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FAITH, FAMILIES AND FACTIONS:

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION IN ANGS AND THE MEARNS

F.D. Bardgett

Ph.D. Edinburgh University 1987
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I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Rev. Professor A.C. Cheyne, former Principal of New College, for giving me the initial encouragement to set aside three years for postgraduate research - a decision that I have never regretted. Apart from academic satisfaction, hunting down sources for this thesis has brought with it new friends and Christian fellowship. The families that acted as my hosts during research trips or for more extended periods provided so much more than bed and board. That this thesis has been concluded at all owes a great deal to, in Edinburgh, Jean and Alick Lothian and Kathleen and John Barclay; in Dundee, to Kathleen and Iain Phillips; in Manchester, to Mary and Bob Watson. Hospitality, support and encouragement have been unstintingly provided by my parents, Mr and Mrs S. Bardgett, and my parents-in-law, Dr and Mrs J.B. Barclay. Permission to view and use various private archives has been much appreciated and is given detailed acknowledgement later in the thesis; however, here I must record my gratitude to the Rt.Hon. the Earl of Southesk for his hospitality at Kinnaird Castle and to Professor Gordon Donaldson for giving me access to his record card collections. Also important to me has been the advice and assistance of Jerry Freckleton and Donald Macintosh of the computer department of John Menzies' Princes Street branch, who provided both hard- and software that has greatly facilitated research and writing. The scholarship and friendship of members of the Scottish History Departments of the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow in welcoming a convert from a Divinity Faculty was exemplary - as was, especially, the committed and challenging tuition of Dr Michael Lynch. Finally, I must thank my wife, Alison, for preventing me from making many errors and for cartographic and other advice offered; and must also apologise to her for providing her, somewhat unexpectedly, with an education-by-extension in both Church History and post-graduate Scottish History. In partial defence, may I say that, though the story of what my "Katy" did may not be as elevating as the original work, yet my theme is not dissimilar from that of Sarah Woolsey/Coolidge.

Frank Bardgett

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 lin-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.
ADCP

APL
Arbroath Public Library

APS

AUL
Aberdeen University Library

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

BUK

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, 1 (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
Knox, Works


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

Montrose Town House, Montrose

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

National register of archives (Scotland)

New Register House, Edinburgh

Public Record Office, London

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


Draft calendars of materials in the Vatican archives: held at Glasgow University, dept. Scottish History, derived from Ross Fund materials. These include: ASPA Acta Saneti Paenitentiarie Apostolicae
Reg. Lat. Registra Lateranensia
Reg. Sup. Registra Supplicationum
Reg. Vat. Registra Vaticana
SRR Sacra Romana Rota


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

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

SFRC
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
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 "Sommer" or "Summer" for the ancient house of Symmer of Salzeordie. "Cordyne" 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"; "v" 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 "y" 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 chapter and sect numbers, e.g., when the point at issue is to be found in both the original text and note...
## Acknowledgements

## Abstract

## Abbreviations and Conventions

### Contents

**Volume 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1.1 Routes and Relationships in Angus and Mearns</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1.2 Land disputes</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1.3 Patterns of allegiance</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. FAITH, HERESY AND WAR</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 2.1 Parishes in Angus and the Mearns</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;THE NYCHT IS NEIR GONE&quot;: THE 1550s</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. THE REFORMATION CRISIS</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;THE FACE OF A PUBLIC CHURCH REFORMED&quot;: PAROCHIAL REFORMATION</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 5.1 The parish of Monifieth</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. THE PATRIMONY OF THE KIRK - THE FIRST QUARTER-CENTURY</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[with addendum on the Book of Assumption]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. THEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AFTER 1560</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[with addenda on Knox's eschatology]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. FACTIONS AND FIGHTING 1565 - 1574</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. THE REFORMATION ENDURES</td>
<td>394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[with addendum: Lord Ogilvy's letter of 1606]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Volume 2**

