hay - who, however, retained an interest. RSS v 1159

12 Mar.1562/3: set the vicarage to his brother Matthew Hepburn, chaplain of Caldhame. Bk.Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.361r-v

"The rentall of ye vicarage of Brechin gewin in be Dauid Wat vicar y[air]of as it wes set in assedatioun the teno[ur]e of ye qlk followis. Be it kend till all men be yir pr[esent] ltres me James Hepburn vicar of Brechin To haue sett and in assedatioun lattin and be yir presentis settis and in assedatioun latis To my louit Matho Hepburne of Caldhame and to his aris and assignayis ane or ma of na greitar degreis nor powar than himself all and haill my said vicarage of Brechin wt all and sindrie teindis emolumentis proffeitis duteis and pertintis pertening or

ry[ch]tfullie may pertene y[air]to for the dayis zeiris space and termis of thrie zeiris nixt and instantlie following ye dait heirof qlk dait salbe and begin the said Mathis Hepburne his airis and assigis foirsaid entrie y[air]to ... payand ... the sowme of fforty merkis usual money of Scotland ... In witnes heirof I haif subscrivit yis my assedatioun wt my awin hand at Brechin the xii day of Marche the zeir of god [1562] zeiris Beffoir yis witnesses Mr Jon Hepburn thesaurar of Brechin Matthew Hepburne Dauid Schewane wt v[ther]is. Provyding alwayis yat yew said James Hepburn releif and keip me skaithless of ye thrid of ye said vicarage at ye quenis handis or v[ther]is haifand enteres yis induring ye said thrie zeiris gif ony beis requirat y[air]of... sit sub James Hepburn vicar of Brechin wt my hand.

James Nicolsoun ye sall ressawe fra David Watt vicar of of Brechin The rentall of ye samin conforme as the same wes set be umql James Hepburn his predicessor qlk is ffourtie merkis as ze may persawe be yis said assedatioun set be ye said umqle James to Mathow Hepburne his bru[ther] Off ye dait at Brechin ye xii day of Merche The zeir of god [1562] zeiris and failzie not heirin keipand thir presentis to zo[u]r warrand. Subscrivand wt my hand At Edinburgh the xix day of Januar 1565 sit sub. Tullibardin comptrolllare."

1 Apr.1565: had deceased at new pres. on resignation of Mr John Hay. RSS v 2006

HERING, MR JAMES

054 1553: student at St Andrews university. ActaFacArt ii 401

10 Jul.1573: pres. par./vic. Methven as provost of Methven CC and minister there. RSS vi 2123

1574: minister at Methven. Haws, Parish Clergy p.179

16 Jan.1575/6: sued David Beaton of Melgund, James Crawmond of Aldbar and James Ogilvy of Balfour for fruits of par./vic. Aldbar - as annexed to the provostry of Methven. They claimed they had a tack of the kirk for nineteen years from 1560 from the then provost, Mr David Haliburton; Hering argued this was without authority. The case was continued. Acts & Decs, CS 7.55 f.113r

23 Feb.1575/6: the Lords assigned the teinds and the other fruits to Hering as par. Aldbar, in order to allow him to fulful a order from the superintendent to build a manse from scratch and to repair the church. Hering further claimed that his revenues were reduced by undervalued tacks, by claims of prebendaries of the college and by a "pretended pension" owing to James Murray, brother of the comptroller. RPC ii 495

HUTTON, WILLIAM

055 25 Mar.1577: son of Mr John Hutton of Easter Bellilisk; confirmation of gift by Alexander, bishop of Brechin, of a pension of £10 5s to support him at the schools. RSS vii 978

LAING, JOHN

056 2 Mar.1564/5, and 31 Aug.1566; cousin of Neil Laing queen's servitor and writer, when pres. to perpet.vic. Panbride (preb.

canon-pensioner of Brechin), on resignation of sir William Laing.
RSS v 1941,3045
1 May 1566: as perpet.vic. Panbride set the whole vic. including manse, glebe and kirklands to Alexander Balfour in Panbride, for three years. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.303v
2 Jul.1577: reference to Andrew Maule as his tacksman of the perpet.vic. of Panbride.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2. bund. no.28
7 Jun.1587: sub. with the chapter of Brechin as pensioner of Brechin. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.15.966
1613: new pres.in place of Mr John Laing, keeper of HM Signet.
REB ii 380

LAING, NEIL

057 Book of Assumption: factor for sir William Laing, canon pensioner of Brechin. E 48.1.1 f.341v
1565-6: held canon pensionary of Brechin, (perpet.vic. Panbride) and the vic.pens. Panbride, possibly as procurator for sir William Laing and not as canon himself. TB p.230; RD 1.7 f.304r
Described as the queen's servitor and writer, when the perpet.vic. granted to his cousin, John Laing. RSS v 3045

LINDSAY, JEREMIAH

058 12 Apr.1569: son of Mr David Lindsay minister of Leith; gift for seven years of the chaplaincy of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls altar in Brechin - to sustain him at the schools. RSS vi 568

LINDSAY, MR JOHN

059 Son of David ninth earl of Crawford and Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.329
1 Aug.1560: pres. par. Lethnot (preb. Brechin). RSS vi 2558
1565: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews.
J. Durkan, "Commentary", Northern Scotland v (1984-5) p.105
1 Jul.1566: collated to par. Menmuir by commissioners for Robert bishop of Dunkeld, on condition that he studied the humanities and divine letters at a catholic university until the age of 21. (The previous holder, Mr James Hamilton, [a 163] had resigned in his favour in exchange for an annual from Dame Katherine.)
Prot.Bk.Grote p.276
1567-9: educated with David Lindsay of Glenesk at Paris and Cambridge, under their tutor Mr James Lawson.
JRL, The Craw.mss 3/2/4,5,12;
J. Durkan, "Commentary", Northern Scotland v (1984-5) p.105
14 Dec.1573: as par. Lethnot, infeft in lands in Lethnot and 100 merks a year by David Lindsay of Glenesk/Edzell and Dame Katherine. RMS iii 2167; RD 1.12 f.389v
[x][x] 1573: feued teinds of par.Lethot to Dame Katherine.
Dalhousie mss., 45.16.1738
31 Dec.1576: gifted a pension of £100 from the archbishopric of St Andrews by archbishop Patrick Adamson. RSS viii 1766
29 Nov.1580: married Marion, daughter of Alexander Guthrie and Jonet Henrison - brother of Mr Alexander Guthrie, common clerk of Edinburgh. JRL, The Craw. mss., 12/1/57 [see below]
5 Jul.1581: created a Lord of Session as Lord Menmuir, under the patronage of Lennox, against the advice of Arran.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i pp.336,7; JRL, The Craw. mss. 12/1/12

9 Sept.1581: agreed to waive payment by George Symmer of Balzeordie of his teinds from 1575, acknowledging that Symmer was super-expended in his accounts with Dame Katherine Campbell at the time of her death. Symmer agreed to resume payment of the teinds of Menmuir; some of the subsequent discharges to Symmer for teinds still exist.

Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bunds.no.2,3

27 Nov.1581: agreement by him and his brothers Mr Walter of Haugh and Robert of Balhall not to pursue Alexander Ogilvy of Clova, George Ogilvy of that ilk, any others of the name Ogilvy, or Patrick Wood of Bonnyton for their inherited liabilities for the spulzie of Finavon, 1543. Airlie mss., GD 16.41.52

29 Mar.1584: as a senator of the College of Justice, regranted glebe and kirklands of Menmuir called the Haltoun of Menmuir, to John Symmer of Brathinch and his son, on resignation of George Symmer of Balzeordie. The manse and garden were reserved.

RMS v 817

31 Dec.1584: had licence with Robert Fairlie of Braid and Jonet Guthrie, relict, to accept office as executors of Mr James Lawson, notwithstanding the latter's decease in exile in London.

RSS viii 2734

7 Jun.1587: sub. as member of the chapter of Brechin, preb. Lethnot and Lochlee. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.966

1587: author of the proposal, "Act anent the form and order of the Parliament", including the resurrection of annual head-court elections to parliament of two lairds to represent every shire.

Lord Lindsay, Lives i pp.485-489

6 May 1588: acted as executor for David, ninth earl of Crawford.

Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

3 Sept.1598: died, still par. Menmuir. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p374

The following document records the names of his children, with their baptismal sponsors. The beginning and the end are given verbatim, while the dates, names and sponsors are calendared.

JRL, The Craw. mss., 12/1/57

[dorso]
"Extract be John Cairnes reidar at Edinburch of ye day of my mariage. And of special days of ye baptising of my bairns.
Depairtion of St Giles."

[verso] "Grace and Peace
Mr Johne Lyndsay wes married in oure paroche kyrk of Edinburght w[i]t Marrion Guthre upoun ane Wednesday the penult of November ane thousand fyve hundreth foure score and extractit fowrth of ye buke of regester be me John Cairns, reidar St G[iles].

year	child	sponsors	day
1582	John	John Durie	Wednesday
		Mr James Lawson, minister	
1583	Katherine	Mr Alex Guthrie, town clerk	Sunday
1587	David	Mr David Carnegy	Sunday
		Mr John Graham	
		Mr Walter Balcanquhal, minister	
1589	Jonet	Mr Robert Bruce, minister	Sunday
		Mr William Scott, scribe	

[

year	child	sponsors	day
1591	Robert	Robert Bowes, lord ambassador Mr Robert Rollock	Sunday
1590	Alexander	Alexander Hay, clerk register Mr Alex Guthrie, town clerk	Wednesday

]

"The zeir of God 1590 quhilk wes omittit in seking, named Alexander, quha had to witnes Alexander Hay clerk of register, Mr Alex Guthrie town clerk. This barne wes baptezed upoun ane Wednesday ye nynth of December.
All thir afoirsaid drawin fowrth of ye buke of regester be me John Cairns reidar St G[iles]

Oure awld idoll Geillis wes pulled down the zeir of God 1558 the fyrst of September quhilk wes rededicatt in oure calend[er] to hym. "

In addition, Mr John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir, kept a list of the baptism dates of Mr James Lawson's children; he personally stood witness for Maria, 15 April 1582. His brother David of Edzell was witness for Lawson's son David. JRL, The Craw. mss., 12/1/57b

LINDSAY, JOHN

060 26 Jul.1582: gift for seven years of the altar of St Laurence in Brechin - for support at the schools. RSS viii 2747

LOCKIE, MATTHEW

061 20 May 1583: son of Quentin Lockie burgess of Edinburgh; gift of the beadleship of Brechin for seven years for support at the schools. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.89v

LYON, MR THOMAS

062 The Master of Glamis: later Ruthven raider, Captain of the King's Bodyguard etc. K.Brown, Bloodfeud pp.113,124-7,225
J.G.B.Young, "Scottish Political Parties" pp.68-70,90-103.
10 Mar.1567/8: pres. to be chaplain of Baikie by gift of John Lord Glamis, "undoubted patron" of the chapel, against the claims of Robert Gray. On 18 Oct.1570, Edinburgh commissary court decided in favour of Lord Glamis.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.95,96
25 Aug.1583: resigned as chaplain of Baikie, and feued the lands of the chapel from the assignee of the next chaplain, 28th Aug.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 nos.102-107

MALICE, ADAM

063 [x][x]158-: had demitted as chaplain of St James the More, Dundee. Wedderburn Compt Bk. p.35

MARSHALL, GILBERT

064 26 Jul.1582: had deceased as chaplain of St Laurence in Brechin. RSS viii 2747

MAULE, GEORGE

065 20 May 1587: gift for seven years from 1586 of the Boath chaplaincy of St James in Brechin. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.172r

MILNE, RICHARD

066 Mar.1583/4: as chaplain of Cowie, feued lands to Andrew Lepar, occupier.
Barclay-Allardice mss, GD 49.257

MONCUR, THOMAS

067 4 Jun.1585: pres. perpet.vic. Nevay in place of deceased Matthew Moncur; but the minister, Mr Robert Boyd was pres. 29 Mar.1588. No evidence for service in the reformed kirk exists.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 133v

MURRAY, ARCHIBALD

068 1 Jan.1621: as chaplain of Baikie, set lands of the chapel; and 29 Dec.1626: resigned his liferent as chaplain.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.212,213

MURRAY, DAVID

069 1562: brother-german of deceased Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask; granted a pension of 500 merks a year from the bishopric of Brechin by Mary queen of Scots - the see then being vacant.
RPC iii 362: Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.112r
15 Sept.1569: as pensioner of Brechin and married to Margaret Kirkcaldy, granted lands in Murroes by John Lovell fiar of Ballumbie.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.11 f.49v
1570: confirmation of the pension under act of parliament;
1574: confirmation under the privy seal, together with a new gift of the appropriate thirds.
RPC iii 362
10 Dec.1576: Lords of Session ordered tenants of the bishopric to pay his pension as a priority.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.112r
14 Nov.1577: a reversion by him to deceased Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange granted to William Douglas, a natural son of Morton: the reversion having been escheated after Kirkcaldy's forfeiture.
RMS vii 1267
3 Mar.1580/81: the Collector-General discharged from collecting thirds on the pension from the revenues of the bishop.
RPC iii 362
5 Nov.1583: under marriage-contract with his cousin, Sir Andrew Murray of Arngask, gained lands.
RMS v 661

NESBIT, HUGH

070 23 Jan.1577/8: son of Patrick of Raishill; confirmation of his gift by Mr James Nicholson dean of Brechin (with consent of bishop and chapter 26 Dec.1577), of a pension of £40 from the fruits of the deanery.
RSS vii 1411
11 Feb.1586/7 and 3 Feb.1587/8: fought actions to obtain possession of the pension. Acts & Decs, CS 7.111 f.78b;114 f.115r

NICHOLSON, MR JAMES

071 Writer, burgess of Edinburgh; had supported Moray at Chaseabout and gone into exile in England. Had connections with protestant circles in Edinburgh.
Lynch, Edinburgh 110,185; RSS v 2508
1 Jan.1577/8: as the beloved friend and cousin of Mr Paul Fraser, chanter of Brechin, granted a life-pension of £63 6s 8d from the fruits of the chantory.
RMS iv 2901

NICHOLSON, MR JOHN

072 31 May 1577: having completed his schooling and a course of philosophy, had a gift of the mails of the teinds of Middle Drums extending to £60 a year for five years (from the commons of Brechin), to continue his education abroad. RSS vii 1053,1079

NICHOLSON, THOMAS

073 11 Apr.1580: son of James Nicholson, writer, collector-clerk; gifts of the St Laurence chaplaincy in Brechin and the feu-mails of Drumgrains from the commons of Brechin for support at the schools. RSS vii 2314

THE POOR OF BRECHIN

074 26 Aug.1578: two pieces of land in Brechin formerly possessed by the chapter and canons were granted to Mr James Nicholson, dean, by the crown in exchange for 5s. to be distributed to the poor on 19 June annually to celebrate King James' birthday. RMS iv 2795

PURDIE, ALEXANDER

075 23 Jan.1586/7: student son of James Purdie; gift for life for support at the schools of the teinds of Claylek and Kinnaber, following expiry of gift to John Purdie. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.162v
James Purdie, Islay Herald, was deputy-collector of thirds in Angus and Mearns, occurring as such 1576-1585.
Compts.sub.coll.thirds, Forfar: E 47.1 f.31v: E 47.3 f.19r

PURDIE, JOHN

076 12 Aug.1576: scholar, son of deceased Richard Purdie burgess of Edinburgh; gift of the teinds of Kinnaber for seven years to study at the grammar school of Edinburgh. RSS vii 685
6 Feb.1585/6: gift for life of the chaplaincy of Nomine Jesu at the All Souls altar in Brechin. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.149r
James Purdie, Islay Herald, was deputy-collector of thirds in Angus and Mearns, occurring as such 1576-1585.
Compts.sub.col.thirds,Forfar: E 47.1 f.31v: E 47.3 f.19r

RAMSAY, JAMES

077 May 1583: son of Captain Ramsay; expiry of his gift for seven years of the beadleship of Brechin. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.89v

RAWLET, PIERRE

078 1561: writer for Mary, queen of Scots while in France. Private French secretary to her in Scotland. RSS v 825,826
1563: pres. fruits of par.Arbuthnott as Mary's "louit servitour". RSS v 1321
Dec.1564: succeeded as secretary by David Riccio; ordered out of the country in Jan.1564/5. CSP(S) ii 124,135
1569/70: employed by the bishop of Ross as an agent for Mary in France; later reemployed as her secretary in prison in England. CSP(S) ii 55,428,732

ROLLAND, MR JOHN

079 19 Jul.1572: had his chaplaincy of St Margaret, Dundee gifted to a student, and his thirds annexed. RSS vi 1670

SCOTT, JAMES

080 24 Jun.1579: gift of the annuals formerly enjoyed by sir David Farrar for singing diriges in the kirk of Arbroath. The gift specified that he was the son of William Scott in Arbroath; that the annuals had been mortified by his predecessors, and that the £10 were to support him for seven years at the schools.
RSS vii 1954

SINCLAIR, bishop JOHN

081 7 Sept.1565: nominated by Mary, queen of Scots to be bishop of Brechin and obtained papal provision.
Watt, FESMA p.41; RFVA, Reg.Lat.vol.1932, f.205

[x][x] 1565: obligation by king and queen of Scots to cause John Sinclair elect of Brechin, to set the lands of Farnell and others to James Lord Ogilvy: for faithful service.
Airlie mss, GD 16.24.64

26 Feb.1565/6: disputed possession of Farnell with Dame Katherine Campbell - who remained in possession. She asserted ..."that John bishop of Brechin allegeand hym to be lauchfullie providit and ye said bishop hes purchest letters ... in all ye four formis for ... obeying of hym in all landis of ye temporality and spirituality ..." contrary to her rights of infeftment and current possession by her labourers.
JRL, The Craw.mss box Eii, bund.f

9 Apr.1566: died.
Diurnal p.98

SMALL, JAMES

082 1581/2: student son of George Small, deceased burgess of Edinburgh; gift from the commons of Brechin for seven years for support at the schools, "beand ane pure and fatherles boy, destitute of all support of parentis and freindis..."
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.70v; RSS viii 684

STEWART, JAMES

083 24 Dec.1583: gifted the teinds of Meikle and Little Dysart from the commons of Brechin to support him at the schools, for seven years.
RSS viii 1685

TRAILL, WALTER

084 14 Jul.1582: son of James Traill burgess of Dundee; as chaplain of St Margaret's chapel, Dundee, executed a summons against his tenants.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3918

5 Dec.1584: resigned the chapel to the patron, the constable of Dundee, for reinfeftment; and gave precept to Robert Wedderburn to intromit with the profits.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3924,3925

WARDLAW, DAVID

085 3 Jan.1587/8: pres. perpet.vic. Garvock as a student at the college of Edinburgh, in place of deceased Mr John Wardlaw; but failed to secure possession in face of the pres. of Alexander Keith, minister, on 9 Feb.1586/7. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.161v,163r

WATT, DAVID

086 3 Oct.1562: royal confirmation of a gift to him from Mr John Hay [canon vicar of Brechin] for service to him and the convent of Balmerino of a pension of £31 4s 4d from the readiest fruits. RSS v 1115

1 Apr.1565: pres. canon vicar of Brechin on resignation of Mr John Hay; described as Master of Requests. RSS v 2006

19 Jan.1565/6: gave in the rental for the vic. Brechin. [This document is cited in full under the entry for James Hepburn: b 054.] Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.344v

20 Jan.1565/6: had a gift of the third of Brechin for service both to their highnesses and to Mary of Guise, the queen's mother. REB ii no.cclxxxv = RSS v 2548

1566-8: failed to pay the thirds for the vic. Brechin. TB 236

27 Feb.1578/9: had deceased as canon vicar, Brechin. RSS vii 1830

WEDDERBURN, DAVID

087 1 Sept.1583: admitted to the chaplaincy of St Severus. Wedderburn Compt Bk. p.33

21 Sept.1583: pres. by Scrymgeour of Dudhope to the chaplaincies of St Margaret, St Ann, St Magdalene, St Tredwald, St Laurence, St James the Less and All Saints. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3921

24 Feb.1585/6: Robert Wedderburn his brother renounced to him rights in the chapels of St James the Apostle and St Margaret. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3927

1 May 1586: instituted to the chapel of St James the Less. Wedderburn Compt Bk. p.34

8 Nov.1586: executed letters in four forms against the tenants of St Margaret's chapel. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3928

WEDDERBURN, ROBERT

088 Brother of Alexander Wedderburn, common clerk of Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3923

[x][x]1560: pres. by John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee, to the chapel of St James the Apostle, Dundee. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.4032

22 Sept.1564: as chaplain of St James, executed letters in four forms against his tenants. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss,GD 137.3889

WEDDERBURN, ROBERT: junior

089 20 Apr.1567: pres. by the constable of Dundee to the chapel of St James the Apostle, Dundee; and collation by John Erskine of Dun, 15 Jan.1567/8. DAC,prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f6r; Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3900

3 Jun.1569: decreet for removal at his instance of sir William Luid, pretended occupier of a chamber in St James' land. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3904

13 Nov.1572: conflict between Scrymgeour of Dudhope and Wenton of Strathmartin having arisen, Dudhope promised him further livings should his occupancy of St James the Apostle's altar be ended. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.11 f.469v

5 Dec.1584: had assignation of rights in the chapel of St Margaret. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3923

24 Feb.1585/6: son of deceased Robert Wedderburn; renounced his rights in the chapels of St Margaret and St James the Apostle to David Wedderburn his brother.

Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.3927

WENTON, THOMAS

090 5 Dec.1563: son of Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin; pres. the chaplaincies of St James the Less and St James the More, Dundee, to support his studies as a clerk at St Andrews.

Scrymgeour Inventory (SRS 42) no.235

13 Nov.1572: evidence of conflict between Wenton of Strathmartin and Scrymgeour of Dudhope for the right of pres. to the chapel.

Reg.Deeds, RD 1.11 f.469v

APPENDIX A - CLERGY AND BENEFICES

c: biographies of ministers, exhorters and readers 1560-1590

APPENDIX A - CLERGY AND BENEFICES

c: biographies of ministers, exhorters and readers 1560-1590, based on the Register of assignation and modification of stipends.

Example of format

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AUCHINLEK, ANDREW
010[1]

	Minister[2]												
Barry	63	67-9	72	74.[3]									
Murroes	63	67-9	72	74	76	78	79	80.					
Monifieth				74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90[4]
Monikie					76	78	79	80.					

out of RAMS by 1599.[5]

1563: minister at Barry and Murroes.[6] TB p.231
17 Apr.1575: wits. at Monifieth for the baptism of a child from Murroes. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.28r
26 Apr.1574: wits. the testament testamentary of William Durham of Grange, and was owed £108 by him for the teinds for 1574. CC 8.8.3 f.172v-5r
31 Jul.1578: assisted with a distribution to the poor from a legacy left by Durham of Grange. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.38v
Apr.1579: delivered £4 to William Christison (minister of Dundee) at his visitation of Monifieth, being funds collected for

.....

1. Reference-number in list c.
2. Post within the reformed church. Where a minister became a reader (or vice versa), this is indicated and the date given.
3. The diagram extracts an individual career from the charts of appendix 2, which calendar E 47.1 to E 47.5 (RAMS) and are organised by parishes. A full-stop indicates that service to that parish concluded at that date. Notice that service not recognised in the register is not included in these diagrams - but is mentioned in the following biography.
4. Authority for service in 1560-63 is given in the biography as no RAMS evidence is extant for that period. Thereafter, the biographies assume the career illustrated by the diagram.
5. Where service continued after 1590, no full-stop appears.
6. The last-known date in RAMS is indicated here. Entries in E 47.10 (for years 1614 and 1615) were registered by dioceses and are incomplete. Occasionally the terminal entry reads "still in 1608" where no information relating to 1614/15 survives.

ALLARDICE, MR ALEXANDER
001

	Minister
Kirkcudbright	61-3.
Errol	67-9.
Ecclesgreig	72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.
Benholm	72.
Aberlethnott	74 76 78 79 80 85 86.

1549: student of theology at Aberdeen. Aberdeen Fasti p.271
1554: examiner at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 403

1561-2: had £40 added to his stipend from the thirds at command of the Privy Council: min. Kirkcudbright. TB p.153
1574: canon of St Andrews Priory. NLS ms 17.1.4 f.30r
28 [x] 1576: at a synodical convention; with the gentlemen of the kirk of Ecclesgreig, signed an agreement for rebuilding the kirk. JRL, The Craw.mss, box P bund.6 no.16

"Ye s[ai]d day the ge[n]tlem[en] of the [con]gregat[ion] of Eglisgreig being in yis p[resen]t synodical assembly convenit be the co[mm]ission of ye remenand of the [con]gregat[ion] of Eglisgreig for sma ordour takin for bigging of ye kirk of Eglisgreig..." [in the presence] " of ye superintendent and ye mi[n]isteris com[m]issioneris of kirkis assembly ..." subscribed by... [names modernised: but format retained]

Robert Graham of Morphie
Alexander Straiton of [?Criggie]
Robert Keith of Canterland
David Straiton of Craigs
Archibald Wood of Woodstone
Arthur Straiton with my hand
Andrew Straiton in Craighill

Mr Alex. Allardice minister of Ecclesgreig

27 May 1583: as min. Ecclesgreig, wits. testament testamentary of Robert Graham of Morphie. CC 8.8.13 f.172r
25 Feb.1586/7: made his testament, acknowledging no debts and leaving a total of £358 10s 3d. Mr William Gray and John Durie - mins. of Logie-Montrose and Montrose - witnessed his will, which had no religious terminology. He bequeathed his son his sword, signet and whinger. Edin.tests.CC 8.8.18 f.177v
Apr.1587: died at Montrose. Edin.tests.CC 8.8.18 f.177v

ANDERSON, JAMES
002

	Minister
Bendochy	67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Kettins	69-72 74 76 78 79 80. 90
Collace	69-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Stirling	85 86 88 89.

out of RAMS by 1607.

Pre-Reformation: a monk of Coupar Angus.
1558-1584: sub. with the convent of Coupar.
CA Chrs. cc, cclxxiv;
M.Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers", RSCHS xviii (1974) p.207

16 Aug.1573: pres. par. Collace. RSS vi 2084
During his time at Collace, wrote The Winter Night (first known printed edition, Edinburgh 1595). See chapter seven.
Apr.1581: with John Erskine of Dun on a commission for Angus for establishing presbytries. Calderwood, History iii 523
14 Nov.1581: contract between himself as a member of the convent of Coupar and Leonard [Leslie] commendator of Coupar, whereby the commendator bound himself to pay Anderson's portion for all past years to 1581,to a total of £78 13s 4d. CS 7.85 f.468r
10 Dec.1582: had demitted par. Collace. RSS viii 1052
Oct.1583: commissioned to visit and report the state of presbyteries. Calderwood, History iii 734
May 1586: on the Moderator's council, and appointed visitor of the bounds of Dunblane. Calderwood, History iv 549,566
[See, Visitation of the diocese of Dunblane ed. J.Kirk, (SRS, Edinburgh 1984)]
Aug.1588: on the Moderator's council, and reappointed visitor of the bounds of Dunblane. Calderwood, History iv 682,688
18 Oct.1597: sub. test. testamentary of Sir George Haliburton of Pitcur. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.31 f.172r
31 Jan.1603/4: died; his test. dative was handed in by his relict, Agnes Haliburton. He left £474 13s 4d including various debts owed him, mainly by Haliburton of Pitcur. CC 8.8.42 f.28v

ANDERSON, MR THOMAS
003
Minister
Montrose 63 67-9 72 74 76 78 79 80 85("aigit").

Pre-Reformation vic. Barry: a 004.
c.1560: schoolmaster of Montrose - educated Andrew Melville there to age twelve; described by James Melville as "a man of mean gifts bot of singular guid lyff". His brother Richard as an elder in Montrose kirk gave instruction to James Melville after the latter's first attendance at the Lord's Table.
Melville, Diary 38,22
1563: minister at Montrose. TB p.230
4 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified" ministers who accepted the Helvetian Confession.
Knox's History ii 190: Beza Corresp.vi pp.346-9
3 Oct.1577 etc: wits. various tests. as minister of God's Word at Montrose; acted with John Baty, reader; Mr Andrew Milne, minister. With John Baty, appointed tutor to the two daughters of John Auchinlek - 1581. Owed £30 by deceased Jonet Anderson, wife of deceased Hercules Guthrie of Lunan - 1582. Edin.,Brechin tests CC 8.8.7 f.251v; CC 3.3.1 fs.14v,48r,v; CC 8.8.11 f.310v
8 Feb.1580/81: had demitted vic.pens. Barry and Thomas Anderson pres. in his place. RSS viii 64
1585: had a (unique?) pension assigned in RAMS, being "aigit and unhabill, quha servit in the m[in]strie of Montroise". E47.3 f17v

ANDERSON, THOMAS
004
Reader
Dun/Ecclesjohn 80.
Barry 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1608.

9 Nov.1580: wits. inst. (John Erskine of Dun) as a servant of John Erskine of Dun. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.62r
8 Feb.1580/81: pres. vic. Barry on demission of Mr Thomas Anderson, minister of Montrose; to be tried for service as a minister. RSS viii 64
29 Nov.1585: described as vic. Barry, son of William Anderson; with Richard Anderson and other burgesses of Montrose, became cautioner for George Anderson to pay his feu-duties to the elders and deacons of the kirk of Fordoun. B 51.10.2 f.16v
9 Jun.1586: pres. vic.pens. Barry. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.149r
13 Mar.1590/91, 10 Nov.1594: wits.chtrs. RMS vi 438

ANNAN, MR ANDREW
005
Reader
Barry 78 79 80.

ARBUTHNOTT, MR ROBERT
006
Minister
Arbuthnott 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1607.

1570-173/4: matriculated, BA and Intrant at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 278,169,172: ActaFacArt ii 440,442n
3 Dec.1583: pres. par./vic. Arbuthnott for trials to serve as minister. RSS viii 1634
28 Jul.1584: had letters of four forms issued for payment of teinds from year and crop 1584, together with the manse, glebe and kirklands: an undefended action. Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.280r
19 Feb.1585/6, 28 Feb.1587/8: wits. insts. as par. Arbuthnott. WRH, NRA(S) 5 The Arbuthnott Inventory nos.475,492
20 Nov.1594: described as brother of Robert fiar of Arbuthnott; gave an obligation to Andrew Arbuthnott of that ilk to continue setting the par. to him, and to grant power for the patronage of the kirk to be annexed to the barony of Arbuthnott in order to secure the laird in possession of the revenues, provided that Arbuthnott and his successors present qualified and able persons to the cure. WRH, NRA(S) 5 The Arbuthnott Inventory nos.527

ARRAT, ALEXANDER
007
Reader
Guthrie [63.deleted in ms]

1563: reader at Guthrie - entry deleted. TB p.233

ARRAT, DAVID
008

Reader

Kilbathoch 64 67.
Guthrie 69-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1601.

1564-7: reader at Kilbathoch in Mar. Haws, Parish Clergy 135
1574: had the whole vic. and kirklands of Guthrie "newly disponed" to him: no evidence exists to support the assumption that he had held the vic.pens. from any earlier date. NLS ms 17.1.4 f.32r: Haws, Parish Clergy 103
1574-80: held the kirklands of Guthrie. E 47.1-2
25 Dec.1588: had refused to implement a decreet-arbitral of the presbytery of Montrose, whereby Patrick Lindsay, minister of Guthrie, was to have the manse, glebe and kirklands and then set the manse back to Arrat, who currently occupied it. The Lords of Session issued letters to force compliance: but Arrat secured their suspension on 17 Jan.1588/9. A&Decs., CS 7.55 fs.338v,340v
1590: Patrick Lindsay's provision to the revenues of the kirk was specifically "without prejudice" to Arrat's enjoyment of the vic. Compts.sub.col.thirds, E 47.5 f.20v

AUCHINLEK, MR ALEXANDER
009

Minister

Dumfries 63.
Kirriemuir 67 - 71.
Kingoldrum 67 - 71.

23 May 1516 or 1556: possibly one of two of his name who were respectively Licentiate at St Andrews and matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 318; StA Recs 263
1563: minister at Dumfries. TB p.290
1571: died. Reg.Min. E 48.2 f.19r mgn.

AUCHINLEK, ANDREW
010

Minister

Barry 63 67-9 72 74.
Murroes 63 67-9 72 74 76 78 79 80.
Monifieth 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Monikie 76 78 79 80.
out of RAMS by 1599.

1563: minister at Barry and Murroes. TB p.231
17 Apr.1575: wits. at Monifieth for the baptism of a child from Murroes. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.28r
26 Apr.1574: wits. the testament testamentary of William Durham of Grange, and was owed £108 by him for the teinds for 1574. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.3 f.172v-5r
31 Jul.1578: assisted with a distribution to the poor from a legacy left by Durham of Grange. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.38v
Apr.1579: delivered £4 to William Christison (minister of Dundee) at his visitation of Monifieth, being funds collected for

prisoners in the Turkish gallies. NRH OPR 310/1 f.41v
21 Apr.1583: gave authority for a loan from the poor's box of 19d. to David White's daughter. NRH, OPR 310/1 f.54v
10 Jan.1587/8: had a gift of a pension from the thirds of Arbroath. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.137v
11 Jul.1589: wits. testament testamentary of Robert Durham of Grange, and owed teinds by him. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.22 f.203v

AUCHINLEK, JOHN
011
Reader

Glenbervie	63	67-9	72	74	76	78	79	80.			

Pre-Reformation par.Cookston: a 014.
1563: reader at Glenbervie. TB p.234
21 Jan.1567/8: possibly the man of his name who failed to secure the perpet.vic. Menmuir. [See b 006]
1568-1574/5-1577/8-1580-1582: as reader of God's Word at Glenbervie, sub. a series of minor testaments.
Brechin tests. CC 3.3.1 fs.58v; 60r; f64r; f63v; f68v
[Cannot be identified with the John Auchinlek who made Mr Thomas Anderson and John Baty tutor to his daughters, as that test. was confirmed 13 Nov.1581. Brechin tests. CC 3.3.1. f.48r]

AUCHMOWTY, MR WILLIAM
012
Minister

Mains	68-9-72.		
Lundie	70-72.		
Strathmartin	72.		
[Hawick etc		74]	

1561: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 268
20 Mar.1572/3: admitted to preb. Queen's CC founded on the par. Strathmartin as a co-par. Strathmartin. RSS vi 1907
1583: possibly the man of his name who demitted perpet.vic. Dun. See b.007
18 Apr.1583: still preb. Strathmartin. RSS viii 1260

BALFOUR, MR JAMES
013
Minister

Guthrie	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.				
Idvies	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88.	
Dunnichen			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88.	
Rescobie			74	76	78	79	80.				

7 Apr.1557: as Mr James Balfour, licentiate at St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 408
1563: minister at Guthrie and Idvies. TB p.231
4 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified" ministers who accepted the Helvetian Confession.
Knox's History ii 190; Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9
9 Nov.1567: wits. contract of marriage (John Stirling of Braikie)

as min. of Montrose: presumably briefly displaced Mr William Gray there. DAC, prot.bk.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.18v
28 Mar.1569: as min. of Idvies, sued Patrick Gardyne of that ilk for wrongful spoilation, awaytaking, resetting and withholding on 3 Aug.1568 from the glebe of Idvies. Acts & Decs., CS 7.42 f.359v
16 Jul.1569: wits.chtr. at Fowlis (Lord Gray). RMS iv 1867
[x][x]1575: married Barbara, youngest sister of James Melville. Melville, Diary p.53
9 Mar.1576/7: sought to retain possession of the manse of Guthrie (which he had held for seven years as minister under act of Parliament) against Gabriel Guthrie [b 049], newly provided provost of Guthrie CC. Guthrie's letters of four forms were suspended until Balfour could be given due notice to quit. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.116v
10 Jan.1579/80: en route to Rescobie at sermon-time when attacked by Patrick Butter in Gormak and others: only saved from death by the arrival of neighbours and later (20 Nov.1580) discharged Patrick Butter in Maryton for £100. RPC iii 264; B 51.1.1 f.62v
12 Oct.1580: wits. inst. of Patrick Boncle's: (minister of Fordoun) promise to pay a gift to his god-daughter.B 51.1.1 f.61r
Aug.1583: appointed to confer on the true religion with the young laird of Fintry. Calderwood, History iii 722
Apr.1586: commissioner to Patrick Adamson regarding several suits against the latter brought by the General Assembly. Calderwood, History iv 497
May 1586: candidate to be Moderator of General Assembly - not elected; also appointed to commission to James VI regarding Patrick Adamson, and to the commission to supervise bishops and commissioners in Angus and Mearns. Cald. History iv 549-50,569
Aug.1588: assessor to the Moderator. Calderwood, History iv 682
Extensive further career, including being warded in England 1607.
See James Kirk, "The development of the Melvillian movement", (Edin. Ph.D. 1972) ii biographies of Melvillian ministers.
Note that he was the brother of George Balfour prior of the Charterhouse at Perth. Calderwood, History viii 211; RMS iv 2367

BATY, JOHN
014

Reader							
Dun	63.						
Lunan	63	67-9-72.					
Montrose	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.
Logie-Montrose		67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.
Inchbrayock		71-2.					
Maryton		67-9-1.					

Note that the above amalgamates separate entries in E 48.2, where "Johne Bartie" was reader for Montrose, Logie-Montrose and Maryton, while "Johne Batye" was reader for Lunan. The first had a stipend of £40 and the second was allocated £20. The Montrose reader, however, had his name spelt "Baty" elsewhere, being part of a family so-named in the burgh. He was particularly associated with John Erskine of Dun in the management of the Montrose hospital (see below): and hence likely to be favoured with plural stipends. NLS ms 17.1.4 spelt the Montrose reader "Batie" and that at Logie-Montrose, "Baty", giving them £20 each. By 1580,

both entries were spelt "Batie".
See E 48.1 f.20v; NLS ms 17.14 fs.30r,30v; E 47.2 f.24r

Pre-Reformation priest at Montrose: a 024.

Probably James Melville's Montrose reader:"a godlie honest man reidar, wha read the Scripture distinctlie, and with a religius and devot feilling; the Psalmes, quilk he haid almost by hart, in prose." Melville, Diary p.22
1563: reader at Dun (£20), Lunan (£20) and Montrose (£40). TB p.233
1568: occurs as exhorter at Montrose, Logie-Montrose and Dun, with a stipend of £75: and as a reader at Lunan. TB p.232-3
1569: occurs as reader at Lunan (£10), with Montrose, Logie-Montrose and Dun (£40 out of £60). TB p.233
25 Jul.1571: pres. vic. Hospital of Montrose. RSS vi 1220
3 Dec.1574: as master-collector of the hospital of Montrose, discharged William Fullerton of Ardoch (acting for David Lindsay of Edzell) for 20 merks.
JRL, The Craw.mss box Fii bund.Mont.hspt.
1 Apr.1575: as reader, wits. inst. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.6v
3 Oct.1577: with Mr Thomas Anderson (minister of Montrose) overman for executors of John Auchinlek. Brhn.tsts.CC 3.3.1 f48v
10 Dec.1577: discharge by him as collector for the hospital to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell for 40 merks: also sub. were John Erskine of Dun as provost of Montrose, and Mr Andrew Elder as notary. JRL, The Craw.mss box Fii bund.Mont.hspt.
Feb.1577/8: as reader of God's Word at Montrose and master of hospital, owed £96 worth of teinds by David Paniter of Newmanswalls at the latter's death. Brechin tsts. CC 3.3.1 f.61r
9 Mar.1577/8: discharge by him as collector of the hospital to Mr David Lindsay, minister of Leith.
WRH, NRA(S) 5: The Arbuthnott Inventory no.438
11 Apr.1578: wits. inst. at Logie-Montrose as reader there. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.38r
28 Aug.1579: reader in Montrose: Andrew his son made William Baty, burgess of Montrose (Andrew's brother-german) his procurator. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.49r
3 Oct.1579: wits. test. of John Baty, baxter in Montrose. ("Johnne Batie, reidar") Brechin tests, CC 3.3.1 f.18v
26 Oct.1579: wits. test. testamentary of Helen Straiton, spouse of John Straiton burgess of Montrose and was left £4 by her as a legacy. ("Johnne Baittie reidar of Goddis Word") CC 8.8.7 f.251v
24 Nov.1579; 16 Aug.1581; 12 Jan.1581/2; 28 Feb.1581/2; wits. and sub. various minor tests. in Montrose.
Brechin tests, CC 3.3.1 f14v; f49r; f50v; f100r
3/4 Nov.1583; 17 Jun.1584: as collector of hospital, gave discharges to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell.
JRL, The Craw.mss box Fii bund.Mont.hspt.

BICKERTON, MR THOMAS
015
Reader
Barry 76.

1572-1574/5: matriculated, BA and MA at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 281,171: ActaFacArt ii 442,444

BLACK, DAVID
016
Minister

Kirriemuir	71	74	76	78	79	80.		
Kingoldrum	71	74	76	78	79	80	85	86.
Nether Airlie		74	76	78	79	80	85	86.

Pre-Reformation: a monk of Arbroath. A book of his (Boethius, "De consolatione philosophia": 1505) is mentioned.
Durkan/Ross, Early Libraries p.81

15 May 1557: first recorded sub. with the convent of Arbroath. [Several other charters bearing his sub. c.1557-8-9 have been omitted here.]
M. Dilworth,"Monks and ministers": RSCHS 18 (1974) p.210; and Yester writs, GD 28.676

13 Feb.1559/60: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 21 bund.vi no.6

27 Jun.1563: wits. inst. at Arbroath as "dom. David Blak".
RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.186v

10 Nov.1564: elected schoolmaster of Arbroath.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.9v
"The qlk day Dauid Blak is electit and chosyning maister of schwell and sall haue ten pundis of Our Lady chaiplanry ilk zeir to him fre and iiii s. of ilk fre ma[nn]is bairn wtin ye toun" [with authority to charge those from without the town.]

14 Jun.1566: to pass to Edinburgh to seek relief from thirds on behalf of the burgh of Arbroath.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.25v
"The qlk day ye bailzeis and co[un]sall hes com[m]andit Thomas Lindsay to gyf Jhone Paramor xl s. of Or Lady a[n]wellis becaus he is ane puyr ma[n] and als hes ordand to gyf Dauid Blak xl s. of ye said a[n]wellis to pass to Edynbro[t] to seik releif of ye queinis thrid of ye said chaiplanry."

20 Jun.1567: discharged as schoolmaster of Arbroath.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.36v
"The qlk day ye bailzeis and nybouris hes dischargit David Blak of ye ken[ing] of ye grammer schwell and of his ten lib. Of ye qlk he had of ye toun."

26 Mar.1570: sub. with the convent of Arbroath under abbot John Hamilton during the civil war. The commendator granted a pension of 520 merks to David and William Ogilvy, sons of James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie, for "defens of us o[ur]e convent ten[n]antis and servandis and o[ur]e special place" and "for resisting o[ur]e nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]e apeirand hurt and damnage and skaith". Witnesses at Arbroath included the earl of Huntly and Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird. Airlie mss, GD 16.47.13

6 Apr.1572: acted for John Erskine of Dun in admitting James Ogilvy as minister/ parson of Cortachy. Airlie mss, GD 16.41.23
" In dei nom[ine] Amen per hoc [etc...] The quhilk day David Blak minister at the kirk of Kerem[ure] paste to ye paroche kirk of Cortoquhie wythin jerysdictioun of Jhone Erskyn of Dwne Superintendente And wythine the said kirk immediatlie efter his preching befoir noine opinlie reid ane precepte direct to him be the said Superintendente bering in effect

that the samyne Superintendent haid tryite and examinate the doctrin qualificatione literatur and conversatioune of James Ogilbye quhome he haid fund in doctrin sownd, honest in conversatioune and of sufficand qualificatione and literatur to us the charg of the Minister and reidar And haid resavit and admittyt him to ye personadg and viccaradg of Cortoquhie wythin the sherifdom of Forfar conforme to our souerane lordis lettoſur] of presentation direct to ye said Superintendent of ye dait at Lythe the xxviii day of Januar The zeir of god [1571] zeiris And to entſer] ye said James to ye real possessioun of ye said personadg and viccaradg as ye said Superintendentis precept of ye dait At Montrois the xxvii day of Marche the zeir of god [1572] zeiris beris AND IMMEDIATLIE efter the reiding of the said precept enterit the said James Ogilvie to the real and haill possessioun of the saidis personage and viccaradge of Cortoquhie be delyvering in his handis of ye buik of god eftir the forme and tenoſur] of ye said Superintendis precept in al pointis Apoun the qlk ye said James acceptand the cure committit to him being personallie present askit instrumentis to be gewene to him in dewe form as for his institutioun. Done in the said kirk of Cortoquhie At xii hours at noin or yſair]bye and befoir thir witnessis Alexander Ogilvy of Cloway Waltir Ogilvye his brother David Ogilbye his sone Williaſm] Wilsoun in Cortoquhie and utheris parochineris for ye tyme reguyrit herto. Et ego ...[etc.]"

21 May 1572: owed payments from the burgh's annuals.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.61v

31 May 1575: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885, 235.3.3

6 Aug.1575: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box 2 bund.28

9 Sept.1576: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885, 235.3.5

[x][x]1580: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 6 bund.6

30 Jul.1580: pres. vic. Kingoldrum. RSS vii 2450

14 Apr.1581: secured letters in four forms for payment of the teinds of Kingoldrum in an undefended case. CS 7.55 f.161r

3 May 1582: last recorded sub. with the convent of Arbroath. [This reference is additional to M. Dilworth, op.cit.]
RMS v 454

11 May 1586: cautioner for Mr James Rait on the latter pres. to vic. Kinnettles. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.145r

13 Apr.1588: made his will, leaving a total of £857 14s 3d after debts received and owed. Among those owing to him were the occupants of various mills in Arbroath for his common victuals as a member of the convent, the occupiers of his glebe-lands of Kirriemůir and the parishioners and taxmen of Kingoldrum. Mr James Ogilvy of Balfour wits. his will. CC 8.8.19 f.275v

"seik in bodie and haill in mynd makis his legacie and latterwill as eftir followis. Item ye said David noſmina]tis and constituts his ..." [No religious terminology]

Apr.1588: died, described as min. Kingoldrum. CC 8.8.19 f.275v

His widow was still claiming part of his stipend in 1595.

M. Dilworth,"Monks and ministers": RSCHS xviii (1974) p.211

BLAIR, JOHN
017
Reader
Kinfauns 68.
Benvie 74 76 78 79 80 86.
Strathmartin 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1594.

Note that the reference in Scott's Fasti viii 366 to John Blair as reader at Kinnoull on the basis of the compts of the sub-collectors for Fife is rejected; E 46.32. has no such reference.

Note that the identification made in Haws, Parish Clergy p.256 is rejected. John Blair the canon of Scone had deceased by 1587: but the reader was still alive. See above and PS 1.56 (RSS) 56 f.25
1568: reader at Kinfauns. TB p.252

BLINDSCHEILL, JOHN
018
Reader
Inverarity 63.
Essil 67.
Urquhart 67.
Llanbride 67.
Inverness 74

Pre-Reformation, a Dominican friar at Elgin.
I.A.Muirhead "Dominican friars" SHR xxviii p.89
1563: reader at Inverarity. TB p.233

BONCLE, PATRICK
019
Minister
Fordoun 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Fettercairn 63 67-9-72 74 76.
Newdosk 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Conveth 74 76 78. 79.
out of RAMS by 1607.

Pre-Reformation, a canon of St Andrews Priory. (1555)
Haws, Parish Clergy p.256

1563: minister of Fordoun,Fettercairn,Newdosk. TB p.234
18 Jan.1565/6: sub. as a canon of St Andrews and min. Fordoun.
RH 6.9.2015
2 Sept.1566: sub. as a member of the convent of St Andrews Priory granting 1000 merks pension to George Douglas, brother of Lochleven. Laing chrs. 809
1567: his stipend supplemented by the prior of St Andrews.
Reg.Min. E 48.2 f.25r
7/14 Sept.1574: wits. tack of teinds of Kinneff by Robert Pitcairn archdean of St Andrews, with consent of Robert [Stewart] bishop of Caithness, commendator of St Andrews priory.
Southesk Charters box no.3. bund. no.20

6 Dec.1575: as min. Fordoun, sub. test. Alexander Leighton in Drumlithie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.82v

28 Jan.1576/7: pres. vic. Fordoun. RSS vii 871

10 Mar.1575/6: John Strachan of Thornton complained of letters issued from three separate plaintiffs demanding he pay teinds to them. Patrick Boncle had sued him for the manse and glebe - despite a prior tack - on the grounds that the commissioner had designated them to Boncle as minister under act of parliament; also for bread and wine sufficient for communion, again under act of parliament. The Lords upheld Boncle's claim to the kirklands but reduced the feu-duty payable accordingly, and ordered payment of such funds as required by the elders and deacons as would provide for communion. Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f86v

12 Oct.1580: promised a gift to his god-daughter. B 51.1.1 f.61r

> "Patrick Bonkill minister at yr kirk of Fordoun oblist hym fayt[h]fullie to gift to Essie Andersone his goddaughter for her god barne gift ten poundis monie of ye realme at quhat tyme ye saidis Essie be mareit. Dun in Richard Andersonis house in Montrose at v huris. Befoir yir witness John Meluil reidar and Mr James Balfour mi[n]ister."

5 Jan.1580/81: as min. Fordoun, sub. testament of Jonet Falconer, spouse of Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow. CC 8.8.12 f.297r

> "Imprimis ye said umq Jonet recom[m]endis hir soule to ye m[er]cies of god through Jesus Christ hir saviour hir body to ye erth to ye generall resurrectioun;"

Apr.1582: spoke against Patrick Adamson in the General Assembly. Calderwood, History viii 216

29 Jan.1584/5: with Mr John Collace appointed to represent the exercise of the Mearns to meet with John Erskine of Dun for assignation of stipends. Spalding Misc. iv p.72

9 Sept.1585: as minister of God's Word at the kirk of Fordoun, wits. the will of Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow. CC 8.8.15 f.231r

> " Be it kend till all me[n] be yir p[rese]nt l[et]t[e]rs me Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow kn[igh]t, haill in mynd spirit and bodie p[er]fyte in soule sensis unde[r]standing and of gude memorie praisit be god knawing nathing mair certane nor deith and ye ho[u]r y[air]of maist uncertane co[m]littis my soule to god to be ressavit to his glory be his mercy in Jesus Christ and threw his mereittis and willing ye guid standing of my hous and heritage restand hereeftir in peace and quyetnes w[i]t[h] goddis grace in his feir, Theirfoir be yis my latterwill .... [John Wishart apparent of Pittarrow to be the only executor] ... and to dispone according to this wil as he will answer to god... Item to ye pure and maist indigent dwelland in my awin lanndis as weill husbandmen as cotteris, ..." [£100 to be disponed by the executors as they will answer to God.]

1599: demitted Fordoun vic. PS 1.71 (RSS) f.45

BOYD, MR ROBERT

020

Minister

Glamis	67-9-72.									
Newtyle		74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Nevay		74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	

still in RAMS 1608.

15 Apr.1568: wits. inst. (John Lord Glamis)
Strathmore mss NRA(S) 885 box 25.2
5 Jul.1571: pres vic. Newtyle. RSS vi 1202
Oct.1577: John Anderson appeared in the General Assembly to beg forgiveness for an attack on Boyd and for shedding his blood.
Fasti v 211
9 May 1581: as min. Newtyle, gave a discharge to James Lord Ogilvy for teinds for year and crop 1578. The following other discharges have survived: Airlie mss GD 16.47.18
27 Mar.1585/6 for year and crop 1583
31 Aug.1591 , for year and crop 1590
22 Apr.1610 for year and crop 1609
The following discharge by George Halden (reader at Newtyle) is also of interest: 11 Oct.1598 - Airlie mss GD 16.47.18
" Be it kend to al men to quhom it effeiris and speciale to ye r[ich]t honerable James Master of Ogilbe y[a]lt I am weil content and allow y[a]lt my belouit bruder in Christ and gude frend Mr R[o]b[er]t Boyd minister of Newtyld be ansuerit obeyed and thankfullie payed be ye said master of Ogilbe and his factoris of thrie scoir four lib. usual money of yis realm of ye crop of ye zeir of god [1597] conforme to his letteris obtenit yairupoun notyeles y[a]lt I haue bein in use of resaving payment be my self during zeiris bygane he hauing lyk letteris Becaus ye said maister Robert has faytfullie promisit y[a]lt his intromissioun sall nay way be preiudicial or hurtfull to me bot yat I s[ul]d be thankfullie payed of my pairt of ye said soume conforme to use and wont."
29 Mar.1588: pres. vic. Nevay - but David Brown was holder in 1590. [c 021] PS 1.57 (RSS) f.76v

BROWN, DAVID
021
Minister
Nevay 90
still in RAMS 1608.
1590: stipend included the whole vic.of Nevay with the manse and glebe. E 47.5 f.23v
23 Sept.1598: precept by John Lord Saltoun to David Brown (min. Eassie) as his bailie to infeft David Wood now of Craig in lands in Forfar. Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885 box 15 bund.1, no.119

BRUCE, WILLIAM
022
Reader
Mains 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
Note that William Bruce first appears in RAMS as a marginal entry to replace Mr Ninian Cook in 1576 [E 47.1 f.28v]; in 1585 the entry reads "R[o]b[er]t Bruce reidare at Manis" - presumably in error. [E 47.3 f.18v] In 1590, no reader is specified: but the entry for Mr William Rait, minister, includes "The minister payand to ye reidare xii bollis meill". [E 47.5 f.22r]

21 Feb.1588/9: pres. vic. Mains. PS 1.59 (RSS) f.35

BUCHAN, MR JOHN
023
Minister
Liff 63.
Invergowrie 63.