### Appendices:

- **A - Benefices and Clergy**
  - .1: SUMMARY OF BENEFICE HOLDING 1530 TO 1590. 441
  - .a: BIOGRAPHIES OF PRE-REFORMATION CLERGY. 445
  - .b: BIOGRAPHIES OF PENSIONERS, STUDENTS AND OTHERS. 563
  - .c: BIOGRAPHIES OF MINISTERS AND READERS, 1560 TO 1590. 581
  - .2: SUMMARY OF SERVICE OF PARISHES, 1560 TO 1590. 682

- **B - Lairds**
  - : SUCCESSIONS OF SELECTED LAIRDS AND MAGNATES. 724

**Bibliography**

Page-numbering is continuous through both volumes. Map outlines by Mrs A.M. Bardgett M.A., Dip.Ed.
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

2. Wodrow Society Miscellany (Edinburgh 1844) i pp.54; Gordon Donaldson, Scottish Church History (Edinburgh 1985) pp.191-6.
reformation. 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. 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?"

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. 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. It is to be expected, therefore,

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.
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

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.
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 Allan 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

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 Baldowie, 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, 

..........5

5. REB ii no.cccxix: 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 ffar of Easter Kinneff, Andrew Stewart of Logie Cowie, Robert Melville of Harvieston, William Hay of Ury, Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, David Strachan in Wemyssmantlton, 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. 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. 

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, localized 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. It is thought that Dundee itself can have had no more than 5000 to 6000 inhabitants in 1560. 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.

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

"...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. Continuity of

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

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.

earldom, and Andrew Lundy of Benholm, an ally of Dun. 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. 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. 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

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.]
in increasing numbers as the sixteenth century progressed. 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. 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

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 MEARKS:
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

20. This paragraph owes much to discussion in I.F. Grant, The social and economic development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh 1950) 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 Bœce as the "principale historiane" of Scotland, who though best-known as principal of Aberdeen, was himself from Dundee initially. Bœce was a close friend of Patrick Paniter, abbot of Cambuskenneth, patron of the Montrose Hospital; and in Mr Arthur and Mr Patrick Bœce 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

22. For Mr William Lamb, Mr Arthur and Mr Patrick Bœce, see appendix A, section a, nos.191,034,035.
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. 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. 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,

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

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. 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. Margaret Sanderson has described in detail the process of the feuing of the lands of the church.

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. 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. 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

29. RMS iii 542.
30. Margaret H.B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the 16th century (Edinburgh 1982).
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. 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. 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. 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 decree 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-charter 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-charter. 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

36. REB ii no. ccxxxviii.
their lands. 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," 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 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 Douglasses 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

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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{41} Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.491-96. The new baronies comprised: Inverquharity - the dominical lands, the Ledmathes, 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.
\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{Kelley, "The Douglas earls" pp.470-483.}

It is unlikely that theseKirriemuir 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
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. 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. 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. 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

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: ADFP 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. 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. 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. Fotheringham of Powrie and Walter Ogilvy had regained their respective lands in 1529/30: and John Wishart by 1534/5 at the latest. 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:

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 Brigty, 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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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 hallmark 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

53. Kelley, "The Douglas earls" p.585. See also, RSS ii 983n.
that the various accusations made against Janet 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. 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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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.
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." 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. 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 regnants of lands formerly held from Glamis and now from the crown. Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine had his lands in the barony of Inchture confirmed and united as a free barony; other lands in Inchture were regnated to George Boyd of Pitkindie. In Longforgan, Gilbert Gray of Scheves had Muretoun and Garlat regnated 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,

57. Ibid.
Andrew Seton of Farbroath 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

59. RMS iii 2741.
60. RMS iii 1956, 1751, 1888: Strathmore writs NRA(S) 865 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.  