Oct.1537: Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. ("pauper") ActFacArt ii 386
1553/4 and 1554/5: schoolmaster at Ayr.
Ayr burgh accounts ed.G.S.Pryde (SHS,1937) pp.119,121

1563: minister at Liff and Invergowrie. TB p.231

BURNET, JOHN
024
Reader
Ecclesgreig 69-72 74 76 78 79 80 85.

Note that E 48.2 f.24r reads under Ecclesgreig:
"Robert Neilson reidar xx lib." - line deleted.
"Robert Burnet in his roume, the same stipend, Beltyn 1569"
Burnet's forename was presumably a clerical error in the mss.

Pre-Reformation clerical notary:
9 Feb.1541/2: notary chtr. (Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin/ John Erskine of Dun) Erskine of Dun mss, GD 123.60
Jun.1542: as sir John Burnet, notary, contract. (Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin/ Robert Collace of Balnamoon)
WRH, NRA(S) 5, The Arbuthnott Inventory 301
16 May 1575: precept of service in lands in the parish of Ecclesgreig directed by George Barclay of Mathers to John Burnet. RMS iv 2583
7 Sept.1576: as reader at Ecclesgreig, wits. testament of Richard Barclay in Nether Woodstone in the parish of Ecclesgreig. Edin.tests. CC 8.8.4 f.370r

CAMPBELL, MR DOUGAL
025
Farnell 85 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS, 1615.

1579: graduated MA at Glasgow. Fasti v 392
30 Nov.1581: pres. par. Farnell (preb. dean of Brechin) RSS viii 532
20 Mar.1581/2: had letters in four forms issued to secure payment of his teinds as par. Farnell. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.187v
5 Apr.1584: gave a tack of teinds to James Lord Ogilvy. Airlie mss, GD 16.48.34
11 Feb.1586/7: fought case to reduce a pension given by his predecessor Mr James Nicholson to Hugh Nesbit: but lost, on the grounds that the charter of reduction he relied on was invalid, having been subscribed by the chapter after Nicholson's death. Acts and Decs., CS 7.111 f.78b; CS 7.114 f.115r
Considerable further career including being Moderator of Presbytery and Constant Moderator. He died aged c.76 around 1633. See Fasti v 392; Watt, FESMA p.45

CARMICHAEL, MR WILLIAM
026
Minister
Nigg 78 79.
Maryculter 78 79.

1568-1571/2: matriculated, graduated BA and MA at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 276,166,167; ActaFacArt ii 437,438

CARMYLLIE, ROBERT
027
Reader
Ruthven [76: not in RAMS]

30 Oct.1576: pres. vic. Ruthven on demission of David Cumming, for trials to serve as reader. RSS vii 742
1578: David Cumming was still reader in RAMS. [q.v.]
30 Jul.1580: had deceased when David Cumming re-presented. RSS vii 2447
24 Aug.1583: David Cumming had a gift of the fruits of the vic. from the death of Robert Carmyllie to the pres. of the next nominee; this presumably retrospectively validated Cumming's accustomed intromission. RSS viii 1469

CHRISTISON, MR JOHN
028
Reader/exhorter: then minister from 1576.
Dunfermline 70 - 74.
Logie-Dundee 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Liff 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Invergowrie 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS, 1615.

1561: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs p.268
1570: served at Dunfermline; and had married. Haws, Parish Clergy p.70; Fasti v 335
1576-8: held the kirklands, manse and glebe of Invergowrie ad vitam: he served these kirks without the aid of readers. E 47.1 f.29r.
14 Jan.1579/80: pres. vic. Invergowrie. RSS vii 2192
4 Jun.1612: decree of Assembly against him as a usurer. Fasti v 335

CHRISTISON, JOHN
029
Minister
Glenbervie 60 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Fetteresso 63 67-9-72.
Dunnottar 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation grey friar of Montrose: had his portion allowed from the thirds in 1561, 1563 and 1566.

[The compt of the sub-col. for Forfar - E 46.4 f.48r - is more specific than TB pp.98,228]

10 May 1559: accused of celebrating communion and preaching without authority at Perth from Easter 1559; failed to appear at Stirling and was outlawed, while his cautioner, John Erskine of Dun, was fined £40. Justiciary courts, JC 1.7 f.134v

1 Apr.1560: sub. the inventory of goods for deceased Katherine Rait as minister of Glenbervie. Edin.com. CC 8.2.1 f.275v

1563: minister at Glenbervie. TB p.234

1568: allowed the third as par. of Glenbervie, having succeeded to Mr Robert Erskine dean of Aberdeen who died in 1563. [a 103] TB p.230

28 Sept.1570: as par. Glenbervie, wits. the testament of William Douglas of Glenbervie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.34v

" being seik in body but haill in spirit [and] mynd maid his latter .... The said Ar[chibal]d co[m]ittit his soule unto ye father omnipotent ye creat[o]r of all and commitit his gudis and geir..." [to William his eldest son as executor, with Falconer of Haulkerton and James earl of Morton as his overmen] ... "as they sall answer befoir god at ye day of judgment."

12 Feb.1573/4, 10 Jul.1574, 8 Oct.1580: as minister of God's Word at Glenbervie, wits.Brechin tests. CC 3.3.1 fs.66v,57v,35v

21 Dec.1580: gave in his own last testament - confirmed after his death, 24 Jul.1582. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.57r

"sen nathing is mair certane nor deith" ... "seik in body but haill in mynd and spreit, makis his testament as followis ... leiffis his soull to ye almychtie god, his bodie to be bureit in the common sepulcur..."

CHRISTISON, WILLIAM

030

Minister

Dundee	60	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Ballumbie				74	76	78	79	80.					

out of RAMS by 1599.

Pre-Reformation: abroad at Bergen, minister to the Scots' congregation there from 1555. Associated with Bergen's first reformed bishop, Geble Pedersson and studied under his patronage in Bergen, Rostock and Copenhagen, having been granted a cathedral chaplaincy. He matriculated at Rostock in 1545. He had a copy of the Bible in English dated 1553.

[Note that the reference in Durkan/Ross, Early Libraries p.82b to a Nuremberg commentary (pub.1550-54) "In primum librum Moses" marked inside "Wilhelmus Joannis cognomenti Cristisoun nacione Scotus apud Bergenses verbi divini minister" resolves T.L. Christensen's doubts whether the identification of the Dundee minister with the Rostock student could be maintained.]

T.L.Christensen,"Scots in Denmark", SHR xlix (1970) p.125f

19 Jul.1560: appointed minister of Dundee by the Lords, and by the assembly of 20 Dec.1560. Calderwood, History ii 11; BUK i 3

24 Sept.1561: the Dundee Council appointed him a stipend of 250 merks. Maxwell, Old Dundee p.128

Jun.1563: commissioned by the Assembly to hear complaints against the superintendent of Fife. BUK i 36
4 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified" ministers who accepted the Helvetian Confession: also sub. the letter from the Kirk to the English bishops regarding vestments in Dec.1566.
Knox's History ii 190; Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9
Calderwood, History ii 335
Jul.1569: Moderator of General Assembly. BUK i 157
17 Nov.1569: pres. vic. Dundee - but it passed to the reader, William Kyd. [q.v.] RSS vi 2808
26 Jun.1571: sub. testament of Christine Spens, wife of Alexander Ramsay burgess of Dundee, made by herself. CC 8.8.5 f.238r
"... seik in my bodie and haill in my soule and spirit prais to ye eternall god, I geif my soule to yat gracious god omnipotent beseikand yat maist gracious god haif mercie on my synnes, my bodie to be bureit as my father and spouse think expedient ..." [grants legacies to be administered by executors as they will answer to God] "... and hes requirit ane vigilant pastour in Christ William Cristisoun minister in Dundee and Thomas Ireland notare public to subscrive this my latterwill and testament...."
Jan.1571/2: at the Leith Convention, and later appointed to the commission to revise the Leith agreement.
BUK i 203; Calderwood, History iii 220
1576-8: on commissions for Angus to confer on the policy of the Kirk. Calderwood, History iii 363,375,403,416
16 Mar.1575/6: official visitor of the kirk of Monifieth.
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.31r
Apr.1576: appointed a visitor in Angus and Mearns. BUK i 358
1577: one of possible commissioners to Magdeburg.
Calderwood, History iii 387
24 Apr.1579: official visitor of the kirk of Monifieth, with concurrent election of elders and deacons, and communion.
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.41v
1581: on the commission for establishing presbyteries.
Calderwood, History iii 523
1582: commissioner to James VI on the griefs of the Kirk.
Calderwood, History iii 627
1583: sole commissioner to admolish the young laird of Fintry.
Calderwood, History iii 732
1586: commissioner to supervise bishops and commissioners in Angus and Mearns. Calderwood, History iv 569
1589: to act for John Erskine of Dun during the latter's illness in designation of manses and glebes. Calderwood, History iv 688
1597: being old and ill, his place was filled. He died in 1603.
Fasti v 315

CLAYHILLS, MR ANDREW
031
Minister
Monifieth 69-72.
Monikie 69-72.
Jedburgh etc 74
1546: born son of Peter Clayhills (dean of Guild: burgess of Dundee) and Elizabeth Wishart. Fasti v p.361
1565/6: graduated BA, St Leonard's College, St Andrews.

ActaFacArt ii 425
Considerable further career in the Borders: commissioner to Merse and Teviotdale, 1586; commissioner from the General Assembly to James VI, 1587. Calderwood, History iv 566,604
Returned to be minister of Monifieth, 1598; died, 1617.
Fasti v p.361

CLEMENT, NINIAN
032

	Minister	
Arbroath	63	67-9-72.
Forfar/Restenneth		74.
Kinnettles		74.
Tannadice		74.

Pre-Reformation: a monk of Arbroath.
M.Dilworth, "Monks and ministers": RSCHS xviii (1974) p.209
12 Sept.1554: first recorded sub. with the convent of Arbroath. [not included in Dilworth, supra] Northesk mss, GD 130.1.3
1555: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 261
16 Aug.1557 x 13 Feb.1559/60: eight more known occasions when sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Northesk mss, GD 130.1.3; Strathmore mss, NRA(S) 885,box 21.6.6

3 Feb.1562/3: wits. inst. as minister at Arbroath.
RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.171r
10 Feb.1562/3: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Airlie mss, GD 16.14.21
1563: minister at Arbroath. TB p.231
25 May 1563: wits. inst. as minister at Arbroath.
RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.182r
2 Jun.1564: as minister of Arbroath, made burgess - taking the oath and promising to pay his dues.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.7v
20 Jun.1564: occs. as married, with his wife Helen Strachan taking sasine in a tenement.
RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilock) f.220r
2 Oct.1564: taxman for the south burgh, for 14s 6d.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.9r
4 Nov.1564: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Northesk mss, GD 130 box 17 "Ethie 1"
[x] Dec.1564: accused of causing a woman to "pairt wi[th] twa barnes" [miscarry] - presumably by witchcraft. The burgh court upheld his complaint of mis-saying: Jonet Boece was sentenced to appear in the Chapel the next Sunday or Wednesday before the neighbours and bailies (or as soon as she was well) to seek the minister's forgiveness. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.11v
20 Mar.1564/5: sought to recover debts owing the estate of his wife's former husband. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.14r
2 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified" ministers who accepted the Helvetian Confession.
Knox's History ii 190: Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9
14 Feb.1566/7: as minister, sued in the burgh court for possession of his yard at the abbey.
APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) f.34r

" The qlk day anent ye co[m]playnt maid be Nynaine Clement mynister apoun James Baxter for ye wrangus w[i]thalden of ye kais of his zard in ye abay callit Denithin zard and occuping ye sa[m]in ye said Nynaine producit ane infeftme[n]t ondir ye sig and subscriptioun of sir W[il]l[ia]m Pityllok noter q[uhere] ye said James promisit to red ye said zard at Lam[m]as last bypast ye bailzies efter consultatioun hed and tayn in ye said mater deponit and deklarit y[a]t ye said James Baxter hes na tytill tak nor iust entres to ye said zard nor na part yair of and yairfor ordand ye offiseris to pass w[i]t[h] ye said Nynaine and mak opyne ye zettis and durris of ye said zard to hy[m] and red and woid ye sa[m]in to ye said Nynaine and to co[m]land and discharge ye said James Baxter fra ony forder occupatioun of ye said zard or ony part yairof in all tymis to cum and to caus pris ye caill y[a]t growis w[i]t[h]in ye said zard and deliu[er] ye sa[m]in to ye said Nynaine for part of paime[n]t for dettis awand to hy[m] be ye said James apoun ye q[uhi]lk thynge ye said Nynaine twk act of court."

4 Jun.1568: as minister, to be granted the third of burgh chaplaincies. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-1575) f.40r

" Ye haill nybouris hes co[n]sentit and grantit y[a]t Ninian Clement minister haue ye thrid of Our Lady Chaiplanry and Sanct Nytolas chaiplanry gyf y[air] be na releif gotten y[air] fra wtin 40 dayis."

26 Mar.1570: sub. with the convent of Arbroath under commendator John Hamilton in presence of the earl of Huntly, Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird and Ogilvy of Balfour - during the civil wars. The convent granted a pension of 520 merks to William and David, sons of James Lord Ogilvy, for ... "defens of us o[ur]e convent ten[n]antis and servandis and o[ur]e special place" and "for resisting o[ur]e nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]e apeirand hurt and damnage and skaith". Airlie mss, GD 16.47.13

6 May 1572, 11 Mar.1572/3: obligations by him (not named as minister) to pay debts. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-75) fs.61v,65r

18 Mar.1576/7: 21 Apr.1577: last recorded subs. with the convent of Arbroath. RH 6.11.2430; Benholm and Hedderwick mss,GD 4.255

COCHRAN, GEORGE

033

Reader

Lundie 72 74 76 78 79 80 88 89 90

Strathmartin 72.

out of RAMS by 1595.

Possibly kin to Peter Cochran of Pitfour. RPC iii 58

COLLACE, MR JOHN

034

Minister

Fettercairn 80 85 86.

Newdosk 85 [86. dltd. ms.]

[Newdosk was deleted from linkage with Fettercairn in 1586.
E 47.3 f.19v]

15 Aug.1580: pres. par./vic. Fettercairn. PS 1.47 (RSS) f.1
29 Jan.1584/5: appointed with Patrick Boncle to represent the exercise of the Mearns to meet with John Erskine of Dun at the annual assignation of stipends. Spalding Misc. iv 72
16 Mar.1587/8: Mr John Collace, minister and parson of Fettercairn died. His testament dative was registered 30 Dec.1588 by his father, John Collace of Balnamoon. Books and clothes were the only items specified in his inventory, worth in total £26 13s 4d. After allowing for debts owed him from his stipend of £330 a year, he left £517; from which the reader at Fettercairn was owed £40 for years 1587 and 1588. E 2.12 f.99v; CC 8.8.19 f.327r

COOK, MR NINIAN
035
Reader
Murroes 61 70-2.
Mains 74 [76. deleted in ms.]

Pre-Reformation vic.Murroes: a 071.
1561: allowed third vic. Murroes as vicar and reader. TB p.93
[Note that William Oliver was reader at Murroes 1563-70 and in 1574. q.v.]
3 Mar.1578/9: had deceased as vic. Murroes. RSS vii 1515

COWSLAND, THOMAS
036
Reader
Lintrathen 71-2.

1572: deposed Beltane, 1572. E 48.2 f.21v

CRAWMOND, THOMAS
037
Reader
Inverarity 74 76.

14 Jul.1565: possibly wits. chtr. (Gardyne of that ilk/ Rossie of that ilk) RMS iv 2459
May 1577: deprived, with only half his stipend allowed that year. E 47.1 f.26v

CUMMING, DAVID
038
Reader
Ruthven 75 76 78 80.

1575: reader at Ruthven - a later entry by amendment to the 1574 list of RAMS. NLS ms.17.1.4 f.36r
17 Mar.1574/5: pres. vic. Ruthven. RSS vii 98
30 Oct.1576: had demitted vic. Ruthven in favour of Robert Carmyllie [q.v.], but appeared in RAMS as reader in 1578

nevertheless: it appears that Carmyllie died soon after appointment. In 1579 Thomas Maxwell [q.v.] was reader at Ruthven. RSS vii 742
30 Jul.1580: repres. to vic. Ruthven on Carmyllie's death. RSS vii 2447
19 Apr.1583: demitted again as vic. Ruthven; but had a gift of the fruits of the vic. from Carmyllie's death until a new pres. RSS viii 1264,1469
22 Nov.1583: sued for teinds of Ruthven in terms of his gift, as master of the song-school of Leith. CS 7.55 f.268r
1 Feb.1584/5: occ. as master of the Canongate song-school. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.122v
30 Nov.1586: as master of the Edinburgh song-school, pres. preb. Restilrig; late preb. by 1590. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) fs.160,169; PS 1.61 (RSS) f.53

DICK, MR JAMES
039
Reader
Idvies 79 [80:dltd ms]
Rescobie 80.

DINMUR, DAVID
040
Reader
Invergowrie 63.

1563: reader, Invergowrie. TB p.233

DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD
041
Minister
Glenbervie [81-84]
not in RAMS.

Son of William Douglas of Glenbervie, ninth earl of Angus. Balfour Paul, Peerage i 198
29 Sept.1581: gifted the par./vic. Glenbervie with the manse, glebe and kirklands by the patron, Douglas of Glenbervie and thereafter received collation and admission. On 14 Dec., he had letters in four forms issued. Acts & Decs., CC 7.55 f.180v
31 Oct.1583: wits. contract as par. Glenbervie. Deeds, RD 1.22 63
1584: died. Balfour Paul, Peerage i 198

DOUGLAS, MR DUNCAN
042
Minister
Glenbervie 85 86 88 89.

Youngest son of William Douglas of Glenbervie, ninth earl of Angus. Balfour Paul, Peerage i 198
1586-89: stipend was the par./vic. of Glenbervie. E 47.3 f.17r: E 47.4 f.20v
1591: had died. Balfour Paul, Peerage i 198

DOUGLAS, MR JAMES
043
Minister
Glenbervie 90
still in RAMS: 1615.

1573: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 282
1590: had the par./vic. of Glenbervie as his stipend, together with the chaplaincy of Drumlithie. E 47.5 f.18v
17 Jul.1635: conf. test. of Mr John Chalmers, suffragan to Mr James Douglas, parson of Glenbervie. Brchn.tsts., CC 3.3.5 f.182r

DRUMMOND, MR ANDREW
044
Minister
Idvies 90
out of RAMS by 1593.

1582: matriculated, St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index
1590: pres. par./vic. Idvies. PS 1.61 (RSS) f.80

DUNCAN, MR HENRY
045
Minister
Ballumbie 85 86 88 89 90
Murroes 85 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS 1615

[Note that Andrew Duncan was the longest-serving officer of the kirk of neighbouring Monifieth. (13 Jun.1568 x 30 Mar. 1596) NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) fs.13r,87v]
1574 and/or 1575: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 285,287
1577/8: graduated BA at St Leonard's. StA Recs 178; ActaFacArt ii 450
29 Jan.1584/5: agent for John Erskine of Dun to the exercise of Montrose regarding subscription to the Black Acts. Spalding Misc. iv p.71-2
1587/8: gifts from the thirds of Ballumbie and Monifieth. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.137
1590: had the whole vic. Murroes with manse and glebe as his stipend. E 47.5 f.22r
8 Feb.1594/5: wits. test. Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, elder, as min. Murroes. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.31 f.172r

DUNCANSON, ROBERT
046
Reader
Kinnettles 76.
Tannadice 78 79 80.

DURHAM, MR JOHN
047
Minister
Monikie 85 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS 1615

1569-1572/3: matriculated, graduated BA and MA at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 277,166,170: ActaFacArt ii 438,440
Was of close kin to the Durhams of Grange and their associates: wits. test. Helen Inglis, wife of James Durham in Ardesty, 15 Feb.1592/3; also test. of Matilda Baldowie, relict of Robert Durham of Grange: she left Mr John's daughter a legacy of 200 merks, and he wrote the test. for her, as she was unable to write - 10 Sept.1598. Edin.tsts., CC 8.8.26 f.39v; 8.8.32 f.357v
5 Aug.1639: he died, being "ane auld agit man". CC 3.3.5 f.282r

DURIE, JOHN
048
Minister
Montrose [previous service, see below] 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1601.

Pre-Reformation: monk of Dunfermline. Haws, Parish Clergy p.268

Durie had an extensive career as exhorter and minister from 1563, culminating in service as a member of the radical ministry of Edinburgh. Opponent of the successive regimes of Morton, Lennox and Arran, Durie was temporarily banished from the capital in 1582; and permanently removed from office and warded in Montrose in 1585 for his opposition to the Black Acts.
M.Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation p.156-7
25 Feb.1586/7: wits. test. of Mr Alexander Allardice, minister of Ecclesgreig as "minister of ye evangell at Montrose".
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.18 f.177v
1588: had £140 added to his stipend as a pension. E 47.4 f.22v
25 Feb.1600/01: died. His testament testamentary was given in by his relict, Marion Mar[illegible]: he left c.£244.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.34 (unfoliated)

ELDER, MR ANDREW
049
Reader
Menmuir 68-9 72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1608.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Glenbervie: a 097.

30 Aug.1568: pres. perpet.vic. Menmuir, defeating the pres. of John Auchinlek [q.v.]: remitted thirds. RSS vi 460: TB p.231
2 Oct.1570: notary inst. (Mr James Erskine/ John Erskine of Dun)
Erskine of Dun mss., GD 123.75
16 Oct.1570: wits. deathbed testament of George Symmer of Balzeordie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.60v
31 Mar.1572: notary inst of sasine. (John Erskine of Dun to John Erskine junior.) WRH, NRA(S) 124 (Jackson of Kirkbuddo) no.29
13 Oct.1573: notary for testament testamentary of William Elder at the Stone of Benholm. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.83r

17 Apr.1574: notary at Balnamoon. RMS iv 2663
10 May 1578: notary for inst. sasine. (Robert Erskine fiar of Dun) Erskine of Dun mss., GD 123.30
17 Jun.1578: sole wits. for test. testamentary of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.195r
23 Apr.1579: sub. test. testamentary of Matthew Walker. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.31r

" Quham nathing is mair certane nor deth or mair uncertnane nor ye hour of death, [there]foir I ... being seik in body neuertheles haill in soull makis ... I leiff my soull to ye omnipotent god and my bodie to be bureit in ye kirk of Menmu[re] ...." [His executors were to fulfil] "... yis my latterwill in all poiṇtis as ye will an[swer] to ye et[er]nall god in ye extreme day of jugment q[uhe]n ye secrettis of all hartis salbe disclosit."

8 Aug.1580: wits. test. testamentary of Christine Arbuthnott, Lady Balzeordie, who owed him £20 for the vic. Menmuir. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f96v
13 Sept.1586: notary inst. of sasine. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4
7 Nov.1586: said to be ill. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

" Be it kend to all men and in spe[ci]all to ye lordis of our souerane lordis counsall and Sessione yat forsameikle as we Johne Levingstone of Donepace Mr Wlm Gray minist[er] of Menmu[ure] and gentillmen of ye congregation of Menmu[re] und[er]writt[en] hes hard yat Mr Andro Eldar not[ar] publict and reidar at ye kirk of Menmu[re] was summond ye saxt day of Nove[m]bar last bipast be our sou[er]ane lordis l[et]tres purcheisit at ye instance of Mr Walt[er] Lindesay of Hiltone to extract give furth and delyver to ye said Mr Walt[er] ane instrument ..." [or else to compear etc] "The q[uhi]lk to do we p[re]sentlie knaw ye said Mr Andro can on nawayis do nor fulfill becaus he hes ane gryit diseas and inf[er]mtie ... yat stoppis his secht, and thairthru is becum on able in his bodye yat he may noy[er] wrete nor travell." [They have seen him and the sickness: and testify that he avows that he did not issue the instrument in question.] "... yat he hes bene yis sax oulkis bigane, qlk god restore him to ye secht of his ene and abilite of his bodye..." [Sub. by John Collace of Balnamoon and Robert apparent of Balnamoon; Charles Dempster of Balrownie.]

30 Dec.1589: notary, test. testamentary of Mr John Fullerton parson and minister of Edzell. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.28 f.237v
6 Mar.1589/90: notary, inst. sasine. (John Erskine of Kirkbuddo) NRA(S) 124 (Jackson of Kirkbuddo) no.15
14/15 May 1598: as Mr Andrew Elder at the kirk of Menmuir, granted a letter of reversion. Laing Chrs. no.1514
14 May 1607: notary, inst. sasine. (John Symmer of Brathinch) Laing Chrs no.1512

ELDER, MR WILLIAM
050
Reader
Benholm 63 67-9 72 74.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Benholm: a 100.

1563: reader at Benholm. TB p.234
31 Aug.1565: as reader at Benholm, wits. test. testamentary of Alexander Elder at the Stone of Benholm. CC 8.8.4 f.332v
" Sen nathing is mair certan nor deith nor main uncertane yan ye ho[ur]e of deith, Thairfoir, I Alex[ande]r Elder, siek in bodie neuertheless haill in soule makis ... I leue my soule to ye omnipotent god and my bodie to ye erth w[i]t[h]in ye queir of Benholm;"
13 Oct.1573: as reader at Benholm, wits. test. testamentary of William Elder at the Stone of Benholm. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.5 f.83r

ERSKINE, ARCHIBALD
051
Reader
Nevay 67.
Navar 67-9 72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1595.

ERSKINE, MR JAMES
052
Exhorter: minister from 1568.
Logie-Montrose 63.
Dun 67-9-72 74.
Ecclesjohn 74.

1557: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 265
1560-2: Intrant, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 415n
1563: exhorter, Logie-Montrose. TB p.234
15 Apr.1565: may be the Mr James Erskine pres. archdean of Aberdeen. RSS v 2025
21 Sept.1570: pres. par. Dun as minister of Dun. RSS vi 912
20 Oct.1574: as par./vic. Dun, set the teinds, manse and glebe of Dun to John Erskine of Dun for nineteen years. Erskine of Dun mss., GD 123.75
24 Mar.1574/5: had deceased when Thomas Erskine pres. par. Dun. [b 030]; RSS vii 114

ERSKINE, JOHN OF DUN
053
Minister: Superintendent of Angus and the Mearns.
Dun 76 78 79 80.
Ecclesjohn 76 78 79 80.

Thomas Crockett, "The life of John Erskine of Dun" (unpublished D.Litt. thesis, Edinburgh university 1924) is an excellent biography of the life of the laird of Dun, based on national and printed sources.
11-20 Aug.1575: pres. and collated to the par. of Dun, being required as a commissioner of the General Assembly also to be minister of a "particular kirk". James VI's precept to John Winram, superintendent of Fife, ordered John Erskine to be collated without further trial, as his services to the kirk were

well known. Presumably Winram was chosen as the next nearest superintendent: Dun, who otherwise administered collations for the Angus churches of the diocese of St Andrews, could hardly collate himself. Mr Andrew Milne was ordered to perform the admission ceremony. [Note the error on this point in D.G. Mullan, Episcopacy in Scotland (Edinburgh 1986) p.21 n.158]
RSS vii 266: REB ii pp.307-8
20 May 1583: had demitted par. Dun. RSS viii 1354

ERSKINE, JOHN
054
Reader
Brechin 79.

27 Feb.1578/9: son of Thomas Erskine of Braidford, pres. vic. Brechin to be reader. RSS vii 1830
26 Nov.1579: had demitted vic. Brechin in favour of Robert Kinnear, [q.v.] who had been in occupation since 1576.
RSS vii 2104
20 Nov.1587: possibly the Mr John Erskine of Braidford who was pres. par./vic. Benholm during the interim until the pres. of Alexander Keith. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.103

FAIRWEATHER, WALTER
055
Reader
Fern 63.

Pre-Reformation curate of Menmuir: a 107.
[Walter Fairweather, though cited as reader under the parish of Menmuir, is omitted in the list of ministers etc in Haws, Parish Clergy (pp.86,269): this identification is therefore additional to those of Dr Haws.]

1563: reader at Fern. TB p.233
15 Feb.1562/3: notary. (Fenton of Ogil/ Collace of Balnamoon)
JRL, The Craw. mss., box P bund.v no.4
12 Nov.1585: had deceased; a collection of his writs was in the hands of the laird of Edzell.
JRL, The Craw. mss., box P bund.ii no.29

FALCONER, DAVID
056
Reader
Dun/Ecclesjohn 74.

[A David Falconer was wits. to several Glamis charters in the 1570s.] Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885 box 23 bund.2; box 33 bund.3; box 195 bund.8 no.32

FIFE, DAVID
057
Reader
Kinnell 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.
1563: reader at Kinnell. TB p.233

6 Jan.1566/7: David Fife in Kinnell wits. sasine of James Lord Ogilvy in lands in Kinnell.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.2
18 May 1573: as vic. Kinnell, tacked the vic. to James Lord Ogilvy for nineteen years. Airlie mss., GD 16.48.22
6 Jul.1573: pres. vic. Kinnell. RSS vi 2028

FIFE, GEORGE
058
Reader
Kirriemuir 67-9.
Arbuthnott 69-72.

Nov.1569: translated to Arbuthnott. E 48.2 f.21v
1 Aug.1572: left office, Lammas 1572. E 48.2 f.24r
Worked as notary around Brechin: an undated transumpt by him exists of a precept of sasine (original 12 Apr.1556) by sir George Wilson, Holy Cross chaplain in Brechin.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bunds. nos.4,7
2 Nov.1580: notary, inst. (Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund no.10

FINLAYSON, RICHARD
059
Reader
Brechin 74 76 78.

Pre-Reformation curate of Brechin: a 113.

3 Jun.1576: as "sir Richard Finlayson, reader at Brechin", wits. test. testamentary of Elizabeth Donaldson, relict of John Low citizen of Brechin. The will had no religious terminology, being confined to legacies. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 159v
1593: was the late chaplain of Boath. PS 1.65 (RSS) f.41

FLEMING, JAMES
060
Reader
Ruthven 63.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Ruthven: a 114.
1563: reader at Ruthven. TB p.233
27 Mar.1570: as vic.pens.Ruthven and minister (sic) performed a marriage in the parish kirk. NP 1.16 f.62r/ RH 2.1.22 no.221

FORBES, MR ALEXANDER
061
Minister
Fettercairn 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1608.

1574: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 285

1588-90: held the par./vic. Fettercairn, with the manse and glebe. E 47.4 f.22v; E 47.5 f.19r
Further career included various commissions for the General Assembly. Calderwood, History v 321,371,609,1597

FORBES, ALEXANDER
062
Reader
Invergowrie 74.

1574/5: died. NLS, ms 17.1.4 f.34r,mgn.

FORBES, MR WILLIAM
063
Minister
Kingoldrum 90
to Glenisla 1607, still in office 1608.

1583: matriculated at St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index
1590: held the manse and glebe of Kingoldrum as vic. and min. E 47.5 f.23r

FORESTER, ROBERT
064
Reader
Barry 67-9-72 74.

1 Jul.1566: wits. marriage contract as "clerico in Barre". (Ramsay of Ardownie/ Christine Strachan) RMS iv 1550

FOTHERINGHAM, MR JAMES
065
Minister
Inverarity 63 67-9-72.
Meathie 63 67-9-72.
Kinnettles 63 67-9-72.
Glenluce etc. 74.

Pre-Reformation par. Ballumbie (preb.Fowlis CC): a 123.

1563: minister as above. TB p.231
19 May 1568: as par. Ballumbie, wits. discharge by Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie at the home of James Fotheringham burgess of Dundee. DAC, prot.bk. no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.31v
157[x]: banns of marriage to Margaret Lindsay, Lady Strafrank in Dowane, read at Aberlemno church before the congregation. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss, GD 137.1599
Oct.1576: accused of adultery with Margaret Lindsay; suspended from office by the Assembly while John Erskine of Dun was appointed to order them to separate, and to take trial of the slander. BUK i 366/7
6 Sept.1584: had John Lovell of Ballumbie put to the horn for non-payments of teinds 1577-80. RSS viii 2387

18 Dec.1598: Margaret Lindsay, spouse of James Fotheringham parson of Ballumbie, died. In her testament, made 4 Nov.1598, she stated that she was " agit, febill, weik and deseasit in my bodie as I have bene yir divers zeiris bigane Bot haill in spreit and of p[er]fyte remembrance praisit be god ..." and that she had been daily praying to God to call her from this life.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.36 unfoliated

1612: Mr Alexander Wedderburn gave a discharge to Mr James Fotheringham par. Ballumbie for 5,500 merks tocher paid by Fotheringham on the occasion of the marriage of his granddaughter Magdalene (daughter of John Scrymgeour) to Wedderburn's son.
Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.48

FOWLER, DAVID
066
Reader
Aldbar 63 67-9.

Pre-Reformation curate of Montrose: a 129.

1563: reader at Aldbar. TB p.233

FOWLER, MR THOMAS
067
Reader
Lethnot [63] 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.
Lochlee 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1607.

1563: reader at Lethnot - deleted in ms. TB p.233
c.Jun.1577: as reader at the kirk of Lethnot, sub. the test. testamentary of John Nichol, who died 26 June. CC 3.3.1 f5v
" Sen nathing is mair certane nor ded and mair uncertane nor the hour of deth it is that I John Nicoll seik in bodie not ye les w[i]t[h] ane ryp and disgaist mynd I maik my testament as eftir: In the first I givis and levis my soull to god omnipotent my bodie to be bureit in the kirk zard of Lethnot": [his executors are to discharge his legacies] ... " as they answer to ye gryt god omnipotent in ye extreme day of judgment q[uh]en all secreitis of hairtis salbe disclosit."
7 Oct.1580: as reader at the kirk of Lethnot, sub. the test. testamentary of Elizabeth Gold. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f26r
" Sen nathing is mair certane nor ded and mair uncertane nor the hour of deth it is that I Elizabeth Guld seik in bodie not ye les w[i]t[h] ane ryp and disgaist mynd I maik my testament as eftir: In the first I givis and levis my soull to god omnipotent my bodie to be bureit in the kirk zard of Lethnot": [her executors are to discharge her legacies] ... " as they answer to ye gryt god omnipotent in ye extreme day of judgment q[uh]en all secreitis of hairtis salbe disclosit."
1586-1590: his stipend was the Allhallows' chaplaincy at Brechin cathedral. E 47.3 f.21v; E 47.5 f.20r

FRASER, MR GEORGE
068
Minister
Durris 68-9-72.
30 Jan.1577/8: wits. chtr. as son of Thomas Fraser of Durris.

FRASER, MR PAUL
069
Minister

Stracathro	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Dunlappie										90

out of RAMS by 1614.

Had close connections with John Erskine of Dun: a copy of Oecolampadius "In Libros Prophetarum" (Geneva 1559) was signed by both men. Fraser's daughter married Thomas Erskine of Whitefield. Durkan/Ross, Early Libraries p.95; & see below.
18 Jul.1566: pres. par. Stracathro (preb. chanter of Brechin) on resignation of the Roberts Fraser senior and junior, familiar domestic servants of Mary queen of Scots. RSS v 2978
25 Jul.1566: granted the third of the benefice since the death of the last chanter. REB ii 330; TB p.236
20 Feb.1566/7: granted a tack of par. Stracathro for five years to Mr Robert Maitland, dean of Aberdeen. REB ii 332
Oct.1577: certified that John Strachan of Thornton had redeemed from him the waulk-mill of Thornton with its mill-lands. Notarial admissions, NP 1.33 f.13v
1 Jan.1577/8: granted a pension of £63 6s 8d from the chantery to James Nicholson, writer, burgess of Edinburgh. Nicholson had family connections with the core of Edinburgh's protestants and had supported Moray in the 1560s. RMS iii 2901
M.Lynch, Edinburgh pp.110,185

" ... for divers and sindrie gratitudes and pleissouris done to me be my lovit freind and cousing James Nicolsone writtar"

5 Sept.1580: feued to David Sewan, citizen of Brechin, and to Barbara Liddell his wife and their heirs, a manse, houses, buildings and gardens belonging to the chantery. Fraser was later to marry Barbara Liddell. RSS vii 2481; REB ii 227
5 Sept.1580: feued the site of the former manse of the chancellor of Brechin from Mr George Hepburn. REB ii 215
27 Sept.1583: granted the fruits of vic. Stracathro. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 91
20 Mar.1583/4: granted the vic.Stracathro on its annexation to the parsonage. The privy seal writ narrated that the par. was insufficient to sustain a minister because of delapidation by pensions and tacks; and that together the stipends would return around £133 6s 8d "which is a very mean [ie common] and reasonable living for a qualified minister." Paul Fraser was stated to have been a minister for the space of sixteen years "last by-past": ie from c.1567. If so, his ministry had not found recognition in the register of assignations. RSS viii 1944
1586-7: commissioner of the General Assembly to supervise bishops and commissioners in Angus and the Mearns; to collate acts against papists; to answer the king's articles and to preserve the protestant religion in Forfarshire. Calderwood, History iv 569,615,627,630

Jun.1587: assessor to the Moderator. Calderwood, History iv 615
1590: curator to David Lindsay, younger of Edzell.
WRH, the Haigh Inventory ii 130
1608: John Sewan, his son-in-law, feued the chanter's manse.
REB ii 227
22 Aug.1609: died as minister of Stracathro, chanter of Brechin. He had given in his will on 20 Aug.1607, leaving his daughter Isobel, wife of Thomas Erskine of Whitefield as sole executor and residual legatee. He acknowledged no debts to others: and wrote a will with no religious terminology, beginning "I leiff ...." Erskine completed the inventory after Fraser's death: the total came to £1328 4s 2d. John Sewan later sold the manses of both the chancellor and the chanter of Brechin to the hospital.
Burghs, B 3.3.3; Black, Brechin p.42 REB ii 236

FULLERTON, MR JAMES
070

Reader: minister from 1567.

Navar	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.				
Lethnot		67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.				
Edzell			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.
Dunlappie			74	76	78	79.					
Lochlee			74	76	78	79	80.				

1560: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs p.267
1563: reader at Navar. TB p.233
15 Jun.1568: raised letters against sir Robert Melville, narrating that under act of parliament the minister of every kirk should have the manse and six acres of glebe; that though Fullerton is appointed minister of Navar and has served the cure for several years already, sir Robert persists in occupation of the manse and glebe and will not yield them without compulsion. The Lords ordained Melville to deliver the manse to Fullerton.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.42 f.247r
4 Aug.1573: pres. par./vic. Edzell. RSS vi 2053
1579: owed £240 as the fruits of his benefice for years and crops 1578 and 1579 by Dame Helen Lindsay, Lady Edzell at her death.
JRL, The Craw. mss., 5.1.4
c.May 1577: as minister of Navar, sub. the test. testamentary of Jonet Smart, who left her husband Walter Duncan her executor and legacies to him and their son John. She died 22nd May.
Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.4v

> " ... being of perfyte mynd and haill in spreit albeit seik in bodie in travaling w[i]t[h] chyld knawing nathing surar nor deid yit ye ho[ur] uncertane left frelie and uncompellit hir soull to god omnipotent hir body to be bureit in ye kirk zard of Nav[ar]."

19 Feb.1580/81: tacked the teinds of par./vic. Edzell for nineteen years to David Lindsay of Edzell and his heirs, and had a contract from Edzell promising to pay him £120 annually in consideration for the tack. JRL, The Craw. mss., box Fii 122
11 Jan.1582/3: as parson and minister of Edzell, sub. the test. testamentary of William Leitch. Brechin tests.,CC 3.3.1 f.71r
29 Jan.1584/5: appointed to meet with John Erskine of Dun at the time of annual assignation of stipends, as representative of the

exercise of Brechin. Spalding Misc. iv 72

15 Nov.[1586]: had been commissioned by John Erskine of Dun to designate a manse and glebe of two acres for Mr Alexander Norie, minister of Fern. Norie, however, refused this designation and wrote to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell to ask for a glebe of four acres. JRL, The Craw. mss., 4.2.120

6 Dec.1586: as par. Edzell, wits. discharge by the hospital master of Montrose to Sir David Lindsay for his dues for years 1584-5. JRL, The Craw. mss., box Fii bund.Dundee Hospt.

18 Apr.1588: certified Sir David Lindsay's illness to the Lords of Council. JRL, The Craw. mss., 4.1.95

" To the richt excellent heich and michtie prince James be the grace of God king of Scotia, oure souerane lord and lordis of his heinés secreit counsall and to all and sindrie utheris quhom efferis, I his heines humbl[e] [ser]vand Maister James Fullertoun persone of Edzell, mi[n]ister of godis word at ye kirk y[air]of, wischeis grace mercie and peace in Jesus Christ. Makis it manifest and knawin yat yis i[n]st[ant] day of dait of yir pr[esen]tis I passit and veisit Sir David Lyndesay of Edzell, kn[ych]t, ane of ye parochineris of ye said kirk and parochin of Edzell, quhom I fand sa vexit and exerceisit w[i]t[h] ane infirmatie seiknes or disceise of his bodie co[m]onundlie callit be ye mediciner quhair cuir and counsall be pr[esen]tlie usit for remeid y[air]of ...yat ye said Sir David is nocht pr[esen]tlie abill to ryde nat travell to compeir personalie befoir o[ur]e souerane lord ..." [etc: recites the case pending before the Lords] " ... w[i]t[h]out greit danger of his lyfe and further alteracione of his bodylie health. Q[uh]ilk I certifie to be of trowth on my co[n]sence safar as my iudgment is abill to considder." [Witnessed by Mr Andrew Leitch parson of Kilmoir, and David Straiton at the mill of Dalbog, an elder of the kirk of Edzell.]

31 Dec.1589: died at his place of Tillydovie, having given in his last testament 30 Dec., witnessed by Robert Collace apparent of Balnamoon and Mr Andrew Elder. He had moveable goods of £930, and a final inventory after debts of £1,124. Overmen to his executors were the earl of Mar, Lindsay of Edzell, John Lindsay parson of Menmuir and Robert Collace apparent of Balnamoon.

Edin.tests. CC 8.8.28 f.237v

" Sen nathing is mair certain nor deith nor mair uncertane nor ye ho[ur]e of deith, seik in bodie neuertheles haill in soule and of perfyte memorie, In ye first I comitis my soule to ye omnipotent god creato[u]r y[air]of and my body to be buriet w[i]t[h]in ye kirk of Navar...."

1590: the new par./min. of Edzell had only the third of the fruits for his stipend, the greater part being reserved to Fullerton's relict. E 47.5 f.20r

22 Aug.1592: his son Charles gifted teinds from the commons of Brechin. PS 1.64 (RSS) f.107

FULLERTON, JAMES

071

Reader

Kinneff 63 67-9-72.

1563: reader at Kinneff. TB p.234
[Dr Haws' identification of the Kinneff reader with the minister of Navar cannot be supported: the latter is clearly designated as a graduate in the sources, whereas the former is not. Fullerton was a common name on the Angus/Mearns border. A sir Walter Fullerton had been vic. Kinneff in 1548/9. [a 134]
Haws, Parish Clergy p.273]

FULLERTON, JOHN
072

Exhorter: minister 1574.

Kirkconnel	68-9-72: 74.									
Sanquhar etc.	74.									
Inverkeilor	(74)	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Ethie										90

out of RAMS by 1599.
Fasti viii 512 suggests this minister was John Fullerton, laird of Kinnaber who was thought fit to minister by the assembly of December 1560. His own testament, however, describes him as "at the Haltoun of Inverkeilor." See below. BUK i 4

1558: matriculated at St Leonard's, St Andrews. StA Recs 266
1568-74: exhorter and minister, Kirkconnel and Sanquhar.
Haws, Parish Clergy pp.146,218
1574: minister of Inverkeilor in original version of RAMS. His name was deleted and that of Mr Andrew Strachan added. The latter, however, replaced Richard Melville of Baldovie at Maryton, Inchbrayock, Lunan and St Skaa in 1575, and Fullerton was back in place at Inverkeilor in 1576. See Mr Andrew Strachan, q.v. NLS, ms 17.1.4 f.33r
29 Jun.1577: as minister of Inverkeilor sub. test. testamentary of Janet Gibson, spouse of John Nudry, dwelling in Bryanton in the parish of Inverkeilor. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f24r
" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith nor uncertane yan ye hour of deith... seik in bodie bot haill in mynd and spirit makis hir latterwill ... I commit and gevis my soule to ye eternall god my bodie to be bureit in ye kirk or kirkyard of Kynnell..."
7 Dec.1580: as min. Inverkeilor, sub. at Edinburgh the last will of William Fullerton of Craigo, together with Adam Fullerton burgess of Edinburgh. [The latter had been a notable protestant activist in Edinburgh since 1559.] The laird of Craigo left his wife Agnes Lindsay his only executor, and bequeathed ten merks for the poor of Logie-Montrose. His will had no religious terminology. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f69
" Seik in his persoun [but whole] in mynd and spreit... In ye first ye said William makis and c[on]stitutes Agnes Lindsay his spouse his onlie executor...;"
15 Aug.1582: as min. of Inverkeilor, sub. the will of sir Richard Smart [a 315] - a will with evangelical tones. CC 8.8. 25 f.376v
"...I,ye said sir Richard Smert, haill in spreit [and] mynd albeit weik and febill in body levis my soule to god thro[ugh]t Jesus Christ my saviour my onlie redemer and my bodie to be bureit in Innerkel[ou]r kirk ..."
29 Jan.1584/5: appointed to meet with John Erskine of Dun at the time of annual assignation of stipends, as representative of the exercise of Montrose. Spalding Misc. iv 72

28 May 1589: wits. inst. (Mr Arthur Futhe, minister of Kinnell/ Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3
1590: had the vic. Inverkeilor as part of his stipend.
E 47.5 f.21r
1 Jul.1597: pres. vic. Ethie. PS 1.69 (RSS) f.1219
1 Dec.1598: John Fullerton, "in ye Haltoun of Innerkelour and minister of ye evangell at ye said kirk" made his testament, and died later in the month. He left a total of £2,367; his wife Margaret Ramsay survived him. The will was wits. by Mr Andrew Leitch, min. of Maryton. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.33 f.150v

FUTHE, MR ARTHUR
073
Minister
Kinnell 88 89 90
RAMS: to Inverkeilor 1599; out by 1614.

1576: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 288
30 May 1582: gift of the chaplaincy of Bannockburn or St Skeoch in Stirlingshire for life, to support him as a student at the college of theology at St Andrews. RSS viii 832
28 Jun.1587: pres. par. Kinnell. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 177
" The qlk day Johnne Borare of Lunquhat became actit and oblist as caution[er] and souertie for M Artho[ur] Futhe that he sall pay the first zeiris fructis of the p[er]sonage of Kinnell qu[here]to he is pr[esent]lie prvydit betwix and the first day of November nixtocum. Togidder w[i]t[h] the fyft penny zeirlie by and altour the third to oure souerane lordis tresoure and his deputis." [Futhe further promised not to delapidate the benefice and to relieve his cautioner.]
1 Apr.1588: pres. vic. Kinnell. PS 1.57 (RSS) f.81v
28 May 1589: ratified and confirmed a tack of the teinds of Kinnell by Mr Patrick Liddell to Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

GALLOWAY, MR PATRICK
074
Minister
Fowlis 76 78 79 80.
Longforgan 76 78 79 80.

1572-1574/5: matriculated and graduated BA at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 281,172; ActaFacArt ii 443
1581: pres vic. Perth and translated to min. Perth. Extensive further career there - see Calderwood, History.
CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.63v

GARDEN, ALEXANDER
075
Reader
Tannadice 74 76.
Note that Fasti v 304 reads "Gordon" for Garden, in error.

GARDEN, MR WILLIAM
076

Reader

Aberlemno	72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Kirkbuddo	72.										

out of RAMS by 1601.

Pre-Reformation vic. Aberlemno: a 140.

Nov.1572: reader and vicar of Aberlemno and parson of Kirkbuddo (preb. Guthrie CC) E 48.2 f.21v
1573/4: held preb. Kirkbuddo. E 48.1.1 f.355r
15 Jan.1574/5: as vic. Aberlemno, owed £20 by John Mortimer in Flemington at the latter's death. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.206r
26 Dec.1580: as reader at Aberlemno, wits. will of David Lindsay, minister of Inverarity. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

GARDYNE, MR GILBERT
077

Minister

Monifieth	63	67-9.	
Monikie	63	67-9.	
Fordyce		69-72	74

1556-1557/8: possibly matriculated and determined at St Mary's College, St Andrews. This identification may be erroneous, however, for the determinant was described as "pauper" - which seems inappropriate for a laird's brother. Mr Gilbert Gardyne's name is found in books associated with John Annand, principal of St Leonard's College. Durkan/Ross, Early Libraries p.70
StA Recs 162; ActaFacArt ii 413
22 Mar.1562/3: as brother of Patrick Gardyne, contracted to marry Margaret Rollock, relict of George Lovell, sister of George Lovell burgess of Dundee; John Nevay apparent of that ilk was witness. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.6. f168v
1563: minister of Monifieth and Monikie. TB p.231
1565: one of the commissioners of General Assembly to examine the causes for a general fast. Calderwood, History ii 304
15 May 1567: received 400 merks from Andrew Futhe in complete payment of tocher due to him from Futhe under a contract of marriage between them. [Unfortunately this inst. failed to state who was marrying whom.]
DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.167r
1569: had £26 13s 4d expenses for travelling to Edinburgh on behalf of the kirk to seek payments from the fruits of Coupar abbey. TB p.235
13 Apr.1569: wits. chtr. at Edinburgh. (William Fullerton of Ardoch) RMS iv 1847
Jul.1569: one of the commissioners of Assembly sent with the articles of the kirk to regent Moray. BUK i 145
21 Jul.1569: complained to the privy council at Dundee that, as minister of Monifieth, he was entitled to the manse and glebe, and had obtained letters in four forms to compel payment of teinds. Henry Lovell of Ballumbie, however, having ejected the tenants, cast down the houses and destroyed the trees, had remained in occupation and cultivated the lands himself,

withholding profits from Gardyne since 1565. Arbitration by John Erskine of Dun having failed, the council ... RPC i 686

" decernis and ordanis the said Henry Lovell of his awin gude will and consent, to desist and ceise fra all farder occupatioun of the said manse and gleib or intromissioun thairwith, bot to suffer the same to be peciabillie occupitt and possessit be the minister of the said kirk in tyme cuming; ..."

15 Jul.1568: pres. par. Fordyce; minister there to 1574. Later minister of Elgin. RSS vi 394; TB p.221;Haws, Parish Clergy p91
Aug.1571: chosen Moderator of General Assembly. BUK i 198
Jan.1571/2: continued Moderator at the convention Assembly at Leith. BUK i 203
Later married a daughter of Strachan of Carmyllie, and held land in Boath. Described by James Lawson as a "a man of troublous nature". Calderwood, History iii 714; Warden, Angus or Forfar iii 95; CC 8.8.26 f.66r
Had died 23 May /6 Oct. 1623 when his testament dative was registered. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.4 f.133r

GARIOCH, WILLIAM
078

Reader

Rescobie				74	76	78	79	(80:dltd ms)			
Idvies								80	85	86	88.

GERARD, ALEXANDER
079

Reader

Durris		63.										
Dalmayock			70	74								

1563-4: reader at Durris. The stipend details appear twice in the Thirds of Benefices - a deleted entry in the Mearns, and an entry under Aberdeen. TB pp.234,223
1570-74: reader at Dalmayock. Haws, Parish Clergy p.59

GIB, ANDREW
080

Reader

Tealing	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
out of RAMS by 1608.												

2 Jun.1573: pres. vic. Tealing. RSS vi 1974
19 May 1574: obtained letters in four forms to compel payment of fruits of vic. Tealing by Alexander Maxwell of Tealing and others. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.11v

GLEDSTANES, MR GEORGE
081

Reader: minister from 1588.

Montrose								85	86.			
Ecclesgreig										88	89	90
Aberlethnott										88	89	90

1576: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 288
10 Oct.1582: pres. vic. Montrose. RSS viii 958
19 Feb.1582/3: obtained letters in four forms for the vic. Montrose from year and crop 1582. CS 7.55 f.220r
20 May 1585: received sasine from David Garden of Leys as son of deceased Herbert Gledstanes, notary. [See appendix B no.083.]
Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 21 bund.6 no.8
1587: gift of vic. Montrose as his stipend. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.90v
1588: with Mr Andrew Milne, attacked at "sindrie tymes" by William Douglas, son of Douglas of Glenbervie.
Calderwood, History iv 660
c.1589: tacked the vic. of Montrose including the salmon teinds to the magistrates of Montrose. [Charter now missing]
Montrose M 10.7 (J.G. Low's ms.inventory, i p.27)
23 Sept.1590: pres. vic. Ecclesgreig. PS 1.61 (RSS) f.38v
18 Dec.1591: pres. vic. Arbirlot as min. PS 1.63 (RSS) f.62v,264v
7 Dec.1603: had married Christine Durie (possibly daughter of John Durie, minister of Edinburgh and Montrose ?).
Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 21 bund.6 nos.9,12
Extensive further (episcopal) career.

GOODFELLOW, JOHN
082
Minister
Benholm 63 67-9-72.
Ecclesgreig 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation: probably a canon of St Andrews' priory; earliest known references to him as canon are in the mid-1560s.

1563: minister of Benholm and Ecclesgreig. TB p.234
18 Jan.1565/6: as minister of Ecclesgreig, sub. as a canon of St Andrews' priory. Cal.chtrs.,RH 6.2015
1567-9: note in the register that his stipend was supported by the prior of St Andrews. E 48.2 f.23v
1571: occ. as minister of Longforgan. Calderwood, History iii 186
May 1572: had died. E 48.2 f.23v mgn.

GORMOK, THOMAS
083
Minister
Rescobie 63 67-9-72.
Fyvie etc 74

Pre-Reformation a monk of Arbroath; wits. chtr.12 Sept.1554.
M.Dilworth, "Monks and ministers": RSCHS xviii (1974) p.210;
Northesk mss., GH 130.1.3
15 May 1557 x 13 Feb.1559/60: sub. nine chtrs. as a monk of Arbroath. Yester writs, GD 28.676;
Strathmore mss. NRA(S) 885 box 21 bund.6 no.6

1563: minister at Rescobie. TB p.232
Said by M.Dilworth not to sign as a monk at Arbroath after 1562:

but the following subs. exist ...
10 Feb.1562/3: Airlie mss, GD 16.14.21
4 Nov.1564: Northesk mss., GD 130.17 "Ethie 1"
4 Nov.1564: Northesk mss., GD 130.2.4
2 Jan.1566/7: Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 2 no.28
31 May 1575: Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885, box 235.3.3
8 Nov.1566: sued for a debt at Arbroath burgh court. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-1575) f.30v
1574-77: minister at Fyvie. Haws, Parish Clergy p.94

GRAINGER, MR JOHN
084
Reader
Arbroath/ St Vigeans 79 80 85.

M.Dilworth rejects the suggestion in Fasti v 423 that Grainger was a monk of Arbroath. Neither has this survey found any evidence to support that identification. Arthur Grainger (a burgess of Edinburgh) was, however, chamberlain of Arbroath in the 1570s. The latter had been a protestant activist in Edinburgh in the 1560s.
M.Dilworth, "Monks and ministers": RSCHS xviii (1974) p.210
RPC iii 191,228; M.Lynch, Edinburgh p.105

1575: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 286
1 Mar.1577/8: pres.vic. Arbroath. RSS vii 1508
20 Oct.1579: complained that John Douglas, chamberlain of Arbroath, had withheld his teind fish for three years. RPC iii 230
1597: still in office. [Not in RAMS] Fasti viii 509

GRAY, sir DUNCAN
085
Reader
Auchterhouse 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 89.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Auchterhouse: a 152.

1563: reader at Auchterhouse. TB p.233
24 Jun.1565: an entry in his protocol book specifically made "in the notaries' chamber in Auchterhouse".
Prot.bk.Duncan Gray, NP 1.16 f.35r/ RH 2.1.22 p.198
16 Aug.1568: wits. contract of marriage (Mr Alexander Maxwell). DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.47r
1576f: had the whole vic. of Auchterhouse for his stipend, by consent of George [Douglas] bishop of Moray, who had a gift of the par. and vic. of both Auchterhouse and Meigle. E 47.1 f.28v; RSS vii1678
12.Nov.1586: had demitted the vic. to Patrick Gray, son of Patrick Lord Gray. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.158v

GRAY, MR WILLIAM
086
Minister

Dun	63.											
Logie-Montrose	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Pert		67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Menmuir			74	76	78	79	80.		86	88	89.	
Fern			74	76	78	79.						
Conveth			[as separate }					85	86	88	89	90
Newdosk			[entries }							88	89.	

out of RAMS by 1607 in both entries.

1563: minister of Dun and Logie-Montrose. TB p.232
Schoolmaster at Logie-Montrose in the 1560s; taught James Melville there, with his house run by his sister Marjory Gray until he married. Melville lists the curriculum as Calvin's catechism, the Bible, Latin, French, archery, golf and fencing.
Melville, Diary p.16
6 Feb.1573/4: pres. par. and vic. of Logie-Montrose. RSS vi 2311
20 Feb.1575/6: obtained letters in four forms against Laurence Lord Oliphant and Laurence master of Oliphant for duties owed by them to him under their tack of the teinds of Gallery.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.83v
5 Aug.1579: attacked at Fern by Robert Lennox of Schandford while administering the Lord's Supper, and not slain only by the intervention of other parishioners. Gray had debarred Lennox from communion for repeated adultery and fornication without repentence. Lennox was horned and escheated. RPC iii 197/8
5 Jan.1580/81: as minister of Logie-Montrose, with William Fullerton of Ardoch, sub. the test. testamentary of George Falconer. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.47v
4 Jan.1582/3: as par. Logie-Montrose, owed for the teinds of half Craigo by Henry Fullerton, portioner of Craigo, in the latter's will. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.12 f.18v
14 Sept.1584: as minister of Menmuir, wits. a discharge by Mr John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3
15 Sept.1584: as minister of Menmuir, gave discharge to George Symmer of Balzeordie for 80 merks assigned to him as stipend from the teinds of the par. Menmuir for crop 1583.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3
8 Nov.1585: discharge by him for 20 merks paid by Sir David Lindsay of Edzell from the kirk of Newdosk for crop 1584, for his stipend at Conveth. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 145: box F
7 Nov.1586: as minister of Menmuir, certified the illness of Mr Andrew Elder, together with John Livingston of Dunipace, John Collace of Balnamoon, Robert Collace apparent of Balnamoon and Charles Dempster of Balrownie.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

" Be it kend to all men and in spe[ci]all to ye lordis of our souerane lordis counsall and Sessione yat forsameikle as we Johne Levingstone of Donepace Mr W[il]l[ia]m Gray minist[er] of Menmu[ure] and gentillmen of ye congregation of Menmu[re] und[er]writt[en] hes hard yat Mr Andro Eldar not[ar] publict and reidar at ye kirk of Menmu[re] was summond ye saxt day of Nove[m]bar last bipast be our sou[er]ane lordis ltres...."

25 Feb.1586/7: as minister of Logie-Montrose, with John Durie

(minister of Montrose), wits. the test. testamental of Mr Alexander Allardice, minister of Ecclesgreig. CC 8.8.18 f.177v
15 Aug.1597: as par. Logie-Montrose, wits. test. testamental of Alexander Fullerton, portioner of Craigo. CC 8.8.32 f.106v
Brother of Andrew Gray of Dunninald; married Christian, daughter of Cristal Lyall/Ogilvy, the goodwife of Chapelton - who survived him, and next married Andrew Clayhills, minister of Monifieth after 1598. Fasti v 403,citing RD 121.263; GR Inhib.20.116

GREIFF, HENRY
087
Reader
Monikie 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS in 1599: but Henry "Greve" recurs 1601,1607; out again 1608.

10 Jul.1574: pres. vic. Monikie, in place of Matthew Greiff. RSS vi 2582
17 Apr.1580: certified a marriage in Monikie to the kirk session of Monifieth. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.45r
" Alex[ande]r Ritchie pr[esen]tit a doket of Henrie Greif reidar at Monikie anent his co[n]tact of mariage w[i]t[h] Kyrsten Air of Monikie cong[regation]..."
27 May 1580: as reader of Monikie, sub. the (wholly secular) test. testamentary of Charlie Barclay. Brechin tst.CC 3.3.1 f.25v

GREIFF, MATTHEW
088
Reader/exhorter
Monikie 61- 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Monikie: a 155.

1561: allowed his third as reader at Monikie; repeated, 1562. TB p.92,62,
1563: allowed his third as exhorter at Monikie. TB p.231
1 Jul.1566: as notary, wits. chtr. (Henry Ramsay of Ardownie) RMS iv 1550
1567: as a reader, had the vic.pens. with the manse and glebe; summoned Mr John Guthrie of Pitmuies for withholding the manse and glebe from him. E 48.2 f.21r; RPC i 684
17 Jan.1567/8: pres. perpet.vic. Monikie. RSS vi 113
1568-9: allowed his third as an exhorter. TB p.231
10 Jul.1574: had deceased. RSS vi 2582

GUTHRIE, ALEXANDER
089
Reader
Dunnichen 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1593.

GUTHRIE, DAVID
090
Reader
Idvies 74 76 78 (79.dltd ms)

Note that too many David Guthries occur in this period to make any identifications with pre-Reformation clergy viable. Neither has the equation of this reader with that of the same name at Lunan been attempted. Haws, Parish Clergy p.277

GUTHRIE, DAVID
091
Reader
Lunan 74 76 78 79 80 85 90
out of RAMS by 1599.

Note that too many David Guthries occur in this period to make any identifications with pre-Reformation clergy viable. Neither has the equation of this reader with that of the same name at Idvies been attempted. Haws, Parish Clergy p.277

18 Aug.1574: pres.vic. Lunan. RSS vi 2635
30 Apr.1577: as reader at Lunan, sued John, commendator of Arbroath and Arthur Grainger his chamberlain: as also Robert Guthrie of Lunan and others for payment of his vic. teinds. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.119r
1 Jul.1582: as reader and vicar of Lunan, wits. test. testamental of Jonet Anderson, spouse of the former Hercules Guthrie of Lunan. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.11 f.310v
21 Feb.1598/9: had deceased. PS 1.71 (RSS) f.6

GUTHRIE, DAVID
092
Reader
Meathie 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1594.

GUTHRIE, MR HENRY
093
Minister
Collace 85 86 88 89 90
Bendochy 85 86 88 89 90
Kettins 85 86 88 89.
out of RAMS by 1597.

1577: matriculated, St Salvator's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 290
10 Dec.1582: pres. par. Collace. RSS viii 1052
8 May 1583: had letters in four forms issued to enforce his rights as par. Collace. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.239v
1589: commissioner for preserving the protestant religion in Angus. Calderwood, History iv 630
1596: had deceased as par. Collace. PS 1.68 (RSS) f.167r

GUTHRIE, HENRY
094
Reader
Dunnichen 74 76 78 79 (80.dltd)

GUTHRIE, JAMES
095
Reader
Kirkbuddo 89 90
out of RAMS by 1599.

Note that it seems unlikely that this James Guthrie was the vicar perpetual of Kirkbuddo with the same name 1530 x 1561/2. [a 157]

GUTHRIE, JOHN
096
Reader
Forfar/Restenneth 70 72 74 76.

Note that the temptation to equate the John Guthries (readers at Forfar/Restenneth and Inverarity) has been resisted. The former had a stipend of £20; the latter of £16. John Guthrie is a very frequent name. The identification made with the pre-Reformation perpet. vic. of Stracathro has been rejected; the latter is given in the sources as a graduate.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.277; a 156; TB p.167

GUTHRIE, JOHN
097
Reader
Inverarity 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1599.

Note that the temptation to equate the John Guthries, readers at Forfar/Restenneth and Inverarity has been resisted. The former had a stipend of £20; the latter of £16. John Guthrie is a common name.

HAITLIE, WILLIAM
098
Minister

Abernyte	67-8-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
LogieDundee		74.									
Liff		74.									
Invergowrie		74.									
Lundie		74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	
Benvie			76	78	79	80			88	89.	

out of RAMS 1593.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. of Abernyte: had the third as part of his stipend in 1567, and a pre-1560 career that corresponds.
28 Jul.1545: chaplain and notary. (Robert Boyd in Abernyte)
RMS iii 3201

20 Dec. 1549: chaplain, notary. (Moncur of that ilk) RMS iv 408
20 Sept.1549: chaplain, notary. (Moncur of that ilk) RMS iv 411
22 May 1550: chaplain, notary at Inchmartine. RMS iv 472

6 May 1562: notary. (Haliburton of Pitcur) RMS iv 1832
7 Jun.1566: notary. (Ogilvy of Inchmartine) RMS iv 1945
3 Jan.1566/7: as sir William Haitlie notary, sub. chtr. (James Lord Ogilvy) Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4 bund. no.2
1567: had the third of the vic.pens. of Abernyte. E 48.2 f.22v
3 [x] 1567: pres. and collated to preb. Abernyte (1/4th of par.). A precept from Mr John Winram, superintendent of Fife, addressed to Nicholas Spittal as minister of Longforgan and to William Christison minister of Dundee, narrated that Edward Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, Alexander Boyd of Pitkindie, Patrick Drummond of Smithton, William Drummond his father, James Boyd, Robert Boyd elder and Robert Boyd junior, with all the rest of the inhabitants of the parish of Abernethy, had presented and nominated William Haitlie to the kirk of Abernethy, and to the 1/4 part of the par. and vic. with appropriate sections of the kirklands to a yearly value of £20, vacant by decease of sir Alexander Moncrieff, one of the four chaplains of the choir of Dunkeld. Spittal was therefore commanded to induct Haitlie to the charge; and hence he had instituted him by delivery of a Bible and entering him to the pulpit, and had put him in possession of the kirklands, manse and glebe as formerly occupied by sir Alexander Moncrieff. NP 1.16/RH 2.1.22 (Duncan Gray)
17 Jun.1575: sub. as notary "clericum ac verbi dei minister apud ecclesium de Abernyte" on a marriage contract at Abernyte church. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.15.189
29 Jan.1588/9: had deceased as preb. and vic.pens. Abernyte. PS 1.58 (RSS) f.174r

HALDEN, GEORGE
099
Reader
Newtyle 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1594.

27 Mar.1583: a series of eighteen discharges by him for stipend paid by James Lord Ogilvy commence at this date; the last is dated 11 Oct. 1598 and is cited below. Airlie mss., GD 16.47.18

" Be it kend to al men to quhom it effeiris and speciale to ye ry[ch]t honerable James Master of Ogilbe y[a]t I am weil content and allow y[a]t my belouit bruder in Christ and gude frend Mr R[o]b[er]t Boyd minister of Newtyld be ansuerit obeyed and thankfullie payed be ye said master of Ogilbe and his factoris of thrie scoir four lib. usual money of yis realm of ye crop of ye zeir of god [1597] conforme to his letteris obtenit yairupoun no[ch]tyeles y[a]t I haue bein in use of resaving payment be my self during zeiris bygane he hauing lyk letteris Becaus ye said maister Robert has faytfullie promisit y[a]t his intromissioun sall nay way be preiudicial or hurtfull to me bot yat I s[ul]d be thankfullie payed of my pairt of ye said soume conforme to use and wont. George Halden reidar. "

HALL, NINIAN
100

Exhorter/ minister from 1567.

Mains 63.
Liff 67-9-72.
Invergowrie 67-9-72.
Logie Dundee 67-9-72.
Biggar etc 74

1563: exhorter at Mains. TB p.232

HANY, ANDREW
101

Reader

Logie Dundee 74.
Liff 74.

HAWICK, DAVID
102

Reader

Kirkbuddo 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.

HAY, MR GEORGE
103

Minister

Idvies 89.

1578-1581: matriculated and graduated MA at St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index

6 Jul.1583: pres. to par./vic. Idvies for trials to be minister. RSS viii 1406

28 Nov.1590: had deceased as par./vic.Idvies. PS 1.61 (RSS) f.80r

HAY, GEORGE
104

Reader

Lochlee (63. deltd. in ms.)

1563: reader at Lochlee: deleted in ms. TB p.233

HAY, WILLIAM
105

Reader

Lochlee 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 (86.dltd)

Note that, as suggested by Dr Haws, this William Hay could be the one who matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in 1563. The name is a common one, however.

StA Recs 270; Haws, Parish Clergy p.280

HEPBURN, MR EDWARD
106
Minister
Navar 90
out of RAMS 1597.

21 Oct.1585: pres. par. Navar (preb. chancellor of Brechin) in place of deceased Mr George Hepburn, for trials for minister. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.138v
23 Jan.1586/7: as lawful son of deceased Andrew Hepburn of Smeaton and chancellor of Brechin, obtained letters in four forms against all parishioners of Navar, for fruits from crop 1586. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.305v
7 Jun.1587: as chancellor of Brechin, tacked the teinds of Navar to Mr Patrick Hepburn of Smeaton his brother, with consent of dean and chapter. [This tack was assigned to the earl of Mar, as lord of Brechin and Navar, 13 May 1597.] Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.9656,983
20 Dec.1593: executor to his brother-in-law Mr Robert Ramsay, parson of Idvies. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.26 f.66r

HEPBURN, MR JOHN
107
Minister

Brechin	60	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Kilmoir				74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Burghill				74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Cookston				74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	
Aldbar				74	76	78	79	80.					
Farnell				74	76.								
Panbride		63	67-9-72.										

out of RAMS 1601.

Pre-Reformation treasurer of Brechin: a 175.

20 Dec.1560: thought apt and able to minister by the assembly. BUK i 4
Dec.1562: as minister of Brechin, given commission by the Assembly to pass to Moray and preach the gospel there. BUK i 27
1563: had his third remitted as minister of Brechin and Panbride. TB pp.230-1
Jun.1563: commission to him as minister of Brechin to plant kirks and place schoolmasters in Moray, Banff and adjacent counties was renewed, despite his previous failure to visit, which he excused by reason of illness. BUK i 34,39
4 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified Ministers" who accepted the Helvetian Confession. Knox's History ii 190; Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9
22 Feb.1569/70: feued David Sewan the piece of land called Kirk-Doqr-Keys, and the treasurer's manse and garden. RMS iv 1808
23 Mar.[1574x1576]: as minister of Brechin, Farnell, Aldbar, Kilmoir, Burghill and Cookston wrote to John Erskine, superintendent of Angus. [The date of 1579 for this letter suggested in its printed edition must be inaccurate: Hepburn had Farnell under his charge only in 1574 and 1576.] Spald.Misc. iv 63

" Honorabill scir, efter most hartlye commendatione off seruice in the Lord, pleis you to wit that I recewit your wreting makand mensione off your synodall conuentione to be haldin at Montros the xxiii day of Merche instant, and efter the sicht theroff hes don (as I vnderstand) according to your mynd and tenour off your wreting: we haue ordenit our comissionaris, and hes authorised them with our comissione and instructions, besydis that we haue summonid yit onis agen Jamis Striling, citiner off Brechine, quha wes summonit afor and conformit nocht according as the proscess quhilk I delywert to your selff on hors bak behind the yardis proportis; I summond him vpon your wreting as I heid your lettres, therfor giff he compiris ye will tak ordour with him as ye think good, and als giff he compiris nocht, giff your sentence and mak me aduertisment theroff. Appardon my heymlye conferens in sik maters; als ther is a vder callit Walter Grym summond, quhois crymis the rider and comissionars will schow you at lenth. Maruell nocht scir that I hawe nocht kepit dyet my selff, for I haue sik vrgent and noyhswm impediment as the rider and comissionaris can declar, that I may neder sit stand nor ryd commodiuslye, and giff I sall so continew sall nocht be abill to journey with you toyward Striling: nocht ellis now. Comittand you to the protectione off the Lord our God at Brechine this xxiii off Merche, be youris at command, John Hepburn."

21 Apr.1579: as minister of Brechin, sub. the test. testamental of John Finny, baxter indweller in Brechin. Brn.ts.CC 3.3.1 f.14v

" ... disponis and leiffis his soull to god and his haill gudis and geir ..."

25 Jun.1579: wits. inst. for arbitration between David Lindsay of Edzell and Alexander Lindsay of Vane.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.2

Jul.1580: commissioned to warn the bishop of Brechin to appear before the next General Assembly - and later warned that if he failed, he would face public repentance before the Assembly.
Calderwood, History iii 465,474

[1580 following]: Lennox as commendator of Arbroath intromitted with his stipend. Calderwood, History iv 396

May 1586: assessor to the Moderator. Calderwood, History iv 549

15 Jan.1587/8: gift of the chaplaincy of St Leonard at Finavon for his services as minister of Brechin with Kilmoir, Burghill and Cookston. REB ii 361

1587/8: had gifts of the following thirds as stipend: the par./vic. of Cookston, of the subdeanery and the treasury of Brechin, of the chapel of St Leonard at Finavon.
PS 1.56 (RSS) f.146r

1590: had the whole vic. of Catterline as part of his stipend.
E 47.5 f.19v

2 Jan.1598: had deceased. CH 4.1.3 (RPB iii) 35

HOGG, MR ARCHIBALD
108
Minister
Durris 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS, 1595.

1560-63/4: matriculated, determined and Intrant at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 267; ActaFacArt ii 422,423
2 Aug.1565: pres. par. Durris. RSS v 2233
20 Mar. 1594/5: had deceased as par. Durris. PS 1.68 (RSS) f.21r

HOWESON, NICHOLAS
109
Minister
Dunnichen 63 67-9-72.
Nairn etc 74

Pre-Reformation a monk of Arbroath: first known sub. with the convent, 15 May 1557. Thereafter, seven more to 13 Feb.1559/60.
M.Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers", RSCHS xviii (1974) p.209
Yester writs, GD 28.676; Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885, box 21.6.6

1563: minister at Dunnichen. TB p.232
4 Nov.1564: sub. as a monk of Arbroath.
Northesk mss., GD 130 box 17 "Ethie 1"; also box 2 no.4
23 May 1566: offered the post of schoolmaster of Arbroath by two of the bailies - David Peirson and John Hales. On 20 Jun.1567, David Black (appointed schoolmaster 10 Nov.1564 [q.v.]) was discharged from the post; probably Howeson did not take up the offer. APL, Arbroath court book (1563-1575) f.36r,36v
" The q[uhi]lk day ye bailzeis abou writyn conducit w[i]t[h] Nycoll Howeson to ken ye grammer schwell and promisit to hy[m] ten pundis of fie for ye sa[m]in and ye said Nycoll said y[a]t he wald no[ch]t cum to teche nor ken ye said schwell w[i]tout he haif ye haill co[n]sentis of ye town and tuk act y[air] apoun."
2 Jan.1566/7: sub. as a monk of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 2 bund.28
1574 to 1580: minister at Nairn etc.[M. Dilworth suggests that he last acted as a monk at Arbroath in 1574; but see below.]
M.Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers", RSCHS xviii (1974) p.209
31 May 1575: sub. as a member of the convent of Arbroath.
Strathmore mss.,NRA(4SD) 885 box 235.3.3
6 Aug.1575: sub. as a member of the convent of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 2 bund.28

INGLIS, MR ALEXANDER
110
Minister
Lunan 90
still in RAMS 1615.

1576 or 1583: matriculated at St Salvator's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs p.288; StAUL, graduates' index
1587: one or other of the preceding graduated MA at St Andrews.
StAUL, graduates' index

IRVING, JOHN
111
Reader
Tarland 63 67-9-70.
Migvie 63 67-9-70.
Strachan 72 74 76 78 79 80.

1563-70: reader at Tarland and Migvie. Haws, Parish Clergy p.180
1567-8: James Irving was factor for the par. Strachan (preb. archdean of Brechin) on behalf of the archdean, the commendator of Dryburgh. TB p.235
1570-1: Robert Irving was vic. of Tarland. TB p.227

JAMESON, JAMES
112
Reader
Kettins 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.

JOHNSTON, MR JOHN
113
Reader
Idvies 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation: a clerk of Brechin.
12 Apr.1556: notary for inst. sasine to John Willock and Marion Lepar in Chapelton, under precept from sir George Wilson, chaplain of the Holy Cross.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4
10 Jan.1558/9: notary. (Robert Collace of Balnamoon/ George Symmer of Balzeordie).
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6.;formerly Papers box 4 bund.5

1563: reader at Idvies. TB 233

KEITH, ALEXANDER
114
Minister
Garvock 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.
Catterline 67-9-72 74 76 78 79. 85 86.
Bervie 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Kinneff 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Arbuthnott 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Dunnottar 80 85 86.
Benholm 88 89 90
Kinnell 63
out of RAMS by 1595.

1563: minister at Garvock and Kinnell [sic]. E 46.1.4 f.16v
7/14 Sept.1574: wits. tack of teinds by Robert Pitcairn, archdean of St Andrews (par. Kinneff).
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.3. bund. no.20
10 Dec.1576: Andrew Gray sued Alexander Keith minister of Kinneff as one of the those alleging right to his mails, and "he knawis no[ch]t q[uhi]lk of yame hes best ry[ch]t". Keith's letters were

adjudged of no effect - he failed to compear. A&D, CS 7.55 f.112r
24 Nov.1579: pres. par./vic. Dunnottar. RSS vii 2097
28 Feb.1580/81: wits. chtr. as par. Dunnottar. (George master of Marischal) RMS v 175
23 Nov.1581: had letters in four forms issued to secure his rights as par. Dunnottar (preb. Trinity CC). CS 7.55 f.148v
10 Dec.1583: death of his wife Agnes Wishart. Keith was described as minister of Garvock; debts owed to them jointly included 100 merks from the factor of Garvock for 1583 and £93 from the parishioners of Dunnottar. They owed 50 merks to the laird of Arbuthnott. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.85v
9 Feb.1586/7: pres. vic. Garvock with manse, glebe and kirklands. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.163v
18 Jan.1587/8: sought letters in four forms against the parishioners of Benholm from 1587, having presentation by the patron, Robert Lord Altrie (dated 28 Nov.[1587]); but was refused, after representations by Martha Melville, relict of the former minister William Morrison and William's sole executor, Mr Walter Morrison. Letters to take effect from year and crop 1589 were allowed him. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.318v
13 May 1588: had demitted vic. Garvock. PS 1.57 (RSS) f.81r
1588: lost par. Dunnottar from his stipend. E 47.4 f.22v
1588-90: his stipend paid from the par./vic. Benholm.E 47.4.f.22v
5 Jun.1594: died, as par. and minister of Benholm. His test. dative was given in by his relict, Isobel Lundie. His free goods amounted to £2,890; he was owed £3,071 (including an action for superplus of teinds), and he owed £2,832. CC 8.8.31 f.405v

KEITH, MR ARCHIBALD
115
Minister
Balmerino 62.
Logie Murdoch 62.
Lundie 63 67-9.
Kettins 63 67-9.
Crimond etc 69-72 74

1562: minister of Balmerino and Logie Murdoch when the Assembly decided to move him to a larger charge. BUK i 28
Nov.1569: minister of Crimond. [Not by 1567, as per Dr.Haws.] E 48.2 f.18v;Haws, Parish Clergy p.52
"translatit to Aberdein sen Nov[ember] 1569"
19 Aug.1573: pres. par./vic. Crimond. RSS vi 2113

KERR, ANDREW
116
Reader
Aldbar 74.
Benholm 76 78 79 80.

1557: possibly the Andrew Kerr who matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 264

KINLOCH, JAMES
117
Reader
Tannadice 63.

Pre-Reformation: a chaplain in Dundee: a 188.

1563: reader at Tannadice - not exhorter, as per Dr Haws.
TB p.233; Haws, Parish Clergy p.232

KINNEAR, ROBERT
118
Reader
Brechin 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1614.

31 Jul.1576: sub. with the chapter of Brechin as vicar.
REB ii 286
26 Nov.1579: pres. vic. Brechin. RSS vii 2104
18 Mar.1579/80: had letters in four forms issued against the inhabitants of Kincraig to compel them to answer to him as vic. of Brechin, as provided to the kirklands, manse and glebe.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.140v
15 May 1608: died. Fasti viii 498

KINNINMONTH, MR ALEXANDER
119
Minister
Finavon/Inverarity/Kirkbuddo 85.
Kirriemuir 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS 1615.

1576: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs p.289
15 Dec.1587: pres. vic. Kirriemuir. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.116r
4 Mar.1588/9: obtained letters in four forms for payment of fruits of vic. Kirriemuir since year and crop 1588.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.343v
1592: as minister and vic. Kirriemuir, gave sasine to Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity in the vic. kirklands.
Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 6 bund 12
24 Feb.1594/5: gave account for communion expenses.
Airlie mss GD 16.47.23

" I Mr Alex[ande]r Ky[n]i[n]mounthe minister at Kerimu[re] be yir p[rese]ntis testifies y[a]t I haue ... furniset the elementis to ye [com]munion in Kerimu[re] in ye zeir fourscoir threttene of bread and wyne extending to twelf lib accurding to ye direct[ioun] of my lord and ladyes cham[berlain] gevin at Kerimu[re] ye xxiiii of Februrar 1594. Mr Alex Ky[n]i[n]mounthe minister at Kerimu[re]"

"A man of mark and character"; proprietor of Meathie, married Anna, daughter of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity. Moderator of the Presbytery of Forfar, and refused to pay for 200 copies of "God and the King", issued on the instructions of James VI. Responsible for the erection of a chapel in Glen Prosen. Saved the life of Thomas Lyall of Murthill, 23 Jan.1618/19, when the latter was attacked by twenty-four armed men. Lyall recited that his neighbours had lain in wait for him ... "Bot God, who is the protectioun and defendaris of innocentis, having discouerit thair hid and detestit purpois to the minister of Killymure" -

Kinninmonth hastened after him, met up with him and them; "and eirnistlie delt and travellit with thame" stating how innocent blood offended God, how odious such a slaughter would be to the king's majesty and how it might bring them within the compass of the law; whereon they agreed to release Lyall if he would meet their next challenge - which he failed to do, and sought the protection of the privy council.

A.Reid, The regality of Kirriemuir (Edin.1909) pp.67-8,52

KYD, WILLIAM
120

Reader

Dundee	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90

out of RAMS 1599.

1563: reader at Dundee. TB p.233
5 Aug.1570: pres. vic. Dundee on the forfeiture of John Hamilton for treason. RSS vi 880
3 Jan.1580/81: as reader at Dundee, with the minister William Christison, wits. test. testamentary of Euphame Durham, relict of John Strachan of Claypotts. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.10 f.6
21 May 1596: had deceased as vic. Dundee. PS 1.68 (RSS) f.168r

LEASK, MR WILLIAM
121

Minister

Nigg								86.				
Dunnottar										88	89	90

out of RAMS by 1593.

1588-90: had the par. and vic. of Dunnottar as his stipend. E 47.4 f.22r; 47.5 f.18v

LEITCH, MR ANDREW
122

Minister

Fern							80.					
Dunlappie							80.					
Maryton								85	86	88	89	90
Inchbrayock								85	86	88	89	90
Lunan								85	86	88	89.	
St Skaa								85	86	88	89.	

out of RAMS 1614.

1569-1572/3: matriculated, graduated BA and MA at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 277,167,169; ActaFacArt ii 438,441
17 May 1577: pres. par. Kilmoir. RSS vii 1029
23 Mar.1579/80: obtained letters in four forms for teinds as par. Kilmoir. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.141r
4 Nov.1580: agreed with the council of Brechin to accept 59 merks arrears of his salary: and to serve them in future for 40 merks a year instead of 50 merks.

D-B.Thoms,"The College of Brechin", SFBC no.3 (1950) p.11

13 Jan.1580/81: praeceptor of the Brechin grammar-school, granted

a tenement with a ruined building formerly belonging in common to the cathedral canons, and subsequently to the crown. RMS v 82
18 Apr.1588: sub. letter confirming the illness of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell. JRL, The Craw. mss.,4.1.95
6 Jan.1587/8: had letters in four forms to support a new gift (dated 3 Nov.1587) of the revenues comprising his stipend - being victual from the thirds of the bishopric of Brechin and from the third of the abbey of Arbroath. A&D., CS 7.55 f.318r; REB ii 359
16 Jun.1587: as par Kilmoir, with consent of bishop and chapter, tacked teinds of the Haugh of Brechin to John earl of Mar, because the earl was the hereditary occupier of the lands and gatherer of the sheaves: and to prevent them falling to other hands. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.967
Further career in the General Assembly: see Calderwood, History.
Jun.1611: died at Montrose as min. Maryton. His testament was given in by Robert Collace of Balnamoon. CC 3.3.3 f.300r

> "knawing my dayis to be uncertane" ...[makes testament] ... "makand me y[air]by mair reddie for my god,"... [bequeathed his] "saull to ye eternal god to be glorifeit w[i]t[h] ye sanctis in hewin thr[ough] ye meritis of o[ur] blessit lord and savioure."

LESLIE, JOHN
123

Reader

Nigg	63	67-9-72.	

1563: reader at Nigg - also at Aberdeen. TB p.223

LINDSAY, DAVID of PITAIRLIE
124

Minister

Forfar/Restenneth	63	67-9-72.						
Aberlemno	63	67-9.	74	76	78	79	80.	
Finavon			74	76	78	79	80.	
Inverarity			74	76	78	79	80.	
Kirkbuddo			74	76	78	79	80.	

Laird of Pitairlie: a cadet house of the Lindsays of Edzell, descended from Sir John Lindsay of Brechin and Pitairlie d.1452, a fourth son of David, earl of Crawford.
JRL, The Craw. mss.,81.1.11
Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society, vol.iii no.10: (Edin. 1926) ed. John Lindsay pp.114-5
1532: paid £20 for relief and nonentries on lands of Pitairlie. LHT vi 15
31 Oct.1544: wits. chtr. with Mr Robert Erskine, dean of Aberdeen. (David, ninth earl of Crawford) RMS iii 3050
4 Feb.1544/5: wits. chtr. with David Barclay of Mathers. (David, ninth earl of Crawford) RMS iii 3066
28 May 1552: wits. inst. sasine: Henry Ramsay of Ardownie taking sasine in the barony of Barry on behalf of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, from the abbey of Balmerino. Other wits: William Durham of Grange, Thomas Anderson.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.15

27 Mar.1557: summoned to give evidence in the case of James Scrymgeour against John Lord Glamis regarding title to certain mails. CSP(S) i 412

1563: minister at Forfar and Aberlemno. TB p.232
4 Sept.1566: one of the "most qualified Ministers" who accepted the Helvetian Confession.
Knox's History ii p.190: Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9
1574-1580: had the "whole fruits" of pars. Inverarity and Finavon as his stipend. No evidence of presentation to these benefices exists. NLS, ms 17.1.4 f.32r; E 47.2 f.25v
15 Jan.1574/5: as minister of Aberlemno, wits. test. testamental of John Mortimer of Flemington. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.206r
" Sen thair is náthing mair certane yan deid and dep[air]ting from yis life [and] mair uncertane yan ye hour of deith, herefoir ... Item I com[m]it and levis my soule in yir handis [and] protection of ye eternall my god and my body to be bureit in ye queir of Abirlemno..."
27 Dec.1576: as "minister of Christ's evangel", with John his son and heir and John Nevay of that ilk, minister of Glamis etc, wits. the test. testamental of Alexander Guthrie of Haulkerton. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.27v
11 Mar.1580/81: died, as minister of Inverarity. His test. testamentary was witnessed (26 Dec.1580) by Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum, John Nevay of that ilk [minister of Glamis etc] and Mr William Garden, reader at Aberlemno. He was owed items for stipend by Fotheringham of Powrie and his lady for service at Inverarity. After debts, his inventory amounted to only £106 16s 4d. Legacies were given to his wife, Katherine, and his sons John and Alexander. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f207v
" seik in body but haill in spreit... levis my saule to god to be savit and rest w[i]t[h] him redemit by Christ and my body to ye erth to remane to his cuming..."

LINDSAY, MR DAVID
125
Minister
Forfar/ Restenneth 90
out of RAMS 1596

1579 or 1582: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 294 or StAUL, graduates' index
1586: a Mr David Lindsay graduated MA at St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index

LINDSAY, MR JAMES
126
Minister
Fettercairn 78 79.

Fourth son of David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford, and Dame Katherine Campbell. "A mild, learned and accomplished divine". Lindsay, Lives i 327-8
1571 [?] student at Aberdeen, and transferred to either St Leonard's College (1572-1573/4) or St Mary's College

(1571/2-72/3) at St Andrews.

StA Recs 282, ActaFacArt ii 442,438,441

5 Jun.1576: pres. par. Fettercairn for trials to be minister. It seems unlikely that he served the parish for any length of time in the capacity of minister. RSS vii 574

17 Sept.1578: as par. Fettercairn, made his test. testamental at the Haugh of Finavon before leaving on a journey to France to seek a cure. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.283r

" Sen na thing is nar certane nor deith nor unsure as ye hour of deith, I Mr James Lindsay parsoun of Fettercairn, being purposit to tak my journey to France to seik remeid of ane naturall diseis to quhilk I am subject [and] havelie vext, being uncertane quhen and quhere it sall pleis god to call me, makis yis my latterwill ... Imprimis, I leve [and] [com]endis my saule to ye grete god omnipotent my creato[u]r and saviour my body to ye erth... leves guds and geir to my welbelouit bro[th]er Mr Walter Lindsay of ye Hauch, [with clause and power to] dispone to my haill bru[th]eris and sisteris in token of my gude rem[em]brance of yame" ... [such legacies that he would have left if he had time to make more ample provision, being hurried by haste of the journey].

18 Dec.1578: at Paris; Mr John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir (his older brother) agreed to repay any monies James borrowed from John Milne, burgess of Dieppe, while resident in France.

WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 253: box Hii

9 Aug.1579: letter from him to James Guthrie burgess of Edinburgh, giving a mandate to Mr Henry Blackwood to act as Lindsay's agent at Paris to receive funds from Scotland.

NLS, ms.29.2.8

15 Jun.1580: died at Geneva. His brother, Mr Walter Lindsay of Haugh, was his heir. His inventory included only £20 of free goods, being mainly comprised of the fruits of par. Fettercairn, owed by the parishioners and by his (and his mother's) factor, Henry Guthrie of Colliston. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.283r

Andrew Melville wrote a Latin elegy in his memory.

McCrie, Melville i 430

LINDSAY, MR PATRICK

127

Minister

Guthrie 88 89 90

out of RAMS by 1595.

1579: matriculated at St Leonard's, St Andrews. StA Recs 294

25 Dec.1588: sued David Arrat, reader at Guthrie, for possession of the manse, glebe and kirklands which had been adjudged to Lindsay as parson and provost of Guthrie by arbitration of the presbytery of Montrose in order to enable him to fulfil his office personally. Although it had been a condition that Arrat would have the manse (which he had previously occupied) set to him for 6s 8d a year, the reader had refused to implement the decreet - so Lindsay obtained letters to compel him.

Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.338v

17 Jan.1588/9: Arrat had the minister's letters suspended pending a further hearing of the case. CS 7.55 f.340v

5 Apr.1589: sub. tack of teinds as part of the chapter of Brechin, being provost of Guthrie. MTH, Montrose mss M/W1/9-

LINDSAY, THOMAS
128

Exhorter: reader from 1567.
Arbroath 63 67-9-72 74 76 78.

Pre-Reformation: a monk of Arbroath. First known sub. with the convent of Arbroath - 12 Sept.1554. Nine further charters bearing his name have been discovered from 1554 to 13 Feb.1559/60.
Northesk mss.,GD 130.1.3; Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 21.6.6
M. Dilworth, "Monks and Ministers", RSCHS xviii (1974) p.209
[This cites a charter of 1558 as the earliest known.]

1563: exhorter at Arbroath. TB p.232
10 Feb.1562/3: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Airlie mss., GD 16.14.21
4 Nov.1564: sub. twice with the convent of Arbroath.
Northesk mss., GD 130 box 17 ("Ethie 1") and box 2 bund.4
27 Jul.1565: feued from the bailies and council of Arbroath (patrons of the Our Lady Chapel at the Bridge End of Arbroath) two roods of lands with a house.
APL, Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f14v
8 Mar.1565/6: factor to the burgh of Arbroath for the annuals of the Our Lady chapel. APL, Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f21r
" The q[uhi]lk day ye haill co[un]sall hes co[n]sentit y[a]t sir Thomas Makesoun collek and tak op ye a[n]wellis and malis pertenand to Sanct Nytolas chaiplanry y[a]t restis on tayn up be James Ra[m]say deposit[ou]r of twa zeiris bypast and forder indurand ye will of y[i]r bailzeis and co[un]sall the said sir Thomas Maky[soun] mak thankfull pament of thre pundis usuall mony zeirly to ye deposit[ou]r of ye town and lykwis Thomas Lindsay is chosing and eletit to garder and tak up Our Lady a[n]wellis and malis y[a]t ar on tayn wp be ye said James Ra[m]say and forder indurand ye will of bailzeis and co[un]sall and sall haue four pundis zeirlie down of ye re[n]tall and mak his compt to ye town of ye rest."
2 Jan.1566/7: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 2 bund.28
14 Jun.1566: acting as almoner for the council.
APL, Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f25v
" The q[uhi]lk day ye bailzeis and co[un]sall hes com[m]andit Thomas Lindsay to gyf Jhone Paramor xl s. of Or Lady a[n]wellis becaus he is ane puyr ma[n] and als hes ordand to gyf Dauid Blak xl s. of ye said a[n]wellis to pass to Edynbro[t] to seik releif of ye queinis thrid of ye said chaiplanry."
26 Mar.1570: sub. with convent of Arbroath when John, commendator of Arbroath (in the presence of the earl of Huntly, Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird and Ogilvy of Lawton) granted pensions of 520 merks to the sons of James, Lord Ogilvy for "defens of us o[ur]e convent ten[n]antis and servandis and o[ur]e special place" and "for resisting o[ur]e nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]e apeirand hurt and damnage and skaith". Airlie mss., GD 16.47.13
2 Jun.1570: as reader, one of the convent of Arbroath, in the personal presence of the commendator, elected burgh almoner "for the administration and distribution of annuals appointed for the poor" and appointed "my lordis elimositir in tym cuming enduring

my lordis pleisure" to act with John Aikman, deacon.
AFL, Arbroath court book 1563-1575 f54r
31 May 1575 and 6 Aug.1575: sub. as a member of the convent of Arbroath. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885, box 235.3.3; Kinnaird, Strathmore Papers box.2 bund.28
17 Sept.1576: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885, box 235.3.5
21 Apr.1577: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.255
1578: last entry as reader of Arbroath.
24 Jul.1580: sub. with the convent of Arbroath. Laing Chrs. 1005
3 May 1582: sub. with the convent of Arbroath. RMS v 454
19 Apr.1585: sub. with the convent of Arbroath. RH 6.12.2788
20 Sept.1586: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.
Northesk mss., GD 130.13.a.19

3 Mar.1574/5: as reader, sub. the test. testamental of sir Thomas Makison, notary in Arbroath. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.161v
" I leave my soule to god and my bodie to ye erth [where]fra it came and my gudis ...."

LINDSAY, WALTER
129
Reader
Arbirlot 63 67-9-72.
Ruthven (74.dltd ms)
Finavon 76 78.

1563: reader at Arbirlot. TB p.233
22 Jul.1569; pres. vic. Ruthven on the death of Patrick Blair,for trials to be a reader; but David Cumming was also pres. on the death of Patrick Blair on 17 Mar.1574/5. RSS vi 680; vii 98
1576-8: his stipend as reader at Finavon was paid by the parson and "nocht laid" in the central registers. E 47.1 f.24v

LOVE, THOMAS
130
Reader
Clova 63.

1563: reader at Clova. TB p.233

LOVELL, JAMES
131
Reader
Monifieth 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.

Note that James Lovell was brother to Thomas Lovell in Linlathen and is not to be identified with the burgess of Dundee noticed by Dr Haws purchasing 14 barrels of salmon at £7 9s a barrel. The reader's stipend amounted to £12 a year from 1563-1569, rising to £20 from 1574. See below; Haws, Parish Clergy p.290; TB p.212,233

1563: reader at Monifieth. TB p.233

10 Jan.1562/3: reader at Monifieth.
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.3v

28 Jan.1563/4: as reader of Monifieth, wits. inst. sasine of John Arbuthnott of Easter Brichty in his one-third of Monifieth.
DAC, prot.bk.no.6:(Herbert Gladstanes) f.26v-28r

31 Dec.1577: as reader at Monifieth, sub. the test. testamentary of Thomas Lovell in Linlathen, his brother. CC 8.8.8 f.375r

" Seik in [body] and haill in my spreit, mynd and saule prace and thankis to yir et[er]nall god and makis my testament .... I geve and levis my soull to almichtie god father sone and halie spreit beseiking yat gracious god haif m[er]cie upoun me....makis ane hon[or]able man James Andersoun port[ion]er of Lu[m]lethane my belovit m[aiste]r my verrie lawful odman and o[u]rman... [to guide executors with his good advice, so all can act "in a gud and godlie manno[u]r"] " And becaus I culd no[ch]t wryt my selff I haif constitut my darrest and best belouit eldest germane broder James Lovell reidar w[i]t[h]in my paroche kirk of Monyfurth to subscrivit this my latter will and testament ...." [The executors and overman were adjured to act ...] "as you will answer befoir god upoun ye dredfull day of dome."

31 Jul.1578: as reader, assisted with the distribution to the poor of Monifieth of the legacy left them by William Durham of Grange. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.38v

" The q[uhi]lk day proclamion and warning maid befoir to y[i]r eldaris, deaconis and gentilmen of the paroche of Monefurth to convene to assist in ye distribution of sa meikle silver as wes left be the hon. umq[uil] William Durham of Grange to be distribut be umq[uil] John Duncan burgess of Dundie and Robert Carmichael in Ethebetoun,... comperit Andro Auchinlek minister, James Lovell reidar,Peter Nairn and Robert Carmichael eldaris and Andro Duncan, Andro Weir, Henry Lovell, Henry Lorymer and John Cardall deaconis ... ressavit fra Jonat Inglish lady of Grange for hyr half of ye lagacy, 50 lib. and 10 lib. mair of hyr ane liberalie to be gevin ... (summa) thescoir pundis." [Sub. Andrew Auchinlek minister, James Lovell reader, Peter Nairn elder.]

19 Apr.1579: charged Henry Ramsay, laird of Laws, and others to compear before the visitor of Monifieth (William Christison, minister of Dundee) to answer accusations of adultery.
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.41v

" The said day I reidar chargit Henry Ramsay of Lawis and Magr. his harlot to compeir yis 24 Apryl befoir ye visit[ou]r of Monefurth and Henry Guthre in Lawis w[i]t[h] Mag. Watsoun, James Duncan servand to ye lard of Kingany and Isolde D[blank] and this I dyd in tyme of prayaris and reidying in presence of ye cong[regation] Item ye xxiii of this instant I passit to yair dwelling placis w[i]t[h] witnessis and maid admoneisment thair. James Luvell."

* 16/18/23 Dec.1582: gathered the collection for the poor, prsumably in absence of any elders/deacons.
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) fs.53r,v

[x] Feb.1583/4: stood witness for the baptism of a child "gottin in fornication". NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.57r

LYALL, sir GEORGE
132
Reader
Aberlemno 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation curate of Aberlemno: a 212.

1563: reader at Aberlemno. TB p.233

LYON, PATRICK
133
Reader
Glamis 74.

14 Oct.1570: son of James Lyon burgess of Dundee; pres. vic. Glamis for trials to be minister. RSS vi 943
18 Mar.1570/71: feued the vicar's manse with houses and glebe, and the whole kirklands of Glamis to James Lyon in Glamis and his wife Katherine Carnegy. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 10.212
30 Oct.1575: had demitted vic. Glamis as reader. RSS vii 316

MACKAY, ALEXANDER
134
Reader
Glenisla 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1593.

MALCOLM, MR WILLIAM
135
Minister
Kingoldrum 88 89.
Nether Airlie 88 89 90
still in RAMS 1608.

13 May 1588: pres. vic. Kingoldrum, defeating the prior pres. of John Mann. [q.v.] PS 1.57 (RSS) f.113v; 106v
8 Dec.1597: had demitted as vic. Kingoldrum. PS 1.69 (RSS) f.267r

MANN, JOHN
136
Reader: minister from 1589.
Clova 76 78.
Cortachy 79 80.
Lethnot/ Lochlee 89 90.
to Menmuir 1591: still in RAMS 1615.

16 Jun.1587: wits. chtr. as schoolmaster of Brechin - hence, presumably, the gap in service in RAMS.
Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.967
3 May 1588: pres. vic. Kingoldrum, but was defeated by subsequent pres. of the minister of Kingoldrum, William Malcolm. [q.v.]
PS 1.57 (RSS) f.106v; 113v

MAR, WILLIAM
137
Reader
Banchory Devenick 69-72.

MAULE, ROBERT
138
Reader
Panbride 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1601.

Youngest son of Robert Maule of Panmure by his first wife; described as "ane godly person, given to reading of the Scripture, did mightily walk beside his Father instructing him in the chief points of Religion,..." together with preachers Paul Methven and John Brabner, in the years before the laird's death in 1560. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.26.53 p.65

1563: reader at Panbride. TB p.233
30 May 1566: procurator for Thomas Maule of Panmure, paid 200 merks to redeem lands.
DAC, prot.bk.no.8 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.22r
22 Apr.1579 as reader at Panbride, wits. at Panmure the test. testamental of David Maule, son of Thomas of Panmure. The entry in the Brechin register of testaments was written by a careless scribe who credited the reader with the Christian name of "Thomas" after the current laird, instead of "Robert", his predecessor. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.17v

" Quham nathing is mair certane nor deit[h] nor mair uncertane nor ye hour of deth I David Maull makis my weillbelouit brother Mr David Maull my onlie executo[r] testament[ary] and intrometer w[i]t[]h] my gudis and geir he payand my dettis and to use ye samin to his utilitie and proffit he fulfilland yis my latterwill as he will answer befoir god in ye extreme day of judgement. Subscrivant w[i]t[h] my hand befoir yir witnessis Thomas Maull George Maull Thomas Maull redar at Panbryd wt u[ther]is diveris."

MAXWELL, MR ALEXANDER
139
Reader
Tealing 63.

1539-1542/3: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate ("pauper") at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 243,143,146; ActaFacArt ii 394,397
Notary in St Andrews diocese before 1555; his protocol book contained extracts from "Ane Exclamatioun aganis Idolatrye" by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and the following fragment:

"[the words of] my maister Willem Crystessoune
Minister of the trewe wurd of God in Dunde..."
I.Flett,"The Geneva of Scotland", (St Andrews M.Phil. 1971) pp.54,65 [The ms. itself was unavailable for this study.]

18 Jun.1548: wits. chtr. at Tealing. (Hugh Maxwell of Tealing)
RMS iv 225

1563: reader at Tealing. TB p.233
21 Feb.1566/7: described as son and heir of the deceased John Maxwell, burgess of Perth, tacksman of the priestoun of Tealing; party to the contract of marriage between Helen (daughter of Patrick Lord Gray) and David Maxwell, fiar of Tealing.
DAC, prot.bk. no.4 (Thomas Ireland) fs.9v-10r
16 Aug.1568: married Bessie Traill; inst. of agreement sub. by David Robertson minister of Tealing, James Wight minister Strathmartin and Duncan Gray vicar of Auchterhouse.
DAC prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.47r
31 Jul.1574: wits. chtr. as burgess of Dundee. (George Balfour, prior of the Charterhouse) RMS iv 2367
24 Jul.1579: notary. (Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie) RMS iv 2917
Nov.1580: died; described as notary burgess of Dundee in his test. dative, given in by his relict, Bessie Traill. He left, after debts, £344 2s 8d. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.130v

MAXWELL, THOMAS
140
Reader
Ruthven 79.

MELDRUM, MR DAVID
141
Reader
Maryton 61 63.

Pre-Reformation perpet.vic. Maryton: a 226.

1561-62-63: reader at Maryton and, as vicar, allowed his third. TB pp.92,250,231
1567-9: had failed to pay his thirds. TB p.236
11 Apr.1580: had deceased as perpet.vic. Maryton. RSS vii 2313

MELDRUM, MR JOHN
142
Reader
Farnell 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation vic.Farnell: a 229.

1561: possibly acting as reader; lifted the silver of the Allhallows altar in Brechin cathedral by virtue of letters from the collectory before the thirds order. TB p.96
15 May 1562: wits. inst. of sasine as vicar of Farnell.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.9
1/2 Apr.1570: as "minister", at Farnell parish kirk, wits. "in time of preaching and communion" the reading of a precept by Archibald earl of Argyll ordered Dame Katherine Campbell to flit and remove from the place and Mains of Farnell by the forthcoming Whitsunday. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1,bund.no.19,no.9
23 May 1570: as vic. Farnell, compeared with Mr John Cockburn bailie of Brechin, Mr John Fullerton and others to the place of Farnell, being charged by James Lord Ogilvy to assess the present state of the building. They fulfilled the order in the presence of Lord Ogilvy and Mr John Hutton, chamberlain to the earl of Argyll; and reported that the doors were without locks and keys,

and many windows without woodwork, ironwork or glass. The great chamber, inner chamber, chapel and other rooms were in a ruinous condition; the stable, brew-house and bakehouse were destroyed. Only the barn and byre were held sufficient.

Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1, bund.no.19,no.9

21 Dec.1570: wits. sasine to James Lord Ogilvy in the mill of Farnell, on precept of William, son of Mr John Hutton; to be held from the earl of Argyll.

Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.19, no.10

17 Feb.1570/71: wits. as vic. Farnell.Acts & Decs.,CS 7.49 f.166v

26 Jan.1572/3: gave discharges for stipend to James Lord Ogilvy.

Airlie mss., GD 16.47.14

2 Sept.1573: had deceased as vic. Farnell. RSS vi 2120

MELVILLE, MR JAMES

143

Minister

Tannadice	63.											
Fern	63	67-9-72.										
Menmuir	63	67-9-72.										
Kinnell		67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.	85	86.			
Arbroath/St Vigeans			74	76	78	79	80.	85	86	88	89	90
Ethie			74	76	78	79	80.	85	86	88	89.	

out of RAMS by 1596.

Brother of Richard Melville of Baldovie (minister of Maryton), whose executor he was (20 May 1575): also of Mr Andrew Melville; uncle of James Melville the diaryist; visited Baldovie with Mr William Collace, regent of St Leonard's. CC 8.8.5 f.140r; Melville, Diary p.24

1555: graduated BA ("pauper") at St Mary's College, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 406

1560: thought fit to preach by the assembly. BUK i 3

4 Sept.1566: as minister of Fern, one of the "most qualified" who accepted the Helvetian Confession.

Knox's History ii 190; Beza Corresp. vi pp.346-9

Dec.1566: with Knox and others, signed the letter against vestments to the English bishops. BUK i 88

9 Nov.1567: as "minister of Christ's evangel", with his brother Roger Melville litster burgess of Dundee gave consent to the marriage contract of his brother David (also a litster burgess of Dundee) with John Stirling of Easter Braikie (on behalf of his daughter in law, Isobel Porter.