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. 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. 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. The bulk of James' gifts to his household were revoked by the Lords of Council in one single action in 1543. 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. By 1550, however, Lord Glamis

62. RMS iii 1931, 2093 and RSS ii 2977.
63. RMS iii 1719, 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 sir of a restored patrimony - apart from the silver flagons. 48

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. 49

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 - 

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 Inchtur; 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.
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.\footnote{1} 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.\footnote{2}

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.\footnote{3} 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

\footnote{1. \textit{ADCP} p.531; \textit{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. \textit{RMS} iii 2346. For Easter Brechin, see note 94 below. \footnote{2. \textit{ADCP} p.531; \textit{RMS} iii 2698, 2700, 2749, 2830, 2932. \footnote{3. \textit{Scots Peerage} iii p.23.}}
of Crawford, having sold the sheriffdom of Aberdeen,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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:

"rapine, rape, murder, common brigandage, the occupation of lands belonging to the Earl [sic - lordship] of Brechin for five years, the besieging 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. On the death of the eighth earl, David Lindsay of Edzell was granted sasine in the entire earldom.

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

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.
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. 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. 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, 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 half of ye said Erldome". 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

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 agarit wiftt David maister of Craufurd oy to David erle of Craufurd fayther to the evill maister of Craufurd and mareit the cardinellis dochter quhilk wes restorit to the haill erledom of Craufurd except the landis of Glenesk Ferne and Newdosk quhilk 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 hundredth 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

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 ruinou~ 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.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 elk of my lady Craufurd testament subscrivit wIilt hir hand", 10 Aug.1578.
\textsuperscript{90.} WRH,The Haigh Inventory ii 52. For James Lord Ogilvy, see n.93.
\textsuperscript{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. 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. Sir Thomas and the cardinal

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 Auchinke 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: 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

[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, ASFA 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

KEY
- FRIENDS OF SIR THOMAS ERSKINE
+ FRIENDS OF CARDINAL DAVID BEATON

MILES
III. 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. 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.

As well as Ogilvy of Cookston/Balfour, David Wood of Craig had grants

- 45 -


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. 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. 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. 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. 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?

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

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 bishopric 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.

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

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.
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

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 Auchinleck, 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. Although many of these men were undoubtedly diligent in their own spheres of service, it seems that few indeed understood 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 transferred by George Drury to a boy, Robert Pitcairn, who was to hold both

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

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.

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 ........................

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

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{12}

The seeming unity of the chapter in 1541

\textsuperscript{10} See appendix A.a nos.310,312,157,350,042,348,326,222; appendix A.1 for succession of parsons in parishes.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{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

\footnote{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 tids 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

15. This figure from appendix A.1. It was still possible for a vicar parson to live title, not to the tension, 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 Awerlemno, 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 legitimatized. William Drummond was not only vicar of Dunnichen but also

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 cathedral. 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 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 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

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. 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. 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

20. See appendix A.a nos.062,016,364,256,207.
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. 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

22. In 1513, Arbroath was "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". 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.

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. 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. 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. 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 feu'd, the chief object being apparently to maintain the "place"

23. M.Sanderson, Cardinal p.27.
24. C.A. Chrs. ii 276-278; C.A.Rent. i 100-113.
25. M.B.Sanderson "The feu'ing 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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{28} StA. Formulare i no.39; RFVA, Reg.Sup.vols.2013 f.94r, 2054 f.50r, 2065 f.253r, 2096 f.265r, 2111 f.38v, 244v, 2117 f.262v, 2133 f.279v, Resignations no.130 Res.A. 46 f.207v; Dundee RFVA, SRR manuialia 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 \textsuperscript{xi} p.52 to \textsuperscript{xvii} pps.64,191,309,404; sir William Todrik, 1541/2 to 1542/3: ER \textsuperscript{xvii} p.470, \textsuperscript{xviii} p.56; sir Alexander Wilson 1554-5: ER \textsuperscript{xviii} p.288 and sir James Blyth - see n.27 above.

\textsuperscript{29} E 48.1.1 (Bk.Assumpt.) f.218r.