DAC, prot.bk. no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f18r-v

29 Jul.1568: pres. vic. Auchterhouse. RSS vi 404

Jan.1571/2: as minister of Menmuir, at the Leith Convention. BUK i 203

Aug.1573: as minister of Menmuir,on the commission of Assembly to admolish the bishop of Galloway. BUK i 277

2/3 Feb.1580/81: "pro bono servito" feued the charterhouse of Arbroath abbey and a garden occupied by dn. Richard Craik, by Esmé, commendator of Arbroath. This garden was excepted from a feu of the ruined abbey buildings by the commendator to James Lord Ogilvy in 31 Oct.1582. RMS v 348,453

20 Mar.1583/4: Mr Patrick Liddell and James Gray described as ministers of Kinnell; Lennox may have suspended Melville during

the crises of 1584. Airlie mss, GD 16.48.32; Calderwood, History iv 396

29 Jan.1584/5: with Mr John Fullerton appointed to meet with John Erskine of Dun at the time of annual assignation of stipends, to represent the exercise of Montrose. Spalding Misc. iv 72

1586: on the commission to supervise bishops and commissioners in Angus and the Mearns. Calderwood, History iv 569

20 Dec.1589: sub. letter by the bailies, council and community of Arbroath appointing James Lord Ogilvy and his successors hereditary provosts of the burgh. Airlie mss., GD 16.25.90

29 Aug.1596: died, "sumtyme minister of goddis word at Arbroath". His test. dative was handed in by Robert his brother; £820 was left. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.29 f.472r

MELVILLE, MR JOHN

144

Reader

Maryton 71-2.

This reader has been distinguished from the non-graduate of the same name who was reader at Maryton from 1574 to 1594. According to the Register of ministers and readers, Mr John Melville replaced John Baty as reader in November 1571. No source thereafter names the Maryton reader as "Mr." E 48.2 f.20v

MELVILLE, JOHN

145

Reader

Maryton	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Inchbrayock	74	76	78	79.						90

out of RAMS 1594.

Aug.1573: the parishioners of Inchbrayock complained that John Erskine of Dun had united the churches of Maryton and Inchbrayock. Presumably the gap in John Melville's service at Inchbrayock refects (rather tardily) the physical state of the building there.

J.Scott, History of the Lives of the Protestant Reformers in Scotland (Edinburgh 1817)p.13 citing Petrie, Compendious History (The Hague 1660) which was based on various now lost Dun papers.

" Hearing that in my absence, a complaint was given upon me, alleging that I had destroyed, or caused destroy, the church of Inchbryak, and to have joined that parish to the church of Marietown, I have thought it good to declare unto your wisdomes my part in that cause. I never did destroy a parish church, but would have the reparation of all. As to that church of Inchbryak, I, in my visitation, finding it spoiled and broken down, did request the parishioners thereof to resort unto the church of Marietown, being near unto them, until their own church should be bigged and repaired; to which they did consent, not to continue ever so, but for a time, until their own church were bigged; the which I wish to be done shortly, and what in me lieth, to further the same, shall not be omitted. This is the truth of that matter; and if it shall be found otherwise, I shall build the church on my expences. If your wisdomes think any fault therein, I am

subdued and shall obey your godly judgment.
At Edinburgh, August 10th, 1573, the church presently assembled findeth no fault in the premisses done by the superintendant, but that his proceedings therein are worthy of praise." [sub.: I. Gray, clerk of the Assembly.]

20 May 1575: as reader at Maryton, wits. the testament of Richard Melville of Baldovie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.140r

9 Oct.1578: John Melville reader, made David Melville of Baldovie his assignee for the suit between the reader and Mr Robert Hamilton master of the New College at St Andrews regarding his yearly stipend from the vic. of Inchbrayock. In RAMS, he was assigned the kirklands of Inchbrayock, with the "unrentallit" third of the vicarage, and £2 6s 8d from the rest of the third. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.41r; E 47.1 f.27r

11 Apr.1580: pres. vic. Maryton. RSS vii 2313

12 Oct.1580: wits. Patrick Boncle's obligation to pay his god-daughter a gift on her marriage. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.61r

23 Mar.1580/81: as vic. Maryton, wits. the demand of Alexander Melville (son of deceased Thomas of Dyart) against James Scrymgeour of Glasswell. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.67r

MELVILLE, RICHARD of BALDOVIE

146

Minister				
Maryton	60	63	67-9-72	74.
Inchbrayock	60	63	67-9-72	74.
Lunan			67-9-72	74.
St Skaa				74.

Born c.1522, son of Richard Melville, laird of Baldovie, agent for John Erskine of Dun's tutors while Dun was a minor. Spald. Misc. iv p23 His father was tutor to Erskine of Dun: this laird as a young man accompanied John apparent of Dun abroad to study under Maccabeus and Melanchthon, c.1542-1543. T. Crockett, "Life of John Erskine of Dun" (Edin. D.Litt. 1924) pp.42-45, interpreting Melville, Diary p.12

1547: inherited Baldovie when his father was killed at Flodden; married Isobel Scrymgeour, sister of Scrymgeour of Glasswell. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii 147-150

Father of James Melville, diaryist. Melville, Diary p.14

23 Oct.1558: wits. chtr. RMS iv 1309

Dec.1560: approved as a preacher by the first assembly. BUK i 3

29 Sept.1561: wits. chtr. (James Wood of Bonnyton) RMS iv 1439

Jun.1562: minister Inchbrayock and Maryton, at Assembly. BUK i 4

1563: minister at Maryton and Inchbrayock. TB p.232

1 Feb.1564/5: resigned Baldovie to his son David, reserving liferent to himself and terce to his (new?) wife, Katherine Lindsay. [See below for a note on her] RMS iv 1581

17 Apr.1566: one the jury that apprized the lands of Haugh from Lindsay of Haugh to Dame Katherine Campbell. DAC, prot.bk. no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.95r,v

14 Jul.1574: bailie for David Garden fiar of Leys in sale to David Rossie of that ilk. Wits. inc. Patrick Gardyne of that ilk, William Barclay fiar of Newdosk and himself. RMS iv 2459

28 May 1575: died, having given in his will on 20 May 1575, in the presence of John Melville reader at Maryton, and [his

brothers] Robert and Roger, burgesses of Dundee. Mr James Melville his son was executor, with the aid of Mr James Melville his own brother. The lairds Melville of Dysart, Scrymgeour of Glasswell and Rossie of that ilk, with Roger the burgess of Dundee, were to give advice on the marriage of his daughter and [in general] to his sons. He left c.£1,288. CC 8.8.5 f.140r

" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith ... I leves and recom[m]endis my saule to ye lord Jesus Christ and my body to ye erthe quhairfra it came to be bureit w[i]t[h] my foirbaires in ye kirk of Maritoun...."

Barbara Melville his daughter married Mr James Balfour, minister of Idvies in 1575. Melville, Diary p.53

Katherine Lindsay, second wife of Richard Melville of Baldovie. After Baldovie's death, Katherine came under the protection of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, who arranged the marriage to James (brother of Alexander Straiton of that ilk) of Christine, her daughter by her first marriage to John Barclay, burgess of Montrose. William Barclay (fiar) of (kirkton of) Newdosk [mentioned above] was her son by this first marriage.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 122,123,145,151; The Craw. mss. box F

MENZIES, DAVID
147
Minister
Banchory-Devenick 67-9-72.
Nigg 67-9-72.

2 Mar. 1545/6: ? wits. chtr. RMS iv 389
22 Dec.1553: wits. chtr at Aberdeen. RMS iv 895

MENZIES, MR EDWARD
148
Reader
Nigg 74.

Pre-Reformation chaplain at Aberdeen.
22 Sept.1553: wits. chtr. at Aberdeen as chaplain. RMS iv 843

28 Mar.1576: as reader at Nigg, claimed to be provided of old to the chaplaincy of the Holy Rood in St Nicholas church in New Aberdeen; and sued various named and unnamed possessors of tenements in Aberdeen for payment of his dues as chaplain. Secured orders for payment from 1575. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.95r
RAMS's entry for Nigg was blank in 1576, and subsequent years read "Na reidar Nyg".

MERSER, MR ROBERT
149
Exhorter: minister from 1574.
Nigg 71-2.
Banchory Devenick 71-2 74 76.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Banchory Devenick: a 234.

Of the family of Merser of Inverpeffry in Strathearn.
J.A.Henderson, History of Banchory Devenick, (Aberdeen 1890) p.44
1566: had obtained par. Banchory-Devenick and failed to pay the thirds. TB p.235
1571: exhorter with power to administer the sacraments at Nigg and Banchory Devenick. [This entry in "Register of ministers and readers" has been dated at 1571 by comparision of hand-writing, being an interpolation: Dr Haws dated service from 1567.]
E 48.2 f.23r; Haws, Parish Clergy p.20
Aug.1575: complaint was made in the General Assembly against John Erskine of Dun as superintendent of Angus and the Mearns for admitting him as minister. It was said that Merser was unable to discharge his ministry. Dun replied that admission had been on advice of the brethren in Aberdeen. Mr Alexander Arbuthnott and John Craig (principal and minister of Aberdeen) were appointed to re-examine his doctrine and literature. BUK i 331
25 Feb.1578/9: had deceased as par./vic. Banchory-Devenick; succeeded by his son, Mr Robert Merser. [q.v.] RSS vii 1829

MERSER, MR ROBERT
150
Minister
Banchory-Devenick 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS, 1615.

25 Feb.1578/9: pres. par. Banchory-Devenick on decease of his father, Mr Robert Merser. RSS vii 1829
14 Jun.1580: feued the manse, place and buildings of the par. in Old Aberdeen to Laurence Merser of Meikleour.
E 14.2 (Reg.abbrev.kirklands ii) f.103
23 Jul.1602: found negligent in teaching and exercise of discipline: admolished by presbytery. Said to be somewhat cold in doctrine and delivery thereof, 5 Apr.1610; and that he had delapidated his benefice. Fasti vi 43;Calderwood, History vii 105

MICHELSON, CHARLES
151
Reader: minister from 1563.
Barry 60.
Inverkeilor 63 67-9-72.
Arbirlot 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Panbride 74 76 78 79 80.
Monikie 74.
Barry 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
out of RAMS 1593.

1560: reader at Barry - according to a source not cited but accepted by .... Fasti v 429
1563: minister at Arbirlot and Inverkeilor. TB p.232
14 Apr.1567: pres. vic. Arbirlot. RSS vi 571
7 Jul.1569: sued John Crichton of Ruthven, James Allane and other parishioners of the perpet.vic. of Arbirlot.
Acts & Decs.,CS 7.42 f.510v

" makand mentioun that whereas the said Charles upoun examina[t]ion and tryall tane of hym be Jhone Erskyne of Down Superintendent of Anguss is lau[gh]tfullie ressavit and admittit to ye said vicarage [and] be pr[esen]t[at]ion of oure souerane lord..."

James Allane's defence was possession of a tack by sir James Lekprevik for five years from 1568, under an inst. dated 10 Mar.1567/8. Clement Little, however, argued that the tack was null as contrary to law, which allowed tacks of vics. for no more than three years. Letters in four forms were accordingly allowed, for the fruits of the vic., with manse and glebe. CS 7.42 f.510v

3 Jul.1573: resigned from the chaplaincy of St Olaf in St Salvator's College. RSS vi 2020

10 Sept.1591: as minister of Arbirlot, wits. chtr. (Henry Ramsay of Laws) Bamff Charters, GD 83.113

18 Dec.1591: had deceased as vic. Arbirlot. PS 1.63 (RSS) f.62v

MILNE, MR ANDREW

152

Minister

Stracathro	63	67-9-72.									
Dunlappie	63	67-9-72.									
Dunnottar			74	76	78	79.					
Benholm			74	76.							
Fetteresso			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90

out of RAMS 1614.

Note that an Andrew Milne was bailie of Montrose before the Reformation - 26 May 1548 x 30 Mar.1554 - and acted with the provost, John Erskine of Dun. These Andrew Milnes were probably not identical, but were obviously close kin. RMS iv 455,773,918

It was probably the bailie, not the later minister, who represented Montrose together with the laird of Dun at the assembly of Dec.1560. BUK i 3

The minister was brother to Robert Milne, reader at Garvock and a notary in the Mearns. Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.1v

1556: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs p.263

1563: minister at Stracathro and Dunlappie: possibly simultaneously schoolmaster at Montrose. James Melville recollected that he had been taught by Milne for two years to 1571 when Milne left to be a minister. Allowing for some error in Melville's dates, this would be when Milne was translated to the linked charges in the Mearns. Possibly he was schoolmaster from c.1560, but there seems no evidence for this.

TB p.232; Melville, Diary p.21-3; Haws, Parish Clergy p.296

"a lerned, honest, kynd man ... verie skilfull and diligent"

" ... the esteat of Montrose schol changit, be occasion of 'the master's takking of him to the ministrie."

Aug.1574: clerk to the General Assembly pending election of a new clerk. BUK i 299

20 Aug.1575: instituted John Erskine of Dun as par. Dun on behalf of John Winram. REB ii 307-8

Apr.1576: commissioner of Assembly to determine bounds for visitors. BUK i 353-6

31 Jul.1576: testified to the inability of the earl Marischal to travel to Edinburgh. RPC ii 547-8

18 Aug.1576: pres. two prebs. of Dunnottar; subsequently admitted and instituted by John Erskine of Dun, superintendent in the Mearns, (6 Sept.), and received as a preb. of Queen's collegiate church (4 Oct.) RSS vii 686,1698; Col.Ch.Mid. 101

1/8 Apr.1578: as dean and subdean of Queen's College, set all fruits of both par. and vic. for nineteen years to the earl Marischal and his heirs, for £80 6s 8d. Col.Ch.Mid. 102

> " For good payment in times past as for repairing or rather upbigging of the haill kirk and in special that part pert[enand] to ye personage of Dunnotter called the quere q[uhi]lk be the iniquite of time was almost decayit and fallin to the ground"

9 May 1579: secured letters in four forms for payment as par. Dunnottar. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.192r

24 Nov.1579,29 Jul.1580: pres. par./vic./vic.pens. of Fetteresso. RSS vii 2096,2441

30 Jul.1580: commissioned by certain members of the Assembly to report news to John Erskine of Dun. Spald.Misc. iv 64-5

> " Of our proceadinges in our generall assemblie, and sute in court thir many days bypast, our brother Mr Andro Myll, quha always assistes with his presence and counsell, can give you mair speciall information then we ar able presentlie to put in writt Quhat succes our maters sall have in counsall we ar yit uncertain, but fearis it sall not be according to our desire, and the necessitie of this horrible confusion, quhilk is lyk to wraik the kirk of God in this countree."

Said to have lost his revenues from the thirds of Arbroath while Lennox was commendator, c.1580. Calderwood, History iv 396

13 Nov.1581: with Thomas Anderson (minister of Montrose) wits. test. testamental of John Auchinlek.Brechin tests.,CC 3.3.1 f.48r

Oct.1582; 5 Aug.1584: visitor to the college of Aberdeen, and on the commission under the earl Marischal and the commendator of Deer to examine the accounts of Aberdeen university. REB ii 308; RSS viii 2254

1584: accounted to the crown for the bailies of Brechin. ER xxi 241

1586: appointed to supervise commissioners and bishops in Angus and the Mearns. Calderwood, History iv 569

20 Feb.1587/8: the Assembly complained to James VI that William Douglas, son of Glenbervie, had placed a watch on his house and threatened his life, so obnoxious had the minister become to him. Calderwood, History iv 660

Aug.1588: assessor to the Moderator; on the commission on ministers' stipends. Calderwood, History iv 682,686

1589: one of the commissioners to proceed against Jesuits. Calderwood, History v 3

Further career as a radical minister: see J. Kirk, "The development of the Melvillian movement" (Edinburgh PhD 1972) ii.

6 Oct.1614: testament of his wife Elspet Chalmer. StA tests., CC 20.4.5

MILNE, DAVID
153
Reader
Ethie 74 76 78 79 80 85.
Note that references to him as vicar and reader in 1586 are incorrect. Haws, Parish Clergy p.83:Scott, Fasti viii 512;E 45.20

MILNE, JOHN
154
Reader
Maryculter 85 86 88 89 90
still in RAMS 1608.

Was reader and vicar 1585 and was offered the post of minister 27 Aug.1602 and again on 28 Aug.1609; being unable to accept, was ordered to resign. Scott, Fasti vi 61

MILNE, ROBERT
155
Reader
Garvock 69-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.

Pre-Reformation clerk of St Andrews and notary.
17 Jul.1551: notary, inst. sasine on a precept by Andrew Arbuthnott of that ilk.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.18
15 Jan.1556/7: notary, inst sasine to George (son and heir of Symmer of Balzeordie) and Christine Arbuthnott his wife.
Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no.6,formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
10 Jan.1557/8: at Glenbervie, sheriff-clerk of Kincardine.
RMS iv 1254
13 Apr.1558: notary at Arbuthnott. RMS iv 1271

19 May 1561: notary at Lauriston. RMS iv 1459
28 Feb.1563/4: had his protocol book registered and stated that he was married, aged around 38 and living at Inverbervie.
Notarial admissions, NP 2.1 f.64r
1 Aug.1569: appointed reader at Garvock in place of the deposed sir James Symmer. An Andrew Milne also appeared as reader at Garvock in the accounts of the thirds for 1568: he may have been a temporary appointment while proceedings took place against Symmer. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.24r; TB p.234
5 Jan.1569/70: notary.(Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk) RMS iv 1925
6 Dec.1574: at Montrose; brother of Mr Andrew Milne, minister.
Burghs, B 51.1.1 f.1v
15 Dec. 1578: notary, sheriff-clerk of Kincardine. RMS iv 2966
25 Jun.1580: as reader at Garvock, resigned three acres of land in Montrose to Alexander Arbuthnott of Pitairlie. B 51.1.1 f.58v
31 Jul.1580 (and other dates in 1578+1579): as sheriff-clerk of Kincardine and bailie-depute for the Temple lands in Kincardine, gave discharges for Temple dues to Arbuthnott of that ilk.
WRH, The Arbuthnott inventory NRA(S) 5, nos.440,448,449
27 May 1583: as notary, with Mr Alexander Allardice (minister of Ecclesgreig) wits. test. testamental of Robert Graham of Morphie.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.13 f.172r

MITCHELL, DAVID
156

Reader: minister from 1585.

Arbirlot 74 76 78 79 80.
Panbride 85 86 88.

3 Apr.1587: as minister of Panbride, sub. the test. testamental of Alexander Guthrie of that ilk. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.347v
" ... seik in body but haill in spirit ... In ye first he leivis his soule to ye eternall god o[mni]potent and his body to be burit w[i]t[h]in ye college kirk of Guthrie..."

MONCUR, MATTHEW
157

Reader

Eassie 63 67-9-72.
Nevay 62 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85.

Note that the entry in Scott's Fasti viii 474 to Mr Thomas Moncur as reader at Nevay 1577-8 is erroneous. The reference in the Edinburgh testaments vi p.25 does not provide such information.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. or curate, Nevay/Eassie: a 239.

15 Nov.1562: as sir Matthew Moncur, reader at the kirk of Nevay, sub. the test. testamental of Helen Christie. CC 8.8.5 f.120r
" seik in bodie [and] haill in my spirit and soule prais gloirlie and hon[ou]le to ye eternall god and makis my latterwill ... I gif my soule to god omnipotent fa[th]er sone and halie spirit beseikand yat gracious god to haif mercie upoun my synnes Alto[our] I maik ... "
1563: reader at Eassie. TB p.233
24 Aug.1564: as reader at Eassie, sub. test. testamental of Helen Frarar, spouse of Robert Kerr in Ingliston of Eassie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.279v
" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit, I levis and gevis my soule to yir eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth...."
20 Sept.1565: as reader at Eassie, sub. the test. testamental of Elspeth Christie, spouse to Andrew Bucheart in Castleton of Eassie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.306r
" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit, I levis and gevis my spirit to ye eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth..."
Nov.1567: as reader at Eassie, appointed in addition to Nevay on the departure of Archibald Erskine for Navar. Reg.Min.E 48.2 f.21r
15 Nov.1569: sub. as reader at the kirks of Nevay and Eassie for the time, test. testamental of John Jack alias Anderson in Balkeerie in Nevay parish. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.289r
" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit, I levis and gevis my spirit to ye eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth..."
20 Nov.1570: as reader at the kirk of Eassie, sub. the test.

testamental of Helen Jack, spouse of James Ostler in Newmill of Eassie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.287v

" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith I y[air]for, seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit, levis my soule to ye eternall god commitis my bodie to ye erth..."

15 Aug.1571: as reader at Eassie, sub. test. testamental of Elspeth Jack alias Anderson, spouse of Henry Louik in Castleton of Eassie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.286v

" Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye ho[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit, I levis and com[m]endis my spirit to ye eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth..."

14 Jun.1572: pres. vic. Nevay. RSS vi 1647

3 Nov.1574: as reader at Nevay, with Alexander Tyrie, minister, sub. the test. testamental of Jonet Watson, spouse of John Tyrie in Nevay. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.288r

" In ye name of god so be it. I ye said Jonet Watsoun seik in bodie bot haill in spirit and mynd levis [and] gevis my spirit to ye eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth..."

16 Jul.1575: as reader at Nevay, sub. the test. testamental of Isabel Strachan, spouse of John Moncur in Ingliston of Eassie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.25v

" seik in bodie bot haill in spirit and mynd I levis and gevis my souile to ye eternall god omnipotent to regne wt him in his eternall glorie and my bodie to ye erth..."

4 Jun.1585: had deceased as vic. Nevay. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.133v

MORRISON, MR WALTER

158

Minister

Garvock 88 89 90

Catterline 88.

out of RAMS 1607.

25 May 1588: pres. vic. Garvock. PS 1.57 (RSS) f.125r

20 Dec.1588: as minister of St John's kirk in the Mearns, gave in the test. dative of Isobel Morrison, his nephew, as her executor dative. She was the daughter of Mr William Morrison, his brother and minister of Benholm. CC 8.8.20 f.271r; CC 8.8.19 f.174v

May 1603: died, leaving Margaret Rait his relict and a son, James the minister of Idvies. Scott's Fasti v 469

MORRISON, MR WILLIAM

159

Minister

Benholm 78 79 80 85 86.

1576: matriculated at St Salvator's, St Andrews. StA Recs 288

24 Feb.1577: pres. par./vic. Benholm; but this seems to have been challenged by Mr James Paton who succeeded to Mr James Thornton as chanter of Murray and only resigned his interest in par. Benholm on 24 Feb.1582/3, after which Morrison obtained letters

in four forms to compel payment of his teinds. Morrison had had the whole parsonage as his stipend, however, from 1578.
RSS vii 1479; CS 7.55 f.261r; E 47.1 f.22v; E 47.2 f.23v
21 Dec.1580: as minister of Benholm, sub. testament of Christopher Peirson; also wits. registration of the test. of John Christison, minister of Glenbervie. Brchn.tsts.CC 3.3.1 f.57r,v
19 Nov.1587: died as par. Benholm, leaving as his relict, Martha Melville and his executor, Mr Walter Morrison minister of Garvock. His testament dative was given in by his father-in-law, James Melville of Dysart on behalf of his only child, Isobel Morrison. He left £698 13s 2d. Isobel Morrison died 20 Dec.1588, and her test. dative was given in by her uncle, Mr Walter.
PS 1.56 (RSS) f.103r; Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.318v; Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.174v; CC 8.8.20 f.271r
He had translated into Scots the Latin history of the house of Arbuthnott written by principal Alexander Arbuthnott of Aberdeen: "Originis et incrementi Arbuthnoticae familiae descriptio historicae" AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms 2764

MORTIMER, PATRICK
160
Reader

Benvie	67-9-72.
Longforgan	67-9-72.
Fowlis	67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85.

1567-72: reader at Benvie, Longforgan and Fowlis. The entry in the register brackets these three parishes and gives against them a minister and a reader. Although Mortimer's name is, therefore, against the lowest of the three - Benvie - it seems proper to view his service as linked as well as the minister's.
Reg.Min., E 48.2 f. 22v
1571-2: allowed the third of vic. Fowlis. TB p.250
1 May 1574: had the whole vic. of Fowlis for his stipend.
NLS ms. 17.1.4 f.34r
7 Mar.1574/5: pres. vic. Fowlis. RSS vii 72
9 Dec.1581: had deceased as vic. Fowlis - nevertheless, his entry was repeated in RAMS for 1585. RSS viii 550; E 47.3 f.18v

NEILSON, JAMES
161
Reader

Aldbar	76 78 79 80.

19 May 1596: notary, with Robert Neilson.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5.542

NEILSON, ROBERT
162
Reader

Ecclesgreig	63 67-9.

May 1531: Robert Neilson the baron officer for the barony of Arbuthnott. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5.253

1563: reader at Ecclesgreig. TB p.235
Beltane 1569: replaced as reader at Ecclesgreig by John Burnet. E 48.2 f.24r
20 May 1569: notary at Ury. (Hay of Ury) RMS iv 2256
31 Oct.1570: Robert Neilson at the kirk of Arbuthnott accused with John Rait, brother of William Rait of Hallgreen, and fifteen more for "making of a ragment and ryme in name of Johnne the Commone-wele and divulgation thairof with convocation etc and chesing of Robert Hude and Abbot of Unreasone within the parish of Arbuthnot and other parts of bounds of Mernis" and other crimes. The defence protested against these acts being the foundations for a charge of treason: four of the unlanded men were repledged to the regality of Arbroath for slaughter and the rest acquitted by the assize. Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 15
15 May 1596: notary for inst. re lands in Inverbervie. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5.538
19 May 1596: notary, with James Neilson. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5.542

NEVAY, ALEXANDER
163
Reader

Kinnettles	73	74.
Inverarity	73.	

May 1573: appointed reader at Kinnettles and Inverarity. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.21r

NEVAY, JOHN OF THAT ILK
164
Minister

Newtyle	63	67-9-72.										
Eassie	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Nevay	63	67-9-72.										
Glamis			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Lintrathen			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Meathie			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90

out of RAMS 1591.

6 May 1553: wits. inst. sasine as John, son and apparent heir of John Nevay of that ilk. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.650
27 Jun.1557: as apparent of Nevay, acting as curator of John Thornton of that ilk. RMS iv 1193
1563: as John Nevay, minister at Newtyle, Eassie and Nevay. TB p.232
31 Jul.1565: as John Nevay son and apparent heir of deceased John Nevay of that ilk asked instruments against a decreet-arbitral of Gilbert Monorgund of that ilk in a case between John Nevay of that ilk (now deceased) and Andrew Carse of Logie Meigle. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gladstanes) f.67v
16 Sept.1576: discharged James Lord Ogilvy for £20 stipend from the fruits of Lintrathen, as appointed by the lords for year 1575. Airlie mss., GD 16.47.16
27 Dec.1576: with David Lindsay of Pitairlie, wits. test. testamental of Alexander Guthrie of Haulkerton. CC 8.8.6 f.27v

27 Apr.1577: as John Nevay of that ilk, minister of Meathie, sub. test. testamental of John Baldovie of that ilk.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.248v

" being weik in body bot haill in spreit and of gud rem[em]brance maid his latter will and makis [Robert Durham of Grange and David Guthrie of Kingoldrum his executors]"

15 Feb.1582/3: discharged James Lord Ogilvy for £40 stipend from the fruits of Lintrathen, as appointed by the lords for years 1578-9.
Airlie mss., GD 16.47.16

26 Dec.1580: with Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum, wits. test. testamental of David Lindsay of Pitairlie, minister of Inverarity.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

8 May 1588, 29 Mar.1589: sued the par. of Eassie, the prior of Inchmahome and the abbots of Coupar and Arbroath for stipend.
Airlie mss., GD 16.41.72

NEVE, ALEXANDER
165
Reader
Meathie 74. (deleted ms.)

NICHOLSON, MR JAMES
166
Minister
Farnell 78 79 80.

Probably the son of James Nicholson writer, burgess of Edinburgh, supporter of James earl of Moray [b 071]; brother of Mr John Nicholson. [b 072 and see below]

1572-1575/6: matriculated, graduated BA [as "John"] and Intrant at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
StA Recs 282,176; ActaFacArt ii 444,460

24 Nov.1577: pres. par. Farnell. (preb. dean of Brechin)
RSS vii 1282

26 Dec.1577: made Hugh Nesbit a life-gift of an annual of £40 from the fruits of the deanery. This was confirmed by bishop and chapter; and later supposedly revoked by Mr James. Nesbit argued the revocation was null, because subscribed by members of the chapter after Nicholson's death. b 070; CS 7.111 f.78b;114 f.115r

20 Apr.1580: registered a gift to him for life of the thirds of the deanery.
Books of Sederunt, CS 1.3 f.119r

30 Nov.1581: had deceased as par. Farnell.
RSS viii 532

[17 Jul.1585] Mr John Nicholson advocate as executor for deceased Mr James Nicholson his brother sued all obligated to the deanery for the superplus of teinds for year and crop 1582. His letters were sustained.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.262v

NICHOLSON, MR JAMES
167
Minister
Meigle 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1607.

7 May 1580: pres. par. Cortachy for trials to be minister.
RSS vii 2354

4 Dec.1582: had demitted par. Cortachy as the "last nominated". RSS viii 1046; Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.220v
28 Feb.1583/4: pres. par. Meigle. RSS viii 1884
7 Apr.1584: obtained letters in four forms as par. Meigle. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.272r
Aug.1588: assessor to the Moderator. Calderwood, History iv 682
1592: with Mr James Melville, set down in writing the proceedings of a convention of ministers on the danger to the protestant religion. Calderwood, History v 186
Apr.1607: bishop of Dunkeld; "a man far changed"; "chief deviser of plots in kirk-matters". Calderwood, History viii 42,43;57;61
17 Aug.1607: died; "abjured the style of bishop". "In his testament he simply styles himself, and he is so designated in the Confirmation, 'Mr James Nicolson, Minister of the Evangell at Megill'". Calderwood, History vi 671; viii 296

NORIE, MR ALEXANDER
168
Minister

Fern	85	86	88	89	90
Dunlappie	85	86	88	89	90
Lethnot			88.		

out of RAMS 1607.

3 Aug.1580: son of Alexander Norie, citizen of Brechin, and executor of his will together with his mother Katherine Donaldson. Overmen appointed by his father were Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird and Mr Robert Carnegy, master of the Maisondieu with Alexander bishop of Brechin. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.11 f.263v
27 Sept.1583: pres. vic. Stracathro for trials to be minister. RSS viii 1524
9 Dec.1583: secured letters in four forms to compel payment of teinds of vic. Stracathro. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.269r
9 Sept.1584: gift to him of the mails from Cortachy formerly mortified to the College of Brechin, together with the houses and yards of the College chaplains, now pertaining to the crown by the forfeiture of the lord of Brechin, the earl of Mar. RSS viii 2401
15 Nov.[1586]: wrote from Brechin to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, noting that a parish court was to be held at Fern and requesting that Sir David should give orders for his tenants to pay a tax to repair the kirk, for "ye sclaittor is w[o]rking in Brechine". Norie further requested Edzell's assistance in obtaining a glebe of four acres rather than that of two acres designated by Mr James Fullerton at command of John Erskine of Dun; and asked for a loan of £20 as an act of charity to enable him to pass to Edinburgh for the "platt". JRL, The Craw. mss., 4.2.120
16 Jun.1587: as minister of Fern, wits. chtr. (Mr Andrew Leitch. John earl of Mar) Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.967
Jan.1587/8: wrote to the bailie of Edzell, David Straiton in Dalbog, excusing his non-attendance at Edzell as due to illness. JRL, The Craw. mss.,4.4.2

OGILVY, ANDREW
169
Minister
Leslie etc 63 67.
Nether Airlie 68-9-72.
Over Airlie 68-9-72.
Glenisla 68-9-72.

[Note that Scott's Fasti v 246 reads: "Native of Angus, educated St Andrews university, embraced the reformation in 1560, licensed by the Presbytery of Forfar 1563, minister of Leslie, Keig and Premnay in 1564: to Airlie 2 Feb.1567 and Glenisla: died unmarried 1589". As reference to the "presbytery of Forfar" is a considerable anachronism, Ogilvy's supposed embracing of the Reformation in 1560 may also be invention. Dr Haws, however, accepts the suggestion. Neither Fasti nor Dr Haws give authorities for their statements. Haws, Parish Clergy p.8]

1563-4: minister at Leslie and Premnay. TB p.222
Candlemas, 2 Feb.1567/8: minister at Nether Airlie, Over Airlie [Lintrathen] and Glenisla. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.19v

OGILVY, DAVID
170
Reader
Lintrathen 85.

14 Nov.1580: agreement of sir James Archibald and James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie for the former to demit the vic. Lintrathen in favour of David Ogilvy. [Document cited in a 009].
Airlie mss., GD 16.41.23
1585: RAMS reads [blank] Ogilvy, reader at Lintrathen.
E 47.3 f.18r
Note that Robert Stewart was reader at Lintrathen in 1580 and was pres. to vic. Lintrathen after David Ogilvy's death on 29 Jul.87.
PS 1.55 (RSS) f.122r

OGILVY, JAMES
171
Reader: minister in 1574.
Cortachy 67-9-72 74 76.
Clova 67-9-72 74 76.

Note that as this James Ogilvy is not denominated "Mr", it seems unlikely that he was either of the St Andrews students of 1540 or 1566. Haws, Parish Clergy p.300

1568-9: as minister, remitted his third of the fruits of Cortachy, available via gift of sir Robert Martin's pension.
TB p.230
28 Jan.1571/2: pres. par./vic. Cortachy. RSS vi 1557
7 May 1580: had demitted par. Cortachy. RSS vii 2354

OGILVY, MR JOHN
172
Reader
Montrose 89 90
out of RAMS 1607.

1577: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 291
15 Feb.1590/91: pres. vic. Montrose. PS 1.56 (RSS) f.90v
21 Jul.1596: as reader of Christ's evangel at Montrose, with Mr Andrew Strachan minister of Dun and John Durie minister of Montrose, wits. the test. testamental of Mr John Ogilvy at Rescobie Mill, son of Sir John of Inverquharity. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.29 f.274r

OLIVER, WILLIAM
173
Reader
Murroes 63 67-9-70.74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
occurs 1594: out of RAMS 1595.

1563: reader at Murroes. TB p.233
May 1570: replaced as reader at Murroes by the vicar, Mr Ninian Cook. E 48.2 f.20v
3 Mar.1577/8: pres. vic. Murroes on Cook's decease to the archbishop of St Andrews. RSS vii 1515
26 Nov.1579: pres. vic. Murroes to John Erskine of Dun as superintendent of Angus, and obtained letters in four forms thereafter. RSS vii 2104: Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.137r
1594: still vicar of Murroes and reader there. E 47.6 ad loc.

PATON, JOHN
174
Reader
Dunnottar 63 67-9-72.

15 Oct.1554: legitimation of John Paton bastard, natural son of Mr David Paton vic.pens. Fetteresso. This reference makes it less likely that Dr Haws' suggested identification with a white friar of Aberdeen will be correct. a 263; RMS iv 959; Haws, Parish Clergy p.73

1563: reader at Dunnottar. TB p.235

PATON, WILLIAM
175
Reader
Fetteresso (76) 78 79 80.

Note that Mr David Paton was vic.pens. at Fetteresso c.1548 to 1580. [a 266]

1576: name deleted in RAMS ms. E 47.1 f.24r

PATRICK, MR ANDREW
176
Reader
Arbuthnott 63 67-9.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Arbuthnott: a 267.

1563: reader at Arbuthnott. TB p.235
11 Jan.1566/7: feued lands of the chapel of St John at Barras to a son of Straiton of that ilk.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5.401
Nov.1569: deleted from RAMS and a replacement appointed.
Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.24r

PATRICK, JOHN
177
Minister
Arbuthnott 63.
Kinneff 63.

11 Jun.1552: wits.chtr. at Dun. (John Erskine junior) RMS iv 714
26 Jun.1556: occupant in Scryne in Panmure. RMS iv 1098

1563: minister at Arbuthnott and Kinneff. TB p.234

PEACOCK, LAURENCE
178
Reader
Inverarity 78.

PETTILOCK, WILLIAM
179
Reader
Eassie 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1594.

Note that this reader cannot be identified with the notary at Arbroath; the latter had died by 4 Feb.1583/4.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.8

PIGGOTT, ABRAHAM
180
Reader
Kirriemuir 74 76.

24 Nov.1568: wits. inst. with William Piggott, reader; Walter Piggott in Wester Lednathy gave a letter of reversion to John fiar of Inverquharity and Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, for 400 merks. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss., GD 205 box 6 bund.13
28 Apr.1574: as reader at Kirriemuir, sued Mr George Clepen the vicar, for stipend. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.1v
12 Oct.1581: notary, chtr. (James Scrymgeour of Glasswell)
Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 25 bund.2

28 May 1582: notary, inst. (James Scrymgeour of Glasswell)
Ramsay of Banff mss., GD 83.96
20 Feb.1583/4: wits. as notary, with William Piggott reader in Kirriemuir and John Piggott in Kirriemuir for a family settlement of the Ogilvies of Inverquharity. Abraham Piggott sub. for Christine Ogilvy as she could not write. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.22 f.85r
1 Apr.1586: notary inst. (Christine Ogilvy of Balnagarrow)
Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss.GD 205 box 4 bund 6

PIGGOTT, WILLIAM
181
Reader
Kirriemuir 78 79 80 85 86.

24 Nov.1568: as a reader, wits. inst. with Abraham Piggott. Walter Piggott in Wester Lednathy gave a letter of reversion to John fiar of Inverquharity and Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, for 400 merks.
Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss., GD 205 box 6 bund.13
20 Feb.1583/4: wits. as reader in Kirriemuir, with Abraham Piggott notary and John Piggott in Kirriemuir for a family settlement of the Ogilvies of Inverquharity. Deeds, RD 1.22 f.85r

PITCAIRN, JOHN
182
Reader
Inverkeilor 73 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1604.

Note that as this John Pitcairn is not denominated "Mr", it seems unlikely that he was either of the St Andrews students of 1541 or 1571. Haws, Parish Clergy p.302

9 Jul.1574: pres. vic. Inverkeilor. RSS vi 2577
10 Mar.1574/5: obtained letters in four forms as vic. Inverkeilor. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.59v
7 Oct. 1575: as reader at Inverkeilor, sub. test. testamentary of Henry Perth. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.461v
1590: had his £20 life-interest in the vic. Inverkeilor secured when John Fullerton minister had the vic. for part of his stipend. E 47.5 f.21r
1604: Arthur Futhe pres. vic. on demission of John Pitcairn of Kirkton Mill, Inverkeilor. PS 1.74 (RSS) f.139r

RAE, MR THOMAS
183
Minister
Cortachy 85 86 88 89 90
Clova " 85 86 88 89 90
in RAMS to 1614: transferred to Arbroath, 1618.

4 Dec.1582: pres. par./vic. Cortachy, for trials to be minister. RSS viii 1046
21 Feb.1582/3: obtained letters in four forms as par. Cortachy. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.220v

RAIT, ARCHIBALD
184
Reader
Fetteresso 67-9-72 74.

RAIT, MR JAMES
185
Reader: minister from 1567.
Cortachy 63.
Tannadice 67-9-72. 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
Aberlemno 71-2.
Forfar/Restenneth 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
Kinnettles 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Lanark/ Carluke 74.
still in RAMS 1608.

1563: reader at Cortachy. TB p.233
1567: minister at Tannadice - with Aberlemno added from [1571.]
Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.19r
1574: minister at Lanark and Carluke.
Haws, Parish Clergy pp.137,55
11 May 1586: pres.par. Kinnettles. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) f.145r
23 Dec.1588: secured letters in four forms of par. Kinnettles, with the manse, glebe and kirklands. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.331r

RAIT, ROBERT
186
Reader
Fetteresso 63.

1561-2: a messenger in the service of the sub-collector for Forfar and Kincardine. TB p.105,162
1563: reader at Fetteresso - "Robert Rait, elder". TB p.235
1565-6: subcollector for Forfar and Kincardine. TB p.xl

RAIT, MR WILLIAM
187
Minister
Mains 90
still in RAMS 1608.

RAMSAY, DAVID
188
Minister
Alyth 72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Rattray 72.
Ruthven 72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Glenisla 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Meigle 74 76 78 79 80.
out of RAMS by 1608.

Nov.1572: minister at Alyth, Rattray and Ruthven. E 48.2 f.22r
19 Nov.1575: his letters against Mr David Campbell of Easter

Denhead for payment of his stipend as minister at Alyth, Glenisla, Ruthven and Meigle were suspended; Campbell argued that he paid the commendator of Coupar £60 according to his tack and had acquittances for £60 from the minister. A&D., CS 7.61 f.381r
19 Apr.1582: pres. vic. Ruthven. RSS viii 1264
5 Jun.1583: secured letters in four forms as vic. Ruthven for teinds, manse, glebe and kirklands. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.248r
20 Sept.1590: wits. inst. as minister of Alyth. Bamff Charters, GD 83.112
10 Sept.1591: wits. chtr. as minister of Alyth. Bamff Charters, GD 83.113

RAMSAY, JAMES
189
Reader: minister from 1585.

Aldbar	70.					85	86	88	89	90
Fern	70.									
Dun/Ecclesjohn		76	78	79	80.(dltd. ms.)					
Aberlemno						85	86	88	89	90
Finavon								88	89	90

To Tannadice, 1597: out of RAMS, 1599.
Nov.1570: reader at Aldbar and Fern. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.21v
16 Dec.1579: as reader at Dun, sub. test. testamentary of William Stevenson. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.19v
" Quham na thing is mair certane nor deith or mair uncertane yan ye hour of deth I ... being seik in bodie but haill in mynd and spirit disponis my soull to ye omnipotent god my bodie to be bureit in ye kirk zeard of Brechin and levis ..."
1588: had the manse and glebe of Aldbar and the par. of Finavon in his stipend. E 47.4 f.25r

RAMSAY, MR JOHN
190
Minister

Tealing	90
Inverarity	90

still in RAMS 1615.

1583-87: matriculated and graduated MA at St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index
30 Apr.1591: pres. par. Tealing, the charge having many people and requiring an able person. PS 1.62 (RSS) f.42r

RAMSAY, PATRICK
191
Minister: reader from 1574.

Aberlethnott	63	67-9-72.				
Conveth'	63	67-9-72.74	76	78	79.	

1563: minister at Aberlethnott and Conveth. TB p.234
10 Mar.1579/80: died as reader at the kirk of Conveth. After debts, his inventory totalled c.£50, including £4-worth of books. A considerable amount of the inventory came from unpaid stipend. The testamentary testament had no religious clauses; all

his goods and geir were left to his wife, Euphame Black and their two sons. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.169r

" Item yair wes awin to ye said umqul Patrick Ramsay be ye provost of ye College of Sanctandrois maisteris [thair]of p[er]sounis of ye kirk of Conveth [and] Johne Striviling ye facto[ur] his stipend for reiding at y[i]r kirk of Conveth of ye croppis [and] zeiris of god i^m v^c lxxvi lxxvii lxxviii lxxix zeiris fourscoire pundis [and more from the factor by his obligation for defunct's stipends £6 6 8d] Item restand awand be ye bischope of Brechin of ye defunct stipend in anno 1579 zeiris ten pundis."

RAMSAY, MR ROBERT

192

Minister

Panbride 89 90

Idvies [deleted: 93

1573 or 74 matriculated at St Salvator's or St Mary's colleges; or

1581-85: matriculated and graduated MA at St Andrews. StA Recs 283,284; StAUL, graduates' index

21 Dec.1593: died as par. Idvies. His test. testamentary was wits. by John Rig, minister and Mr Gilbert Gardyne in Boath. He left £643 2s; Gabriel Guthrie [provost of Guthrie] his brother in law had a legacy of 100 merks, and Mr Edward Hepburn, treasurer of Brechin, was his executor. Edin.tst.CC 8.8.26 f.66r

" Sen nathing is mair certane nor dieth and ye ho[ur]e of deith uncertane, being seik in bodie neuertheles of haill and p[er]fyte memorie makis his testament ... In ye first he com[m]itis his soule to ye p[ro]tectioun of ye almichtie god and hoipis assurable to be ressavit in his mercie onlie thro ye meritis of Christ Jesus his saviour. And his bodie to be bureit w[i]t[h]in ye kirk of Idvies."

RAMSAY, ROBERT

193

Reader

Glamis 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90

out of RAMS by 1595.

Note: it is possible - but no more than possible - that this was the Robert Ramsay who entered the ministry without authority in Dec. 1563. Calderwood, History ii 247

"Robert Ramsay was accused for entrie to the ministrie without the Superintendant of Angus his admissioun; for affirming there was a midway betwixt Poprie and our religioun; for borrowing money from the toun of Innernesse, upon caution, pretending he was to buy bookes, and not returning, nor paying the same. He was suspended from his ministrie till further triall were takkin by the Superintendant of Fife."

It is also possible that he was the notary at Stirling [29 Jan. 1566.7 to 16 Feb.1568/9] who had connections with John Erskine of Dun. RMS iv 1149,1162,1373,1840

26 Jun.1571: sub. as reader at Glamis the test. testamentary of Christine Spens, spouse to Alexander Ramsay burgess of Dundee. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.238r

30 Oct.1575: pres. vic. Glamis. RSS vii 316

8 Jan.1576/7: obtained letters in four forms as vic. Glamis, having had collation by Erskine of Dun. A&D., CS 7.55 f.112v

16 Dec.1581: wits. chtr. as vic. Glamis. (Mr Thomas Lyon) RMS v 592

28 Aug.1583: as vic. Glamis, had a tack of the lands of the chapel of Baikie. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) vol.2 no.105

30 Aug.1583: granted possession of the lands of the chapel of Baikie to Mr Thomas Lyon and Agnes Gray, Lady Hume, his wife. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) vol.2 no.107

RAMSAY, MR THOMAS
194
Reader
Edzell 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.

Note that a sir Thomas Ramsay was chaplain to Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford (wife of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell) on 10 Oct.1559. A Mr Thomas Ramsay was commissary of Brechin Dec.1559 x 1592. It does not seem possible safely to identify the reader with either of these men. From 1574 this reader is simply designated "Thomas Ramsay": possibly two men were involved.
JRL, the Craw. mss., 3.1.6; Barclay-Allardice mss.,GD 49.52; and see Watt, FESMA p.547 and REB index

1563: reader at Edzell. TB p.233

RAMSAY, THOMAS
195
Reader
Aberlethnott 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85.

1563: reader at Aberlethnott. TB p.235

RATTRAY, MR DAVID
196
Minister
Kinneff 89.
Bervie 89 90
out of RAMS 1591.

RATTRAY, MR JOHN
197
Reader
Longforgan 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1595.

Pre-Reformation vic. Longforgan: a 283.

8 Apr.1595: had deceased as vic. Longforgan. PS 1.67 (RSS) f.101r

REID, JAMES
198
Minister

Strachan	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.					
Banchory Ternan	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Birse		74	76	78	79	80.					
Dalmayock		74	76	78	79	80.					

out of RAMS 1607.

2 Mar.1581/2: pres.vic. Banchory Ternan. RSS viii 1186
Oct.1596: admitted burgess of Aberdeen and ...
16 Jul.1602: had died. Scott's Fasti vi 79

RHIND, JAMES
199
Exhorter
Banchory Devenick 63.

1563: exhorter at Banchory Devenick. TB p.222

RHIND, MR ROBERT
200
Minister

Fowlis	85	86	88	89	90	
Longforgan	85	86	88	89	90	

still in RAMS 1608.

1570-1572/3: matriculated and graduated BA at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 279,168
9 Dec.1581: pres. vic. Fowlis. RSS viii 550
30 Jan.1587/8: suit between Alexander Donaldson taxman against Mr Robert Rhind, minister of Longforgan. Donaldson sought to reverse letters previously obtained by Rhind to charge him from continued occupation of a manse and glebe designated to Rhind by William Christison as commissioner for kirks in the west of Angus on 22 Apr.1582 during a visitation. Donaldson argued that he had a tack from deceased William Hamilton, natural son of deceased John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews; and that the lands had never been manse or glebe before, being part of the regality of St Andrews. The lords upheld Rhind's original letters, deciding that the designation had been according to act of parliament, and issued new letters to distrain goods to pay his expenses.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.320r
25 May 1588: Donaldson tried again, now arguing that the designation was contrary to the act of parliament, as not being the nearest or most convenient lands; and that Rhind had the vicar's manse available to him and glebe designated from the vicarage. The lords again decided again him. A&D., CS 7.55 f.323v
6 Dec.1599: as minister of God's Word at Longforgan, wits. test. testamentary of James Monorgund of that ilk.CC 8.8.36 unfoiliated
17 Dec.1601: occ. as married to Mary Row.
Perth Sas.Sec.Reg. RS 48.1.152

RICHARDSON, WALTER
201
Reader
Nigg 76.

RIGG, MR JOHN
202
Minister
Dunnichen 89 90
still in RAMS, 1615.

1584: occ. as MA at St Andrews. StAUL, graduates' index
20 Dec.1593: as minister of Dunnichen, wits. test. testamentary of Mr Robert Ramsay, minister of Idvies. Edin.ts. CC 8.8.26 f.66r
13 May 1629: registration of the test. of his wife, Elspet Ouchterlony. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.4 f.365v

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER
203
Reader
Maryculter 64 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80
Peterculter 63 67.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Maryculter: a 288.

1563: reader at Peterculter; also 1567. TB p.224
1564: reader at Maryculter. TB p.224

ROBERTSON, DAVID
204
Minister
Tealing 63 67-9-72.
Rossie 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.
Inchture 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.
Kinnaird 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.

Pre-Reformation: a canon of St Andrews priory.
1555: sub. as a canon. Haws, Parish Clergy p.307

1563: minister at Tealing. TB p.232
18 Jan.1565/6: sub. act of procuratory by the canons. RH 6.9.2015
2 Sept.1566: sub. with the convent of St Andrews. Laing Chrs. 809
24 Feb.1566/7: as minister at Tealing, wits. deed feuing the priestoun of Tealing to Helen (daughter of Patrick Lord Gray) and David Maxwell fiar of Tealing.
DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.10r
1567: no stipend shown as minister of Rossie: but "P.of St. Andfrews]" marked in the margin against his entry. E 48.2 f.22v
16 Aug.1568: Mr Alexander Maxwell to marry Bessie Traill: inst. of agreement sub. by David Robertson as minister of Tealing, James Wight minister of Strathmartin and Duncan Gray vic. of Auchterhouse. DAC prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.47r
12 Oct.1570: pres. vic. Rossie. RSS vi 935

Jan.1571/2: ordained by the Leith Convention to be of the convent of St Andrews for life, as a member of the former convent who had adhered to the true religion. Calderwood, History iii 186
1574: his stipend given as £133 6s 8d including £80 as "his awin pensioun furth of ye priorie of Sanctandrois". NLS ms.17.1.4 f.36v
1576-88: no amount given in RAMS, but his stipend taken "out of ye priorie of Sanctandrois". The following note, dated 7 May 1577 is currently inserted between f.28 and f.29 of E 47.1.

"James Nielsoun this berar my servant hes schawin me that ye wald no[ch]t buik ye sowme of fourtie poundis augmentit be me to David Robertsoun minister at Rossy w[i]t[h]out my hand writt and consent quhairfoir I haue tho[ug]t gud to desyre zow be this my writting to buik him w[i]t[h] ye said augmentation, for I haue grantit ye samin to him sen he hes servit and servis at vther tua kirkis of ouris than he had of befoir. This ye will do be yir pr[esen]tis. Subscrivit w[i]t[h] our hand at Sanctan[roi]s ye sevin day of Maii 1577 Youris at powar Robert bishop of Cathnes."

26 Jun.1584: sub. with St Andrews' convent. Laing Chrs. 1082
18 Mar.1585/6: sub. with the convent of St Andrews. Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885 box 23 bund.2

ROBERTSON, MR JAMES
205
Minister
Dundee: second charge. 90
1st charge 1599: out of RAMS by 1607.

1579-1582: matriculated and graduated MA at St Andrews. StAUL graduates' index
1584: as a student of theology, fled the country for copying a letter of James Melville's from exile at Berwick. Calderwood, History iv 236/245
1590: "pait be the toun". E 47.5 f.21v
21 May 1596: pres. vic. Dundee. PS 1.68 (RSS) f.168r

ROCH, JOHN
206
Minister
Nigg 88 89 90.
Maryculter 88 89 90.
still in RAMS as minister of both, 1608.

1590: John Durie minister of Montrose awarded £40 formerly paid to John Roch minister of Nigg. E 47.5 f.19v

ROSS, CHARLES
207
Reader
Inverkeilor 63 67-9-73.

1563: reader at Inverkeilor. TB p.234
May 1573: "dep[er]tit Beltane 1573". Reg.Min.,E 48.2 f.20v

ROSS, MR JAMES
208
Minister
Strachan 85 86 88 89 90
Echt 90
out of RAMS as minister of both, 1599.

1585-90: stipend included only the third of the archdean of Brechin. E 47.3 f.20v

SALMOND, MR WILLIAM
209
Reader
Dunnottar 74.

Pre-Reformation co.-par. Dunnottar, vic. Clunie: a 299.

3 Apr.1565: with Mr John Elder, set the par./vic. Dunnottar for nineteen years from three years to three years, to William earl Marischal "for divers gratitudes done, payment-making in these troublous times". The earl was also to pay the curate £12 for service at the kirk and give him a house and yard in the kirklands. Col.Ch.Mid. p.173
7 Jun.1567: action against him as pretended vicar of Clunie to reduce a grant of kirklands. Airlie mss., GD 16.41.30
5 Nov.1567: with Mr John Elder feued the kirklands of Dunnottar heritably to William earl Marischal. Col.Ch.Mid. p.131
27 Oct.1569: as reader and exhorter of Clunie, married Barbara Moncur, Lady Fardle, to William Hay of Meikle Gourdie in Invergowrie parish. DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.33v

" Inter Willelmum Hay et Barbaram Montcur In the parroche kirk of Innergowrie vpone ye xxvii day of ye monethe of october The zeir of god i^m v^c threscoir nyne zeiris personalie constitue honorabill parteis thay ar to say Willia[m] Hay of Mekill Gurdie liand w[i]t[h]in ye parrochin of Clunye vpone yat ane part And Barbara Motcur ladie Fardill lyand w[i]t[h]in ye said parrochin vpone yat vthir part in pr[esence] of ane honorabill ma[n] maist[er] Willia[m] Salmond vicar of Clunye Redar and exhortar thair howand pouer for ye ministratioun of ye sacramentis and mariagis And thair the saidis parteis requirit and chargit the said maist[er] Willia[m] exhortar that he as ane vigila[n]t pastir in Christ ministrat and solem[ni]sat ye band of matrimonie betuix ye said Willia[m] and Barbara as to thame quhilkis ar pr[esen]tlie his parrochenaris and congregatioun of ye said parroche of Clunye and exhibit and producit ane testimoniall of ye said maist[er] Willia[m] berand in effect y[a]t ye said maist[er] Willia[m] had proclamit the bandis matrimoniall In ye parroch kirk of Clunye thre seuerall Sondayis befoir nowne In tyme of devine [ser]vice betuix ye saidis Willia[m] on ye ane part and Barbara on ye vthir part his parrochenaris of Clunye gif ony ma[n] knew Ony lau[ch]tfull impedime[n]t quhy ye saidis personis mycht no[ch]t proceid orderlie in ye said band of matrimonie conforme to ye Word of god and yat na persone maid ony impediment contra procedingis of ye said personis as in ye said band of proclamatione vnder ye hand

wreitt of ye said maist[er] Willia[m] of ye dait ye xxv day of September the zeir of god i^m v^c threscoir nyne zeirs at mair lenth is co[n]tenit ffordir the said maist[er] Willia[m] declarit vpone oppinlie In pr[esence] of ye congregatione and vitnessis vnder wr[i]tt y[a]t he knew na lauchtfull impediment bot ye saidis p[er]sonis micht procede w[i]t[h] ye saidis band and y[air]eftir ye said maist[er] Willia[m] exhibit and producit ane wreting contena[n]d ye forme of comission direct Be my lord Superintendent of Angus Mernis Gowrie and Starmownt to ye parrocheneris and vicar of Cluny exhortar and redar y[air]of w[i]t[h] charge co[n]tenit in ye samin To ye saidis parrocheneris to pass and charge y[ir] vicar and exhortar Mr Willia[m] Salmond for ministration of sacramentis and mariagis to be done be ye said maist[er] Willia[m] to his parrochineris and na vtheris as ye said wtting vnder ye subscription of ye said superintendent of ye dait at Dundie ye twelft day of october anno 1569 At mair lenth beiris eftir ye reding and publissing of ye said tua w[re]ttingis ye said Willia[m] on ye ane part and Barbara on ye vther part humlie exhortit ye said maist[er] Willia[m] redar and exhortar to procede and ministrat and solemnisit ye matrimoniall band betuix yame conforme as ye Word of God requiris The said maist[er] Willia[m] willing to obey ye said godlie request he maid and declarit as ane vigilant pastir in Christ and y[air]eftir publicalie solemplie and in ane godlie maner solemnisat ye band of matrimonie betuix ye saidis Willia[m] Hay and Barbara Mo[n]tcur conforme to ye ordour In all poyntis vsit in ye Kirk and Godis Congregatione in thir partis At lenth betuix ellewin and twelf houris befoir nowne or y[[air]by. Super quibus dictis ... in pr[ese]tibus honorabilis viris Alex Scrymgeour ane of ye baillies of Dundie James Scrymgeour of Balbuchlie Alex Flesheour burgess of Dundie John Wobster portioner of Innergowrie William Charteris portioner of Innergowrie [and others.]"

SANDERSON, [alias SANDERS], JAMES

210

Reader

Alyth	73	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Ruthven	73.										

Out of RAMS 1594 but returned 1595: continued to 1608.

10 Feb.1558/9: precept by Donald, abbot of Coupar, directed to James Sanders in Over Balmyle. RMS iv 2051

2 Feb.1572/3: reader at Alyth and Ruthven [as "Sandyman"]. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.22r

28 Apr.1575: as reader at Alyth, sought to cancel letters of sir David Henry who had ordered Sanders and his father John to quit and flit the manse and glebe of Alyth. Henry alleged that he was provided to the manse and glebe; Sanders, that they had been designated to him for years 1573 and 1574 under act of parliament. [Unaccountably] the Lords upheld Henry's letters. Acts & Decs., CS 7.57 f.441r

15 Dec.1577: as reader at the kirk of Alyth, sub. the test.

testamentary of James Brown in Alyth. Edin.tsts.,CC 8.8.6 f.118r
" haill in my soule and spirit but sieklie in my bodie co[mm]endis my soule and spirit unto ye [pro]tection of ye almichtie god to be ressavit be his halie spirit and his bodie to be bureit in ye kirk of Alyth"
17 Jun.1579: as "lecter ecclesias de Aly[ch]t", sub. test, testamentary of Christine Brown, spouse of Thomas Futhe in Leitfie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.7 f.308r
" seik in bodie and haill in soule and mynd makis..."
[proceeds to legacies: instructing executor to act as he will answer to God.]
23 Nov.1588: as James Sanderson alias Sanders, reader at Alyth, complained against further letters of sir David Henry. Henry had purchased letters in four forms charging all to answer to him as vic.pens. of Alyth having title to the manse and glebe; and further letters against the complainers for his dues for year and crop 1588. Sanders [and others] denied their obligations on the grounds that James bishop of Dunkeld had designated the manse and glebe to him as reader on 28 Feb.1573/4 according to act of parliament, while visiting kirks. Henry counterargued that Sanders had been lawfully deprived by bishop and Assembly and so as reader should not be obeyed in respect of the designation. Sanders rebutted this by reference to special assignation of the lands in the books for 10-12 years after deprivation. The case was continued for proof. Sanders' entry in RAMS included the kirklands of Alyth from 1574 to 1580; but did not by 1588.
Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.329r

SEWAN, THOMAS
211
Reader
Brechin 73.
Fern 73.
Farnell 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.

Aug.1573: reader at Brechin and Fern. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.20v
2 Sept.1573: pres. vic. Farnell. RSS vi 2120
9 Apr.1577: as vicar and reader of Farnell, sub. test. testamentary of George Hendrie. Brechin tests.,CC 3.3.1 f.60v
29 Apr.1577: as reader at Farnell, sub. test. testamentary of James Carr, elder. Brechin tests.,CC 3.3.1 f.64v

SHARP, JAMES
212
Reader
Brechin 63 67-9-70.
Fern 67-9-70.

Pre-Reformation chaplain at Brechin: a 315.

1563: reader at Brechin. TB p.234
May 1570: "deid befoir Beltyn 1570". Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.20v

SIBBALD, MR ABRAHAM
213
Minister
Nigg/ Maryculter 85.
to Deer, 1586.

SIM, JOHN
214
Reader
Stracathro 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.
Dunlappie 67-9-72 74 76 78 79.

Note that M. Dilworth rejects C.H.Haws' identification of this reader with a Carthusian monk at Perth before the Reformation, on the grounds that the monk John Sim died abroad in 1567. There were in fact two John Sims, elder and younger, at the Charterhouse in 1544. In 1558, however, only the senior subscribed with the convent. Dr Dilworth's judgment can therefore be accepted. Haws, Parish Clergy p.310;
M. Dilworth, "Monks and ministers", RSCHS xviii (1974) p.206;
James VI Hospt. Perth muns., GD 79.2.58 and 2.73

1563: reader at Stracathro. TB p.234
1567-72: RAMS clearly brackets Stracathro and Dunlappie as the parishes John Sim served. E 48.2 f.21r
18 Oct.1570: pres. vic. Stracathro. RSS vi 965
1574-79: RAMS gives his name twice: under each parish, with a separate stipend attached. NLS, ms.17.1.4 fs.30v,r; E 47.2 fs.23r,v
1 Jan.1577/8: as reader at Stracathro, wits. chtr. (Mr Paul Fraser, minister Stracathro) RMS iv 2901
27 Sept.1583: had deceased. RSS viii 1524

SIMSON, GILBERT
215
Reader
Cortachy 76.
Kinnettles 78 79 80 85 86.

SIM[P]SON, JAMES
216
Reader
Bervie 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89.
Kinneff 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Catterline 74 76 78 79 80 85.
out of RAMS by 1608

While James Sim[p]son's consistent and lengthy service may indicate tenure of some kind in the pre-Reformation church, the suggestion that he was on the convent of Jedburgh cannot be accepted. No local evidence for service before 1560 exists.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.311

1563: reader at [Inver]Bervie. TB p.235

10 Dec.1576: as reader at Kinneff, one of three who had raised letters for dues from Andrew Gray, fiar of Kinghornie.
Acts & Decs., CC 7.55 f.112r
31 Oct. 1576: pres. vic. Catterline. RSS vii 749
9 May 1580 [and other dates to 2 Mar.1589/90] sub. insts. as reader at Kinneff.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 nos.446,451,463,500
14 Aug.1582: wits. chtr. as vic. Catterline. (Andrew Melville of Harvieston) RMS v 535
2 Nov.1582: wits. chtr. as "apud ecclesiam de Kynneff". RMS v 461
25 Oct.1583: James Sim[p]son at the church of Kinneff wits. chtr. (Alexander Straiton of that ilk) RMS v 837
[28 Jun.1596: date for registration of test. testamentary of Beatrix Keith, spouse of John Allardice of that ilk, as wits. by James Sim[p]son, exhorter at Kinneff and Inverbervie. [n.d.]
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.29 f.190r]

SMITH, JOHN
217
Reader
Fordoun 63.

This reader was probably one of the John Smiths identifiable in the Mearns before 1560: but whether he was the friar at Inverbervie, the parish clerk of Arbuthnott or the notary and priest of St Andrews it is impossible to say. The various alternatives are given below. The suggestion that he was a canon of St Andrews is the least likely, but not impossible as Fordoun was appropriated to the priory. In that case, this reader may have been transferred to be an exhorter at Inchture and Longforgan 1565/6 - see below. Haws, Parish Clergy p.90

a] brother John Smith of the Carmelite friary at Inverbervie occurs in connection with the feu of convent tenements in the burgh: 14 Feb.1544/5, 30 Apr.1549, 20 Feb.1556/7.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms.2764 bund.vi nos.311,331,366
1553/4: den. John Smith wits.chtr. (John Erskine of Dun) RMS iv 908
1562: one of the friars of Inverbervie, receiving £16. [The same stipend as the reader of 1563.] TB p.154

b] 12 Jul.1553: John Smith, parish clerk of Arbuthnott, wits. the testament of Christine Keith, Lady Arbuthnott.
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms.2764 bund.vi no.351

c] 18 Dec.1549: sir John Smith notary for chtr. (sir James Reid, chaplain of Drumlithie/ William Douglas fiar of Glenbervie) RMS v 816
8 Jun.1553: notary, priest of St Andrews for inst. at Pittarrow. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.18
26 Mar.1562/3: notary, inst. (Strachan of Monboddo)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.1
12 Apr.1564: notary, inst. (Andrew Arbuthnott of that ilk/ John Wishart of Pittarrow)
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.18

1563: John Smith, reader at Fordoun. TB p.235

SMITH, JOHN
218
Reader
Inchture 67-9-72.
Longforgan 74 76 78 79.
Other options exist to challenge the linkage of this reader with that at Fordoun. See above.

Pre-Reformation: a canon of St Andrews priory.
1555: sub. with the convent of St Andrews.
Haws, Parish Clergy p.312

18 Jan.1565/5: sub. as exhorter at Longforgan and Inchture with the convent of St Andrews priory. Cal.Chrs.,RH 6.9.2015
2 Sept.1566: sub. with the convent. Laing Chrs. 809
1567-72: "P. St Andr[ois]"- marginal entry by his name.
Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.22v
1574-79: his stipend "his auld portioun or pensioun out of ye priorie of Sanctandrois". E 47.2 f.26v

SMITH, JOHN
219
Reader
Glenisla 63.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Airlie: a 321.

1563: reader at Glenisla. TB p.234
27 Jul.1571: had deceased. Airlie mss., GD 16.3.43

SPALDING, JAMES
220
Reader
Nether Airlie 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86.

SPALDING, MR JOHN
221
Minister
Rescobie 90
out of RAMS 1614.

1583: graduated MA at St Andrews. StAUL graduates' index
1590: had the par. and vic. of Rescobie with the manse and glebe for his stipend. E 47.5 f.21r

SPALDING, WILLIAM
222
Reader
Nether Airlie 88 89.

1590: the Airlie minister was expected to pay the reader: "he payand the reidar qll his deith or depairture". The reader was not, however, named. E 47.5 f.22v

SPENS, ANDREW
223 Reader
Edzell 72.

May 1572: reader at Edzell. Reg.Min.,E 48.2 f.21r

SPITTAL, NICHOLAS
224
Minister
Fowlis 67-9-72 74.
Longforgan 67-9-72 74.
Benvie 67-9-72,74.

Pre-Reformation provost of Fowlis CC and canon of St Andrews: a 324.

18 Jan.1565/6: sub. as a canon of St Andrews priory. RH 6.9.2015
2 Sept.1566: sub. with the St Andrews convent. Laing Chrs. 809
Dec.1566: sub.the letter from the Kirk to the English bishops about vestments. Calderwood, History iii 335
3 [x] 1567: precept from Mr John Winram, superintendent of Fife, addressed to him as minister of Longforgan and to William Christison minister of Dundee, narrating that Edward Lord Crichton of Sanquhar and other lairds, with the rest of the inhabitants of the parish of Abernethy, had presented and nominated William Haitlie to the kirk of Abernethy, and to the 1/4 part of the par. and vic. with appropriate sections of the kirklands to a yearly value of £20, vacant by decease of sir Alexander Moncrieff, one of the four chaplains of the choir of Dunkeld. Spittal was therefore commanded to induct Haitlie to the charge; and hence he had instituted him by delivery of a Bible and entering him to the pulpit, and had put him in possession of the kirklands, manse and glebe as formerly occupied by sir Alexander Moncrieff. NP 1.16/RH 2.1.22 (Duncan Gray) f.83r/p.235
1571: John Goodfellow is mentioned as a canon of St Andrews and minister at Longforgan. Goodfellow died before May 1572, so there may have been a gap in Spittall's service at that parish - though RAMS otherwise indicates that Goodfellow remained minister at Ecclesgreig and Benholm until his death.
Calderwood, History iii 186; E 48.2 f.23v
10 Apr.1576: died, being minister of Longforgan and indweller in Dundee. Christine Spittall, his sister, was executrix-dative; his books were estimated at £10. He left £185 6s 8d in all.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.141v

STEEL, JAMES
225 Reader
Kingoldrum 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.

Note that the suggestion that this reader had been a friar at Elgin has not been accepted for lack of further evidence beyond similarity of name. Haws, Parish Clergy p.338

1563: reader at Kingoldrum. TB p.234
1576-1580: had the whole vic. of Kingoldrum provided to him for stipend. E 47.1 f.26r

STEWART, ROBERT
226
Reader
Lintrathen 67-9-71.74 76 78 79 80.
After 1580, he re-occurs in RAMS at the end of lists 1595,1597.

1567-9-71: replaced at Beltane 1571 by Thomas Cowsland who was was deposed Beltane 1572. Reg.Min.,E 48.2 f.21v
24 Sept.1574: discharged James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie for stipend for £16 for year and crop 1573. The following table lists other discharges extant in the same bundle. Airlie mss., GD 16.47.16

£16	for year/crop	1574	discharged on 10 July 1575
£ 8	[half year]	'1575	28 July 1576
£64		1578 }	
		1579 } }	(14 Feb.1582/3
		1580 } }	
		1581 }	
£16		1586	[x] Feb 1587/8
£32		1587 }	
		1588 }	(20 Feb 1591

[the series continues haphazardly to the last ...]
£16 1602 30 Aprl 1603.

1585: [blank] Ogilvy was listed as reader at Lintrathen, following the contract (14 Nov.1580) between James Lord Ogilvy and sir James Archibald for the latter to demit the vic. in favour of David Ogilvy. [q.v.] Airlie mss., GD 16.41.23
1586-90: omit a reader at Lintrathen altogether.
29 Jul.1587: pres. vic. Lintrathen on the death of David Ogilvy. PS 1.55 (RSS) f.122r

STIRLING, MR HARRY
227
Minister
Edzell / Newdosk 90
To Aberlemno with Aldbar, 1597; out of RAMS by 1607.

STRACHAN, MR ANDREW
228
Minister
Nigg/ Maryculter/ Strachan (74.dltd ms)
Inverkeilor 74.
Maryton 75 76 78 79 80.
Inchbrayock 75 76 78 79 80.
Lunan 75 76 78 79 80.
St Skaa 75 76 78 79 80.
Dun/Ecclesjohn 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1614.

Son of John Strachan of Monboddo; grandson of John Strachan of Thornton. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.157; Fasti viii 500
1572/3: graduated MA at St Mary's College, St Andrews. ActaFacArt ii 441
7 Nov.1577: procurator for his father, John of Monboddo, granting that James Graham son of Graham of Morphie had lawfully redeemed

the quarterlands of Stone of Morphie. B 51.1.1 f.36r
11 Nov.1577: assisted at the consecration of the bishop of Aberdeen. Fasti viii 500
2 May 1583: par. Dun united to vic. Dun and to par. Ecclesjohn to provide a full stipend for him. RSS viii 1303

"ane letter maid makand mentioun that our soverane lord understanding that be an act of his hienes Parliament it is thocht expedient, statute and ordanit that everie paroche kirk and samekill boundis as sal be fund to be ane sufficient ansd competent parochin thairfore sal have thair awin pasture with a sufficient and ressonabill stipend, according to the stait and habilitie of the place, and considering that the personage of Dun, being annexit of auld to the priorie of Elcho, and of lait yeiris presentit, conferrit and broukit as a severall benefice be itself, is not abill, according to the present rentall as it is and hes bene set in tak, to be a reasonabill lyf and sustentatioun fir a minister of Godis word to serve and mak residence at the samin kirk, and that thair is ane vicarage of the paroche kirk of Dun, broukit and possessit of befoir as a severall and distinct benefice from the said personage, althocht alsua of small rent, as lyikwyise thair is within the boundis of the said parochin of Dun ane small benefice callit the personage of Eglisjohnne, being of auld ane chapel erectit for pilgrimage and haveing onlie the teind of ane pleuch of land or thairby, wanting ane kirk thir mony yeiris bygane; of all the quhilkis, as the fructis ar now set and hes ben of a lang tyme bygane, the yeirly rentaill will littill exceid ane hundreth pundis, quhilk can be bot a verry meane and reasonabill [sic] leving for a qualifeit minister to serve and mak residence at the said paroche kirk of Dun, quhilk parochin of itself is na grit boundis nor populus congregatioun; and his hienes willing the incres of Goddis glorie be the preching of His evangell ovir all pairtis of this realme ... "

20 May 1583: pres. par. Dun on resignation of John Erskine of Dun. RSS viii 1354
7 Dec.1583: pres. vic. Dun. RSS viii 1642
29 Nov.1585: as par.Dun, wits. inst. B 51.10.2 f.16v
27 May 1586: as par. and min. Dun, tacked the fruits to John Erskine fiar of Dun for 100 merks. Erskine of Dun mss.,GD 123.75
7 Jun.1595: renounced an annual from Sir David Lindsay of Edzell; occ. as married to Christine Arbuthnott. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.157
14 Aug.1596: as minister of Dun, with John Durie minister at Montrose and Mr John Ogilvy reader at Montrose, wits. the test. testamentary of Mr John Ogilvy at Rescobie Mill. CC 8.8.29 f.274r
Sept.1622: died at Montrose, being survived by his wife and sons Andrew, Alexander and James - the latter minister at Kinneff. He was owed for his stipend by the lairds of Dun since 1604. Fasti v 388; Brechin tests.,CC 3.3.4 f.146v

STRACHAN, DAVID
229
Reader
Fordoun 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.

10 Mar.1575/6: John Strachan of Thornton raised a case before

the Lords of Session to discover which of those seeking payment from his teinds ought to be given priority. David Strachan sought payment of the £20 assigned to him as reader; and the Lords upheld his claim and previous letters. Acts & Decs.,CS 7.55 f.86v

STRACHAN, THOMAS
230
Reader
Newtyle 63 68-9.
Inverarity 67-9-73.

1563: reader at Newtyle: also 1568-9. TB p.234
1567-9-73: reader at Inverarity; left office at Beltane 1573. Reg.Min., E 48.2 f.21r

STRACHAN, WILLIAM
231
Reader
Fettercairn 63.

1563: reader at Fettercairn to Candlemas, when replaced by John Thom. Compt.sub.col.Thirds, E 46.4.1 f.18v: detail not in TB

STRAITON, DAVID
232
Reader
Newdosk 74 76 78 79 80.

30 Apr.1561: wits. chtr. at Edzell. (Collace of Balnamoon/ Dame Katherine Campbell) RMS iv 1471
14 Dec.1573: wits. chtr. at Brechin Castle. (Mr John Lindsay/ Dame Katherine Campbell, David Lindsay of Glenesk) RMS iv 2167
24 Mar.1585/6: as reader of Newdosk [not in RAMS] discharged Sir David Lindsay of Edzell for 20 merks as assigned to him from par. Newdosk as tacked to Edzell. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.145

SYMMER, sir JAMES
233
Reader
Garvock 63 67-9.

Pre-Reformation curate [?] Garvock: a 341.

1563: reader at Garvock. TB p.235
1 Aug.1569: [Lammas] deposed and replaced. Reg.Min.,E 48.2 f.24r

THOM, JOHN
234

Reader

Fettercairn	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80.	

1563/4: reader at Fettercairn from Candlemas, 1563/4. Compts.sub.-col.Thirds,Forfar: E 46.4.1 f.18v: not in TB
16 Mar.1568/9: as reader at Fettercairn, scribe for bond of the king's men in the Mearns. Fraser, Douglas Book iii 212
30 Oct.1574: as reader at Fettercairn, summoned to display his letters ordering Mr John Pen vic.pens. of Fettercairn to quit the vicar's manse and glebe. As his letters were backed by designation by the superintendent of Angus and the Mearns, they were sustained. Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.39r
[16 Mar.1587/8: Mr John Collace minister and par. Fettercairn owed James [blank], reader at Fettercairn stipend for years 1587 and 1588. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.327r]

TRAILL, JOHN
235

Reader

Forfar/Restenneth	78	79	80.

31 Jul.1580: notary. (Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk) Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 15.1 no 101
16 Nov.1589: notary. Strathmore mss.NRA(S) 885 box 22.4 no 1

TYRIE, ALEXANDER
236

Minister

Auchterhouse	63	67-9-72	74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89	90
Strathmartin			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	
Mains			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	
Tealing			74	76	78	79	80	85	86	88	89.	

out of RAMS by 1607.

Described as Alexander Tyrie in Nevay. RD 1.21.42; NP 1.43.f.19r

1563: minister at Auchterhouse. TB p.232
27 Apr.1574: bequeathed 100 merks in the will of William Durham of Grange. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.172v-5r
3 Nov.1574: wits. the test. testamentary of Jonet Watson, spouse of John Tyrie in Nevay. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.288r
8 May 1582: minister at Auchterhouse; "in Nevay", with a son named Alexander. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.21.42
3 Jul.1594: pres. par./vic. Auchterhouse. PS 1.66 (RSS) f.166r
17 Oct.1603: resigned as "agit and altogidder dilapidat". GD 212 Maitland Thomson no.23: Moray Writs box 37.15

TYRIE, ALEXANDER
237

Reader: minister from 1568.

Nevay	63.			
Meigle	[68-9	73: not in RAMS]		

1563: reader at Nevay. TB p.234
1568: minister at Meigle. TB p.251
1569: exhorter at Meigle. TB p.251
20 Mar.1572/3: as minister of Meigle, pres. par./vic. Meigle - a former common church of Dunkeld. RSS vi 1908

TYRIE, DAVID
238
Reader
Strathmartin 74.

TYRIE, JAMES
239
Reader
Strathmartin 76 78 79 80 85.

WALLACE, JOHN
240
Reader
Fern 74 76 78 79 80 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1607.

Pre-Reformation curate of Finavon: a 353.

15 Nov.1561: as "at the kirk of Fern" made a contract with Dame Katherine Campbell and David Lindsay then of Glenesk.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.6. bund. no.3
5 Nov.1567: as feufarmer of the kirklands of par. Fern, sold the same to Dame Katherine Campbell, with teinds, manse, houses, biggings, yards and all other pertinents for 130 merks.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.18
15 Feb.1580/81: as reader at Fern, sub. the test. testamentary of Nicholas Beddy. Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.32r
12 Oct.1585: note that John Wallace was paid £16 as reader from crop 1583. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.3. bund. no.2
12 Aug.1586: action against him by Sir David Lindsay of Edzell to enforce the contract of 15 Nov.1561.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.6. bund. no.3

WATERSON, MR PATRICK
241
Minister
Benvie 90
out of RAMS 1591.

1582-1586: matriculated and graduated MA at St Andrews.
StAUL, graduates' index

WATSON, ARCHIBALD
242 Reader
Catterline 63 67-9.
Arbuthnott 72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS 1607.

15 Jul.1543: legitimated, being son of deceased sir Thomas Watson, chaplain. RSS iii 362

1563: reader at Catterline. TB p.235
20 Oct.1575: as reader at Arbuthnott, sub. and scribe for, the test. testamentary of John Thomson alias Wobster, citizen of Cotton of Allardice, who left him £10. CC 8.8.3 f.461r
" In the name of God, amen. The said John made his latterwill in ye manner as followis. In ye first, com[m]endis his spirit to God the creat[our] of all and [gives legacies]"
[x] Mar.1575/6: as reader at Arbuthnott, wits. the test. testamentary of Andrew Arbuthnott of the kirktoun of Arbuthnott. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.121v-122r
" he left his saull to almy[ch]t[ie] god creat[or] y[air]of and his body to yr erthe to be bureit ... in hoip of ye resurrection and as for his gudis and geir...."
28 Feb.1587/8, 20 Nov.1594, 13 Mar.1596/7: sub. as reader at Arbuthnott.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory, NRA(S) 5 nos.493,527,557

WATSON, JOHN
243
Reader
Meathie 75 76 78 80 85 86.

Note that the suggested identification with a friar of Aberdeen has not been accepted, lacking further evidence beyond similarity of name. Haws, Parish Clergy p.319

1575: his name inserted into RAMS for 1574 and that of Alexander Neve deleted. NLS ms.17.1.4 f.32v

WIGHT, sir JAMES
244
Exhorter: minister in 1567.
Strathmartin 63 67-9-72.

Pre-Reformation preb.Strathmartin (Trinity CC): a 363.

1563: exhorter at Strathmartin. TB p.232
16 Aug.1568: as minister of Strathmartin, wits. marriage contract Mr Alexander Maxwell with Bessie Traill.
DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.47r
1 Aug.1572: had deceased. E 48.2 f.19v

WILLIAMSON, MR ROBERT
245
Minister
Nigg 80.
Maryculter 80.
Cromarty etc [82]

1574-1577/8: matriculated, graduated BA and MA at St Leonard's College, St Andrews. StA Recs 285,175,179; ActaFacArt ii 448,450

WILSON, JOHN
246
Reader
Pert 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80.

1563: reader at Pert. TB p.234

WOOD, ROBERT
247
Reader
Forfar 63.

1563: reader at Forfar. TB p.234

WYLIE, MR ALEXANDER
248
Reader
Conveth 63.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Conveth: a 372.

1563: reader at Conveth. TB p.235
6 Mar.1579/80: as notary, wits. the test. testamentary of Patrick Ramsay, reader at Conveth - a will with no religious terminology at all. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.169r
6 Apr.1584: having been apprehended by Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchendoun and examined by King and Council ["on certain matters"] he had leave to return home. RPC iii 649

WYLIE, MR JOHN
249
Reader
Dunnottar 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
out of RAMS by 1595.

YOUNG, ANDREW
250
Reader
Strachan 63 67-9-72.

1563: reader at Strachan. TB p.235
16 May 1575: wits. chtr. (Barclay of Mathers) RMS iv 2583

YOUNG, MR GEORGE
251
Minister
Kinneff 85.
Bervie 85.
Rescobie 85.

YOUNG, MR JOHN
252

Minister

Kirriemuir	63.
Kingoldrum	63.
North Berwick	67
Duns	68
Jedburgh	69

Note that a Mr John Young served as minister in the Lothian parish of North Berwick, and at Duns and Jedburgh in the Borders. These might be the same minister - or not. A John Young was Licentiate at St Andrews in 1528.

Haws, Parish Clergy p.323; ActaFacArt ii 358

1563: minister at Kirriemuir and Kingoldrum. TB p.232

ADDENDA

HAITLIE, MR GEORGE
253

Minister

Kinnaird	90
Strathmartin	90
Abernyte	93.

out of RAMS by 1615.

SCRYMGEOUR, ROBERT
254

Minister

Benvie	85.

1585: had the whole parsonage and vicarage of Benvie.

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APPENDIX A - CLERGY and BENEFICES

2: SUMMARY OF SERVICE OF MINISTERS, EXHORTERS AND READERS, 1560-1590

Appendix A - clergy and benefices
2: Summary of service of ministers, exhorters and readers, 1560-1590

Documents calendared

Register of ministers, exhorters and readers 1567-72 - SRO, E 48.2.
Register of assignation and modification of stipends 1574/5 - NLS, ms 17.1.4.
Register of assignation and modification of stipends 1576-90 - SRO, E 47.1-5.

Section 1:	1560-63	from Thirds of Benefices and other sources as shown in lists C.
	1567-69	from E 48.2 fs.18r-24r } printed as
	1570-72	from E 48.2 fs.18r-24r } Register of Ministers
Section 2:	1570-72	from E 48.2 fs.18r-24r
	1574-5	NLS, ms 17.1.4 printed Wodrow Soc. Misc.
Section 3:	1574-5	NLS, ms 17.1.4
	1576	E 47.1 fs.24r-32r
	1578	E 47.1 fs.22r-29v (2nd set)
Section 4:	1578	E 47.1 fs.22r-29v (2nd set)
	1579	E 47.2 fs.22r-29v
	1580	E 47.2 fs.23r-30r (2nd set)
Section 5:	1580	E 47.2 fs.23r-30r (2nd set)
	1585	E 47.3 fs.17r-22v
	1586	E 47.3 fs.19r-22r (2nd set)
Section 6:	1586	E 47.3 fs.19r-22r (2nd set)
	1588	E 47.4 fs.22r-27v
	1589	E 47.4 fs.20r-25v (2nd set)
Section 7:	1589	E 47.4 fs.20r-25v (2nd set)
	1590	E 47.5 fs.18v-23r

The first column of section one - 1560-63 - shows all known ministers, exhorters and readers, whether included in the Thirds of Benefices or not. Unless otherwise shown, an entry represents service in 1563. Proofs for entries are in biographies under list c: or, for those not included in that appendix, given at the end of this introduction.

These charts, from 1567 onwards, aim to calendar particular registers - whose origins were in the central collectory. Others did serve as ministers and readers who were not recorded on these registers. Their existence, therefore, is not recorded on these charts: but details are given in the personal biographies - list c.

The register for 1567-72 is a single manuscript, originally drawn up in 1567 and altered by both addition and erasure thereafter. The division of this manuscript into two columns is made both on the basis of dates shown and by assessment of handwriting.
From 1574 a fuller, more thorough Register was drawn up. That for 1574 shows amendment in 1575.

Thereafter a register may have been drawn up each year, probably in November. All registers that have survived between 1574 and 1590 inclusive have been calendared. The series continued to 1615 as the following diagram shows. Each year is separately foliated.

E 47.1	contains years 1576, 1578	
2	1579, 1580	
3	1585, 1586	
4	1588, 1589	
5	[1590 draft]	1590, 1591
6	1593, 1594, 1595	
7	1596, 1597	
8	1599, 1601	
9	1607, 1608	
10	1614, 1615	[neither complete]

See, G.Donaldson: Scottish Church History p.101; F.Bardgett,"Four Parische Kirkis to ane Preicheir" in RSCHS xxii pt.3 pp.195-6.

Conventions

PARISHES and groups of parishes are capitalised and underlined.

Regional divisions (eg: Angus) or presbyteries (eg: Fordoun) are given in lower-case and underlined.

MINISTERS are given in capitals.

readers are in lower-case and, where necessary, their parish is indicated by its initial(s) following their name.

[e] following a name indicates an exhorter.

Names shown in (brackets) occur more than once within a column.

[BLANK] or [blank] indicates that provision of stipend for a MINISTER or reader is shown, but no name is given.

Dotted lines, horizonal [....] or vertical [:] show continuity of service from register to register where this is possible. Occasionally, "/" or "\" is used where space is cramped. Otherwise, the symbol > is used for "goes to"/"comes from".

Names of people and parishes are modernised. Years within the charts are given without the 1500 prefix.

Parishes are listed as far as possible in the order given in the manuscripts. To show continuity of service, however, it has been necessary to adjust the order on occasion. In each series, the order of the first two columns is determined by that of the right-hand column. Thus....

Section 1:
The columns for 1567-79 and 1570-72 follow the order in which the manuscript lists ministers: except that those in the Mearns should come last and not first. Readers are listed separately in the manuscript but allocated to appropriate parish-groups in the lists. Parishes served by readers alone are listed after those served by ministers.
Section 2: column 1574 follows the order of ms.17.1.4 exactly.
Section 3: column 1578 follows the order of E 47.1 exactly.
Section 4: column 1580 follows the order of E 47.2 exactly.
Section 5 and section 6 are in approximately the correct order.
Section 7: column 1590 follows the order of E 47.5 exactly.

Parishes surveyed

All parishes listed as within the jurisdiction of the superintendent/commissioner of Angus and Mearns are shown. This province altered considerably over the years: in particular, the Deeside parishes and those in Starmonth and Gowrie were removed during the 1570s. In 1574, the Angus/Mearns section of the register was headed "Diocese of Brechin, with the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld between Dee and Tay". From 1576 to 1589 the heading was "Angus and Mearns". In 1590, presbyteries became the principle of organisation of the register and remained so until 1614, when dioceses were reintroduced. Parishes surveyed for the purposes of the biographies are listed in the summary of benefices [appendix 1]: all were normally within the province of Angus and Mearns and its successor presbyteries. The following were exceptions to this rule.

Banchory Devenick	1576-80 Angus/Mearns; 1585-89 Aberdeen; 1590: presbytery of Kincardine O Neill.
Durris	1576-80 Angus/Mearns; 1585-89 Aberdeen; 1590: presbytery of Aberdeen.
Glenisla	1576-79 Angus/Mearns; 1580-89 Dunkeld; 1590: presbytery of Meigle.
Kettins	1576-79 Angus and Mearns; 1580-89 Dunkeld; 1590: presbytery of Meigle.
Nigg	1576-80 Angus and Mearns; 1585-89 Aberdeen; 1590: presbytery of Aberdeen.
Ruthven	1576-79 Angus and Mearns; 1580-89 Dunkeld; 1590: presbytery of Meigle.
Strachan	1576-89 Aberdeen; 1590: presbytery of Kincardine O' Neill.

Service in 1560-63

Authorities for service in parishes surveyed for this thesis are to be found in the biographies of list c. The following supplement those references.

DRUMMOND, sir WILLIAM: reader at Cargill, 1561-62. TB p.92,150
EVIOT, WILLIAM: reader at Strathardle, 1564/5. BUK i 58
GRAY, ALEXANDER: reader at Melginch, 1564. Fasti viii ad loc.
HOGG, ANDREW: reader at Birse, 1563. TB p.223
HOMMILL, MR JOHN: minister at Strathardle, 1562. LHT xi 233
JARDINE, MR ALEXANDER, minister at Kilspindie, Rait and Inchture: 1563. BUK i 45
PITCAIRN, JAMES: reader at Scone, 1564. Haws, Parish Clergy p.218
RYND, MR WILLIAM: minister ? at Kinnoull, 1560. Cald. Hist. ii 46
TYRIE, sir JAMES: minister at Melginch, 1564/5. WRH, Erroll Inventory, NRA(S) 925.699
THRIFT, JAMES: reader at Collace, 1564. Haws, Parish Clergy p.44

SECTION ONE

1560-63	1567-9 Mearns or Kincardine	1570-2 Mearns or Kincardine
BANCHORY DEVENICK	BANCHORY DEVENICK,NIGG	BANCHORY DEVENICK,NIGG
James Rhind [e]	DAVID MENZIES.....	DAVID MENZIES
		Mr Robert Merser [e] BD,N (?71)
NIGG	William Mar.(69)..BD.....	William Mar BD
John Leslie.....	John Leslie.....N.....	John Leslie N
MARYCULTER	MARYCULTER	MARYCULTER
Alexander Robertson.(64)....	Alexander Robertson.....	Alexander Robertson
	BANCHORY TERNAN,STRACHAN	BANCHORY TERNAN,STRACHAN
STRACHAN	JAMES REID.....	JAMES REID
Andrew Young.....	Andrew Young.....S.....	Andrew Young S
		John Irving (72) S
BIRSE	BIRSE	BIRSE
Andrew Hogg.....	Andrew Hogg.....	Andrew Hogg
DURRIS	DURRIS	DURRIS
Alexander Gerard>Dalmayock]	MR GEORGE FRASER.(68).....	MR GEORGE FRASER
GLENBERVIE,DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO	GLENBERVIE,DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO	
JOHN CHRISTISON.(60-3).....	JOHN CHRISTISON.....	JOHN CHRISTISON
John Auchinlek....G.....	John Auchinlek....G.....	John Auchinlek G
John Paton.....D.....	John Paton.....D.....	John Paton D
Robert Rait F	Archibald Rait....F.....	Archibald Rait F
GARVOCK [with KINNELL]	CATTERLINE,KINNEFF,BERVIE,ARBUTHNOTT,GARVOCK	
(ALEXANDER KEITH).....	ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH
sir James Symmer..G.....	James Symmer (dep.69) G	
	Robert Milne.(69).G.....	Robert Milne G
CATTERLINE [Kirriemuir>	George Fife..(69).A.....	George Fife A
Archibald Watson..C.....	Archibald Watson..C.....	Archibald Watson (72) A
BERVIE .....:	James Fullerton...K.....	James Fullerton K
James Sim[p]son...B...:.....	James Sim[p]son...B.....	James Sim[p]son B
:		
ARBUTHNOTT,KINNEFF :		
JOHN PATRICK :		
Mr Andrew Patrick.A...:.....	Mr Andrew Patrick A	
James Fullerton...K...:		
FORDOUN,F-CAIRN,NEWDOSK	FORDOUN,FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK	FORDOUN,FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK
PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE
dn John Smith Fo	David Strachan....Fo.....	David Strachan Fo
William Strachan		
and John Thom.Fe.....	John Thom.....Fe.....	John Thom Fe
CONVETH,ABERLETHNOTT	CONVETH,ABERLETHNOTT	CONVETH,ABERLETHNOTT
PATRICK RAMSAY.....	PATRICK RAMSAY.....	PATRICK RAMSAY
Mr Alexander Wylie C		
Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay.A.....	Thomas Ramsay A

[1563-1572 continues next page]

1560-63	1567-9	1570-2
	(Mearns or Kincardine	Mearns or Kincardine)
		BENHOLM,ECCLESGREIG
BENHOLM,ECCLESGREIG	BENHOLM,ECCLESGREIG [Errol>	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE (72)
JOHN GOODFELLOW.....	JOHN GOODFELLOW.....	JOHN GOODFELLOW
Mr William Elder..B.....	Mr William Elder.....	Mr William Elder B
Robert Neilson....E.....	Robert Neilson (67-9) E	
	John Burnet.(69)..E.....	John Burnet E
	Angus or Forfar	Angus or Forfar
DUNDEE	DUNDEE	DUNDEE
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.(60-3)...	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON
William Kyd.....	William Kyd.....	William Kyd
BRECHIN,PANBRIDE	BRECHIN,PANBRIDE	BRECHIN,PANBRIDE
MR JOHN HEPBURN.(60-3).....	MR JOHN HEPBURN.....	MR JOHN HEPBURN
James Sharp .....B.....	(James Sharp.....B).....	(James Sharp (>70) B)
		(Thomas Sewan (73) B)
Robert Maule.....P.....	Robert Maule.....P.....	Robert Maule P
MONTROSE	MONTROSE	MONTROSE
MR THOMAS ANDERSON.....	MR THOMAS ANDERSON.....	MR THOMAS ANDERSON
(John Baty).....	(John Baty).....	(John Baty)
FORFAR+RESTENNETH,ABERLEMNO	FORFAR+RESTENNETH,ABERLEMNO	FORFAR+RESTENNETH
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE..	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE....	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE
Robert Wood F+R		John Guthrie F
sir George Lyall..A.....	George Lyall.....A..>below]	
ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS
NINIAN CLEMENT.....	NINIAN CLEMENT.....	NINIAN CLEMENT
Thomas Lindsay.[e].....	Thomas Lindsay.....	Thomas Lindsay
NEWTYLE,NEVAY,EASSIE	NEWTYLE,NEVAY,EASSIE	NEWTYLE,NEVAY,EASSIE
JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK.....	JOHN NEVAY.....	JOHN NEVAY
	Archibald Erskine N (to Nov.67))>Navar]	
Matthew Moncur.(Nv62:E63)...	Matthew Moncur.(E+Nv,67).....	Matthew Moncur Nv+E
Thomas Strachan Nt.....	(occ. Nt 69:unlisted in ms))>Inverarity]	
Alex Tyrie.....Nv.>Meigle 68: unlisted in ms]		
INVERARITY,MEATHIE,KINNETTLES	INVERARITY,MEATHIE	INVERARITY,MEATHIE,KINNETTLES
MR JAMES FOTHERINGHAM.....	MR JAMES FOTHERINGHAM.....	MR JAMES FOTHERINGHAM
John Blindscheill I	Thomas Strachan...I.....	Thomas Strachan (to 73) I
\.>Inverness]		Alexander Nevay (73) I,K
LUNDIE,KETTINS	LUNDIE,KETTINS	
MR ARCHIBALD KEITH.....	MR ARCHIBALD KEITH (67-9)>Crimond]	
Balmerino (62)..>/	[LUNDIE linked with MAINS from 69]	
	[KETTINS linked with BENDOCHY,COLLACE from 69]	
James Jameson.....K.....	James Jameson.....K..>below]	

[1563-1572 continues next page]

1560-63	1567-9 (Angus or Forfar	1570-2 Angus or Forfar)	
LIFF,INVERGOWRIE	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE	
MR JOHN BUCHAN	....NINIAN HALL.....	NINIAN HALL [in Gowrie 71]	
David Dinmur I	: (63:[e] Mains)		
AUCHTERHOUSE	AUCHTERHOUSE	AUCHTERHOUSE	
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
sir Duncan Gray.....	Duncan Gray.....	Duncan Gray	
TEALING	TEALING [and ROSSIE,below]	TEALING [and ROSSIE,below]	
DAVID ROBERTSON.....	(DAVID ROBERTSON).....	(DAVID ROBERTSON)	
Mr Alexander Maxwell	Andrew Gib.....	Andrew Gib	
MONIFIETH,MONIKIE	MONIFIETH,MONIKIE	MONIFIETH,MONIKIE	
MR GILBERT GARDYNE.....	MR GILBERT GARDYNE (67-9)>Fordyce]		
	MR ANDREW CLAYHILLS.(69).....	MR ANDREW CLAYHILLS	
James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell	Mf
Matthew Greiff.(61-3).Mk....	Matthew Greiff....Mk.....	Matthew Greiff	Mk
BARRY,MURROES	BARRY,MURROES	BARRY,MURROES	
ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK	
Charles Michelson B(60) \..>Inverkeilor,63]	Robert Forester...B.....	Robert Forester	B
William Oliver....Mu.(63)...	William Oliver....Mu.....	William Oliver (to 70)	
Mr Ninian Cook....Mu.(61)>70]		[61>.Mr Ninian Cook (70)	
INVERKEILOR,ARBIRLOT	INVERKEILOR,ARBIRLOT	INVERKEILOR,ARBIRLOT	
CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON	
[Barry,60>../			
Charles Ross.....I	Charles Ross.....I.....	Charles Ross (to 73)	I
		John Pitcairn (73)	I
Walter Lindsay....A.....	Walter Lindsay....A.....	Walter Lindsay	A
DUNNICHEN	DUNNICHEN	DUNNICHEN	
NICHOLAS HOWESON.....	NICHOLAS HOWESON.....	NICHOLAS HOWESON	
	GLAMIS	GLAMIS	
	MR ROBERT BOYD.....	MR ROBERT BOYD	
RESCOBIE	RESCOBIE	RESCOBIE	
THOMAS GORMAK.....	THOMAS GORMAK.....	THOMAS GORMAK	
GUTHRIE,IDVIES	GUTHRIE,IDVIES	GUTHRIE,IDVIES	
MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR	
[Alex. Arrat G dlt ms]	David Arrat.(69)..G.....	David Arrat	G
Mr John Johnston..I.....	Mr John Johnston..I.....	Mr John Johnston	I
KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM	KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM	KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM	
MR JOHN YOUNG [Dumfries>MR \.Nth.Berwick]	ALEXANDER AUCHINLEK (67-71) George Fife Kr (67-9)>Arbuthnott]	DAVID BLACK (71)	
James Steel..... Kn	James Steel.....Kn.....	James Steel	Kn

[1563-1572 continues next page]

1560-63	1567-9 (Angus or Forfar	1570-2 Angus or Forfar)
KINNELL [with GARVOCK]	TANNADICE	TANNADICE,[71-2:with ABERLEMNO
(ALEX. KEITH) [Cortachy>..	MR JAMES RAIT.....	MR JAMES RAIT
David Fife	[above>..	George Lyall A
:		Mr William Garden (Nov.72) A
:		[also at KIRKBUDDO K
:		
MENMUIR,FERN,TANNADICE :	MENMUIR,FERN,KINNELL	FERN,MENMUIR,KINNELL
MR JAMES MELVILLE.....:...	MR JAMES MELVILLE.....	MR JAMES MELVILLE
Walter Fairweather F :	Mr Andrew Elder.(68).M.....	Mr Andrew Elder M
James Kinloch T :		(James Ramsay (70) F)
:	(James Sharp (67-70 F)	(Thomas Sewan (73) F)
:...	David Fife.....K.....	David Fife K
STRACATHRO,DUNLAPPIE	STRACATHRO,DUNLAPPIE	STRACATHRO,DUNLAPPIE
MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE
John Sim.....S.....	John Sim.....SD.....	John Sim SD
	DUN	DUN
.....	MR JAMES ERSKINE.....	MR JAMES ERSKINE
:		
DUN,LOGIEMONTROSE :	PERT,LOGIEMONTROSE	PERT,LOGIEMONTROSE
MR WILLIAM GRAY.....:...	MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	MR WILLIAM GRAY
Mr James Erskine.[e].L.:	(John Baty (67-71).L...>74]	(Mr John Melville (71-2) L)
(John Baty D)		
.....	John Wilson.....P.....	John Wilson P
PERT :		
John Wilson.....:		
MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK	MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN	MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN
RICHARD MELVILLE.(60).....	RICHARD MELVILLE OF BALDOVIE..	RICHARD MELVILLE OF BALDOVIE
Mr David Meldrum (61-3)M ..	(John Baty.....(ML).....	(John Baty L:from Nov.71+I)
:		(Mr John Melville (71-2) M)
LUNAN :		
(John Baty).....:		
STRATHMARTIN	STRATHMARTIN	STRATHMARTIN
sir James Wight.[e].....	JAMES WIGHT.....	JAMES WIGHT [died 72]
sir James Tyrie		[linked Mains,Lundie 72:below]
NAVAR	NAVAR,LETHNOT	NAVAR,LETHNOT
Mr James Fullerton.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON
..Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt.....		Mr Thomas Fowler Lt
LETHNOT :	Archibald Erskine (Nov.67).N..	Archibald Erskine N
[Mr Thomas Fowler dltd ms].:	[Nevay>(67)/	
	NETHER AIRLIE,LINTRATHEN,GLENISLA	
[Premnay/Leslie>..	ANDREW OGILVY.....	ANDREW OGILVY
	James Spalding....nA.....	James Spalding nA
	Robert Stewart....L.....	Robert Stewart (to 71) L
GLENISLA		Thomas Cowsland (71-dep.72) L
John Smith GI	Alexander Mackay..GI.....	Alexander Mackay GI

[1563-1572 continues next page]

1560-63	1567-9 (Angus or Forfar	1570-2 Angus or Forfar)	
MAINS	MAINS [with LUNDIE from 69]	MAINS,LUNDIE,STRATHMARTIN	
Ninian Hall [e]	WILLIAM AUCHMOWTY.....	WILLIAM AUCHMOWTY	
\...>LogieDundee,67]		George Cochrane (72)	LS
ALDBAR	ALDBAR	ALDBAR	
David Fowler.....	David Fowler	(James Ramsay (70)	
FARNELL	FARNELL	FARNELL	
(? Mr John Meldrum).	Mr John Meldrum.....	Mr John Meldrum	
EDZELL	EDZELL	EDZELL	
Mr Thomas Ramsay.....	Mr Thomas Ramsay.....	Mr Thomas Ramsay (to 72)	
		Andrew Spens (72)	
LOCHLEE	LOCHLEE	LOCHLEE	
[George Hay dltd ms]	William Hay.....	William Hay	
CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	
Thomas Love	James Ogilvy.....CC.....	James Ogilvy	CC
CORTACHY			
Mr James Rait.>Tannadice]	Starmonth	Starmonth	
	LUNDEIFF,BLAIR	LUNDEIFF,CARGILL,+LETHENDY (72)	
	THOMAS CRUIKSHANK [below>.	MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON (71)	
	[below>.	William Drummond	C
	CAPUTH,RATTRAY,CLUNY	CAPUTH,CLUNY	
	John Rattray.....	(John Rattray)	
	:		
RUTHVEN	ALYTH,RUTHVEN :	ALYTH,RUTHVEN,with RATTRAY (72)	
James Fleming	:	DAVID RAMSAY (72)	
	Laurence Duncan A :	James Sandiman (73)	A,Ru
	:....	(John Rattray	Ra)
SCONE			
James Pitcairn..(64)...	SCONE,MELGINCH,CAMBUSMICHAEL		
:	THOMAS MORRISON.....	THOMAS MORRISON	
MELGINCH :.....	James Pitcairn..(69).A.....	James Pitcairn	S
SIR JAMES TYRIE (64/5)	Alexander Gray....M.....	Alexander Gray	M
	Walter Murdoch....C.....	Walter Murdoch	C
	BENDOCHY,COLLACE,CARGILL	BENDOCHY,COLLACE,KETTINS	
	[BENDOCHY,COLLACE,KETTINS from 69]		
COLLACE,CARGILL	JAMES ANDERSON...(69).....	JAMES ANDERSON	
James Thrift.(64).Co.....	Thomas Auchinlek..B.....	Thomas Auchinlek	B
sir William Drummond.Ca. :..	James Thrift.....Co.....	James Thrift	C
(61-3) :....	William Drummond..Ca.>above]	James Jameson	K
STRATHARDLE	[above./		
MR JOHN HOMMILL	STRATHARDLE,GLENSHEE	STRATHARDLE,GLENSHEE	
\.(62).>Portmoak]	William Eviot.....	William Eviot	
William Eviot..(64/5)..:			
	KINFAUNS,ST MADOES	KINFAUNS,ST MADOES	
	MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.(68).>above]		
	with CARGILL (68)		
[continues next page]	Richard Deffers...StM.....	Richard Deffers	StM

1560-63	1567-9	1570-2
	Gowrie	Gowrie
KINNOULL	KINNOULL	KINNOULL
(? MR WILLIAM RYND (60). . .	MR WILLIAM RYND.(68).....	MR WILLIAM RYND
KILSPINDIE,RAIT, INCHTURE	KILSPINDIE,RAIT	KILSPINDIE,RAIT
MR ALEXANDER JARDINE	MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....	MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR
[suspended 63:	ERROL and pertinents	ERROL and pertinents
\..>Monimail]	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE..>Ecclesgreig,72]	
	[Kirkcudbright>/	
	INCHTURE	INCHTURE
	John Smith.....	John Smith
	KINNAIRD	KINNAIRD
	James Wighthand.....	James Wighthand
	ABERNYTE	ABERNYTE
	WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE
	ROSSIE [and TEALING,above]	ROSSIE [and TEALING,above]
	(DAVID ROBERTSON).....	(DAVID ROBERTSON)
	David Cook.....	David Cook
	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN,BENVIE	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN,BENVIE
	NICHOLAS SPITTAL.....	NICHOLAS SPITTAL
	Patrick Mortimer.....	Patrick Mortimer
	INVERGOWRIE,LIFF	
	[as in Angus above.]	