\textsuperscript{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 dirigé 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

gifts was a by-no-means ample £135 19s 7d.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{32} Bryce, Grey Friars i p.219,224,229,234,220.
\textsuperscript{33} AUL, The Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bunds.v,vii.
\textsuperscript{34} D.G.Adams, Religious Houses p.28,33; and see paragraph relating
to n.42 below. [Reference to notes comprehends their referents.]
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 Carnegie of Kinnaird in order to reclaim annual rents.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{37} MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/bunds.7 and 13.
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

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{43} Indeed, he concludes that ...

"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

\textsuperscript{42} See appendix A.a no.265; APS ii 395. For the surrender of Spittalshields by the Erskines: MTH, Montrose mss. M/W1/9.
\textsuperscript{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 dirigé and for the common bellman to pass through the town to exhort the people to prayer.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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 Pettiloc by 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

46. REB i no.114.
47. See appendix A.a nos.270,172,224,267,308.
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 tithes 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.

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

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 tithes 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 ...\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{53}

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

\textsuperscript{52} M.Mahoney, "The Scottish hierarchy 1513-1565", IR x (1959) p.49-52.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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,

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

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.

Possibly educated at Aberdeen, 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 Morprie-Fraser, imprisoned for their part in releasing Sir George Gilbert from the bishop of Brechin's prison. Gilbert was held on a

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 Bocce and the Medieval Tradition" in Scots Antiquaries and Historians (Abertay Historical Society, Dundee 1972) p.8; 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 ...
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. 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.

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. 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

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.
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

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,

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

........................

72. J. Durkan, "Chaplains in Late Medieval Scotland", RSCHS xx
73. Spald.Misc. ii 193: undated letter of James to Erskine:
"... weit ye that it is murmuryt hyr that ye soould a spolkyyn
with Gorge and Archebald Dougles in Ingland [ J quhylk was
again my command .... And mayre atouyer the cuntre sayes that
ye wylly tak ylver to put by my matryys..." 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.
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

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. 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. 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. 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

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.\(^1\) 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.

\(^{\text{\footnotesize \(\ldots\)\text{\footnotesize .}}}\)

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*. 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. 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. 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. 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

82. M. Sanderson, *Cardinal* p.175; L&P Henry VIII xviii pt.2 no.133; *Diurnal* p.29: "they ... wald haue destroyt Abirbrothok kirk, war not the lord Ogilbie."
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

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". 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

James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee c.1504 - 1546 and additionally provost on occasion in the 1520s. 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. 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 Bagie and a number of burgesses of Dundee. 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. 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

91. RMS iii 1423; Pitcairn, Trials i/i 177*; ADCP p.516,531.
92. Hamilton Papers i 252; ibid.i 523; RMS 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 ...

"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 Kinfuans. On 19 March 1546/7, Charteris with Powrie, Strathmartin, Maule of Fannmore 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

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. RBS 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. 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 disposing subsidies on their behalf; and for going into unlicensed 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 Janet 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. 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

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: "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 Auchinleik in Murroes, and David Ramsay at the Bridge of Monifieth.\(^{102}\) The relations between these lairds and

\(^{100}\)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 "Inglistmen" and "certain Scotchismen 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. 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.

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

103.Dalhousie mss, GD 45.26.53 f63v.
104.CSP(S) i 107,148; Scottish Correspondence p.273.
of Angus. In 1548, Crawford, Marischal, Rothes and Errol were among those reported by Patrick Lord Gray to favour the English "godly purpose, thai beande honestly entyrtauynit". 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. 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.

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.

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 ii 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.  

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.  

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?"  

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.  

Wyndham, the

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{117} Knox suggested that

\textsuperscript{114}CSP(S) i 185.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{116}CSP(S) i 94.
\textsuperscript{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. 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.

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 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. 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. 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

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 February 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 "lymerics" 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

¹²⁵.Diurnal p.31; this event is omitted by M.Sanderson in Cardinal.
"their armed folks" to defend it against the English fleet. By 25 October, 1544, he was in sufficient favour with David Beaton to merit an 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. 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. Perhaps something of Wishart's own fearlessness had communicated itself to John Erskine. 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.

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

126.NLS, ms.5407 f.2.
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."
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.\textsuperscript{131} The French, too, heard a rumour that Dun was to join Cassillis and Marischal in assuring.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{133} In June of 1548, the burgesses of Dundee were again ordered to serve under Dun’s command in order to resist the invaders.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{136} Only when Mary of Guise

\textsuperscript{131} I.E.Flett, "The Geneva of Scotland" p.41.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{134} RFC xiv 5.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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. It has been said that ..." 

"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. 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,

"... 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

137.FRO, State Papers, SP 13.68.  
138.I.B.Cowan, Reformation p.89.  
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, 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. 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

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 "protestantism" 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

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-clericalism 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.
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

"Ouhar for (o my sone spiritualite) i exort the that thou cause al thy membris concur to gyddir to mak reformations of the sklanderous abusione that ringis amang them ande ther eftir, thou sal treit vnite and concord be/tuix the universal leiis of scotland ... to that effect that ze my thre sonnis noblis clergie & lauberaris may pas in ane faithful accord to resist the cruel invasions of zour dissaitful and incredule aid enemeis."

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. 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:

"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 sounis 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 consave the commandis of god and that zour verkis be conformand to the samyn & than doubtles 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.

"... doubtles 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 spread aþhort al cristin reámis in sic ane sort that tha hef maye favoraris nor adversaris for diuers men desiris ane part of the temporal patrimonye of the kyrr be caus of the abusione and euyl exempil of the kyrr men..."

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. 

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

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. 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. 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.

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

7. A.W.Stewart's introduction to The Complaynt pp.xxi,xxvii.
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, 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. 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. 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

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

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
eamples 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 noir
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

The Complaynt shows evidence of knowledge of some of the songs: -
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 Pollock, conservator of Scots trade at Campvere. 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.

"1. In the first ze sall fear, serve, and obey the Almichtie God, maker of heawine and earth, se sall frequent with 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

Crawford, charged that 1,100 sheep had been rived 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

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
Crofto: 80 wethers  Glenesk: 60 yowes
   50 yowes  80 wethers

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.
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 merchants24 and disseminated to the lairs of Angus and Mearns from these "power-stations" or "stations of high tension".25 It is notable that the lairs 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 faouraris nor adversaris".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

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.M.Macdougall, (Edinburgh 1983) pp.93-94.
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:

"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 profess, 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

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.\textsuperscript{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 castillans 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

\textsuperscript{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. 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. Though Knox

32. K. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain (Oxford 1979) p.114-118 discusses the basic text in Knox’s History i 186f.
33. Firth, 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 Jugement”. The work takes the form of a youth questioning “Father Experience”; the first stanza runs thus:

"Father, said I, wyt yir licence
Seno ye haif sic experance,
Yit ane thing at zow wald I speir
Ouhen sall that dreidfull day appeir
Ouhilk ye call jugement generall
Owhat thingis affor that day sall fall
Ouhare sall appeir that dreidfull 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 remains to cum but weir
Four hundreth togidder wiljt nyntene zeir
And then the lord Omnipotent
Sall cum till his greit jugement."

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, 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.

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. 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.

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
36. R.L.Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation
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 February 1557/8 Archibald Douglas infèft 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

38. W. Croft Dickinson, Knox's History i xcii.
39. See appendix B no. 043; RSS iii 020; 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 February 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

\(^{40}\) 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 ii 525/6; 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
wryncl".