[end of 1563-1572]

SECTION TWO

1572		1574	
Mearns or Kincardine		Diocese of Brechin, with kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld between Dee and Tay.	
		NIGG,MARYCULTER,STRACHAN	
		[MR ANDREW STRACHAN dltd ms>Inverkeilor 74]	
MARYCULTER		Mr Edward Menzies	N
Alexander Robertson		Alexander Robertson	M
		John Irving	S
BANCHORY TERNAN,STRACHAN			
JAMES REID...>in Aberdeen dioc.]			
John Irving.....S.			
DURRIS		DURRIS	
MR GEORGE FRASER		MR ARCHIBALD HOGG	
BANCHORY DEVENICK,NIGG		BANCHORY DEVENICK	
DAVID MENZIES		MR ROBERT MERSER	
Mr Robert Merser [e]	BD,N.		
William Mar	BD		
John Leslie	N		
GLENBERVIE,DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO		GLENBERVIE	
JOHN CHRISTISON		JOHN CHRISTISON	
John Auchinlek....G.		John Auchinlek	
		DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO,BENHOLM	
John Paton	D	[Stracathro..>MR ANDREW MILNE	
Archibald Rait....F.		Archibald Rait	F
BENHOLM,ECCLESGREIG			
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE		Mr William Salmond	D
Mr William Elder..B.		Mr William Elder	B
John Burnet.....E..[below]			
CATTERLINE,KINNEFF,BERVIE,ARBUTHNOTT, and GARVOCK		GARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT,KINNEFF, CATTERLINE and BERVIE	
ALEXANDER KEITH		ALEXANDER KEITH	
Robert Milne.....G.		Robert Milne	G
Archibald Watson..A.		Archibald Watson	A
James Sim[p]son...B.		James Sim[p]son	KCB
James Fullerton K			
CONVETH,ABERLETHNOTT		CONVETH,FORDOUN,FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK	
PATRICK RAMSAY		PATRICK BONCLE	
		Patrick Ramsay	C
Thomas Ramsay.....A>[below]			
		David Straiton	N
FORDOUN,FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK			
PATRICK BONCLE			
David Strachan....Fo.		David Strachan	Fo
John Thom.....Fe.		John Thom	Fe

[1572-1574 continues next page]

1572		1574	
Mearns or Kincardine		Diocese of Brechin)	
		ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	
	[above)...	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE	
	[above)...	John Burnet	E
Angus or Forfar	[above)...	Thomas Ramsay	A
MONTROSE		MONTROSE	
MR THOMAS ANDERSON.....		MR THOMAS ANDERSON	
(John Baty).....		(John Baty)	
LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT		LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR,FERN	
MR WILLIAM GRAY.....		MR WILLIAM GRAY	
John Wilson.....P.....		John Wilson	P
(John Baty.....L.....		(John Baty	L)
	.....	Mr Andrew Elder	M
MENMUIR,FERN,KINNELL	:	John Wallace	F
MR JAMES MELVILLE..>Arbroath]	:		
Mr Andrew Elder...M.....:			
(James Ramsay (70) F..>Dun,76]			
(Thomas Sewan.(73).F.....			
David Fife.....K.>below]	:		
	:		
STRACATHRO,DUNLAPPIE	:	STRACATHRO	
MR ANDREW MILNE..>Dunnottar]	:	MR PAUL FRASER	
John Sim.....SD.....:		(John Sim)	
	:		
DUN	:	DUN,ECCLESJOHN	
MR JAMES ERSKINE.....:		MR JAMES ERSKINE	
	:	David Falconer	D,Ej
	:		
BRECHIN+PANBRIDE	:	BRECHIN+KBC,FARNELL,ALDBAR	
MR JOHN HEPBURN.....:		MR JOHN HEPBURN	
(Thomas Sewan.(73).B).....	:	Richard Finlayson	B
Robert Maule.....P.>below]	:...:	Thomas Sewan	F
		Andrew Kerr	A
ALDBAR			
(James Ramsay (70)..>Dun 76]			
FARNELL			
Mr John Meldrum			
LETHNOT,NAVAR		EDZELL,DUNLAPPIE,LETHNOT,LOCHLEE and NAVAR	
MR JAMES FULLERTON.....		MR JAMES FULLERTON	
Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt.....		Mr Thomas Fowler	Lt
Archibald Erskine.N.....		Archibald Erskine	N
EDZELL			
Mr Thomas Ramsay.(to 72) [gap]		Thomas Ramsay	E
and Andrew Spens (72)			
	[above>.	(John Sim	D)
LOCHLEE			
William Hay.....		William Hay	Lc

[1572-1574 continues next page]

1572
(Angus or Forfar

KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM
DAVID BLACK.....
James Steel.....Kn.....

NETHER AIRLIE [with LINTRATHEN,GLENISLA]
ANDREW OGILVY
James Spalding....nA.....

CORTACHY,CLOVA
James Ogilvy.....CC.....

FORFAR+RESTENNETH
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE.....
John Guthrie.....F+R.....

TANNADICE,ABERLEMNO
MR JAMES RAIT.>Lanark]
George Lyall A
Mr William Garden A (Nov.72)...
[with KIRKBUDDO]

KINNETTLES, INVERARITY, MEATHIE
MR JAMES FOTHERINGHAM.>Glenluce]
Thomas Strachan I (>73)
Alexander Nevay...IK.(73).....

DUNNICHEN
NICHOLAS HOWESON..>Nairn]

IDVIES,GUTHRIE
MR JAMES BALFOUR.....
David Arrat.(69)..G.....
Mr John Johnston I

RESCOBIE
THOMAS GORMAK..>Fyvie]

MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN
RICHARD MELVILLE OF BALDOVIE.....
(John Baty L:from Nov.71+I)
(Mr John Melville (71-2) M

GLAMIS
MR ROBERT BOYD..>Newtyle]

LINTRATHEN: [with AIRLIE,GLENISLA]
Robert Stewart..(to 71) [gap].....
Thomas Cowsland)71-2: dep.72)

1574
Diocese of Brechin)

KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM,NETHER AIRLIE
DAVID BLACK
James Steel Kn
Abraham Piggott Kr
[Arbroath..>James Spalding nA
CORTACHY,CLOVA
JAMES OGILVY
[blank] Ct
[blank] Cl

FORFAR+RESTENNETH,KINNETTLES,TANNADICE
[Arbroath..>NINIAN CLEMENT
John Guthrie F/R
Alexander Nevay K
Alexander Garden T

ABERLEMNO,FINAVON,INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE
Mr William Garden A
Thomas Cramond I
David Hawick K
[blank] F

DUNNICHEN,IDVIES,GUTHRIE,RESCOBIE
MR JAMES BALFOUR
David Guthrie I
William Garioch R
Henry Guthrie D
David Arrat G

MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN,
and ST SKAA
RICHARD MELVILLE OF BALDOVIE
and MR ANDREW STRACHAN (75)
John Melville MI
David Guthrie L
"Sanct Ska neidis na reidar"

GLAMIS,EASSIE,LINTRATHEN,MEATHIE
[Newtyle>..JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK
Patrick Lyon G
William Pettilock E
Alexander Neve /John Watson M
Robert Stewart..(to 71) [gap].....Robert Stewart L

[1572-1574 continues next page]

1572 1574

(Angus or Forfar Diocese of Brechin)

INVERKEILOR,ARBIRLOT INVERKEILOR
CHARLES MICHELSON..>[below] [JOHN FULLERTON dlt ms]
Walter Lindsay..>Ruthven] [Strachan 74>..MR ANDREW STRACHAN>..Maryton,75]
John Pitcairn.....I.....John Pitcairn

ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE,KINNELL
NINIAN CLEMENT..>Forfar] [Menmuir..>MR JAMES MELVILLE
David Milne E
Thomas Lindsay.....Thomas Lindsay A/StV
[above>..David Fife K

BARRY,MURROES BARRY,MONIFIETH,MURROES
ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....ANDREW AUCHINLEK
Robert Forester...B.....Robert Forester B
William Oliver....Mu (to 70) [gap] >...William Oliver Mu
Mr Ninian Cook ...Mu..>Mains below] ...James Lovell Mf
:
MONIFIETH,MONIKIE :
MR ANDREW CLAYHILLS..>Jedburgh] :
James Lovell.....Mf.....:

| ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,MONIKIE
[and] [above>..CHARLES MICHELSON
| David Mitchell A
[above>..Robert Maule P
Matthew Greiff Mk Henry Greiff Mk

DUNDEE DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....WILLIAM CHRISTISON
William Kyd.....William Kyd D

AUCHTERHOUSE MAINS,STRATHMARTIN,AUCHTERHOUSE,TEALING
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....ALEXANDER TYRIE
Duncan Gray.....Duncan Gray A
David Tyrie S
MAINS,LUNDIE,STRATHMARTIN [below>..Andrew Gib T
WILLIAM AUCHMOWTY..>Hawick][Murroes above>.Mr Ninian Cook M
George Cochrane...LS..>Lundie]

[1572-1574 continues next page]

1572 (Angus,Gowrie and Starmonth		1574 Diocese of Brechin with the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld between Dee and Tay)	
ABERNYTE			
WILLIAM HAITLIE.....			
	:		
LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,	:	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE,	
and INVERGOWRIE	:	and ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	
NINIAN HALL.>[Biggar]	:.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE	
		Alexander Forbes	I
		Andrew Hany	LD,Li
		Michael Greig	A
	[above>..	George Cochran	Lu
BENVIE,FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN		BENVIE,FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	
NICHOLAS SPITTAL.....		NICHOLAS SPITTAL	
	.....	John Smith	Lf
Patrick Mortimer..F,B,Lf.....	:.....	Patrick Mortimer	F
	[Kinfauns..>	John Blair	B
INCHTURE	:		
John Smith.....	:		
ERROL,and pertinents		ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE	
	.....	MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR	
RAIT,KILSPINDIE	:	Mr William Powrie	E
MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....	:	Nece Ramsay	R
		Andrew Stewart	K
ST MADOES		ST MADOES	
Richard Deffers		MR DAVID BALWARD	
TEALING,ROSSIE		ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	
DAVID ROBERTSON.....		DAVID ROBERTSON	
David Cook.....R.....		David Cook	R
Andrew Gib.....T.>above]	.....	James Wighthand	K
	:		
KINNAIRD	:		
James Wighthand...K.....	:		
KINNOULL		KINNOULL,KINFAUNS	
MR WILLIAM RYND.....		MR WILLIAM RYND	
		Robert Rynd	Kl
		James Smyth	Kf
SCONE,MELGINCH,CAMBUSMICHAEL		SCONE,MELGINCH,CAMBUSMICHAEL	
THOMAS MORRISON.....		THOMAS MORRISON	
James Pitcairn....S.....		James Pitcairn	S
Alexander Gray....M.....		Alexander Gray/John Johnston	M
Walter Murdoch....C.....		Walter Murdoch	C
LUNDEIFF,CARGILL,LETHENDY		CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL	
MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.....		MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON	
William Drummond..Ca....		John Salmond	Cp
	:.....	William Drummond	Ca
		John Morris	L

[1572-1574 continues next page]

1572 1574

(Angus,Gowrie and Starmonth — Diocese of Brechin with the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld between Dee and Tay)

[BLAIR:deleted ms.]		LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR,	
[THOMAS CRUIKSHANK].....		with KIRKMICHAEL IN STRATHARDLE	
	:.....THOMAS CRUIKSHANK		
		Archibald Hering	L
STRATHARDLE,GLENSHEE		Andrew Moncur	B
William Eviot.....William Eviot			KinS
		David Cargill	R
ALYTH,RUTHVEN,RATTRAY		ALYTH,GLENISLA,RUTHVEN,MEIGLE	
DAVID RAMSAY.....DAVID RAMSAY			
James Sandiman....A,Ru....[alias].....		James Sanders	A
John Rattray Ra	..Alexander Mackay		GI
	[Arbirlot>..:.Walter Lindsay/David Cumming		R
GLENISLA [with NETHER AIRLIE,LINTRATHEN]:		[Arbirlot>/	
Alexander Mackay.....:		Thomas Irving/Duncan Murdoch	M
BENDOCHY,COLLACE,KETTINS		BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE	
JAMES ANDERSON.....JAMES ANDERSON			
Thomas Auchinlek B		Robert Drysdale	B
James Thrift.....C.....James Thrift			C
James Jameson.....K.....James Jameson			K
NEWTYLE,NEVAY,EASSIE		NEWTYLE,NEVAY	
JOHN NEVAY...>Glamis]	[Glamis>..MR ROBERT BOYD		
Matthew Moncur....E+Ny.....Matthew Moncur			Ny
		George Halden	Nt

The superintendent of Angus, Mearns, Starmonth and Gowrie: John Erskine of Dun.

[end of 1572-1574]

SECTION THREE

1574	1576	1578
Diocese of Brechin, etc	Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns
NIGG,MARYCULTER,STRACHAN	NIGG,MARYCULTER	NIGG,MARYCULTER
(MR ANDREW STRACHAN dlt ms)	[BLANK]	MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL
Mr Edward Menzies N	Walter Richardson N	"na reidar Nyg"
Alexander Robertson..M.....	Alexander Robertson..M.....	Alexander Robertson M
John Irving.....S.>80]		
DURRIS	DURRIS	DURRIS
MR ARCHIBALD HOGG.....	MR ARCHIBALD HOGG.....	MR ARCHIBALD HOGG
BANCHORY DEVENICK	BANCHORY DEVENICK	BANCHORY DEVENICK
MR ROBERT MERSER [1].....	MR ROBERT MERSER [1]	MR ROBERT MERSER [2]
GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE
JOHN CHRISTISON.....	JOHN CHRISTISON.....	JOHN CHRISTISOUN
John Auchinlek.....	John Auchinlek.....	John Auchinlek
DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO,BENHOLM		DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE
Mr William Salmond D	Mr John Wylie.....D.....	Mr John Wylie D
Archibald Rait F	(William Paton dlt ms F).....	William Paton F
Mr William Elder B	Andrew Kerr.....B..	
	[Aldbar>../]	BENHOLM
		MR WILLIAM MORRISON
		Andrew Kerr
GARVOCK,etc	GARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT,BERVIE,KINNEFF,CATTERLINE	
ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH
Robert Milne.....G.....	Robert Milne.....G.....	Robert Milne G
Archibald Watson..A.....	Archibald Watson..A.....	Archibald Watson A
James Sim[p]son...KCB.....	James Sim[p]son...KCB.....	James Sim[p]son KCB
		FETTERCAIRN
		MR JAMES LINDSAY
		John Thom
CONVETH,FORDOUN,FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK		CONVETH,FORDOUN,NEWDOSK
PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE
Patrick Ramsay....C.....	Patrick Ramsay....C...	Patrick Ramsay C
David Strachan....Fo.....	David Strachan....Fo..	David Strachan F
David Straiton....N.....	David Straiton....N...	David Straiton N
John Thom.....Fe.....	John Thom.....Fe..	
ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
John Burnet.....E.....	John Burnet.....E.....	John Burnet E
Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay A
LOGIEMONTROSE etc	LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR,FERN	
MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	MR WILLIAM GRAY
(John Baty..... Lm).....	(John Baty.....Lm).....	(John Baty Lm)
Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder M
John Wilson.....P.....	John Wilson.....P.....	John Wilson P
John Wallace.....F.....	John Wallace.....F.....	John Wallace F

1574	1576	1578
STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO
MR PAUL FRASER	MR PAUL FRASER	MR PAUL FRASER
(John Sim)	(John Sim)	(John Sim)
MONTROSE	MONTROSE	MONTROSE
MR THOMAS ANDERSON	MR THOMAS ANDERSON	MR THOMAS ANDERSON
(John Baty)	(John Baty)	John Baty)
DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN
MR JAMES ERSKINE	JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN	JOHN ERSKINE OF DUN
David Falconer [Fern>..>James Ramsay.....DE		James Ramsay DE
BRECHIN+KBC,FARNELL,ALDBAR		BRECHIN+KBC,ALDBAR
MR JOHN HEPBURN	MR JOHN HEPBURN	MR JOHN HEPBURN
Richard Finlayson.B	Richard Finlayson.B	Richard Finlayson B
Andrew Kerr.A..>Benholm]	James Neilson.....A	James Neilson A
Thomas Sewan..... F	Thomas Sewan.....F	
	:	FARNELL
	:	MR JAMES NICHOLSON
	:	Thomas Sewan
EDZELL,etc	EDZELL,DUNLAPPIE,LETHNOT,LOCHLEE,NAVAR	
MR JAMES FULLERTON	MR JAMES FULLERTON	MR JAMES FULLERTON
Thomas Ramsay.....E	Thomas Ramsay.....E	Thomas Ramsay E
(John Sim.....D)	(John Sim.....D)	(John Sim D)
Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt	Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt	Mr Thomas Fowler Lt
William Hay.....Lc	William Hay..... Lc	William Hay Lc
Archibald Erskine.N	Archibald Erskine.N	Archibald Erskine N
KIRRIEMUIR,etc	KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM,NETHER AIRLIE	
DAVID BLACK	DAVID BLACK	DAVID BLACK
Abraham Piggott...Kr	Abraham Piggott Kr	William Piggott Kr
James Steel.....Kg	James Steel.....Kg	James Steel Kg
James Spalding....nA	James Spalding....nA	James Spalding nA
CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA
JAMES OGILVY	JAMES OGILVY	[BLANK]
	Gilbert Simson....Ct	[blank] Ct
	John Mann.....Cl	John Mann Cl
	:	
FORFAR,etc	FORFAR/RESTENNETH,KINNETTLES,TANNADICE	
NINIAN CLEMENT [Lanark>..MR JAMES RAIT		MR JAMES RAIT
John Guthrie.....F/R	John Guthrie F/R	John Traill F/R
Alexander Nevay K	Robert Duncanson..K	Gilbert Simson K
Alexander Garden..T	Alexander Garden T	Robert Duncanson T
ABERLEMNO,etc	ABERLEMNO,FINAVON,INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO	
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE..	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE
Mr William Garden.A	Mr William Garden.A	Mr William Garden A
[Ruthven >Walter Lindsay....F		Walter Lindsay F
Thomas Cramond....I	Thomas Cramond I	Laurence Peacock I
David Hawick.....K	David Hawick.....K	David Hawick K

[1574-1578 continues next page]

1574	1576	1578	
DUNNICHEN,etc	DUNNICHEN,IDVIES,GUTHRIE,RESCOBIE		
MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR	
Henry Guthrie.....D.....	Henry Guthrie.....D.....	Henry Guthrie	D
David Guthrie.....I.....	David Guthrie.....I.....	David Guthrie	I
David Arrat.....G.....	David Arrat.....G.....	David Arrat	G
William Garioch...R.....	William Garioch...R.....	William Garioch	R
MARYTON,etc	MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN,ST SKAA		
RICHARD MELVILLE (74)			
MR ANDREW STRACHAN.(75)....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN	
John Melville.....M+I.....	John Melville.....M+I.....	John Melville	M+I
David Guthrie.....L.....	David Guthrie.....L.....	David Guthrie	L
"Sanct Ska neidis na reidar"			
GLAMIS,etc	GLAMIS,EASSIE,LINTRATHEN,MEATHIE		
JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK.....	JOHN NEVAY.....	JOHN NEVAY	
Patrick Lyon G	Robert Ramsay.....G.....	Robert Ramsay	G
William Pettilock.E.....	William Pettilock.E.....	William Pettilock	E
Robert Stewart....L.....	Robert Stewart....L.....	Robert Stewart	L
John Watson.....M.....	John Watson.....M.....	John Watson	M
INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR	
(JOHN FULLLERTON dlt ms).....	JOHN FULLERTON.....	JOHN FULLERTON	
MR ANDREW STRACHAN >[Maryton above]			
John Pitcairn.....	John Pitcairn.....	John Pitcairn	
ARBROATH,etc	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE,KINNELL		
MR JAMES MELVILLE.....	MR JAMES MELVILLE.....	MR JAMES MELVILLE	
Thomas Lindsay....A,StV.....	Thomas Lindsay....A,StV.....	Thomas Lindsay	A,StV
David Milne.....E.....	David Milne.....E.....	David Milne	E
David Fife.....K.....	David Fife.....K.....	David Fife	K
BARRY,MONIFIETH,MURROES	MONIFIETH,MURROES,MONIKIE		
ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK	
James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell	Mf
William Oliver....Mu.....	William Oliver....Mu.....	William Oliver	Mu
Robert Forester B	.....Henry Greiff.....Mk.....	Henry Greiff	Mk
:			
ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,MONIKIE	ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,BARRY		
CHARLES MICHELSON.....:....	CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON	
David Mitchell....A....:....	David Mitchell....A.....	David Mitchell	A
Robert Maule..... P....:....	Robert Maule.....P.....	Robert Maule	P
Henry Greiff.....Mk...:	Mr Thomas Bickerton B	Mr Andrew Annan	B
DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON	
William Kyd.....D.....	William Kyd.....D.....	William Kyd	D
"Ballumbie neidis na reidar"			
MAINS,etc	MAINS,STRATHMARTIN,AUCHTERHOUSE,TEALING		
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
Mr Ninian Cook.....	Mr Ninian Cook /William Bruce...	William Bruce	M
David Tyrie S	James Tyrie.....S.....	James Tyrie	S
Duncan Gray.....A.....	Duncan Gray.....A.....	Duncan Gray	A
Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib	T

[1574-1578 continues next page]

1574	1576	1578
	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE	
[Dumfries>..MR JOHN CHRISTISON	.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON
	"na reidaris"	"na reidaris"

LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE, and ABERNYTE,LUNDIE		ABERNYTE,LUNDIE,BENVIE			
WILLIAM HAITLIE.....		WILLIAM HAITLIE.....		WILLIAM HAITLIE	
George Cochrane...L.....		George Cochrane...L.....		George Cochrane	L
Alexander Forbes	I			George Haitlie	A
Michael Greig	A	[blank]	A		
Andrew Hany	LD,Li	...John Blair.....B.....		John Blair	B
	:				
BENVIE,FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	:	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN		FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	
NICHOLAS SPITTAL	:	MR PATRICK GALLOWAY.....		MR PATRICK GALLOWAY	
John Blair.....B.....:					
Patrick Mortimer..F.....		Patrick Mortimer..F.....		Patrick Mortimer	F
John Smith.....L.....		John Smith.....L.....		John Smith	L
ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE		ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE		ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE	
MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....		MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....		MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR	
Mr William Powrie E....>		[blank]	E >	Mr William Powrie	E
Nece Ramsay.....R.....		Nece Ramsay.....R.....		Nece Ramsay	R
Andrew Stewart....K.....		Andrew Stewart....K.....		Andrew Stewart	K
ST MADOES		ST MADOES		ST MADOES	
MR DAVID BALWARD.....		MR DAVID BALWARD.....		MR DAVID BALWARD	
ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD		ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD		ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	
DAVID ROBERTSON.....		DAVID ROBERTSON.....		DAVID ROBERTSON	
David Cook.....R.....		David Cook.....R.....		David Cook	R
James Wighthand...I,K.....		James Wighthand...I,K.....		James Wighthand	I,K
KINNOULL,KINFAUNS		KINNOULL,KINFAUNS		KINNOULL,KINFAUNS	
MR WILLIAM RYND.....		MR WILLIAM RYND.....		MR WILLIAM RYND	
Robert Rynd.....Knl.....		Robert Rynd.....Knl.....		Robert Rynd	Knl
James Smyth	Kf	? Duncan.....Kf.....		? Duncan	Kf
SCONE,etc		SCONE,CAMBUSMICHAEL,MELGINCH			
THOMAS MORRISON.....		THOMAS MORRISON.....		THOMAS MORRISON	
James Pitcairn....S.....		James Pitcairn....S.....		James Pitcairn	S
Walter Murdoch....C.....		Walter Murdoch....C.....		Walter Murdoch	C
Alexander Gray/ John Johnston....M.....		John Johnston	M	Arthur Rattray	M
CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL		CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL		CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL	
MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.....		MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.....		MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON	
John Salmond.....Cp.....		John Salmond.....Cp.....		John Salmond	Cp
John Morris.....L.....		John Morris.....L.....		John Morris	L
William Drummond..Cl.....		William Drummond..Cl.....		William Drummond	Cl

[1574-1578 continues next page]

1574		1576		1578	
LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR, KIRKMICHAEL		LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR		LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR	
THOMAS CRUIKSHANK		THOMAS CRUIKSHANK		THOMAS CRUIKSHANK	
William Eviot	K	James Morris	L	James Morris	L
David Cargill	R	David Cargill	R	David Cargill	R
Andrew Moncur	B	Andrew Moncur	B	Andrew Moncur	B
Archibald Hering	L				
		KIRKMICHAEL,CLUNY,MOULIN		KIRKMICHAEL,CLUNY	
		ARCHIBALD HERING		ARCHIBALD HERING	
		Alexander Robertson	C	Alexander Robertson	C
		[blank]	K	William Crerar	S
[Moulin 74 >		Gregor Douglason alias Macgregor	M	MOULIN-PER-SE MR WALTER TULLY	
ALYTH,etc		ALYTH,GLENISLA,RUTHVEN,MEIGLE			
DAVID RAMSAY		DAVID RAMSAY		DAVID RAMSAY	
James Sanders	A	James Sanders	A	James Sanders	A
Alexander Mackay	GI	Alexander Mackay	GI	Alexander Mackay	GI
Walter Lindsay/..>Finavon]					
David Cumming	R	David Cumming	R	David Cumming	R
Thomas Irving/ Duncan Murdoch	M	John Halden	M	John Halden	M
BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE		BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE		BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE	
JAMES ANDERSON		JAMES ANDERSON		JAMES ANDERSON	
Robert Drysdale	B	Robert Drysdale	B	Mr John Tully	B
James Jameson	K	James Jameson	K	James Jameson	K
James Thrift	C	James Thrift	C	James Thrift	C
NEWTYLE,NEVAY		NEWTYLE,NEVAY		NEWTYLE,NEVAY	
MR ROBERT BOYD		MR ROBERT BOYD		MR ROBERT BOYD	
George Halden	Nt	George Halden	Nt	George Halden	Nt
Matthew Moncur	Ny	Matthew Moncur	Ny	Matthew Moncur	Ny
Superintendent: John Erskine of Dun		Commissioner: John Erskine of Dun.		Commissioner: John Erskine of Dun.	

[end of 1575-1578]

SECTION FOUR

1578	1579	1580	
Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns	
NIGG,MARYCULTER	NIGG,MARYCULTER	NIGG,MARYCULTER	
MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.....	MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL	MR ROBERT WILLIAMSON	
"na reidar Nyg"			
Alexander Robertson..M.....	Alexander Robertson.M.....	Alexander Robertson	M
DURRIS	DURRIS	DURRIS	
MR ARCHIBALD HOGG.....	MR ARCHIBALD HOGG.....	MR ARCHIBALD HOGG	
BANCHORY DEVENICK	BANCHORY DEVENICK	BANCHORY DEVENICK	
MR ROBERT MERSER.....	MR ROBERT MERSER.....	MR ROBERT MERSER	
GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE	
JOHN CHRISTISON.....	JOHN CHRISTISON.....	JOHN CHRISTISON	
John Auchinlek.....	John Auchinlek.....	John Auchinlek	
DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO	DUNNOTTAR,FETTERESSO	FETTERESSO-PER-SE	
MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE	
William Paton.....F.....	William Paton.....F.....	William Paton	
Mr John Wylie.....D.....	Mr John Wylie.....D.....		
BENHOLM	BENHOLM	BENHOLM	
MR WILLIAM MORRISON.....	MR WILLIAM MORRISON....	MR WILLIAM MORRISON	
Andrew Kerr.....	Andrew Kerr.....	Andrew Kerr	
GARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT,BERVIE,KINNEFF,CATTERLINE		DUNNOTTAR and GABK	
ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH	
Robert Milne.....G.....	Robert Milne.....G....	Robert Milne	G
Archibald Watson..A.....	Archibald Watson..A....	Archibald Watson	A
James Sim[p]son...KCB.....	James Sim[p]son...KCB..	James Sim[p]son	KCB
		Mr John Wylie	D
FETTERCAIRN	FETTERCAIRN	FETTERCAIRN	
MR JAMES LINDSAY.....	MR JAMES LINDSAY	MR JOHN COLLACE	
John Thom.....	John Thom.....	John Thom	
CONVETH,FORDOUN,NEWDOSK	CONVETH,FORDOUN,NEWDOSK	FORDOUN,NEWDOSK	
PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE	
Patrick Ramsay....C.....	Patrick Ramsay C		
David Strachan....F.....	David Strachan....F.....	David Strachan	F
David Straiton....N.....	David Straiton....N.....	David Straiton	N
ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE	
John Burnet.....E.....	John Burnet.....E.....	John Burnet	E
Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay	A
LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR,FERN		LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR	
MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	MR WILLIAM GRAY	
(John Baty ..... Lm).....	(John Baty..... Lm).....	(John Baty	Lm)
Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder	M
John Wilson.....P.....	John Wilson.....P.....	John Wilson	P
John Wallace.....F.....	John Wallace.....F..>below]		

[1578-1580 continues next page]

1578	1579	1580
STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO
MR PAUL FRASER	MR PAUL FRASER	MR PAUL FRASER
(John Sim)	(John Sim)	John Sim
MONTROSE	MONTROSE	MONTROSE
MR THOMAS ANDERSON	MR THOMAS ANDERSON	MR THOMAS ANDERSON
(John Baty)	(John Baty)	(John Baty)
DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN
JOHN ERSKINE of DUN	JOHN ERSKINE of DUN	JOHN ERSKINE of DUN
James Ramsay.....DE	James Ramsay..> Aberlemno 85]	(James Ramsay dlt ms)
		Thomas Anderson DE
BRECHIN+KBC,ALDBAR	BRECHIN+KBC,ALDBAR	BRECHIN+KBC,ALDBAR
MR JOHN HEPBURN	MR JOHN HEPBURN	MR JOHN HEPBURN
Richard Finlayson B	John Erskine B	Robert Kinnear B
James Neilson.....A	James Neilson.....A	James Neilson A
FARNELL	FARNELL	FARNELL
MR JAMES NICHOLSON	MR JAMES NICHOLSON	MR JAMES NICHOLSON
Thomas Sewan	Thomas Sewan	Thomas Sewan
EDZELL,DUNLAPPIE,LETHNOT,LOCHLEE,NAVAR		EDZELL,LETHNOT,LOCHLEE,NAVAR
MR JAMES FULLERTON	MR JAMES FULLERTON	MR JAMES FULLERTON
Thomas Ramsay.....E	Thomas Ramsay.....E	Thomas Ramsay E
(John Sim..... D)	(John Sim D)	
Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt	Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt	Mr Thomas Fowler Lt
William Hay.....Lc	William Hay.....Lc	William Hay Lc
Archibald Erskine.N	Archibald Erskine.N	Archibald Erskine N
		FERN,DUNLAPPIE
		MR ANDREW LEITCH
		[above>..John Wallace F
KIRRIEMUIR,etc	KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM,NETHER AIRLIE	
DAVID BLACK	DAVID BLACK	DAVID BLACK
William Piggott...Kr	William Piggott...Kr	William Piggott Kr
James Steel.....Kg	James Steel.....Kg	James Steel Kg
James Spalding....nA	James Spalding....nA	James Spalding nA
CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA
[BLANK]	[BLANK]	[BLANK]
[blank] Ct	.....John Mann.....Ct	John Mann Ct
John Mann.....Cl	[blank] Cl	Cl
FORFAR,etc	FORFAR/RESTENNETH,KINNETTLES,TANNADICE	
MR JAMES RAIT	MR JAMES RAIT	MR JAMES RAIT
John Traill.....F/R	John Traill.....F/R	John Traill F/R
Gilbert Simson....K	Gilbert Simson....K	Gilbert Simson K
Robert Duncanson..T	Robert Duncanson..T	Robert Duncanson T

[1578-1580 continues next page]

1578	1579	1580
ABERLEMNO,etc	ABERLEMNO,FINAVON,INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO	
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE..	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE....	DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE
Mr William Garden.A.....	Mr William Garden.A.....	Mr William Garden A
Walter Lindsay F	[blank] F	[blank] F
Laurence Peacock I	John Guthrie.....I.....	John Guthrie I
David Hawick.....K.....	David Hawick.....K.....	David Hawick K
DUNNICHEN,etc	DUNNICHEN,IDVIES,GUTHRIE,RESCOBIE	
MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR.....	MR JAMES BALFOUR
Henry Guthrie.....D.....	Henry Guthrie D	(Henry Guthrie dlt ms)
		(William Garioch dlt ms)
		Alexander Guthrie D
David Guthrie.....I.....	(David Guthrie dlt ms)	(Mr James Dick dlt ms)
	Mr James Dick.....I....	(Henry G dlt ms)
	..:.....	William Garioch I
David Arrat.....G.....	David Arrat.....G.:.:.....	David Arrat G
William Garioch...R.....	William Garioch...R.: :	(William Garioch dlt ms)
	:.....	Mr James Dick R
MARYTON,etc	MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN,ST SKAA	
MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN
John Melville.....M+I.....	John Melville.....M.....	John Melville M
David Guthrie.....L.....	David Guthrie.....L.....	David Guthrie L
"Sanct Skaa neidis na reidar"		
GLAMIS,etc	GLAMIS,EASSIE,LINTRATHEN,MEATHIE	
JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK.....	JOHN NEVAY.....	JOHN NEVAY
Robert Ramsay.....G.....	Robert Ramsay.....G.....	Robert Ramsay G
William Pettilock.E.....	William Pettilock.E.....	William Pettilock E
Robert Stewart....L.....	Robert Stewart....L.....	Robert Stewart L
John Watson.....M.....	John Watson.....M.....	John Watson M
INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR
JOHN FULLERTON.....	JOHN FULLERTON.....	JOHN FULLERTON
John Pitcairn.....	John Pitcairn.....	John Pitcairn
ARBROATH,etc	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE,KINNELL	
MR JAMES MELVILLE.....	MR JAMES MELVILLE.....	MR JAMES MELVILLE
Thomas Lindsay A,StV	Mr John Grainger.A/StV.....	Mr John Grainger A,StV
David Milne.....E.....	David Milne.....E.....	David Milne E
David Fife.....K.....	David Fife.....K.....	David Fife K
MONIFIETH,etc	MONIFIETH,MURROES,MONIKIE	
ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK
James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell Mf
Henry Greiff.....Mk.....	Henry Greiff.....Mk.....	Henry Greiff Mk
William Oliver....Mu.....	William Oliver....Mu.....	William Oliver Mu
ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,BARRY	ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,BARRY	ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,BARRY
CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON
David Mitchell....A.....	David Mitchell....A.....	David Mitchell A
Robert Maule.....P.....	Robert Maule.....P.....	Robert Maule P
Mr Andrew Annan...B.....	Mr Andrew Annan...B.....	Mr Andrew Annan B

[1578-1580 continues next page]

1578	1579	1580	
DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON	
William Kyd.....D.....	William Kyd.....D.....	William Kyd	D
"Ballumbie neidis na reidar"			
MAINS,etc	MAINS,STRATHMARTIN,AUCHTERHOUSE,TEALING		
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
William Bruce.....M.....	William Bruce.....M.....	William Bruce	M
James Tyrie.....S.....	James Tyrie.....S.....	James Tyrie	S
Duncan Gray.....A.....	Duncan Gray.....A.....	Duncan Gray	A
Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib	T
LOGIEDUNDEE,etc	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE		
MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON	
"na reidaris"	"na reidaris"	"na reidaris"	
BENVIE,ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	BENVIE,ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	BENVIE,ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	
WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE	
John Blair.....B.....	John Blair.....B.....	John Blair	B
George Haitlie....A.....	George Haitlie....A.....	George Haitlie	A
George Cochrane...L.....	George Cochrane...L.....	George Cochrane	L
FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	
MR PATRICK GALLOWAY.....	MR PATRICK GALLOWAY.....	MR PATRICK GALLOWAY	
Patrick Mortimer..F.....	Patrick Mortimer..F.....	Patrick Mortimer	F
John Smith.....L.....	John Smith L	[blank]	L
ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE	ERROL,RAIT,KILSPINDIE	[in Perth]	
MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....	MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR.....	MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR	
Mr William Powrie.E.....	Mr William Powrie.E.....	Mr William Powrie	E
Nece Ramsay.....R.....	Nece Ramsay.....R.....	Nece Ramsay	R
Andrew Stewart....K.....	Andrew Stewart....K.....	Andrew Stewart	K
ST MADOES	ST MADOES	[in Perth]	
MR DAVID BALWARD.....	MR DAVID BALWARD.....	MR DAVID BALWARD	
ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	
DAVID ROBERTSON.....	DAVID ROBERTSON.....	DAVID ROBERTSON	
David Cook.....R.....	David Cook.....R.....	David Cook	R
James Wighthand K	(James Wighthand dlt ms)		
	Archibald Sibbet..I,K.....	Archibald Sibbet	I,K
KINNOULL,KINFAUNS	KINNOULL,KINFAUNS	[in Perth]	
MR WILLIAM RYND.....	MR WILLIAM RYND.....	MR WILLIAM RYND	
Robert Rynd.....Knl.....	Robert Rynd.....Knl.....	Robert Rynd	Knl
[-] Duncan Kf	John Pait.....Kf.....	John Pait	Kf
CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL	CAPUTH,LETHENDY,CARGILL	[in Dunkeld]	
MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.....	MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON.....	MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON	
John Salmond Cp	James Sanderson...Cp.....	James Sanderson	Cap
John Morris..... L.....	John Morris.....L.....	John Morris	L
William Drummond..Cl.....	William Drummond..Cl.....	William Drummond	Cgl

[1578-1580 continues next page]

1578	1579	1580	
SCONE,etc	SCONE,CAMBUSMICHAEL,MELGINCH	[in Perth]	
THOMAS MORRISON.....	THOMAS MORRISON.....	THOMAS MORRISON	
James Pitcairn....S.....	James Pitcairn....S.....	James Pitcairn	S
Walter Murdoch....C.....	Walter Murdoch....C.....	Walter Murdoch	C
Arthur Rattray....M.....	Arthur Rattray....M.....	Arthur Rattray	M
LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR	LUNDEIFF,RATTRAY,BLAIR	[in Dunkeld]	
THOMAS CRUIKSHANK.....	THOMAS CRUIKSHANK.....	THOMAS CRUIKSHANK	
James Morris.....L.....	James Morris.....L.....	James Morris	L
Donald Cargill....R.....	Donald Cargill....R.....	Donald Cargill	R
Andrew Moncur.....B.....	Andrew Moncur.....B.....	Andrew Moncur	B
KIRKMICHAEL-IN-STRATHARDLE	KIRKMICHAEL,CLUNY	[in Dunkeld]	
ARCHIBALD HERING.....	ARCHIBALD HERING.....	ARCHIBALD HERING	
Alexander Robertson.C.....	Alexander Robertson.C.....	Alexander Robertson	C
William Crerar....S.....	(William Crerar dlt ms)		
	John MacBaity.....S.....	John MacBaity	S
MOULIN	MOULIN	[in Dunkeld]	
MR WALTER TULLY	MR DUNCAN MACLAGGAN.....	MR DUNCAN MACLAGGAN	
	William Cragy.....	William Cragy	
ALYTH,etc	ALYTH,GLENISLA,RUTHVEN,MEIGLE	[in DUNKELD]	
DAVID RAMSAY.....	DAVID RAMSAY.....	DAVID RAMSAY	
James Sanders.....A.....	James Sanders.....A.....	James Sanders	A
Alexander Mackay..GI.....	Alexander Mackay..GI.....	Alexander Mackay	GI
David Cumming.....R.>[1580]	Thomas Maxwell R [1578]..>	David Cumming	R
John Halden.....M.....	John Halden..... M.....	John Halden	M
BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE	BENDOCHY,KETTINS,COLLACE	[in PERTH/DUNKELD]	
JAMES ANDERSON.....	JAMES ANDERSON.....	JAMES ANDERSON	
Mr John Tully.....B.....	Mr John Tully.....B.....	Mr John Tully	B
James Jameson.....K.....	James Jameson.....K.....	James Jameson	K
James Thrift.....C.....	James Thrift.....C.....	James Thrift	C
NEWTYLE,NEVAY	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	
MR ROBERT BOYD.....	MR ROBERT BOYD.....	MR ROBERT BOYD	
George Halden.....Nt.....	George Halden.....Nt.....	George Halden	Nt
Matthew Moncur....Ny.....	Matthew Moncur....Ny.....	Matthew Moncur	Ny
Commissioner:	Commissioner:	Commissioner:	
John Erskine of Dun	John Erskine of Dun.	John Erskine of Dun.	

[end of 1578-1580]

SECTION FIVE

1580	1585	1586
Angus and Mearns		
NIGG,MARYCULTER MR ROBERT WILLIAMSON "na reidar Nyg" Alexander Robertson M	} to Aberdeen	
DURRIS MR ARCHIBALD HOGG.>85]	} to Aberdeen	
BANCHORY DEVENICK MR ROBERT MERSER..>85]	} to Aberdeen	
	Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns
FETTERESSO	FETTERESSO	FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE
William Paton		
GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE
JOHN CHRISTISON	MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS.....	MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS
John Auchinlek		
BENHOLM	BENHOLM	BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON.....	MR WILLIAM MORRISON.....	MR WILLIAM MORRISON
Andrew Kerr		
DUNNOTTAR,GARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT, BERVIE,KINNEFF	DUNNOTTAR,GARVOCK,CATTERLINE	
ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH
Mr John Wylie.....D.....	Mr John Wylie.....D.....	Mr John Wylie D
Robert Milne.....G.....	Robert Milne.....G.....	Robert Milne G
Archibald Watson. A	(James Sim[p]son C)	
James Sim[p]son.:.KCB:	KINNEFF,BERVIE,RESCOBIE	KINNEFF,BERVIE,RESCOBIE
: :	MR GEORGE YOUNG	[BLANK]
: :.....(James Sim[p]son...KB).....		James Sim[p]son K,B
:		
:	ARBUTHNOTT	ARBUTHNOTT
:	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT.....	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
:.....	Archibald Watson.....	Archibald Watson
FORDOUN,NEWDOSK	FORDOUN	FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE
David Strachan F		
David Straiton N	CONVETH	CONVETH
	(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
FETTERCAIRN	FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK	FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK
MR JOHN COLLACE.....	MR JOHN COLLACE.....	MR JOHN COLLACE
John Thom		
ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE.....	MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
John Burnet.....E.....	John Burnet E	
Thomas Ramsay.....A.....	Thomas Ramsay A	

[1580-1586 continues next page]

1580	1585	1586
MONTROSE	MONTROSE	MONTROSE
MR THOMAS ANDERSON.....	(MR THOMAS ANDERSON "aigit")	
	JOHN DURIE.....	JOHN DURIE
(John Baty)	Mr George Gledstanes.....	Mr George Gledstanes
LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR	LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT	LOGIEMONTROSE,FERT,MENMUIR
MR WILLIAM GRAY.....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
(John Baty Lm)		
Mr Andrew Elder M...>[85 below]	[85 below]>.	Mr Andrew Elder M
John Wilson P		
STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO
MR PAUL FRASER.....	MR PAUL FRASER.....	MR PAUL FRASER
John Sim		
DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN
JOHN ERSKINE of DUN [Maryton]>	MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN
Thomas Anderson...DE..>[Barry,86]		
BRECHIN+KBC,ALDBAR	BRECHIN+KBC	BRECHIN+KBC
MR JOHN HEPBURN.....	MR JOHN HEPBURN.....	MR JOHN HEPBURN
Robert Kinnear....B.....	Robert Kinnear....B.....	Robert Kinnear B
James Neilson A		
FARNELL	FARNELL	FARNELL
MR JAMES NICHOLSON	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL.....	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL
Thomas Sewan.....	Thomas Sewan.....	Thomas Sewan
EDZELL,LETHNOT, LOCHLEE,NAVAR	EDZELL	EDZELL
MR JAMES FULLERTON.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON
Thomas Ramsay E		
Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt.....	LETHNOT,LOCHLEE,MENMUIR	LETHNOT,LOCHLEE
William Hay.....Lc...	:..Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt.....	Mr Thomas Fowler Lt
Archibald Erskine.N.	:.....William Hay.....Lc.....	(William Hay dlt ms)
[80 above].>Mr Andrew Elder...M.>[86 above]		
:		
:	NAVAR	NAVAR
:.....	Archibald Erskine.....	Archibald Erskine
FERN,DUNLAPPIE	FERN,DUNLAPPIE	FERN,DUNLAPPIE
MR ANDREW LEITCH.>Maryton]	MR ALEXANDER NORIE.....	MR ALEXANDER NORIE
John Wallace.....F.>88]		
KIRRIEMUIR,KINGOLDRUM,n-AIRLIE	NETHER AIRLIE,KINGOLDRUM	
DAVID BLACK.....	DAVID BLACK.....	DAVID BLACK
James Spalding....nA.....	James Spalding....nA.....	James Spalding nA
James Steel Kg		
William Piggott...Kr..	KIRRIEMUIR	KIRRIEMUIR
:	[Finavon 85>..	MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH
:.....	William Piggott.....	William Piggott

[1580-1586 continues next page]

1580		1585	1586	
CORTACHY,CLOVA		CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	
[BLANK]				
[blank]	C1	MR THOMAS RAE.....	MR THOMAS RAE	
John Main..>Lethnot,89]	Ct			
		FORFAR/RESTENNETH,KINNETTLES,TANNADICE		
MR JAMES RAIT.....		MR JAMES RAIT.....	MR JAMES RAIT	
Gilbert Simson....	K.....	Gilbert Simson....	K.....	Gilbert Simson K
John Traill	F/R			
Robert Duncanson	T			
ABERLEMNO,FINAVON,INVERARITY, KIRKBUDDO		ABERLEMNO,ALDBAR		ABERLEMNO,ALDBAR
DAVID LINDSAY OF P.		[Dun,80..>JAMES RAMSAY.....		JAMES RAMSAY
Mr William Garden.A.....:		..Mr William Garden.Ab.....		Mr William Garden Ab
[blank]	F	FINAVON,INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO		
		MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH>Kirriemuir 86]		M
			[BLANK]	
John Guthrie.....	I.....	John Guthrie.....	I.....	John Guthrie I
David Hawick.....	K.....	David Hawick.....	K.....	David Hawick K
DUNNICHEN,IDVIES,GUTHRIE and RESCOBIE		IDVIES,DUNNICHEN		IDVIES,DUNNICHEN
		.....MR JAMES BALFOUR.....		MR JAMES BALFOUR
MR JAMES BALFOUR.:		.....Alexander Guthrie.D.....		Alexander Guthrie D
Alexander Guthrie.D..:		.....William Garioch...I.....		William Garioch I
William Garioch...I....:				
Mr James Dick	R	GUTHRIE		GUTHRIE
David Arrat.....	G.....	David Arrat.....	G.....	David Arrat G
		MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN,ST SKAA		
MR ANDREW STRACHAN..	>Dun]			
		[Fern..>MR ANDREW LEITCH.....		MR ANDREW LEITCH
John Melville.....	M.....	John Melville.....	M.....	John Melville M
David Guthrie.....	L.....	David Guthrie.....	L..>90]	
		GLAMIS,EASSIE,LINTRATHEN,MEATHIE		
JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK.....		JOHN NEVAY.....		JOHN NEVAY
Robert Ramsay.....	G.....	Robert Ramsay.....	G.....	Robert Ramsay G
William Pettilock.E.....		William Pettilock.E.....		William Pettilock E
John Watson.....	M.....	John Watson.....	M.....	John Watson M
Robert Stewart	L	(blank) Ogilvy	L	
INVERKEILOR		INVERKEILOR		INVERLEILOR
JOHN FULLERTON.....		JOHN FULLERTON		JOHN FULLERTON
John Pitcairn.....		John Pitcairn.....		John Pitcairn
		ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE,KINNELL		
MR JAMES MELVILLE..	[gap]....	MR JAMES MELVILLE.....		MR JAMES MELVILLE
Mr John Grainger..	A.....	Mr John Grainger	A	
David Milne.....	E.....	David Milne	E	
David Fife.....	K.....	David Fife.....	K.....	David Fife K

[1580-1586 continues next page]

1580	1585	1586	
MONIFIETH,MURROES,MONIKIE	MONIFIETH	MONIFIETH	
ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....	ANDREW AUCHINLEK	
James Lovell.....Mf.....	James Lovell.....	James Lovell	
William Oliver....Mu.....			
Henry Greiff.....Mk.. :	MONIKIE	MONIKIE	
: :	MR JOHN DURHAM.....	MR JOHN DURHAM	
:...:..Henry Greiff.....	Henry Greiff		
:			
:	MURROES,BALLUMBIE	MURROES,BALLUMBIE	
ARBIRLOT,PANBRIDE,BARRY :	MR HENRY DUNCAN.....	MR HENRY DUNCAN	
CHARLES MICHELSON..... :..William Oliver....M.....		William Oliver	M
David Mitchell....A... :			
Robert Maule.....P..: :	BARRY,ARBIRLOT	BARRY,ARBIRLOT	
Mr Andrew Annan B :: :....CHARLES MICHELSON.....		CHARLES MICHELSON	
:: [Dun 80.....>Thomas Anderson			B
::			
::	PANBRIDE	PANBRIDE	
::.....DAVID MITCHELL.....		DAVID MITCHELL	
:.....Robert Maule.....		Robert Maule	
DUNDEE,BALLUMBIE	DUNDEE	DUNDEE	
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON	
William Kyd.....D.....	William Kyd.....	William Kyd	
"Balumbie neidis na reidar"			
MAINS,etc	MAINS,STRATHMARTIN,TEALING,AUCHTERHOUSE		
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
Duncan Gray.....A.....	Duncan Gray (mispld ms).....	Duncan Gray	A
James Tyrie.....S.....	James Tyrie S		
Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib	T
William Bruce.....M.....	Robert (sic) Bruce.M.....	William Bruce	M
NEWTYLE,NEVAY	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	
MR GEORGE BOYD	MR ROBERT BOYD.....	MR ROBERT BOYD	
George Halden.....Nt.....	George Halden.....Nt.....	George Halden	Nt
Matthew Moncur....Nv.....	Matthew Moncur Nv		
	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE		
MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON	
BENVIE,ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	ABERNYTE,LUNDIE	
WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE	
George Haitlie....A.....	George Haitlie(mgnl entry).A..	George Haitlie	A
George Cochrane L..>.88]			
	BENVIE	BENVIE	
	ROBERT SCRYMGEOUR		
John Blair.....B.>	(blank) >....	John Blair	

[1580-1586 continues next page]

1580	1585	1586
FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN
MR PATRICK GALLOWAY	MR ROBERT RHIND.....MR ROBERT RHIND	
Patrick Mortimer..F.....	Patrick Mortimer F	
[blank] L	Mr John Rattray...Lf.....Mr John Rattray Lf	
ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD	ROSSIE,INCHTURE,KINNAIRD
DAVID ROBERTSON.....DAVID ROBERTSON.....DAVID ROBERTSON		
David Cook.....R.....David Cook.....R.....David Cook R		
Archibald Sibbet..IK.....Archibald Sibbet..IK.....Archibald Sibbet IK		
	MEIGLE	MEIGLE
[?Cortachy 80-83]>	MR JAMES NICHOLSON.....MR JAMES NICHOLSON	
[Meigle listed after Perth and Dunkeld but given as in Angus and Mearns]		
Commissioner:	Commissioner:	Commissioner:
John Erskine of Dun	John Erskine of Dun	John Erskine of Dun

[end of 1580-1586]

SECTION SIX

1586	1588	1589
Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns	Angus and Mearns
FETTERESSO	FETTERESSO	FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	MR ANDREW MILNE
GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE	GLENBERVIE
MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS.....	MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS.....	MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS
BENHOLM	BENHOLM	BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON	....ALEXANDER KEITH.....	ALEXANDER KEITH
	:	
DUNNOTTAR,GARVOCK,	:	
CATTERLINE	: DUNNOTTAR	DUNNOTTAR
ALEXANDER KEITH.....:	MR WILLIAM LEASK.....	MR WILLIAM LEASK
[Nigg 86..>/		
Mr John Wylie.....D.....	Mr John Wylie.....	Mr John Wylie
Robert Milne.....G.....		
	: GARVOCK,CATTERLINE	GARVOCK
	: MR WALTER MORRISON.....	MR WALTER MORRISON
	:..Robert Milne G	
		CATTERLINE
KINNEFF,BERVIE,RESCOBIE	KINNEFF,BERVIE,RESCOBIE	KINNEFF,BERVIE
		MR DAVID RATTRAY
James Sim[p]son...KB.....	James Sim[p]son...KB.....	James Sim[p]son KB
ARBUTHNOTT	ARBUTHNOTT	ARBUTHNOTT
MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT.....	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT.....	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
Archibald Watson.....	Archibald Watson.....	Archibald Watson
FORDOUN	FORDOUN	FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE.....	PATRICK BONCLE
CONVETH	CONVETH,NEWDOSK	CONVETH,NEWDOSK
(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
FETTERCAIRN,NEWDOSK	FETTERCAIRN	FETTERCAIRN
MR JOHN COLLACE	MR ALEXANDER FORBES.....	MR ALEXANDER FORBES
ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT	ECCLESGREIG,ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE	....MR GEORGE GLEDSTANES.....	MR GEORGE GLEDSTANES
	:	
	:	
MONTROSE	: MONTROSE	MONTROSE
JOHN DURIE.....:	...JOHN DURIE.....	JOHN DURIE
Mr George Gledstanes....:		Mr John Ogilvy

[1586-1589 continues next page]

1586	1588	1589
LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR	LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR	LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT,MENMUIR
(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder...M.....	Mr Andrew Elder M
STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO	STRACATHRO
MR PAUL FRASER.....	MR PAUL FRASER.....	MR PAUL FRASER
DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN	DUN,ECCLESJOHN
MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN.....	MR ANDREW STRACHAN
BRECHIN+KBC	BRECHIN+KBC	BRECHIN+KBC
MR JOHN HEPBURN.....	MR JOHN HEPBURN.....	MR JOHN HEPBURN
Robert Kinnear....B.....	Robert Kinnear....B.....	Robert Kinnear B
FARNELL	FARNELL	FARNELL
MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL.....	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL.....	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL
Thomas Sewan.....	Thomas Sewan.....	Thomas Sewan
EDZELL	EDZELL	EDZELL
MR JAMES FULLERTON.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON.....	MR JAMES FULLERTON
		LETHNOT,LOCHLEE
LETHNOT,LOCHLEE	LOCHLEE [Clova 80..>	JOHN MANN
Mr Thomas Fowler..Lt.....	Mr Thomas Fowler..Lc.....	Mr Thomas Fowler Lc
NAVAR	NAVAR	NAVAR
Archibald Erskine.....	Archibald Erskine.....	Archibald Erskine
FERN,DUNLAPPIE	FERN,DUNLAPPIE,LETHNOT	FERN,DUNLAPPIE
MR ALEXANDER NORIE.....	MR ALEXANDER NORIE.....	MR ALEXANDER NORIE
[80..>John Wallace.....F.....		John Wallace F
NETHER AIRLIE,KINGOLDRUM	NETHER AIRLIE,KINGOLDRUM	NETHER AIRLIE,KINGOLDRUM
DAVID BLACK	MR WILLIAM MALCOLM.....	MR WILLIAM MALCOLM
James Spalding nA	William Spalding..nA.....	William Spalding nA
KIRRIEMUIR	KIRRIEMUIR	KIRRIEMUIR
MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH.....	MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH.....	MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH
William Piggott		
		RESCOBIE
CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA	CORTACHY,CLOVA
MR THOMAS RAE.....	MR THOMAS RAE.....	MR THOMAS RAE

[1586-1589 continues next page]

1586	1588	1589
	FORFAR/RESTENNETH,KINNETTLES,TANNADICE	
MR JAMES RAIT	MR JAMES RAIT	MR JAMES RAIT
Gilbert Simson K		
ABERLEMNO,ALDBAR	ABERLEMNO,ALDBAR,FINAVON	ABERLEMNO,ALDBAR,FINAVON
JAMES RAMSAY	JAMES RAMSAY	JAMES RAMSAY
Mr William Garden.Ab	Mr William Garden.Ab	Mr William Garden Ab
FINAVON,INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO	INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO	INVERARITY,KIRKBUDDO
John Guthrie.....I	John Guthrie.....I	John Guthrie I
David Hawick.....K	David Hawick K	James Guthrie K
IDVIES,DUNNICHEN	IDVIES,DUNNICHEN	IDVIES
MR JAMES BALFOUR	MR JAMES BALFOUR	MR GEORGE HAY
Alexander Guthrie.D	Alexander Guthrie.D	
William Garioch...I	William Garioch I	DUNNICHEN
		MR JOHN RIG
		Alexander Guthrie
GUTHRIE	GUTHRIE	GUTHRIE
	MR PATRICK LINDSAY	MR PATRICK LINDSAY
David Arrat	David Arrat	David Arrat
	MARYTON,INCHBRAYOCK,LUNAN,ST SKAA	
MR ANDREW LEITCH	MR ANDREW LEITCH	MR ANDREW LEITCH
John Melville.....M	John Melville.....M	John Melville M
	GLAMIS,EASSIE,LINTRATHEN,MEATHIE	
JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK	JOHN NEVAY	JOHN NEVAY
Robert Ramsay.....G	Robert Ramsay.....G	Robert Ramsay G
William Pettilock.E	William Pettilock.E	William Pettilock E
John Watson M	David Guthrie.....M	David Guthrie M
INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR	INVERKEILOR
JOHN FULLERTON	JOHN FULLERTON	JOHN FULLERTON
John Pitcairn	John Pitcairn	John Pitcairn
ARBROATH/ST V.,ETHIE,KINNELL	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE	ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS,ETHIE
MR JAMES MELVILLE	MR JAMES MELVILLE	MR JAMES MELVILLE
David Fife K		
	KINNELL	KINNELL
	MR ARTHUR FUTHE	MR ARTHUR FUTHE
MONIFIETH	MONIFIETH	MONIFIETH
ANDREW AUCHINLEK	ANDREW AUCHINLEK	ANDREW AUCHINLEK
James Lovell		

[1586-1589 continues next page]

1586	1588	1589	
MONIKIE	MONIKIE	MONIKIE	
MR JOHN DURHAM.....	MR JOHN DURHAM.....	MR JOHN DURHAM	
Henry Greiff.....	Henry Greiff.....	Henry Greiff	
MURROES,BALLUMBIE	MURROES,BALLUMBIE	MURROES,BALLUMBIE	
MR HENRY DUNCAN.....	MR HENRY DUNCAN.....	MR HENRY DUNCAN	
William Oliver....M.....	William Oliver....M.....	William Oliver	M
BARRY,ARBIRLOT	BARRY,ARBIRLOT	BARRY,ARBIRLOT	
CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON.....	CHARLES MICHELSON	
Thomas Anderson...B.....	Thomas Anderson...B.....	Thomas Anderson	B
PANBRIDE	PANBRIDE	PANBRIDE	
DAVID MITCHELL.....	DAVID MITCHELL	MR ROBERT RAMSAY	
Robert Maule.....	Robert Maule.....	Robert Maule	
DUNDEE	DUNDEE	DUNDEE	
WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....	WILLIAM CHRISTISON	
William Kyd.....	William Kyd.....	William Kyd	
AUCHTERHOUSE,etc	AUCHTERHOUSE,MAINS,STRATHMARTIN,TEALING		
ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
Duncan Gray..>89]		[86..>Duncan Gray	A
	.....John Blair.....S.....	John Blair	S
Andrew Gib.....T....:	....Andrew Gib.....T.....	Andrew Gib	T
William Bruce.....M....:	....William Bruce.....M.....	William Bruce	M
:	:		
:	:		
NEWTYLE,NEVAY :	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	NEWTYLE,NEVAY	
MR ROBERT BOYD.....:	....MR ROBERT BOYD.....	MR ROBERT BOYD	
George Halden.....Nt...:	....George Halden.....Nt.....	George Halden	Nt
:	:		
:	:		
	LOGIEDUNDEE,LIFF,INVERGOWRIE		
MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....:	....MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....	MR JOHN CHRISTISON	
:	:		
:	:		
ABERNYTE,LUNDIE :	ABERNYTE,LUNDIE,BENVIE	ABERNYTE,LUNDIE,BENVIE	
WILLIAM HAITLIE.....:	....WILLIAM HAITLIE.....	WILLIAM HAITLIE	
George Haitlie....A....:	....George Haitlie....A.....	George Haitlie	A
	[80..>George Cochrane...L.....	George Cochrane	L
:	:		
BENVIE :	:		
John Blair.....:			

[1586-1589 continues next page]

1586	1588	1589
FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN	FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN
MR ROBERT RHIND.....	MR ROBERT RHIND.....	MR ROBERT RHIND
Mr John Rattray...Lf.....	Mr John Rattray...Lf.....	Mr John Rattray Lf
MEIGLE	MEIGLE	MEIGLE
MR JAMES NICHOLSON.....	MR JAMES NICHOLSON.....	MR JAMES NICHOLSON
INCHTURE,KINNAIRD,ROSSIE	INCHTURE,KINNAIRD,ROSSIE	INCHTURE,KINNAIRD,ROSSIE
DAVID ROBERTSON.....	DAVID ROBERTSON	MR THOMAS RAMSAY
Archibald Sibbet..IK.....	Archibald Sibbet..IK.....	Archibald Sibbet IK
David Cook R		
Commissioner:	Commissioner:	Commissioner:
John Erskine of Dun	John Erskine of Dun.	Mr Robert Bruce.

[end of 1585-1589]

SECTION SEVEN

1589		1590		
Angus and Mearns		Fordoun		
Conveth Newdosk	(MR WILLIAM GRAY).....	Conveth	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)	
Glenbervie	MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS	Glenbervie	MR JAMES DOUGLAS	
Fetteresso	MR ANDREW MILNE.....	Fetteresso	MR ANDREW MILNE	
Dunnottar	MR WILLIAM LEASK..... Mr John Wylie.....	Dunnottar	MR WILLIAM LEASK John Wylie	
Kinneff Bervie	MR DAVID RATTRAY..... James Sim[p]son..KB..:.....	Kinneff Catterline	James Sim[p]son	K
Catterline	:.....	Bervie	MR DAVID RATTRAY	
Garvock	MR WALTER MORRISON.....	Garvock	MR WALTER MORRISON	
Benholm	ALEXANDER KEITH.....	Benholm	ALEXANDER KEITH	
Arbuthnott	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT..... Archibald Watson.....	Arbuthnott	MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT Archibald Watson	
Ecclesgreig Aberlethnott	MR GEORGE GLEDSTANES.....	Ecclesgreig Aberlethnott	MR GEORGE GLEDSTANES	
Fettercairn	MR ALEXANDER FORBES.....	Fettercairn	MR ALEXANDER FORBES	
Fordoun	PATRICK BONCLE.....	Fordoun	PATRICK BONCLE	
		Brechin		
Brechin Kilmoir Burghill Cookston	MR JOHN HEPBURN..... Robert Kinnear..Br.....	Brechin Kilmoir Burghill	MR JOHN HEPBURN Robert Kinnear	Br
Stracathro	MR PAUL FRASER.....	Stracathro Dunlappie	MR PAUL FRASER	

1589		1590 (Brechin continued)		
LogieMontrose Pert Menmuir	(MR WILLIAM GRAY) Mr Andrew Elder	LogieMontrose Pert	(MR WILLIAM GRAY)	
Montrose	JOHN DURIE Mr John Ogilvy	Montrose	JOHN DURIE Mr John Ogilvy	
Dun Ecclesjohn	MR ANDREW STRACHAN	Dun Ecclesjohn	MR ANDREW STRACHAN	
Maryton Inchbrayock Lunan St Skaa	MR ANDREW LEITCH John Melville....M.	Maryton Inchbrayock	MR ANDREW LEITCH John Melville	IM
Farnell	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL Thomas Sewan	Farnell	MR DOUGAL CAMPBELL	
Aldbar Aberlemno Finavon	JAMES RAMSAY Mr William Garden.Ab.	Aldbar Aberlemno Finavon	JAMES RAMSAY Mr William Garden	Ab
Forfar & Restenneth Kinnettles Tannadice	MR JAMES RAIT \..>Kinnettles, below]	Forfar & Restenneth Tannadice	MR DAVID LINDSAY	
Fern Dunlappie	MR ALEXANDER NORIE John Wallace	Fern Dunlappie Menmuir	MR ALEXANDER NORIE John Wallace Mr Andrew Elder	F
Navar	Archibald Erskine	Navar	MR EDWARD HEPBURN Archibald Erskine	
Lethnot Lochlee	JOHN MANN Mr Thomas Fowler.Lc	Lethnot Lochlee	JOHN MANN Mr Thomas Fowler	Lc
Edzell	MR JAMES FULLERTON	Edzell Newdosk	MR HARRY STIRLING	

[1589-1590 continues next page]

1589			1590		
			Arbroath		
Arbroath St Vigeans Ethie	MR JAMES MELVILLE.....		Arbroath St Vigeans	MR JAMES MELVILLE	
Arbirlot Barry	CHARLES MICHELSON..... Thomas Anderson...B		Arbirlot	CHARLES MICHELSON	
		:	Panbride	MR ROBERT RAMSAY	
Panbride	MR ROBERT RAMSAY..:...:		.....	Robert Maule	
	Robert Maule.....:.....:				
		:.....	Barry	Thomas Anderson	
Guthrie	MR PATRICK LINDSAY.....		Guthrie	MR PATRICK LINDSAY	
	David Arrat.....		Kirkbuddo	David Arrat	G
		.....		James Guthrie	K
Idvies	MR GEORGE HAY	:			
		:	Idvies	MR (blank) DRUMMOND	
		:			
Kirkbuddo	James Guthrie.....:				
Dunnichen	MR JOHN RIG.....		Dunnichen	MR JOHN RIG	
	Alexander Guthrie.....			Alexander Guthrie	
Rescobie			Rescobie	MR JOHN SPALDING	
Kinnell	MR ARTHUR FUTHE.....		Kinnell	MR ARTHUR FUTHE	
Inverkeilor	JOHN FULLERTON.....		Inverkeilor	JOHN FULLERTON	
	John Pitcairn.....		Ethie	John Pitcairn	I
Lunan St Skaa	[with [Maryton above]	[85...>	Lunan St Skaa	MR ALEXANDER INGLIS David Guthrie	L
			Dundee		
Dundee	WILLIAM CHRISTISON.....		Dundee	WILLIAM CHRISTISON	
	William Kyd.....			MR JAMES ROBERTSON	
		:.....		William Kyd	
LogieDundee Liff Invergowrie	MR JOHN CHRISTISON.....		LogieDundee Liff Invergowrie	MR JOHN CHRISTISON	
			Benvie	MR PATRICK WATERSTON	

[1589-1590 continues next page]

1589			1590		
			(Dundee continued)		
Longforgan	MR ROBERT RHIND.....		Longforgan	MR ROBERT RHIND	
Fowlis	Mr John Rattray..Lf.....		Fowlis	Mr John Rattray	Lf
Abernyte	WILLIAM HAITLIE.....		Lundie	George Cochrane	
Lundie	George Haitlie A ..:.:				
Benvie	George Cochrane..L.: :.....		Abernyte	WILLIAM HAITLIE	
Inchture	MR THOMAS RAMSAY.....		Inchture	MR THOMAS RAMSAY	
Kinnaird	Archibald Sibbet.IK.....			Archibald Sibbet	
Rossie					
			Kinnaird	MR GEORGE HAITLIE	
		.....	Strathmartin	John Blair	
		:			
Auchterhouse	ALEXANDER TYRIE.....:....		Auchterhouse	ALEXANDER TYRIE	
Strathmartin	Duncan Gray A :				
Tealing	John Blair.....S....:				
Mains	Andrew Gib.....T...				
	William Bruce.. M :				
	: :		Tealing	MR JOHN RAMSAY	
	: :.....		Inverarity	Andrew Gib	T
	:				
	:		Mains	MR WILLIAM RAIT	
	:.....[possibly]....[un-named reader]				
Murroes	MR HENRY DUNCAN.		Murroes	MR HENRY DUNCAN	
Ballumbie	William Oliver M		Ballumbie		
Monifieth	ANDREW AUCHINLEK.....		Monifieth	ANDREW AUCHINLEK	
Monikie	MR JOHN DURHAM.....		Monikie	MR JOHN DURHAM	
	Henry Greiff.....			Henry Greiff	
Inverarity	John Guthrie.....		Inverarity	John Guthrie	
			Meigle		
Meigle	MR JAMES NICHOLSON.....		Meigle	MR JAMES NICHOLSON	
[Perth]					
Kettins	MR HENRY GUTHRIE		Kettins	JAMES ANDERSON	
	James Jameson		[Stirling>../		
[Angus]					
Newtyle	MR ROBERT BOYD.....		Newtyle	MR ROBERT BOYD	
Nevay	George Halden.....			George Halden	
			Nevay	DAVID BROWN	
[Dunkeld]					
Rattray	THOMAS CRUIKSHANK		Rattray		

[1589-1590 continues next page]

1589

[Dunkeld]

Alyth	DAVID RAMSAY.....	
Glenisla	James Sanders....A.....	
Ruthven	Alexander Mackay.GI.....	

[Angus]

Nether Airlie	MR WILLIAM MALCOLM.....	
Kingoldrum	William Spalding	nA
Glamis	JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK.....	
Eassie	David Guthrie.....M.....	
Lintrathen	Robert Ramsay.....G.....	
Meathie	William Pittilock.E.....	
Kirriemuir	MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH.....	
Cortachy	MR THOMAS RAE.....	
Clova		

Commissioner:
Mr Robert Bruce

1590

[Meigle continued]

Alyth	DAVID RAMSAY	
Glenisla	James Sanders	A?
Ruthven	Alexander Mackay	GI
Nether Airlie	MR WILLIAM MALCOLM	
	[clause to protect un-named reader]	
Kingoldrum	MR WILLIAM FORBES	
Glamis	JOHN NEVAY	
Eassie	David Guthrie	M
Lintrathen	Robert Ramsay	G
Meathie	Williame Pittilock	E
Kirriemuir	MR ALEXANDER KINNIMONTH	
[above... Kinnettles	MR JAMES RAIT	
Cortachy	MR THOMAS RAE	
Clova		

Commissioner:
Mr Robert Bruce

[end of 1589-1590]

APPENDIX B

LAIRDS AND MAGNATES

APPENDIX B:

Lairds and magnates

The object of this appendix is to give brief genealogical notes establishing the life-spans of the various land-holders of most significance to this thesis, within the period c.1530 to c.1590. Each entry cites an authority for the earliest known and the latest known occurrence, for marriage (where possible), and concludes with the date by which the subject was known to be dead.

No attempt has been made to include political or such other details - except where forfeiture involved loss of lands - in order to keep the appendix within reasonable bounds.

Entries are listed alphabetically under the appropriate surname for the house; and then in order of succession. Earls and Lords are entered under their surname at the head of each list. Thus the Lords Glamis are found under LYON: the earls of Crawford under LINDSAY.

Several collections of sixteenth-century materials survive from the families of Angus and the Mearns. Thanks are due to the owners of the Dalhousie and Ogilvy of Inverquharity muniments for permission to use their archives at the SRO; to the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres for permission to view archives held at the John Rylands Library of Manchester University; to the Strathmore Estates for making the Strathmore muniments available through the offices of Mrs Joan Auld at Dundee University Library; and to the Earl of Southesk for allowing a personal visit to his charter room at Kinnaird Castle. Mr Iain Flett, archivist of the City of Dundee District Council, helpfully gave authority for me to copy his own thesis on Dundee and provided access to the burgh's court and protocol books. Other papers used are cited in full in the bibliography. The appropriate bundles of the Murthly Castle muniments (Fotheringham of Powrie - GD 121) were unavailable, having been withdrawn from the SRO for use by their owner. No archives of the sixteenth-century earls Marischal are to be found in the records of the NRA(S).

The nine volumes of The Scots Peerage, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh 1910-1914) provide a mine of information; but are cited only when documentary proof has not otherwise been secured. The same is true of the various biographies and family histories listed in the bibliography but generally not cited in the following pages. A.J. Warden's life's-work, Angus or Forfarshire (Dundee 1880 - 1885, five vols.) has been invaluable as an introduction to the families and lands covered below. Bruce Lenman discusses Warden's magnum opus: "Alexander Warden and the local history of Dundee and Angus" in Scots Antiquaries and Historians (Abertay Historical Society no.16, 1972).

ALLARDICE

John Allardice of that ilk 001

married Janet Lundie, who survived him.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.31; RMS iii 2289

26 Sept.1523: occ. as son of John Allardice of that ilk.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.26

30 Mar. 1540: had deceased. Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.31

John Allardice of that ilk 002

30 Mar. 1540: infeft. Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.31

14 Jun. 1541: had married Margaret Erskine.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.36; RSS ii 4120

Sept. 1547: killed at Pinkie. Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.47

John Allardice of that ilk 003

Sept.1547: inherited while under age.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.44,47

20 Nov. 1558: to marry Beatrix Keith, daughter of William earl Marischal. RMS iv 1337

7 Jul. 1586: infeft his son Robert as fiar.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.60

[1590: still alive]

Robert Allardice fiar of that ilk 004

7 Jul. 1586: to marry Barbara, daughter of William Lord Forbes.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.60

7 Jul. 1586: infeft as fiar. Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.60

26 Dec. 1587: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.20 f.17v

ARBUTHNOTT

Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk 005

24 Apr. 1522: retoured heir of his father James.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.234

13 Feb. 1535/6: had married Christine, daughter of William earl Marischal, who died c. 12 Jul. 1553.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.351; bund.vi

13 Apr. 1558: had married Helen Clephan.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.369

15 Oct.1579: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.195r

Andrew Arbuthnott of that ilk 006

24 Sept.1553: married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird, who died 1563. Edin.com.minute bk. CC 8.9.1;
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.347

24 Sept.1553: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 847

after 1563: married Margaret Hoppringle, who died 1575.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.424

Oct.1579: succeeded on his father's death.
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.442

[1590: still alive]

Robert Arbuthnott fiar of that ilk 007

Jun.1582: to marry Mary Keith [sister of George, earl Marischal]
WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory NRA(S) 5 no.464,466

25 Dec.1582: infeft as fiar. RMS v 495

[1590: still alive]

ARRAT

George Arrat of that ilk 008

31 May 1519: infeft as heir of his father Andrew in the shadow-half of Arrat and in half Leightonhill. Southesk Charters box no.2. bund. no.13

17 Jun.1527: married to Jonet Wood. RMS iii 1527

20 Jun.1561: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.5 46v

24 Sept.1564: had deceased. RMS iv 1942

Thomas Arrat of that ilk 009

20 Jul.1559: occ. as fiar. Southesk Charters box no.2. bund. no.13

24 Sept.1564: had succeeded his father. RMS iv 1942

16 Feb.1576/7: had deceased. RSS vii 906

William Arrat of that ilk 010

married Barbara Rossie [daughter of David Rossie of that ilk] c.1568. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.12 f.254r

16 Feb.1576/7: had succeeded his father. RSS vii 906

[1590: still alive]

AUCHINLEK

Robert Auchinlek of that ilk 011

17 Feb.1530/31: occs. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13

5 Aug. 1541: had deceased. RSS ii 4150

Gilbert Auchinlek of that ilk 012

married Margaret Wood, who died Dec.1560. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.20 f.151r

5 Aug. 1541: had succeeded as a minor. RSS ii 4150

11 Sept.1580: occs. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.46v

20 Aug.1586: had deceased. Airlie mss., GD 16.13.26

Robert Auchinlek of that ilk 013

married by 2 Aug.1579. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.43r

20 Aug.1586: had succeeded his father. Airlie mss., GD 16.13.26

26 May 1592: died. CC 8.8.28 f.68r

BALDOVIE

John Baldovie of that ilk 014

2 Apr. 1543: occs. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.15.1

Sept.1577: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.248v

James Baldovie of that ilk 015

Sept.1577: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.248v

11 Jul.1590: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.22 f.203v

BARCLAY

David Barclay of Mathers 016

married Jean Erskine, who died Aug.1563. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.179v

13 Mar. 1533/4: occs. ADCP p.420

Jun. 1563: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.178r

George Barclay of Mathers 017

Jun. 1563: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.178r

11 Jan. 1564/5: married Elizabeth, sister of Patrick Wood of Bonnyton. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.433v
13 Feb. 1581/2: occs. RMS v 527

Thomas Barclay fiar of Mathers 018
15 Dec. 1578: married Katherine, daughter of Alexander Straiton of Lauriston. JRL, The Crawford mss., box P bund.vi
Sept. 1582: died, still fiar. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.13 f.282r

BEATON

James Beaton of Melgund 019
married Jonet Annand, heiress of Melgund by 1525 acquiring the estate. RMS iii 337
1537: had died. Sanderson, Cardinal p.289; RSS ii 2307

David Beaton of Melgund 020
8 Mar. 1538/9: had succeeded his uncle in Melgund. RMS iii 1931; Sanderson, Cardinal p.289
13 May 1559: had married Margaret Lindsay, daughter of Lord Lindsay of the Byres. DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.46v
Sanderson, Cardinal p.290
17 Jun. 1577: had married Lucretia, daughter of Beaton of Creich. Sanderson, Cardinal p.290; RSS vii 1076
4 Nov.1598: had deceased. CC 8.8.36 unfoliated

William Beaton of Westhall 021
12 Jul.1537: occs. RMS iii 1691
15 Feb.1555/6: occs. RMS iv 1195
8 May 1559: had deceased.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.46r

Robert Beaton of Westhall 022
8 May 1559: had succeeded his father.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.46r
23 Mar.1581/2: occs.
DAC, prot.bk.no.13 (Alexander Wedderburn ii) f.16r

CARNEGY

Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird 023
9 Sept.1513: inherited under age after his father's death at Flodden. Fraser, Southesk i p.24
c.1527: married Margaret, daughter of Guthrie of Lunan. Fraser, Southesk i p.38
c.5 Jan.1565/6: died. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 3: bund no. 32

Sir John Carnegy of Kinnaird 024
6 Dec. 1546: had married Agnes, daughter of David Wood of Craig. Fraser, Southesk i p.55
25 Mar. 1565/6: infeft in Kinnaird as heir of Sir Robert.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.9
Feb. 1595/6: died, survived by Margaret Keith, his wife.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.31 f.295r

Mr David Carnegy of Colluthie/ of Kinnaird 025

1 Feb. 1548/9: occs. as par. of Tough. RSS iv 79

6 Feb. 1559/60: occs. as "of Panbride".
Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.30

24 Feb. 1566/7: had married Elizabeth Ramsay, heiress of Colluthie.
Fraser, Southesk i p.39

Feb. 1595/6: inherited Kinnaird on the death of his brother.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.31 f.295r

19 Apr. 1598: died. Fraser, Southesk i p.59

John Carnegy of that ilk/ of Seaton 026

30 Jun. 1547: legitimated as a natural son of Sir Robert Carnegy.
RSS iii 2321

4 Nov. 1564: "of Ethie"; had married Katherine Fotheringham.
Northesk mss., GD 130 box 17, bund."Ethie no.1"

19 May 1568: occs. as "of that ilk".
DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.31v

[x] Sept.1570: occs. as "of Seaton".
Strathmore writs NRA)(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.12

Dec. 1604: died. Fraser, Southesk i p.48

COCKBURN

Mr John Cockburn of Pitforthie, bailie of Brechin 027

2 Oct. 1543: occ., son of Mr John Cockburn preb. of Kilmoir.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.89

24 Mar. 1557: had married Jonet Richard; granted feu of Pitforthie.
RMS v 860

1591: had deceased. REB ii p.228

COLLACE

Patrick Collace of Balnamoon 028

1 Apr. 1517: married Katherine [x]. RMS iii 147

8 Nov. 1532: had deceased. RMS iii 1238

Robert Collace of Balnamoon 029

8 Nov. 1532: had succeeded as a minor. RMS iii 1238

16 Jun.1533: under contract to marry Elizabeth, daughter of William Wood of Bonnyton. RMS iii 1289

12 Feb.1539/40: had married Christine Barclay. RSS ii 3348

17 Oct.1556: had married Elizabeth Bruce. RMS iv 1108

9 Feb. 1574/5: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.14 f.9r

8 Jul. 1577: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.16 f.443r

John Collace of Balnamoon 030

19 Sept.1557: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of John Erskine of Dun.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.276r

8 Jul. 1577: had succeeded his father. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.16 f.443r

had married Marion Garden, who died Aug.1580. Edin.ts.CC 8.8.25 f.297v

15 Nov.1593: gave in his wife's testament dative.
Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.25 f.297v

CRAWMOND

Alexander Crawmond of Aldbar 031

15 Apr. 1506: occs. RMS ii 1572

15 Feb. 1523/3: had deceased. RMS iii 254

James Crawmond of Aldbar 032

15 Feb. 1523/3: occs. RMS iii 254

4 Jun. 1527: had married Isabel Erskine, sister of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin. RMS iii 465,2439

9 Jan. 1541/2: had infeft his son William as fiar. RMS iii 2574

7 Dec. 1558: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.3 f.124v

2 Feb. 1563/4: his grandson occ. as fiar. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.28r

10 Aug. 1571: occs. Strathmore muns.,NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.1233

14 Sept.1574: had deceased. RSS vi 2681

William Crawmond fiar of Aldbar 033

9 Jan. 1541/2: infeft as fiar; had married Margaret Maxwell. RMS iii 2574

22 Jul.1542: occs. RMS iv 194

23 Feb.1556/7: had predeceased his father. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.82r

Robert Crawmond of Aldbar 034

23 Feb.1556/7: grandson and heir of James Crawmond of Aldbar. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.82r

2 Feb. 1563/4: occ. as fiar of Aldbar. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.28r

10 Aug. 1571: his grandfather still alive. Strathmore muns.,NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.1233

16 Jul. 1573: still fiar. Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 68 bund.3 no 9

14 Sept.1574: had succeeded his grandfather and died. RSS vi 2681

James Crawmond of Aldbar 035

9 Nov. 1575: had succeeded his father, being a minor. Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 68.3 no 2

12 Jul.1576: still under curators, including Mr Thomas Lyon. RSS vii 661

3/4 Apr. 1580: sold the lands of Aldbar to Patrick Lyon in Dundee - who transferred them to Mr Thomas Lyon. RMS iv 3009,3008

CRICHTON

John Crichton of Ruthven 036

9 Oct. 1527: had married Jonet, daughter of deceased Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat. RMS iii 504/5/6

9 Feb. 1545/6: occs. RMS iii 3203

19 Jun. 1555: had deceased. RMS iv 1000

John Crichton of Ruthven 037

19 Jun. 1555: had succeeded, and had married Isobel Lindsay. RMS iv 1000

24 Jan. 1574/5: occs. escheated. RSS vii 14

13 Sept.1578: had deceased. RMS v 2798

Adam Crichton of Ruthven 038

22 Aug. 1565: occs. as heir. RMS iv 1659
20 Oct. 1573: to marry Margaret Erskine. RMS iv 2166
13 Sept.1578: had married and succeeded; infeft their son James in lands. RMS iv 2798

Adam Crichton fiar of Ruthven 039

22 Jun. 1588: condemned to death. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 165

DEMPSTER

William Dempster of Careston 040

5 Sept.1528: occs. RMS iii 654
14 Mar. 1538/9: infeft his son David as fiar. RMS iii 1947

David Dempster of Careston 041

14 Mar. 1538/9: infeft as fiar. RMS iii 1947
26 May 1544: infeft his son William as fiar. REB ii no.ccxxxiii
19 Aug. 1547: had deceased. REB ii no.ccxxxiv

William Dempster of Careston 042

26 May 1544: infeft in Findowrie as heir. REB ii no.ccxxxiii
19 Aug. 1547: had succeeded his father. REB ii no.ccxxxiv
18 Nov. 1561: occ. as liferenter of Careston with David, tenth earl of Crawford as fiar. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.6 f.435v

DOUGLAS

[Douglas earls of Buchan - see under STEWART.]

Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie 043

1513: succeeded after his father's death at Flodden. A.J.Warden Angus or Forfar i 296
6 Apr. 1538: had married Agnes, daughter of William, earl Marischal. RSS ii 2530
20 Oct. 1558: infeft his son William in Kemnay. RMS iv 1254
29 Sept.1570: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.34v

William Douglas of Glenbervie, ninth earl of Angus 044

18 Dec. 1549: occs. as son and heir of his father. RMS v 816
18 May 1552: had married Egidia, daughter of Robert Graham of Morphie. RMS iv 696
20 Oct. 1558: infeft in Kemnay by his father. RMS iv 1254
29 Sept.1570: succeeded his father in Glenbervie. Ed.t.CC 8.8.12 f.34v
20 Mar. 1582/3: occs. RSS viii 1220
"weill past in aige and subject to dyverse diseassis and specialie the sciatik"
7 Mar.1588/9: won his case to succeed as earl of Angus. Scots Peerage i 197
1 Jul.1591: died. Scots Peerage i 198

DURHAM

Alexander Durham of Grange 045

27 Apr. 1525: had married Jonet Erskine. RMS iii 304
17 Jul. 1536: had married Margaret Ramsay. RMS iii 1599
1543/4: had deceased. RMS iii 3009

William Durham of Grange 046

17 Jul. 1536: infeft as fiar. RMS iii 1599
1543/4: had succeeded his father. RMS iii 3009
24 Mar. 1545/6: had married Jonet, sister of Alexander Inglis of Tarvet. She died Jul.1580.RD 1.14 f.64r;CC 8.8.8 f.148v
Aug. 1574: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.172v

Robert Durham of Grange 047

married Matilda Baldovie, who died Sept.1598. CC 8.8.32 f.357v
Aug. 1574: succeeded his brother William. Forfar retours IRA.vol.1,Forfar no.13.
30 Jul. 1589: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.22 f.203v

ERSKINE

John Erskine of Dun 048

1508-9: born. T.Crockett, "John Erskine of Dun" p.6
9 Sept.1513: succeeded when his father and grandfather were killed at Flodden. Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxvii
Dec. 1522: to marry Margaret Lindsay, daughter of the eighth earl of Crawford. She died 29 Jul.1538. HMC v p.639
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxvii
1538: had married Barbara de Beirle. She died 15 Nov.1572. LHT vii 129;
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxvii
22 Mar. 1589/90: died.
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxvii

John Erskine, fiar of Dun 049

2 Mar. 1539/40: occs. as heir. Spald.Misc. iv p.33
1544/5: occs as fiar. Erskine of Dun mss. GD 123.9
19 Sept.1563: had deceased. Erskine of Dun mss. GD 123.1

Robert Erskine of Dun 050

20 Jun. 1545: had married Katherine, daughter of Robert Graham of Morphie. Spald.Misc. iv 46
19 Sept.1563: had succeeded his elder brother John as fiar of Dun. Erskine of Dun mss.,GD 123.1
22 Mar. 1589/90: succeeded as laird on Dun on his father's death.
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxvii
27 Dec. 1590: died.
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxviii

John Erskine of Logie/Kirkbuddo; later, of Dun 051

13 Apr. 1565: son of Robert, fiar of Dun; married Agnes, daughter of James master of Ogilvy [died 1547] and Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. JRL, The Crawford mss.,3.1.14; DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.73r
27 Dec. 1590: succeeded as laird on Dun on his father's death.
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxviii
17 Jun. 1591: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.33 f.163r;
Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxviii

John Erskine of Dun 052

24 Aug. 1588: to marry Margaret, daughter of Robert [Keith] Lord Altrie. Kinnaird,Southesk Charters box no.2,bund.no.10,no.175

17 Jun. 1591: succeeded as laird of Dun on his father's death. Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxviii

21 Oct. 1592: died. Spald.Misc. iv "Obits of the lairds of Dun" p.lxxviii

Mr [Sir] Thomas Erskine of Haltoun/ of Brechin and Navar 053

second son of John Erskine of Dun: uncle of [048] above. Spald.Misc. ii lxxiv

15 Aug. 1513: occs. as Mr Thomas of Haltoun. Spald.Misc. iv 13

30 Apr. 1518: had married Elizabeth, daughter of Scrymgeour of Dudhope. Spald.Misc. ii lxxv; Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.2797 f.2r no.10

6 Aug. 1531: occs. as Sir Thomas of Haltoun. RMS iii 1049

12 Mar. 1531/2: occs. as "of Brechin". RSS ii 1190

8 Jan. 1550/51: occs. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.961

18 Nov. 1551: had deceased. RSS iv 1419

Thomas Erskine of Canterland 054

14 Dec. 1540: son of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin; to marry Margaret, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy. Airlie mss., GD 16.44.5

11 Aug. 1541: son of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin; to marry Agnes, daughter of James Lord Ogilvy. Airlie mss., GD 16.44.5

30 Aug. 1541: had married Agnes Ogilvy; had joint-infeftment from his father in Canterland. RMS iii 2432

28 Mar. 1542/3: said to be abroad and in captivity. Spald.Misc. ii 205

1549: had deceased. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.983 f.2v no.7

John Erskine of Balhaggartie 055

1549: heir of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin on decease of Thomas Erskine. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.983 f.2v no.7

30 May 1550: had married Margaret, daughter of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie; with her had sasine in Balhaggartie. Prot.Bk.Cristison (SRS) nos.449,441

18 Nov. 1551: had succeeded his father. RSS iv 1419

1563: occs. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.983 f.3r no.22

11 Mar. 1589/90: occs. Spald.Misc. ii p.206

FALCONER

David Falconer of Haulkerton 056

married Mariote Dunbar. RMS iii 2075,2076

16 May 1516: occs. MTH, Montrose mss.,M/W1/2

24 Apr. 1544: infeft his son Alexander as fiar. RMS iii 3010

2 Oct. 1557: had deceased. RMS iv 1209

Alexander Falconer of Haulkerton 057

24 Apr. 1544: married Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie; infeft as fiar. RMS iii 3010

2 Oct. 1557: had succeeded his father. RMS iv 1209

16 Jun. 1573: occ. with his son Alexander. RSS vi 1995

10 Nov. 1592: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.24 f.253r

Alexander Falconer, fiar of Haulkerton 058
16 Jun. 1573: had married Isobel Gray, Lady Carmyllie. RSS vi 1995
10 Nov. 1592: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.24 f.253r

FENTON
James Fenton of Ogil 059
13 Dec. 1524: occs. RMS iii 285
20 Jun. 1545: infeft his nephew David as fiar. RMS iii 3123
30 Nov. 1565: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.177r

David Fenton of Ogil 060
20 Jun. 1545: infeft as fiar of Ogil. RMS iii 3123
15 Jan. 1553/4: occ. as fiar and married to Isobella Erskine.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.1
30 Nov. 1565: had succeeded. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.177r
3 Aug. 1584: liferenter of Ogil. RSS viii 2246

FOTHERINGHAM
James Fotheringham of Powrie 061
21 Aug. 1515: heir of Thomas Fotheringham and Elizabeth Arbuthnott.
RMS iii 36
5 Sept.1528: had deceased. RMS iii 648

Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie 062
5 Sept.1528: had inherited. RMS iii 648
26 Mar. 1532: had married Alison Charteris. RSS ii 857
Sept.1547: slain at Pinkie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.238v

Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie 063
Sept.1547: succeeded his father as a minor. CC 8.8.4 f.238v
11 Jan. 1557/8: had inherited. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.3 f.108r
25 Feb. 1575/6: occs. RPC ii 498
28 Nov. 1576: had deceased. WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 111

Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie 064
28 Nov. 1576: had succeeded his father. WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 111
10 Nov. 1579: had married Helen, sister of Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres. RMS iv 2917
5 Dec. 1581: occs. RPC iii 433
28 Feb. 1595/6: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.31 f.172r

FRASER
Alexander Fraser of Durris 065
5 Jul. 1531: occs. RMS iii 1040
24 Jun. 1549: occ. as married to Christine Arbuthnott and infefting his nephew Thomas as fiar. RMS iv 335
1561: had deceased. TB p117

Thomas Fraser of Durris 066
married a daughter of Guthrie of Lunan.
"Mearns Genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.219
24 Jun. 1549: infeft as fiar of Durris. RMS iv 335
1561: had succeeded. TB p.117
24 May 1567: his son Thomas fiar of Durris. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.98r

23 Apr. 1569: had deceased. RSS vi 588

Thomas Fraser of Durris 067
married a daughter of Wishart of Pittarrow.
"Mearns Genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.219
1561-1564: occ. as younger of Durris. TB p.xl
24 May 1567: occ. as fiar of Durris. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.98r
23 Apr. 1569: had succeeded. RSS vi 588
30 Jan. 1577/8: occ. as married to Margaret Gordon. RMS iv 2768

Alexander Fraser fiar of Durris 068
2 Aug. 1577: to marry Helen, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk. RMS iv 2768

FULLERTON
William Fullerton of Ardoch/ of Craigo 069
18 Jan. 1548: occs. RFVA, ASPA, vol.118
25 Aug. 1550: had married Agnes Lindsay. NLS ms.3044 no.43
6 Mar. 1577/8: described as Fullerton of Craigo [as married to Agnes Lindsay on 10 Aug.1578 under that title] RMS iv 2874; JRL, The Crawford mss., 3.1.17
Jan. 1580/81: died, and survived by Agnes Lindsay. CC 8.8.9 f.69r

William Fullerton of Ardoch 070
22 Jul. 1578: occ. as younger of Craigo. Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 79
Jan. 1580/81: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.69r

Alexander Fullerton, portioner of Craigo 071
2 May 1523: as portioner of Craigo, married to Elizabeth Garden, who had killed herself by 21 Jul. 1529. RMS iii 246; RSS ii 224
20 Mar. 1534/5: had married Jonet Sibbald. RMS iii 1462
19 May 1540: had deceased. RSS ii 3492

Henry Fullerton of Craigo 072
19 May 1540: had succeeded as a minor. RSS ii 3492
3 Nov. 1552: infeft his son as fiar, reserving liferent to self and wife Margaret Lyon or Lyall. RMS iv 718; RSS iv 1718
4 Jan. 1582/3: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.18v

Alexander Fullerton fiar of Craigo 073
3 Nov. 1552: infeft as fiar of Craigo. RMS iv 718; RSS iv 1718
30 May 1589: death of Christine Strachan his wife. CC 8.8.22 f.8r
Aug. 1597: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.32 f.106v

David Fullerton of Kinnaber 074
30 Apr. 1527: occs. RMS iii 474
9 Jan. 1534/5: had deceased. RMS iii 1465

Alexander Fullerton of Kinnaber 075
30 Apr. 1527: had married Margaret Lamb. RMS iii 474
9 Jan. 1534/5: had succeeded his father. RMS iii 1465
Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. RSS iv 150

John Fullerton of Kinnaber 076

Sept.1547: succeeded his father. RSS iv 150
8 Feb. 1550/51: had married Isobel Barclay. RMS iv 566
13 Feb. 1581: occ. with his son John. RMS v 527

GARDYNE/ GARDEN

Patrick Gardyne of that ilk 077

25 May 1529: occs. RMS iii 794
2 Jan. 1530/31: had married Margaret Garden. Arb.Lib. ii 744
15 Mar. 1566/7: had deceased. RMS iv 1774

Patrick Gardyne of that ilk 078

29 Nov. 1549: had married Agnes, daughter of David Garden of Leys. RMS iii 398
15 Mar. 1566/7: had succeeded his uncle. RMS iv 1774
10 May 1578: killed by William Guthrie of Ravensby. RPC ii 701

Mr David Gardyne of that ilk 079

10 May 1578: succeeded his father. RPC ii 701
28 Oct. 1591: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.25.9

Mr David Garden of Cononsyth 080

5 Nov. 1511: occs. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/13
26 Mar. 1533: David Garden of Leys his son and heir. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/7
26 Mar. 1534: had deceased. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.13

David Garden of Leys 081

27 Aug. 1528: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 138*
26 Mar. 1533: described as son and heir of David Garden of Cononsyth. MTH, Montrose mss, M/W1/7
26 Mar. 1534: had succeeded Mr David of Cononsyth. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.13
24 Aug. 1536: had married Jonet Beaton. Arb.Lib. ii 837
26 Jul. 1543: resigned Leys and Cononsyth to David his heir. RMS iii 2943
27 Jun. 1550: occ. with David his heir. WRH,The Haigh Inventory i p.89
20 Nov. 1580: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.274r

David Garden of Leys and Cononsyth 082

26 Jul. 1543: son and heir of David of Leys; married to Agnes Lyon; received joint-infeftment in Cononsyth and Leys. RMS iii 2943
27 Jun. 1550: occ. with his father. WRH,The Haigh Inventory i p.89
28 Nov. 1574: had married Isobel Garden. RMS iii 2336
20 Nov. 1580: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.274r
2 Jul. 1596: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.29 f.261r

GLEDSTANES

Herbert Gledstanes 083

Jun. 1539: to marry Mirabelle Gledstanes. RFVA, ASPA,vol 100
11 Feb. 1559/60: occs. as married to Margaret Hepburn. DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.66r

28 Jan. 1561/2: had sasine in Muirside and Alehouse of Tulloes.
Strathmore muniments NRA(S) box 22 bund.2
20 Feb. 1562/3 to 25 Oct. 1567: see his notary protocol-book.
DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes)
22 May 1570: had deceased, survived by Margaret Hepburn and Walter, their eldest son; also by son Herbert.
DAC, Dundee Court Book no.11 [unfol.]

GRAHAM

William Graham, second earl of Montrose 084
24 Oct. 1513: served heir, though a minor. Scots Peerage i p.226
Dec. 1515: married Janet, daughter of William, earl Marischal.
Scots Peerage i p.228
24 May 1571: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.178r

Robert Graham, master of Montrose 085
22 Dec. 1543: had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Fleming.
RSS iii 564
Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. Scots' Peerage i 231

John Graham, third earl of Montrose 086
24 Aug. 1563: to marry Jean, daughter of Lord Drummond.
Scots Peerage i p.237
24 May 1571: succeeded his grandfather. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.178r
[1590: still alive]

John Graham of Ballargus and Claverhouse 087
14 Mar. 1529/30: had married Margaret Beaton; hence brother-in-law to cardinal David Beaton. Sanderson, Cardinal p.58; RMS iii 910
2 Apr. 1568: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.275r

William Graham of Ballargus and Claverhouse 088
2 Apr. 1568: occs. having succeeded. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.275r

William Graham of Fintry 089
8 Jan. 1529/30: succeeded; married Katherine, sister of cardinal David Beaton, daughter of John of Balfour.
RF.Mudie/DM.Walker: Mains Castle and the Grahams of Fintry, (Abertay Hist. Soc.,1964) p.5; Sanderson, Cardinal p.58
13 Jul. 1541: infeft his son David as fiar. RMS iii 2402
24 Feb. 1541/2: had deceased. RMS iii 2604

Sir David Graham of Fintry 090
24 Feb. 1541/2: had succeeded his father as a minor. RMS iii 2604
30 Sept.1546: knighted, and had married Margaret Ogilvy.
RF.Mudie/DM.Walker: Mains Castle and the Grahams of Fintry, (Abertay Hist. Soc.,1964) p.5; RMS iv 13
5 Feb. 1585/6: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.17 f.37r

David Graham of Fintry 091
5 Feb. 1585/6: succeeded. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.17 f.37r
15 Feb. 1592/3: executed for treason as a Catholic agent.
Calderwood, History v 224

Robert Graham of Morphie 092

5 Feb. 1511/12: succeeded his father Henry, being a minor. Scott of Brotherton mss.,GD 70.351

9 Mar. 1532/3: had married Katherine Paniter. RMS iii 1271

3 Sept.1583: died. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.13 f.172r

Henry Graham of Morphie/ Sir Henry of Commieston 093

23 May 1541: occs. RMS iii 2375

14 Nov. 1583: had sasine as heir of his father; named as Sir Henry of Commieston and Morphie, knight. Scott of Brotherton mss.,GD 70.352

GRAY

Patrick, third Lord Gray 094

15 Mar. 1515/16: served heir of his father. Peerage iv 278

Apr. 1541: died without legitimate issue. RSS ii 4135

Patrick, fourth Lord Gray 095

son of Gilbert Gray of Buttergask. Peerage iv 280

21 Sept.1537: married Marion, daughter of James fourth Lord Ogilvy. WRH, Inventory of Kinfauns muniments, NRA(S) 217/i/1

28 Apr. 1542: charter to the lordship of Gray. RMS iii 2650

post Sept.1584: died. Peerage iv 281

Patrick, fifth Lord Gray 096

1538: born. Peerage iv 283

14 Jan. 1556/7: to marry Barbara, daughter of William Lord Ruthven. WRH, Inventory of Kinfauns muniments, NRA(S) 217/i/5

post Sept.1584: inherited. Peerage iv 281; RSS viii 2414

1608: had died. Peerage iv 285.

Patrick, sixth Lord Gray 097

18 May 1575: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Glamis; who divorced him for adultery, 21 May 1585. Peerage iv 285.

10 Sept.1584: ref. to Patrick master of Gray younger. RSS viii 2414

25 Nov. 1585: He remarried to Mary, eldest daughter of Robert [Stewart] earl of Orkney. Peerage iv 285.

Andrew Gray of Dunninald 098

17 Feb. 1530/31: occs. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13

17 Nov. 1539: had married Jonet Hume. Jedburgh abbey, CH 6.6.1 f.4v

20 May 1547: occs. RPC i 68

17 May 1549: had deceased. Justiciary courts, JC 1.6 f.8r

Andrew Gray of Dunninald 099

17 May 1549: had inherited. Justiciary courts, JC 1.6 f.8r

14 Nov. 1557: occs. Jedburgh abbey CH 6.6.1 f.30v

26 Dec. 1583: occs. RSS viii 1689

GUTHRIE

Andrew Guthrie of that ilk 100

9 Sept.1513: inherited on the deaths of his father and grandfather at Flodden. Married Christian, daughter of Gardyne of that ilk. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii 408

13 Mar. 1543/4: infeft his son Alexander as fiar. RMS iii 2998
23 Feb. 1568/9: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.16
12 Mar. 1572/3: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.12 f.92v

Alexander Guthrie of that ilk 101
married Isabel, daughter of William Wood of Bonnyton.
Warden, Angus or Forfar iii 408
13 Mar. 1543/4: infeft as fiar of Guthrie. RMS iii 2998
5 Nov. 1569: still fiar.
DAC, prot.bk.no.8 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.94v
12 Mar. 1572/3: had inherited. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.12 f.92v
5 Oct. 1587: killed. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.347v

Alexander Guthrie of that ilk 102
5 Oct. 1587: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.347v
May 1590: death of Agnes Falconer, his wife. CC 8.8.23 f.111v

John Guthrie in/of Colliston 103
married Isobel Ogilvy. Sanderson, Cardinal p.38-9
1528: occs. Miller, Arbroath p.179
3 Nov. 1551: occs. RMS iv 647
27 Jun. 1554: had deceased. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.962

Henry Guthrie of Colliston 104
brother of James Guthrie, burgess of Edinburgh.
Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.739
27 Jun. 1554: had succeeded his father. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.962
23 Dec. 1580: died, survived by his wife Isobel Lyon. CC 8.8.10 f.313r

Alexander Guthrie of Haulkerton 105
3 Dec. 1535: occs. RMS iii 1723
Jan. 1576/7: died, survived by Agnes Lindsay his wife.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.27v

William Guthrie of Haulkerton 106
9 Apr. 1565: occs. as apparent.
DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.50r
Jan. 1576/7: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.27v
Feb. 1580/81: died, survived by his wife Christine Moncur.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.134v

Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie 107
5 Sept.1528: occs. RMS iii 653
2 Sept.1529: had married Katherine Moncreiff. RMS iii 832
31 Oct. 1543: occs. RMS iii 2967

There is no direct evidence to show that the Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie of 1528 is not the laird of the same name active into the 1580s - but the prosecution of the latter for fornication makes such an identification seem unlikely. The clerks of the Great Seal were uncertain of the Christian name of the laird of Kingennie in 1544, and this may indicate the death of the first Ninian Guthrie. RMS iii 3009
NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.57v

Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie 108
11 Apr. 1551: occs. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 24 bund.1
17 May 1587: occs. RMS iv 1249
30 Mar. 1596: had deceased. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.87v

William Guthrie of Kingennie 109
30 Mar. 1596: occs. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.87v

Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum 110
son of Andrew Guthrie of that ilk. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.405
15 Jan. 1537/8: occs. ADCP p.462
3 Jun. 1543: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 33 bund.3
Jul. 1553: had deceased. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.405

David Guthrie of Kingoldrum 111
Jul. 1553: had inherited. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.405
27 Apr. 1577: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.248v
26 Dec. 1580: had deceased. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum 112
26 Dec. 1580: had inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

Hercules Guthrie of Lunan 113
3 Mar. 1549/50: occs.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.12
4 Jun. 1565: dead. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.9

Robert Guthrie of Lunan 114
4 Jun. 1565: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.9
2 Nov. 1580: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund.no.10

HALIBURTON

George Haliburton of Gask and Pitcur 115
24 Jan. 1526/7: occs. RMS iii 416
2 Oct. 1529: had married Jonet Ogston. RMS iii 843
27 Jul. 1538: had deceased. RSS ii 2645

Andrew Haliburton of Pitcur 116
27 Jul. 1538: had succeeded his father. RSS ii 2645
30 Sept.1546: had married Katherine Graham. RMS iv 12
Sept.1547: slain at Pinkie. RSS iv 1875

Sir George Haliburton of Pitcur 117
Sept.1547: inherited as a minor. RSS iv 1875
12 Mar. 1552/3: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of James Learmouth of Balcomy. RMS iv 767
Oct. 1597: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.31 f.172r

Mr James Haliburton, tutor of Pitcur 118
8 Feb. 1535: occs. as son of George Haliburton of Gask. RMS iii 1546
20 Feb. 1588/9: resigned as provost of Dundee after 33 years,and ...
1588-9: died. Maxwell Old Dundee p.189f

HAY

Patrick Hay of Urie 119

2 Dec. 1531: occs. RMS iii 1092
9 Feb. 1531/2: occs. RSS ii 1150
9 Apr. 1539: had deceased. RSS ii 2985

Alexander Hay of Urie 120

9 Apr. 1539: had inherited as a minor. RSS ii 2985
5 Dec. 1541: occs. RMS iii 2517
18 Oct. 1542: had deceased.
Sir William Fraser Papers (SRS 3rd series) ed.JRN Macphail no.5

William Hay of Urie 121

Succeeded Alexander his brother: son of Patrick Hay above.
RSS iv 2421
18 Oct. 1542: inherited.
Sir William Fraser Papers (SRS 3rd series) ed.JRN Macphail no.5
21 May 1582: occs. RSS viii 820

KEITH

William Keith, fourth earl Marischal 122

27 Feb. 1529/30: had inherited as a minor. ADCP p.321
31 May 1529: to marry Margaret, co-heiress of William Keith of Inverurie. RSS ii 124,1008-9
7 Oct. 1581: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.11 f.53r; 8.8.12 f.330v

William Keith, master of Marischal 123

14 Jan. 1543: married Elizabeth, daughter of George, sixth earl of Errol. Peerage vi p.49; RSS iv 2423
10 Aug. 1580: died before his father. Spald.Misc ii 53.

George Keith, fifth earl Marischal 124

7 Oct. 1581: succeeded his grandfather. CC 8.8.11 f.53r; 8.8.12 f.330v
2 Apr. 1623: died.
P.Buchan, Account of the ancient and noble family of Keith (Peterhead 1820) p.54

Mr Robert Keith, commendator of Deer; Lord Altrie 125

22 Jan. 1542/3: pres. to abbey of Deer, being a brother of William earl Marischal. RSS iii 46,830
24/25 May 1566: married Isobel Lundie, heiress of Benholm. [q.v.] Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.361v
16 Sept.1589: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2 bund.no.10
[Erected as Lord Altrie; still alive in 1590.]