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

43. See appendix B nos.286,269; 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. Robert Graham of Morthie (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. 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. 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. The deputy-sherriff 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

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 6D 70.351; ADCP p.420; RSS iv 2452; Reg.Deeds RD 11 f.262v; CSP(S) i 751; JRL, The Craw. mss. box F 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; RFC i 390-1; 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:

"yis was ane single mane and of gryt estima[t]ion in ye Mernis, quho be his wysdome, magnificence, liberalitie, godliness, honor[able] houshauling, number off deponderis, 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,

"lejist 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". 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

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

57. ADCP p.420; RSH 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.
of James Stewart prior of St Andrews. The master was part of the inner circle of the Lords of the Congregation. 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. 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, 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

60. RSS iii 830; CSP(S) iii 221; CSP(S) i 1057.
61. Knox's History i 122-3.
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

64. See appendix A.c nos.082,019.
master and his new wife. The couple had a further lease to Meikle
Forter in 1540. 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. 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. 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. 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.
In 1554, however, abbot Donald became Keeper of the Privy Seal – a
post he held until 1562. Archibald, earl of Argyll, appears to

65. Airlie mss., GD 16.7.1; WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 74; RFVA,
ASFA vol.105, May 1540.
66. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 74.
68. C.A. Chris. 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 "noch 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 Newdosc and the lordship of Glenesk. A contract was agreed whereby the master would cease these actions for reduction provided the earl would

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 Glensk, 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-vacuum: 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, .................

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. 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. It was the provost, however, James Haliburton tutor of Pitcur, who increasingly exercised control over the burgh. For politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. 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, 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 arrangements for the necessary finance to "expedite" bulls from Rome conferring papal authority. The

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; APCR 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 negotiations 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.

\(^{81}\) 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. By July of 1559, Thornton had authorised repayment of the funds: presumably the Pope had finally rejected the nomination of Donald Campbell. Some monies were repaid direct to the original subscribers, the earl of Argyll and Dame Katherine Campbell. 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. Cunningham gained control, under the old bishop, of the chapter of Brechin - and was vicar-general of the diocese after Hepburn’s death. By the summer of 1557, therefore, the temporalities of Brechin were in the hands of John

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

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.
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

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 Carnegie, natural son

\(^97\) 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, previouslyfeued 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."

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

"I Robert Carnegy of Kynnard, tending, god willing, to tak my jorney in Inglond in the Queinis service, makis my testament in this maner: In primis, I leve my saull to God, and four hundreth merkis aucht to me be my lord Marschell, to my daughter Cristiane...." [He appointed as his executors his wife, Margaret Guthrie, and his son Mr David Carnegy of Colluthie.]

"... to whom I commit the disposition of my gudis to be distribut amang all my barnis that ar noder mareit nor benefyt. 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. 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. Committed protestants, however, tended to include references to their trust in Christ for salvation, and made legacies to the poor. 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) i 1212; Fraser, Southesk i 26-7 and 28-9; ADCP p.609; CSP(S) i 376, 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. 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. 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.

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

105.RMS iv 434,440; Dalhousie mss.,6D 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. 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. More conservative in religion than his co-arbiters, Dunipace had granted lands and an annual rent to the friars of St Andrews in 1552. 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. 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.

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". In any case, it was in the queen-regent's interests

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 negotiation 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 kirk" - 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

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.
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

1. Knox's History i p.132.
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.

.................

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. 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:

"... 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:

"Beseecching 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.

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.
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". 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, "for his labours, cuir and diligence in time bygane in preaching, teching and administratiou 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, "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, "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

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.

for certain—beyond that of John Erskine of Dun himself, one of the earliest of those who "exhorted their brethren".\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{20}

Dundee continued to be the power-house of protestantism in south Angus. Methven had been regularly preaching since July 1558;\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{19} Knox's History i p.148.
\textsuperscript{20} See appendix A.c nos.003,086,146,143.
\textsuperscript{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, \textit{Old Dundee} pp.78,81,75; M. Lynch, \textit{Edinburgh} p.91.
Dundee. He later could only prove his possession of the chapel by evidence of his having lifted and disposed 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. 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 bypass".