Robert Keith of Canterland 126

13 Feb. 1581: occs. RMS v 527
9 Nov. 1583: died, succeeded by his son Mr Alexander. CC 8.8.19 f.77r

James Keith of Drumtochty 127

3 Jun. 1565: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.18
24/25 May 1566: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.361v
20 Feb. 1574/5: recently deceased. RSS vii 47

Mr James Keith of Drumtochty 128
20 Feb. 1574/5: succeeded his father. RSS vii 47

LAMBY

John Lamby of Dunkenny 129
13 Mar. 1533/4: occs. ADCP p.420
1542: occs. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii 211
26 Nov. 1547: had deceased. RSS iii 2542

George Lamby of Dunkenny 130
26 Nov. 1547: had succeeded. RSS iii 2542
8 Sept. 1549: to marry Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7
11 May 1570: occs. DAC, prot.bk.no.10 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.1r
21 May 1575: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.14 f.201r

John Lamby of Dunkenny 131
21 May 1575: had succeeded his father as a minor. RD 1.14 f.201r
24 May 1575: to marry Christian, daughter of William Fullerton of Craigo. Airlie mss.,GD 16.3.52
14 Oct. 1600: occs. Strathmore Writs NRA(S) 885 box 2.28

LAUDER

Alexander Lauder of Omachie 132
Probably acquired lands of Omachie from his grandfather Sir Robert Lauder of Bass after 1538. RMS iii 1824
married Jonet Garden who died 7 May 1584. NRH, OPR 310/1 f.58r
27 Apr. 1557: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.129r
24 Apr. 1579: occs. NRH, OPR 310/1 f.41v
16 Dec. 1580: had deceased. RSS vii 2651

Alexander Lauder of Omachie 133
16 Dec. 1580: had succeeded his father. RSS vii 2651
1607: occs., forfeited. Malcolm, Monifieth p.321

LEIGHTON

Thomas Leighton of Usan [Ullishaven] 134
10 Oct. 1526: had married Helen Stirling. RMS iii 379
26 Mar. 1540/41: infeft his son and heir John in lands. RMS iii 2635
14 Aug. 1546: had deceased. RSS iii 1833

John Leighton of Usan 135
4 Apr. 1542: had married Jonet, daughter of Alexander Livingston of Dunipace. RMS iii 2635
14 Aug. 1546: had succeeded his father. RSS iii 1833
24 Apr. 1549: killed his mother. RSS iv 263
20 Mar. 1549/50: had deceased. RSS iv 602

John Leighton of Usan 136
1 Jul. 1548: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 224
20 Mar. 1549/50: had succeeded as a minor. RSS iv 602
30 Oct. 1561: occs. RMS iv 1439
26 Feb. 1574/5: had married Katherine Wood. RMS iv 2365
9 Nov. 1591: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.3.55

LINDSAY

David Lindsay, eighth earl of Crawford 137

28 Oct. 1517: retoured as heir of his father.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.57

4 Jan. 1529/30: had married Isobel Lundy. RMS iii 879

27/28 Nov.1542: died. Lord Lindsay, Lives i 197

Alexander Lindsay, master of Crawford 138

married Janet, daughter of Lord Sinclair. Peerage iii p.26

2 Sept.1527: infeft as heir of the earldom. RMS iii 494

30 Mar. 1537: renounced his rights as fiar.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.69/70

1537-8: died. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.197

David Lindsay, ninth earl of Crawford

[see under EDZELL, below] [142]

David Lindsay, tenth earl of Crawford 139

Son of Alexander master of Crawford and disinherited with him.
Peerage iii p.29; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.69/70

10 Apr. 1546: married Margaret, daughter of cardinal David Beaton.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i 201; Reg.Deeds,RD 1.2 f.405r

2 May 1546: adopted as son and heir by David Lindsay of Edzell, 9th earl of Crawford: and infeft as fiar of the earldom.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i 201; Reg.Deeds,RD 1.2 f.405r

3 Jul. 1559: had inherited the earldom on the death of the 9th earl.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.203; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.105

24 Dec. 1563: infeft his son David as fiar.
WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.106

17 Jan. 1572/3: reported as "deadly sick". CSP(S) iv 520

1 Nov. 1574: had deceased. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.296

David Lindsay, eleventh earl of Crawford 140

11 Feb. 1572/3: to marry Lilias, daughter of Lord Drummond; separated soon after the marriage. Peerage iii p.31

1 Nov. 1574: had inherited as a minor. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.296; Reg.Deeds, RD 1.14 f.66r

11 Dec. 1581: to marry Grizel, daughter of John earl of Atholl.
RMS v 288

22 Nov. 1607: died. Peerage iii 31

David Lindsay of Edzell 141

24 Jun. 1529: occs. RSS ii 191

12 Jun. 1532: occs. RSS ii 191

9 Dec. 1532: had deceased. Peerage iii p.27

David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford 142

married Jonat Gray, widow of Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat. She had died by 1549/50. Peerage iii p.28; JRL, The Crawford mss.,2.1.1

9 Dec. 1532: retoured in Edzell. Peerage iii p.27

16 Oct. 1541: fiar of the earldom of Crawford by royal charter.
RMS iii 2484

2 May 1546: adopted David Lindsay, son of Alexander master of Crawford, and infeft him as heir of the earldom.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i 200; RD 1.2 f.405r

1549: married Dame Katherine Campbell, daughter of Campbell of Cawdor and widow of James master of Ogilvy. She died 1579. JRL,The Crawford mss., 3.1.19; Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.201

3 Jul. 1559: had deceased. Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.203; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.105

Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, Lord Edzell 143

1 Apr. 1554: had been born, son of David Lindsay of Edzell ninth earl of Crawford and of Dame Katherine Campbell. RMS iv 922

3 Jul. 1559: inherited Edzell from his father; known as "of Glenesk". Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.203; WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.105

[x] 1570: to marry Helen, daughter of David tenth earl of Crawford. JRL, The Crawford mss.,4.1.83

4 Jun. 1573: took possession of Edzell. JRL, The Crawford mss.,4.1.84

3 May 1588: to marry Dame Isobel Forbes. JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.1.93

15 Dec. 1610: died. JRL, The Crawford mss.,4.1.104

John Lindsay of Evelick 144

Aug. 1528: inherited; married Jonet Durham. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.9 p.6

29 Apr. 1541: had deceased. RMS iii 2523

John Lindsay of Evelick 145

29 Apr. 1541: had inherited. RMS iii 2523

c.1551: married Isabella, daughter of Thomas Blair of Balthiok. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.9 p.9

c.1610: died. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.9 p.9

Alexander Lindsay of Monikie 146

24 Apr. 1516: occs. RMS iii 268

24 Aug. 1528: had deceased. RMS iii 677 Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.ii p.137

Mr John Lindsay of Monikie 147

24 Aug. 1528: occs. RMS iii 677

9 Jul. 1538: occs. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.ii p.138

13 May 1546: had deceased. RMS v 1191

Patrick Lindsay of Monikie and Kinnettles 148

13 May 1546: granted lands of Kinnettles. RMS v 1191

9 Nov. 1550: had died, survived by his wife Margaret Spalding. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.ii p.138

David Lindsay of Kinnettles 149

9 Nov. 1550: had inherited, probably as son of Patrick. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.ii p.138

1562: occs. Lord Lindsay, Lives i 442

11 Mar. 1614: had deceased. Clan Lindsay Soc. Pubs. iii no.11 p.139

[Clan Lindsay Soc.Pubs. divided David Lindsay of Kinnettles into two individuals - but gave no authority for this seemingly unnecessary assumption.]

David Lindsay of Pitairlie 150

1532: occs. LHT vi 15

11 Mar. 1580/81: died; survived by his wife Katherine. CC 8.8.9 f.207v

John Lindsay of Pitairlie 151

11 Mar. 1580/81: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

17 Apr. 1607: had deceased. RPC vii 672

Alexander Lindsay of Vane 152

31 Aug. 1547: had married Elizabeth Beaton. RMS iv 142

16 Mar. 1555/6: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.1 f.292v

20 May 1561: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.4 f.267v

Alexander Lindsay of Vane 153

20 May 1561: had inherited. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.4 f.267v

2 May 1574: to marry Alison Charteris, Lady Powrie. RD 1.14 f.37r

25 Mar. 1585: died; succeeded by his son David. CC 8.8.19 f.288r

LIVINGSTON

Mr Alexander Livingston of Dunipace 154

13 Jan. 1516/7: occs. RMS iii 125

24 Jul. 1525: had married Elizabeth Hepburn, who had died Jan.1553/4. RMS iii 329; RSS iv 2319

Aug. 1560: occs. APS ii 525/6

12 Apr. 1578: had deceased. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4

John Livingston of Dunipace 155

3 Sept. 1550: as heir of his father had sasine in 1/3rd of Dunlappie. RSS iv 870

8 May 1552: had married Margaret Elphinstone. RMS iv 693

12 Apr. 1578: had succeeded his father. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4

25 Apr. 1583: occs. with wife and son John junior. RSS viii 1281

7 Nov. 1586: occs. [or his son ?] Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

John Livingston of Dunipace 156

25 Apr. 1583: occs. with his father and mother. RSS viii 1281

7 Nov. 1586: occs. [or his father ?] Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

LOVELL

Sir Henry Lovell of Ballumbie 157

4 Jan. 1525/6: occs. Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885 box 14 bund.2 no.30

25 Jul. 1528: had married Margaret Moncreiff. RMS iii 617

14 Aug. 1536: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 177*

9 Nov. 1540: dead. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 14 bund.3 no.44

Andrew Lovell of Ballumbie 158

9 Nov. 1540: occs. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 14 bund.3 no.44

30 May 1551: infeft John, son of Henry; his own nephew. RMS iv 604

27 Jun. 1554: occs. with John. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.962

11 Feb. 1555/6: had deceased. RSS iv 3162

Henry Lovell of Ballumbie 159

11 Feb. 1555/6: had married Janet, daughter of Sir William Scott of Balweary; with her infeft in life-interest in Ballumbie by their son John, heir of Andrew (Henry's brother ?) RSS iv 3162

2 Aug. 1565:had married Margaret Moncreiff; reinfeft in his life-interest conjointly with her. RSS v 2232

27 Jan. 1574/5: occs. RPC ii 429

23 Feb. 1575/6: had deceased. RSS vii 474

John Lovell of Ballumbie 160

11 Feb. 1555/6: being a minor, infeft his father Henry and his father's wife Janet Scott in life-interests in Ballumbie. RSS iv 3162

6 Feb. 1557/8: son and heir of Henry. NLS, ms.25.9.6

20 Jun. 1559: married Barbara, daughter of Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk; she died 30 Jul.1579. CS 7.20 f.35r; NRH, OPR 310/1 f.42v

2 Aug. 1565: new grant by him of life-interests in Ballumbie to his father and new step-mother, Margaret Moncreiff. RSS v 2232

23 Feb. 1575/6: freed from disputed possession by his father's death. RSS vii 474

6 Sept.1584: occs. RSS viii 2387

[1590: still alive]

William Lovell of Ballumbie 161

10 Apr. 1579: son of John; apparent of Ballumbie. RSS vii 1880

23 Jul. 1596: married Mary Barclay as fiar of Ballumbie. NLS, ch.4772

LUNDIE

Andrew Lundie of Benholm 162

22 Jun. 1525: had married Margaret, daughter of Scrymgeour of Dudhope. RMS iii 321;"Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

13 Aug. 1546: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.4. bund. no.2

Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. Benholm and Hedderwick mss.,GD 4.27

William Lundie of Benholm 163

Sept.1547: succeeded his father.Benholm and Hedderwick mss.,GD 4.27

8 Sept.1549: to marry Helen, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.2. bund. no.7

25 Jun. 1551: had married Helen Carnegy. RMS iv 620

16 Aug. 1553: had deceased, leaving his daughter Elizabeth as heiress. RSS iv 2093

Elizabeth Lundie, lady Benholm 164

16 Aug. 1553: succeeded her father as a baby: warded by Carnegy of Kinnaird. RSS iv 2093

7 Nov. 1554: her marriage sold to William earl Marischal. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.1. f.154v

6 Feb. 1559/60: her marriage assigned to Robert Keith, commendator of Deer, second son of William earl Marischal. GD 4.30

10 May 1565: had sasine in Benholm, aged c.15 years. GD 4.31

13 Jun. 1566: had married Robert Keith, commendator of Deer; and resigned Benholm for joint-infeftment with him. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.361v; GD 4.61

28 Jun. 1587: new joint-infeftment in Benholm. GD 4.69; RMS v 1324

LYALL

William Lyall of Murthill 165

9 Nov. 1556: his son Thomas occ. as fiar. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.8r
30 Apr. 1566: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 134 bund.7 no.2
22 Feb. 1568/9: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.16
26 Jun. 1584: had deceased. RSS viii 2177

Thomas Lyall of Murthill 166

9 Nov. 1556: occs. as fiar. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.8r
22 Feb. 1568/9: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.16
26 Jun. 1584: occs. having inherited. RSS viii 2177

LYON

John Lyon, sixth Lord Glamis 167

29 Apr. 1505: retoured as heir of his brother. Peerage viii p.278
8 Apr. 1528: died. Peerage viii 278
survived by his wife Janet, sister of Archibald earl of Angus - who was eventually burnt for treason, 17 Jul.1537. Pitcairn, Trials i 191

John Lyon, seventh Lord Glamis 168

8 Apr. 1528: inherited as a minor. Peerage viii 278
18 Jul. 1537: imprisoned, forfeited and condemned to death for assisting his mother's treason. Peerage viii 280
18 Jan. 1542/3: released from prison. Pitcairn, Trials i/ii 328*
6 Feb. 1543/4: married Jean, daughter of Robert master of Marischal. Diurnal p.26; RMS iii 2990
12 Mar. 1543/4: restored to lands and honours. APS ii 409f; ADCP p.529
17 Apr. 1550: infeft his son John as fiar. RSS iv 658
24 Nov. 1559: had died. Strathmore writs NRA(S) vol.2 no.79

John Lyon, eighth Lord Glamis 169

17 Apr. 1550: infeft as fiar. RSS iv 658
24 Nov. 1559: inherited as a minor.Strathmore writs NRA(S) vol.2 no.79
11 Apr. 1561: married Elizabeth, daughter of William Lord Abernethy of Saltoun. Peerage viii p.290
17 Mar. 1577/8: killed. Peerage viii p.290

Patrick Lyon, ninth Lord Glamis 170

17 Mar. 1577/8: inherited as a minor. Peerage viii p.291
13 Nov. 1596: had obtained majority. Peerage viii p.291

Sir Thomas Lyon of Aldbar/ of Baldukie [etc], master of Glamis 171

Son of John, seventh Lord Glamis; heir-presumptive from 1559 until the birth of Patrick ninth lord c.1575 and from 1578 until the birth of Patrick's heir. Peerage viii 284f
1575: married Agnes, Lady Home: sister of Patrick Lord Gray. Peerage viii p.287
1586: married Eupham, daughter of William earl of Morton. Peerage viii p.287
18 Feb. 1608: died. Peerage viii 286

John Lyon of Haltoun of Eassie/ of Cossins 172

1530: infeft in Haltoun of Eassie as tenant in chief.
A.Ross, The Lyons of Cossins and Wester Ogil (Edinburgh 1901) p.29

4 Nov. 1544: had married Marjorie Ogilvy. A.Ross, Lyons p.30
19 Jun. 1553: infeft his son John as fiar. A.Ross, Lyons p.33
1569: held Cossins [from John Lord Glamis] A.Ross, Lyons p.32
1 Dec. 1585: occs. as of Cossins. A.Ross, Lyons p.32
13 Mar. 1589/90: had deceased. A.Ross, Lyons p.35

John Lyon of Haltoun of Eassie/ of Cossins 173
19 Jun. 1553: infeft as fiar. A.Ross, Lyons p.33
21 Apr. 1577: had married Margaret Drummond. A.Ross, Lyons p.34
13 Mar. 1589/90: had succeeded. A.Ross, Lyons p.35

James Lyon of Easter Ogil 174
28 Apr. 1567: occs. A.Ross, Lyons p.31
17 Dec. 1579: occs. RPC iii 249
24 Aug. 1584: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 119
1591: occs. RPC iv 603

MAULE

Thomas Maule of Panmure 175
married Elizabeth Rollock;
9 Sept. 1513: killed at Flodden. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.62

Robert Maule of Panmure 176
married Isobel Mercer, who died in 1540.
Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.64
married Isobel, daughter of Arbuthnott of that ilk.
Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.64
9 Sept.1513: inherited, aged 16. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.63
3 May 1560: died. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 p.65

Thomas Maule of Panmure 177
1521: born. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.65
1547: married Margaret, daughter of George Haliburton of Pitcur. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.65
3 May 1560: inherited. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 p.65
7 Mar. 1599/1600: died. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.65

Patrick Maule of Panmure 178
"Mar. 1548": born. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 p.69
1562: married Margaret, daughter of John Erskine of Dun. She died 1589. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.26.53 p.70
13 Feb. 1580/81: occs. as fiar of Panmure. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.15.3
7 Mar. 1599/1600: inherited. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.26.53 p.65

MAXWELL

Hugh Maxwell of Tealing 179
26 Feb. 1523/4: occs. RMS iii 258
16 Feb. 1534/5: had married Barbara Hering. RMS iii 1449
21 May 1552: occs. RMS iv 722
16 May 1560: had deceased. RMS iv 1391

Alexander Maxwell of Tealing 180
12 May 1537: occs. as son and heir of Hugh. RSS ii 2259
12 Sept.1540: had married Helen Bruce. RMS iii 2200

16 May 1560: had succeeded his father. RMS iv 1391
14 Jan. 1585/6: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.17 f.17v

David Maxwell, fiar of Tealing 181
8 Apr. 1561: to marry Helen Gray: and ...
21 Feb. 1566/7: had married Helen, daughter of Patrick Lord Gray.
DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.9v
14 Jan. 1585/6: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.17 f.17v

MELVILLE

Richard Meville of Baldovie 182
4 Jan. 1529/30: occs. RSS ii 489
8 Jan. 1541/2: had married Giles, daughter of Thomas Abercromby, burgess of Montrose. RSS ii 4440;
Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.147
Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.147

Richard Melville of Baldovie 183
married Isobel, sister of Scrymgeour of Glasswell.
Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.148
1522: born; and ...
Sept.1547: succeeded his father. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.148
1 Feb. 1564/5: had married Katherine Lindsay. RMS iv 1581
28 May 1575: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.140r

David Melville of Baldovie 184
1 Feb. 1564/5: son of Richard Melville, infeft as fiar. RMS iv 1581
28 May 1575: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.140r
[Later became insane; his brother James appointed tutor in 1592.]
Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.150

Alexander Melville of Dysart 185
18 Jul. 1532: had married Isobel Ramsay; infeft his son Thomas as fiar. RMS iii 1191
12 Dec. 1558: occ. as life-renter.
DAC,prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.23r
16 Jan. 1572/3: had deceased. RMS iii 2112

Thomas Melville of Dysart 186
18 Jul. 1532: had married Helen Gray; infeft as fiar. RMS iii 1191
12 Dec. 1558: occ. as fiar, with his father.
DAC,prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.23r
16 Jan. 1572/3: infeft his son James as fiar. RMS iii 2112
8 Oct. 1577: licence to remain from a raid granted to [blank] Melville of Dysart.
Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no. 9
17 Feb. 1583/4: had deceased. RSS viii 1850

James Meville of Lawgavin/ of Dysart 187
16 Jan. 1572/3: had married Isobel, daughter of Douglas of Glenbervie; as "of Lawgavin" infeft as fiar of Dysart. RMS iii 2112
8 Oct. 1577: licence to remain from a raid granted to [blank] Melville of Dysart.
Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no. 9
17 Feb. 1583/4: had inherited. RSS viii 1850

8 Aug. 1588: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.174v

Robert Melville of Harvieston 188
28 Apr. 1537: occ. RSS ii 2243
7 Feb. 1550/51: infeft his son Alexander as fiar. RMS iv 569
10 Dec. 1558: had deceased. RMS iv 1323

Alexander Melville of Harvieston 189
7 Feb. 1550/51: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 569
10 Dec. 1558: had married Elspeth Keith and succeeded his father. RMS iv 1323
14 Aug. 1582: had deceased. RMS v 535

Andrew Melville of Harvieston 190
14 Aug. 1582: had married Helen Keith and succeeded his father. RMS v 535

MORTIMER
John Mortimer of Flemington 191
17 Feb. 1525/6: occs. RMS iii 352
3 Feb. 1528/9: infeft John Mortimer junior as fiar. RMS iii 742
Jan. 1574/5: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.206r

John Mortimer junior of Flemington 192
3 Feb. 1528/9: infeft as fiar. RMS iii 742
27 Jun. 1550: occs. WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.89
24 Apr. 1555/6: occ. as apparent of Flemington. RMS iv 1195
Jan. 1574/5: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.206r
4 Apr. 1583: occs. RMS v 541

NEVAY
John Nevay of that ilk 193
6 Jul. 1534: occs. Strathmore mss.,NRA(S) 885,box 14 bund.2 no.37
6 May 1553: occ. with John his son and heir. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.650
23 Jul. 1557: occ. with John his son and heir. RMS iv 1193
22 Mar. 1562/3: his son John still "apparent". R.Deeds, RD 1.6 f.168v
31 Jul. 1565: had deceased. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.67v

John Nevay of that ilk 194
6 May 1553: occ. with John of that ilk, his father. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.650
23 Jul. 1557: occ. with John his father. RMS iv 1193
22 Mar. 1562/3: occ. as apparent of that ilk. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.6 f.168v
31 Jul. 1565: had succeeded his father. DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.67v
1590: occs., but not in 1591. See list c. 164

OCHTERLONY
William Ochterlony of that ilk/of Kelly 195
23 Mar. 1516/17: occs. RMS iii 139
8 Sept.1528: had married Margaret Garden. RMS iii 678

2 Nov. 1529: had deceased. RSS ii 413

Alexander Ochterlony of that ilk/of Kelly 196
2 Nov. 1529: had succeeded. RSS ii 413
10 Jun. 1530: had married Elizabeth Learmonth. RMS iii 948
7 Dec. 1547: infeft his son James as fiar, reserving liferent and terce to his then wife Isobel Cunningham. RMS iv 163
3 Feb. 1553/4: had deceased. RSS iv 2368

James Ochterlony of that ilk/of Kelly 197
7 Dec. 1547: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 163
3 Feb. 1553/4: had inherited. RSS iv 2368
8 Oct. 1577: licence to [blank] Ochterlony of Kelly.
Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.9

OGILVY

James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie 198
29 Nov. 1524: retoured as heir of his father. Scots Peerage i 117
6 Feb. 1528/9: had married Helen, daughter of Henry Lord Sinclair. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.8; Peerage i p.117
Nov. 1547: died. Peerage i p.117

James, master of Ogilvy 199
25 Sept.1539: had married Katherine, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor. Airlie mss.,GD 16.7.1; RMS iii 2091
10 Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie before the death of his father. Peerage i p.118
[Dame Katherine married again, to David Lindsay of Edzell [ninth earl of Crawford. q.v.]

James, fifth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie 200
5 Jun. 1548: had sasine in Airlie as heir of his deceased grandfather, bring a minor under the tutorship of his mother, Dame Katherine Campbell. Airlie mss.,GD 16.1.6; JRL, The Crawford mss., box P bund.iii no.29
7 Mar. 1558/9: had married Jane, daughter of William Lord Forbes. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.8; Peerage i p.119
2 Oct. 1563: retoured in Lintrathen. Airlie mss., GD 16.3.44
9 Dec. 1563: still under curators. Airlie mss., GD 16.12.289
Oct. 1606: died. RPC vii 299

David Ogilvy of that ilk 201
11 Aug. 1525: inherited as heir of the late Alexander. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss,GD 137.325
29 Mar. 1530:to marry Margaret Moneypenny. RMS iii 926
5 Jul. 1542: made his son Gilbert fiar. RMS iii 2710
[x][x] 1558:occs. as liferenter with Gilbert as fiar. RD 1.3 f.250v
Aug. 1560: occs. APS ii 525/6
17 May 1562: had deceased.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.137v

Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk 202
5 Jul. 1542: made fiar. RMS iii 2710

27 Apr. 1557: to marry Sibella, daughter of David Lord Drummond.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1. 2 f.185v
[x][x] 1558:occs. as fiar with father as liferenter. RD 1.3 f.250v
20 Jun. 1559: still fiar. Acts & Decs., CS 7.20 f35
17 May 1562: had inherited.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.137v
23 Aug. 1584: occs. RSS viii 2314
27 Aug. 1601: had deceased. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss.,GD 137.328

Mr John Ogilvy of that ilk 203
Feb. 1581/2: occs. NLS, ch.5869
12 Aug. 1584: occs. as apparent of Powrie. [ie, Powrie-Ogilvy]
RSS viii 2273
27 Aug. 1601: inherited. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss.,GD 137.328

James Ogilvy of Cookstone and Balfour 204
27 Aug. 1528: occs. as of Cookstone. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 138*
2 Mar. 1539/40: had married Marjorie Durie; granted Balfour.
RSS ii 3423
20 May 1547: occs. RPC i 68
31 Aug. 1558: had deceased. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?

Mr James Ogilvy of Balfour 205
31 Aug. 1558: had inherited. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?
27 Jun. 1562: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.5 f.218r
16 Jan. 1575/6: had married [Margaret] Gray.Acts & Decs.CS 7.55 f.113r
10 Nov. 1588: had deceased. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?

James Ogilvy of Balfour 206
31 Mar. 1584: infeft in lands in Kettins as heir of his father, and
10 Nov. 1588: infeft in Balfour. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?

John Ogilvy of Balgro 207
Aug. 1568: son as son of John Ogilvy of Inverkeilor. RSS vii 1062
6 Nov. 1574: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of David Beaton of Melgund.
Peerage i p.118

John Ogilvy of Ballinshoe 208
9 Nov. 1556: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.8r
15 Feb. 1584/5: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.41.61

Thomas Ogilvy of Clova 209
11 Aug. 1468: occs. RMS iii 693
9 Jan. 1529/30: occs. with James his heir. RSS ii 502
9 Jan. 1534/5: had deceased. RMS iii 1465

James Ogilvy of Clova 210
9 Jan. 1534/5: occs. RMS iii 1465
23 Jun. 1545: had married Katherine Gordon. RMS iii 3142
20 May 1547: occs. RPC i 68
14 Apr. 1548: had deceased. Airlie mss., GD 16.2.24

Alexander Ogilvy of Clova 211
14 Apr. 1548: had inherited. Airlie mss., GD 16.2.24
27 Nov. 1581: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.41.52
[x][x] 1594: had deceased; his son James had inherited.
Airlie mss., GD 16.25.11

Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine 212
6 Dec. 1521: occs. RMS iii 210
10 Mar. 1538/9: had married Elizabeth Kinnaird. RMS iii 1933
14 Jul. 1554: occs. BL, Egerton ms 1819 f.10r
29 Apr. 1555: had deceased. RSS iv 2963

William Ogilvy of Inchmartine 213
6 Apr. 1541: married Jonet, daughter of Patrick Lord Gray.
RMS iii 2327
29 Apr. 1555: had inherited. RSS iv 2963
7 Jun. 1566: had deceased. RMS iv 1945

Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine 214
Apr. 1561: married Marjorie, daughter of Patrick Lord Gray.
Maitland Thomson no.6, GD 212 (Fowlis-Easter Chtrs. no.104) p.147
7 Jun. 1566: had inherited. RMS iv 1945
10 Sept.1583: occs. RSS viii 1493

John Ogilvy of Inverkeilor 215
son of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; married Katherine Strachan. Peerage i p.118
5 Oct. 1561: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.4 f.397r
28 Oct. 1591: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.25.9

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity 216
27 Aug. 1528: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 138*
20 Feb. 1530/31: occs. RMS v 515

Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity 217
23 Feb. 1541/2: with his wife, Elizabeth [daughter of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie] infeft in lands.
RMS iii 2601; Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.3026
3 Mar. 1583/4: occs. with John, apparent of Inverquharity.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.22 f.85r
21 Jul. 1585: occs. RPC iii 756
14 Oct. 1587: had deceased. NLS, ms.593.2038

John Ogilvy of Newton, fiar of Inverquharity 218
married Helen, daughter of James master of Ogilvy and Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. JRL, The Crawford mss.,3.1.14
20 Jun. 1563: infeft in Newton. NLS, ch.5773
14 Dec. 1573: occs. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.12 f.389v
28 Feb. 1581/2: killed, dying before his father. RSS viii 693

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity 219
28 Feb. 1581/2: had succeeded to his father's property as a minor.
Airlie mss, GD 16.11.7
10 Aug. 1582: to marry Elspeth, daughter of John Leighton of Usan or

pay penalties. Airlie mss.,GD 16.11.8
14 Oct. 1587: succeeded his grandfather in Inverquharity. NLS ch.5773

Archibald Ogilvy of Lawton 220
24 Aug. 1569: occs. Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss.,GD 205 box 1.10
25 Jul. 1583: occs. RMS v 730
22 Sept.1583: had deceased. RMS v 1160

Thomas Ogilvy of Wester Craigs 221
13 Jul. 1548: second son of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; granted Wester Craigs by Alex Livingston of Dunipace. RMS iv 266; Peerage i p.117
15 May 1559: had married Janet, daughter of Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovet. Peerage i p.17; Airlie mss, GD 16.10.24
1573/4: his marriage to Beatrix Chisholm was annulled. Peerage i p.117
2 Apr. 1577: had deceased. Peerage i p.117

OGSTON
John Ogston of Fettercairn 222
acquired kirklands of Fettercairn; married a daughter of Barclay of Mathers. Third Spald.Misc. p.215
26 May 1535: occs. RMS iii 1477
6 Oct. 1539: occs. RMS iii 2039

Alexander Ogston of Fettercairn 223
married Margaret Strachan. Third Spald.Misc. p.215
1563: occs. General Assembly,CH 1.1a
1573: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.294v

Walter Ogston of Fettercairn 224
1573: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.294v
7 Jul. 1576: occs. RMS iv 1576

OLIPHANT
Laurence, third Lord Oliphant 225
18 Nov. 1516: had succeeded his father;
10 Jul. 1525: had married Margaret, daughter of Sandilands of Calder;
29 Mar. 1566: had died. Scots Peerage vi p.544

Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant 226
11 May 1551: to marry Margaret, daughter of George earl of Errol;
29 Mar. 1566: succeeded his father;
16 Jan. 1592/3: died. Scots Peerage vi p.547-8

PIGGOTT
John Piggott in/of Balnaboth 227
22 Jan. 1536/7: occs. RMS iii 1916
1 Aug. 1568: occs. CSP(S) ii 752
29 Jun. 1577: had deceased. A.H.Millar, Black Kalendar p.18

RAIT

Rait, David of Hallgreen 228
married a daughter of Garden of Bractullo.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

Rait, David of Hallgreen 229
married a daughter of Lundie of Benholm.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

Rait, William of Hallgreen 230
married a daughter of Garden of Leys.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217
12 Dec. 1564: occs. RD 1.7 f.78v
31 Oct. 1570: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/ii p.15

RAMSAY

Henry Ramsay of Ardownie 231
26 Feb. 1536/7: occs. RMS iii 1916
29 Jun. 1549: had married Christine Ouchterlony. RMS iv 341
1 Jul. 1566: his heir Alexander had deceased, after marriage to Christine Strachan. RMS v 1550
8 Oct. 1577: occs. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.9
16 Dec. 1583: had deceased, leaving his grandson Henry as an under-age heir. RSS viii 1656

William Ramsay of Balmain 232
11 Apr. 1534: had married Marjorie, daughter of William Wood of Bonnyton. RMS iii 1380
19 Feb. 1539/40: had succeeded. RSS ii 3385
Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. RSS iv 1420
1 Jun. 1548: as deceased, probably having remarried a daughter of Strachan of Thornton. RSS iii 2797;
"Mearns Genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.214

David Ramsay of Balmain 233
married Katherine, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird.
"Mearns Genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.214; RMS iv 2594
Sept.1547: succeeded his father as a minor. RSS iv 1420
6 Feb. 1559/60: occs. Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.30
20 Oct. 1576: occs. RMS iv 2594

John Ramsay of Canterland 234
16 May 1516: occs. MTH, Montrose mss.,M/W1/2
24 May 1541: excambion of lands of Canterland to lands of Logie by Cowie, with Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin. RMS iii 2347

Henry Ramsay of Laws 235
24 Apr. 1520: occs. RMS iii 246
30 Sept.1540: had married Christine Auchinlek. RMS iii 2205
2 Apr. 1543: had deceased. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.15.1

John Ramsay of Laws 236

20 Aug. 1540: to marry Elizabeth Fraser. JRL, The Crawford mss, 1.1.1
30 Sept.1540: made fiar. RMS iii 2206
2 Apr. 1543: occs. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.15.1
18 Aug. 1565: had deceased.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.no.1

Henry Ramsay of Laws 237

18 Aug. 1565: had succeeded, as a minor.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.no.1; RSS vi 1599
10 Sept.1591: had married [x] Arbuthnott. Bamff Chtrs. GD 83.113

SCRYMGEOUR

James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee 238

8 Mar. 1503/4: succeeded his father in Dudhope; his mother was Isobel Gray. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss.,GD 137.4028; RMS iii 1423
2 Mar. 1541/2: had married Mariote Wardlaw. RMS iii 2608
2 Mar. 1541/2: infeft John Scrymgeour of Glaister as his heir. RMS iii 2608
5 Apr. 1547: had deceased. RPC i 69

John Scrymgeour of Glaister and Dudhope, constable of Dundee 239

2 Mar. 1541/2: infeft as heir of James Scrymgeour of Dudhope. RMS iii 2608
5 Apr. 1547: had succeeded in Dudhope. RPC i 69
Dec. 1562: deceased. RSS vi 2423

John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee 240

21 Jul. 1563: retoured as heir of his father, John Scrymgeour. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.4034
30 Jun. 1565: infeft his son James as fiar. RMS iv 1643
24 Mar. 1567/8: occ. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9.f.276r
[10 Nov. 1568: James as fiar.DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.58v]
23 Feb. 1568/9: had deceased.
Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3

James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee 241

13 Jun. 1565: to marry Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8. f.91r
30 Jun. 1565: infeft as fiar of Dudhope. RMS iv 1643
10 Nov. 1568: occ. as fiar. DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.58v
23 Feb. 1568/9: had inherited.
Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3
23 Aug. 1576: to marry Magdalene Livingston. RSS vii 690
Nov. 1588: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.21 f.228r

John Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee 242

Nov. 1588: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.21 f.228r

Walter Scrymgeour of Glasswell 243

2 Jul. 1527: occ. as brother of John of Glaister. RMS iii 470
1 Mar. 1529/30: had married Katherine Murray. RMS iii 903
25 Jul. 1544: had deceased. RSS iii 869

James Scrymgeour of Glasswell 244

25 Jul. 1544: inherited as a minor. RSS iii 869
20 Apr. 1555: of full age. RMS iv 1050
29 Dec. 1556: had married Mariote daughter of umq. John Crichton of Ruthven. RMS iv 1135
12 Oct. 1581: occ. with his son John, apparent of Glasswell. Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 25 bund.2

STEWART

John Stewart, third earl of Buchan 245

married Margaret, daughter of James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee. Peerage ii 268
1505: inherited as a minor. Peerage ii 268
4 Aug. 1547: infeft his son John as fiar. RMS iv 128
27 Mar. 1555: occs. RSS iv 2952
24 Apr. 1556: had deceased. RSS iv 3198

John Stewart, master of Buchan 246

married Mary, daughter of James earl of Moray; and then Margaret, daughter of Walter Ogilvy of the Boyne; but ...
10 Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. Peerage ii 269

Christina Stewart, countess of Buchan 247

24 Apr. 1556: succeeded her grandfather as a young child. RSS iv 3198
married Robert Douglas, second son of Sir Robert of Lochleven; and her husband was created ... Peerage ii 269

Robert Douglas, earl of Buchan 248

1574: they had joint-infeftment in the earldom. RMS iv 2224
18 Aug. 1580: the earl died. Peerage ii 270
20 Sept.1580: the countess died. Peerage ii 270

James Douglas, first [Douglas] earl of Buchan 249

1580: succeeded his parents in the earldom; married Margaret, daughter of Walter, Lord Ogilvy of Deskford.
26 Aug. 1601: died. Peerage ii 271

John Stewart, fourth Lord Innermeath 250

26 Apr. 1531: succeeded his father Richard as a minor. RSS ii 880
27 Mar. 1536: of age. RSS ii 1987
7 Jan. 1536/7: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of John Beaton of Creich. RSS ii 2206
Jan. 1569/70: died. Peerage ? 5

James Stewart, fifth Lord Innermeath 251

17 May 1554: to marry Helen daughter of James Lord Ogilvy. RMS iv 946
Jan. 1569/70: succeeded his father. Peerage ? 5
14 Feb. 1585/6: died. Peerage ? 6

STIRLING

David Stirling of Easter Braikie 252

10 Jan. 1513/14: occ. as second son of George of Braikie. RMS iii 9
20 Jan. 1531/2: had succeeded in Braikie. RMS iii 1146

26 Feb. 1536/7: occs. RMS iii 1916
22 Jan. 1555/6: had deceased; possibly succeeded by a succession of younger brothers/ sons. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.1. f.262v

Robert Stirling [presumably of Braikie] 253
22 Jan. 1555/6: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.1. f.262v

David Stirling of Easter Braikie 254
22 Jan. 1555/6: had succeeded as a minor; heir of Robert.RD 1.1.f.262v
24 Mar. 1562: deadly sick, and of infirm mind and judgment. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.367v

George Stirling of Braikie 255
24 Mar. 1562: due to inherit from David; but promising to infeft his brother John in exchange for an immediate cash payment. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.367v

John Stirling of Braikie, burgess of Dundee 256
24 Mar. 1562: promised the expected inheritance of his brother George. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.367v
9 Nov. 1567: had succeeded. DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.18r
18 Apr. 1587: occs. with his son John as fiar. DAC, prot.bk.no.21 (Alexander Wedderburn ii) f.191r

STRACHAN

Alexander Strachan of Brigton [of Kinnettles] 257
6 Feb. 1515/16: infeft his nephew and heir Alexander in Brigton. RMS iii 64
19 Jan. 1524/5: had deceased. RMS iii 291

Alexander Strachan of Brigton 258
6 Feb. 1515/16: infeft as fiar of Brigton of Kinnettles. RMS iii 64
19 Jan. 1524/5: to marry Euphame Ayton. RMS iii 291
29 Dec. 1561: infeft his heir Alexander as fiar. RMS iv 1405
[This laird's date of death is uncertain.]

Alexander Strachan of Brigton 259
29 Dec. 1561: infeft as fiar of Brigton; had married Isobel Arbuthnott. RMS iv 1405; RD 1.8. f.82r
25 Dec. 1586: death of Isobel Arbuthnott, Lady Brigton. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.18 f.223r
4 Mar. 1587/8: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.18 f.223r

Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie 260
16 Oct. 1534: occs. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.583
9 Oct. 1540: occs.: held Carmyllie from Maule of Panmure. RSS ii 3669
27 Jun. 1561: occs. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.14.783
15 Jan. 1564/5: had deceased. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.711
had married first Agnes Maule and second Isobel Gray, who survived him. DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.77v

David Strachan of Carmyllie 261
15 Jan. 1564/5: had inherited. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.711
22 Nov. 1568: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.210v

James Strachan of Carmyllie 262

22 Nov. 1568: succeeded his father, being a minor. CC 8.8.4 f.210v; Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.739

[1576]: still under the tutorship of Patrick Lord Gray. Dalhousie mss, GD 45.16.744

27 Apr. 1593: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.25 f.297r

John Strachan of Claypotts 263

Dec. 1540: occs. RFVA, ASPA vol.105

3 Jan. 1580/81: death of his wife, Euphame - sister of Robert Durham of Grange. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.10 f.6r

29 Apr. 1593: died, succeeded by his son Gilbert. CC 8.8.25 f.297r

David Strachan of Thornton 264

c.1487: infeft in Thornton. C.Thornton-Kemsley Bonnet Lairds (Montrose 1972) p.219

2 Jun. 1517: occs. RMS iii 171

4 Aug. 1522: infeft his heir as fiar, reserving liferent to self and his wife Margaret. [daughter of William earl of Errol] RMS iii 231; C.Thornton-Kemsley Bonnet Lairds p.219

16 Aug. 1532: had deceased. RMS iii 1217

Mr Alexander Strachan of Thornton 265

married Isobel, daughter of Falconer of Haulkerton; and then Katherine Erskine. C.Thornton-Kemsley Bonnet Lairds p.219

4 Aug. 1522: infeft as fiar. RMS iii 231

16 Aug. 1532: had inherited. RMS iii 1217

13 Jun. 1542: occs. with John his son and heir. AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vi;no.301

15 Jul. 1547: occs. C.Rogers, Memorials of the Strachans (Grampian Club 1877) p.27-9

1 Jun. 1548: had deceased. RMS iii 235

John Strachan of Thornton 266

13 Jun. 1542: occs. with his father as heir. AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vi;no.301

12 Apr. 1543: had married Margaret Livingston. RMS iii 2893

1 Jun. 1548: had inherited. RMS iii 235

20 Aug. 1587: died, succeeded by Alexander his son. CC 8.8.19 f.39r

STRAITON

Alexander Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk 267

3 Feb. 1533/4: had deceased, leaving his relict Katherine Menzies, daughter of the provost of Aberdeen. RMS iii 1343; "Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii 213

Andrew Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk 268

3 Feb. 1533/4: had inherited, as heir of his nephew. RMS iii 1343; "Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii 213

16 Jul. 1541: one of the "heirs" of Patrick Lord Gray. RMS iii 2407

30 Aug. 1541: had married Isobel/Margaret, daughter of David Lindsay of Edzell. RMS iii 2435; "Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii 213

4 Feb. 1545/6: had deceased. RSS iii 1528

George Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk 269
26 May 1539: heir of Andrew; had married Christine, daughter of Forbes of Pitsligoe. RMS iii 1975; "Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii 213
4 Feb. 1545/6: had succeeded. RSS iii 1528
19 Jan. 1553/4: made his son Alexander fiar. RMS iv 882
Jul. 1575: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.100r

Alexander Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk 270
19 Jan. 1553/4: infeft as fiar; had married Agnes, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk. RMS iv 882
Jul. 1575: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.100r
27 Jan. 1592/3: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bund. no.4

Andrew Straiton of Criggie 271
6 Oct. 1539: occs. RMS iii 2039
7 Apr. 1553: occs. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory no.347
10 Dec. 1553: had deceased. RSS iv 2296

David Straiton of Criggie 272
10 Dec. 1553: had succeeded as a minor. RSS iv 2296
25 Jun. 1579: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6 bund.no.2
8 Aug. 1580: had deceased. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.96v

Andrew Straiton of Criggie 273
8 Aug. 1580: had succeeded. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.96v

SYMMER
George Symmer of Balzeordie 274
6 Sept.1529: had inherited. RSS ii 321
27 Mar. 1543: occ. with George his heir. JRL, The Crawford mss.,box P bund.iii no.8
20 Dec. 1543: occs. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.63
6 Jul. 1544: had deceased. RSS iii 860

George Symmer of Balzeordie 275
27 Mar. 1543: occ. with George his father. JRL, The Crawford mss.,box P bund.iii no.8
6 Jul. 1544: had inherited. RSS iii 860
6 Apr. 1546: had married Margaret Straiton. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc.box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5
24 Nov. 1556: infeft his son George as fiar. RMS iv 1116
16 Oct. 1570: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.60v

George Symmer of Balzeordie 276
24 Nov. 1556: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 1116
24 Nov. 1556: had married Christine, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk. RMS iv 1117; WRH,The Arbuthnott Inventory, 365
16 Oct. 1570: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.60v
31 Jan. 1580/81: death of Christine Arbuthnott, Lady Balzeordie. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.12 f.96v
30 Apr. 1585: occs. with George his son and heir. RMS v 817

George Symmer of Balzeordie 277

6 Jul. 1582: married Magdalene, daughter of John Strachan of Thornton. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv p.354

30 Apr. 1585: occs. with George his father. RMS v 817

THORNTON

Ludovick Thornton of that ilk 278

4 Oct. 1533: served heir though a minor and married Mirabella Strachan. Strathmore writs,NRA(S) 885 box 24.1 RFVA, ASPA, vol.8

2 Oct. 1543: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235.9 no 8

11 Apr. 1551: had deceased. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 24 bund.1

John Thornton of that ilk 279

11 Dec. 1540: occs as heir. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 14 bund.3 no.51

11 Apr. 1551: inherited. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 24 bund.1

27 Feb. 1556/7: chose curators, being under age. Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.17.14

23 Jul. 1557: married Isobel, daughter of Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie. RMS iv 1193

3 Sept.1588: occs. married to Isobel Strachan; with Gilbert his heir. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 24 bund.i

Gilbert Thornton of that ilk 280

3 Sept.1588: to marry Euphame, daughter of Alexander Strachan of Brigton. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 24 bund.1

TYRIE

William Tyrie of Drumkilbo 281

13 Apr. 1532: inherited as heir of Walter his good-sire. Northesk mss.,GD 130 box 1 bund.2

26 Aug. 1539: occs. RMS iii 1850

8 Oct. 1548: had deceased. Northesk mss.,GD 130 box 13 bund.A no.29

David Tyrie of Drumkilbo 282

8 Oct. 1548: had succeeded. Northesk mss.,GD 130 box 13 bund.A no.29

24 Apr. 1570: occs. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2. bund. no.6

Aug. 1571: died; together with his wife, Margaret Fotheringham. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.109v

William Tyrie of Drumkilbo 283

Aug. 1571: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.109v

8 Oct. 1577: had deceased. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.9

David Tyrie of Drumkilbo 284

8 Oct. 1577: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.9

Dec. 1581: murdered. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii p.165

Mr David Tyrie of Drumkilbo 285

21 Feb. 1590/91: died, leaving Agnes Gray his relict. CC 8.8.24 f.68r

WHITELAW

Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange 286

8 Feb. 1545/6: occs. RSS iii 1541
3 Mar. 1548/9: had been escheated. RSS iv 138
17 May 1549: had married Egidia Gray, sister to James Gray of Buttergask. Justiciary court JC 1.6 f.8r,10v
9 Nov. 1564: occs. as of Newgrange. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.203r
10 Mar. 1565/6: occs. with son Patrick, again escheated. RSS v 2694
Feb. 1575/6: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.248r

Mr Patrick Whitelaw of Newgrange 287

10 Mar. 1565/6: occs. with his father, escheated. RSS v 2694
Feb. 1575/6: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.248r
20 Aug. 1384: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 119

WISHART

John Wishart of Logie Wishart/ of that ilk 288

22 Oct. 1529: infeft. RSS ii 381
31 Jul. 1538: had married Christine Ogilvy. RSS ii 2660
1574: died; survived by his wife Marion Garden. CC 8.8.3 f.249v

John Wishart of Logie Wishart/ of that ilk 289

14 Apr. 1550: occs. RSS iv 652
21 Jan. 1565/6: married Isobel, daughter of Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.7 f.233r
1574: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.249v
23 Oct. 1582: occs. RSS viii 965

Mr James Wishart of Pittarrow 290

24 Oct. 1513: occs. ADCP p.4
21 Jun. 1525: had died, survived by his wife, Elizabeth Learmonth. RMS iii 319

Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow 291

21 Jun. 1525: had inherited. RMS iii 319
25 Jan. 1580/81: death of Jonet Falconer, his wife. CC 8.8.12 f.297r
28 Sept. 1585: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.15 f.231r

WOOD

John Wood of Balbegno/ Fettercairn 292

10 Jul. 1526: had married Elizabeth Irvine. RMS iii 360
4 Feb. 1554/5: infeft his son as fiar. RMS iv 980
27 Feb. 1560/61: had deceased. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory no.378

Walter Wood of Balbegno/ Fettercairn 293

31 Jul. 1532: son of John Wood and Elizabeth Irvine. RMS iii 1207
4 Feb. 1554/5: infeft as fiar. RMS iv 980
17 Jun. 1555: had married Helen Stewart. RMS iv 998
27 Feb. 1560/61: had inherited. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory no.378
5 May 1586: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.15 f.154v

William Wood of Bonnyton 294

brother of David Wood of Craig. RMS iii 2741

26 Jul. 1520: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 8.171

11 May 1529: had married to Margaret Ogilvy. RMS iii 782,783

19 Mar. 1536/7: had married Katherine Scott. RMS iii 1650

16 Aug. 1545: had been killed. RSS iii 1287

James Wood of Bonnyton 295

17 Oct. 1532: son and heir of William Wood. RMS iii 1231

2 Dec. 1540: fiar of various lands. RMS iii 2222

16 Aug. 1545: had inherited. RSS iii 1287

27 Feb. 1560/61: occs. WRH, The Arbuthnott Inventory no.378

11 Jan. 1564/5: had deceased. Reg.Deeds,RD 1.7 f.433v

Patrick Wood of Bonnyton 296

12 Dec. 1549: son and heir of his father James.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1,bund.no.15

11 Jan. 1564/5: had inherited. Reg.Deeds,RD 1.7 f.433v

13 Aug. 1566: to marry Nicola, daughter of Henry Wardlaw of Torrie.
RSS v 3038

[x] Aug.1586: occs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.41.65

David Wood of Craig [alias Craig of Inchbrayock] 297

brother of William Wood of Bonnyton. RMS iii 2741

31 Mar. 1526: had married Marjorie Collace. RMS iii 306

Jul. 1566: died. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.11 f.158r

Roger Wood of Craig 298

18 May 1546: son and apparent heir of David Wood. RMS iii 3248

4 Apr. 1547: fiar of Craig.
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1, bund. no.9

Jul. 1566: inherited. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.11 f.158r
AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vii

31 Mar. 1583: died. RSS viii 1241

David Wood of Craig 299

24 Feb. 1565/6: infeft as fiar of Craig by his grandfather David.
RSS v 2656

17 Aug. 1566: to marry Elizabeth, daughter of McGill of Rankeillor Nether. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.9 f.385v

3 Oct. 1566: had married Elizabeth McGill; with her infeft as fiar.
RSS v 3087; AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vii

31 Mar. 1583: succeeded his father. RSS viii 1241

22 Nov. 1585: died. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.15 f.154v

David Wood of Craig 300

22 Nov. 1585: inherited as a minor. Edin.tests.,CC 8.8.15 f.154v

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ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
The Arbuthnott manuscripts (ms. 2764)
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592.1960 [Ogilvy of Inverquharity]
593.2038 [Ogilvy of Inverquharity]
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OPR 310/1 The kirk assembly register of Monifieth

SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE
B 4.1.1 Protocol book David Lyell (Arbroath) 1575-1588
B 22.1.67 John Hay's fifth protocol book
B 51.1.1,2 Protocol books Richard and James Guthrie (Montrose): 1574-1583, 1585-95
B 51.10.2 Court book of Montrose 1586-7
B 51.10.3 Court book of Montrose 1603-6
B 51.15 Misc. documents from Montrose
CC 1.1a Extract register of the General Assembly
CC 3.1.1 Brechin Commissary court act book 9 Mar.1579 to 30 Jun. 1582
CC 3.3.1-6 Brechin testaments 14 Mar 1576/7 to 17 Mar 1602/3, 1 June 1584 to 25 Aug 1593, and through to 1666
CC 8.2.1 Edinburgh Commissary acts and decreets
CC 8.8.1-34 Edinburgh Commissary court registers of testaments
CC 8.9.1 Edinburgh Commissary court testament minute book
CC 20.4.1,5. St Andrews Commissary court registers of testaments
CH 4.1.2 Register of Presentations to Benefices
CH 6.6.1,2 Register of charters by abbots and commendators of Jedburgh
CS 1.3 Books of Sederunt
CS 7. Acts and Decreets
DI 90.1 Perth hornings
DI 91.1 Perth inhibitions
E 2. Signatures in the office of the Comptroller
E 45. Compt of Collectors-General of Thirds
E 46.3,4,9 Compt of subcollectors of the thirds of benefices: Fife, Forfar and Kincardine, Perth

E 47.1 to .10	Register of assignations and modifications of stipends (1576-1615)
E 48.1.1	The Book of Assumption
E 48.2	Register of Ministers and Readers 1567-1572
GD 1.47	[Documents from Miss Low]
GD 1.1039	[Tacks by Balmerino Commendators]
GD 4	The Benholm and Hedderwick writs
GD 16	The Airlie muniments
GD 45	The Dalhousie muniments
GD 49	The Barclay-Allardice muniments
GD 70	The Scott of Brotherton muniments
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GD 121	The Murthly Castle muniments [handlist only]
GD 123	The Erskine of Dun muniments
GD 124	The Mar and Kellie muniments
GD 130	The Earl of Northesk muniments
GD 137	The Scrymgeour-Wedderburn muniments
GD 175	The Erroll charters
GD 205	The Ogilvy of Inverquharity muniments
GD 212	Maitland Thomson notebooks: no. 6, Foulis-Easter Charters; no.23, Moray writs
JC 1.6,7	Justiciary Court records: court books
JC 26 box 1	Justiciary Court: loose papers
NP 1.16	Protocol book of Duncan Gray 1554-1572
NP 1.33	Protocol book of George Fyffe 1573-1587
NP 1.36	Protocol book of Thomas Auchinlek 1576-1615
NP 1.43	Protocol book of Ronald Brown 1584-1607
NP 2.1	Register of admissions
PS 1.	Register of the privy seal of Scotland
RD 1.1 etc	The Register of Deeds
RH 1.2.373	[Letters by two Brechin canons]
RH 2.1.20	Transcript of protocol book of James Harlaw
RH 2.1.22	Transcript of protocol book of sir Duncan Gray
RH 6.	Calendar of Register House Charters
RS 48	Perth Sasines secretaries' register
SP 13.68	[State Papers]

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RH 4.96	Microfilm of protocol book of William Pettilok
RHP 9280	Sketch of the royal burgh of Inverbervie
RHP 35213/14	Plans of Brechin Castle
NRA(S) 5	Inventory of writings belonging to the Right Hon. John Viscount of Arbuthnott, Lord Inverbervie
NRA(S) 124	Inventory of Jackson of Kirkbuddo writs
NRA(S) 224	Inventory of writs of Carnegy of Lour
NRA(S) 237	Inventory of Scottish muniments at Haigh
NRA(S) 217,369	Inventories of Kinfauns muniments
NRA(S) 885	The Strathmore Writs
NRA(S) 0925	Inventory of Erroll Charters

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