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. The source of the "Summons" is unknown. The organisation of duplication and distribution of this tract, however, resembles the later circulation

23. See appendix A.a nos.304,217,312; Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3890 and 3891 for Our Lady in Wellgate being waste.
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

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

29. Knox's History i pp.158-9; Justiciary courts, JC l.7 f.134r.
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

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. 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. 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

“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

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.\footnote{Kinnaird, Southesk muniments: ms. in royal letters' log-book.} 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.\footnote{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.} 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\footnote{Knox's History i p.161.}

"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.\footnote{RPC xiv 9; RSS v 2897.} 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

\footnote{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. 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.

The crisis of May was not only political — it was also theological. In Scotland, as in England, 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 professoiris of Christis Ewangel, in the Realme of Scotland", dated 6 May 1559, is the document that most clearly provides answers to these questions.

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.
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 gouernment of mortell men, and makis thame princes of the erthe, for the mentenance of commown welthis and ciwill polacieis. Bot the gouernment 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, al wther ar her memberis vnder him."

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 nothing sall want on our pairt that pertenis to your grace, quhairof ye haif had experience in tymes past,..."
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{53}

"... our haill expectatioun and howp wes that God sould mak your grace that instrument to set up and menten his word and trew wirschping, to be ane defence of his pviir fick 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\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{53} Spald.Misc. iv p.88. See ns.7 and 8, above.

\textsuperscript{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.

Dr Avis cites Richard Hooker as holding it "absurd" to suggest that:

"... 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 whatsoever 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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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

58. Spalding Misc. iv p.90.
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, 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, Gottfried Locher cites three references to the reformer of Basel. 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. Similarly, not only Ninian Winzet testified by his opposition to Oecolampadius' influence in Scotland: so too did abbot Quintine

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

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:

"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 "professoris" strong identification between the kirk and the Kingdom of Christ.

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

Although Calvin and Bullinger were prepared to make the same

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

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.)
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.
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." 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. 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". 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.

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

73. Knox's History i pp.180-1.
74. "To Saint Johnston,... did convene ... the laird of Glenorcy [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.Cht-s. ii 278 citing "Two Papers from Argyll Charter Chest",
SHR xx1 pp.142-3.
And that na mess be thair done heirafter nowthir privilie nor opinly. And that the superstitione habit of his monkis with their ordour ceremoniis and service as you call it be removit. And that na prayaris be usit in the kirk but in the Ingishe 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

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—

82. Airlie mss., GD 16.25.49.
postulate and the dean, it would be surprising if more had gone against the tide of affairs. 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. 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. 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. One such writ was issued on December 14, 1559:

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.
"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 interest, 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 forth [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, Dauphin 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 authority, the samine is by consent of the Nobility and Barons of our realm, now by God's providence devolved unto them: And their chief 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 Counsell 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 remenant 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,

90. See appendix 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 397.
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 disposit be ye quene dowriar regent for ye tyme to James Hepburne, he contempueslie disobeyit ye saidis chargis and proclamationis and continuais still in his wickit papistrie. Thairfore ye saidis lordis hes maid and constitu and ordainit and be ye tentourle heirof makis constitutis and ordainis the said James Hepburn yair ye newcar factourle and ... intrometourle wliithn] 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

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

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. 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.

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:

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

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 Châtélerault 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

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

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; 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. 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.

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. Examination of those from Angus and the Mearns at Edinburgh in August of 1560 reveals

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.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. The congregation of the Mearns was well represented by seven important lairds: those of Pittarrow, Thornton, Lauriston, Glenbervie, Allardice, Arbuthnott and Morpied 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. 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. Robert Graham of Morpied and John Strachan of Thornton had similar consistent records. The name of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk was new to protestant circles -

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 siege 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 250. 113. CSP(S) i 236; RSS iii 820; chapter 3 n.46; CC 1.1a. 114. See chapter 3 n.47 and for Morpied, 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

\(^{115}\) 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.
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. Professor Donaldson notes that "Lord Ogilvy was followed by four Ogilvy lairds from his own district of Angus". It seems more likely that Lord Ogilvy was present with his curators, the abbot of Coupar, Donald Campbell; and that Ogilvy of Inverquharity appeared with the earl of Morton. 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. Once again, it must be emphasised that lairds

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.

121. 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 & Deeds,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

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

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" 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

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". 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.

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

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 tydings 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. 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. 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, the

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 indispensable 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. 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. 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 powar for ye ministratioun of ye sacramentis"

under authority of a writ from John Erskine of Dun dated 12 October 1569. 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

"....................."

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." 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

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. IB 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.
reflects favourably on the superintendent's diligence in "planting kirk," 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

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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Exhorters</th>
<th>Readers</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Beneficed</th>
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<tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>54</td>
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<td>53</td>
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**SERVICE OF PRE-REFORMATION CLERGY**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Monks/Canons</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
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</table>

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: Kinnetles, 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. 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. 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

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.¹⁰

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

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. 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:

"It was laid to his charge, that there were manie popishe priests, unabil and of wicked life, admitted to reading kirkis within his diocie. 2. That some young men were rashlie admitted to the ministrie, and to be exhortaris, without such trial and examinatioun as are required in the Book of Discipline. 3. That gentilmen of vitious lives were chosen to be elderis in divers kirkis. 4. That sundrie ministeris under his jurisdiction remanit not at their kirkis, visit not the

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.
seek in their extremite, and alsua that the zouth is not
instructed. 5. That some ministeris come over lait to the
kirkis wher they sould preach on the Lordis day, so that the
poopill 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

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.:
Angus
Mr Andrew Patrick  Arbuthnott  vic.pens.  176
Mr William Elder   Benholm      vic.pens.  050
Mr Alexander Wylie Conveth    vic.pens.  248
sir James Symmer   Garvoch      curate.  233
sir George Lyall   Aberleano   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. 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

<table>
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<th>26. Name</th>
<th>new parish</th>
<th>formerly</th>
<th>appendix A.c no.:</th>
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<tr>
<td>David Fowler</td>
<td>Aldbar</td>
<td>Montrose curate</td>
<td>066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sir John Smith</td>
<td>Glenisla</td>
<td>vic.pens.Airlie</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr John Johnston</td>
<td>Idvies</td>
<td>Brechin clerk</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Baty</td>
<td>Lunan/Dun</td>
<td>Montrose priest</td>
<td>014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Kinloch</td>
<td>Tannadice</td>
<td>Dundee chaplain</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Alexander Maxwell</td>
<td>Tealing</td>
<td>Dundee notary</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These and subsequent identifications are subject to the qualifications expressed in the introduction to appendix A.
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. 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 Inverarvity from that of Elgin and John Smith at Fordoun possibly from the Inverbervie Carmelites. The reader of Glenbervie may have been the John Auchinleck who had had his parsonage of Cookston sequestrated on account of his association with the murder of cardinal Beaton. 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.

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

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 Rosset 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

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. 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. 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. 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. 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

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 Janet 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.

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 war 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: 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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<th>Name</th>
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<th>stipend</th>
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<td>Mr John Hepburn</td>
<td>St Andrews: St Salvator’s</td>
<td>£266.60</td>
<td>A.c 107</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Christison</td>
<td>Rostock</td>
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<td>A.c 030</td>
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<td>Ninian Clement</td>
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<td>£133.33</td>
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<td>Mr Archibald Keith</td>
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<td>A.c 115</td>
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<tr>
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<td>of Pitairlie [non-graduate]</td>
<td>£133.33</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Mr Thomas Anderson</td>
<td>St Andrews: St Leonard’s</td>
<td>£106.66</td>
<td>A.c 003</td>
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<td>Mr James Balfour</td>
<td>St Andrews</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr John Buchan</td>
<td>St Andrews: St Leonard’s</td>
<td>£100.00</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Mr James Fotheringham</td>
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<td>Mr William Gray</td>
<td>[unknown]</td>
<td>£100.00</td>
<td>A.c 086</td>
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<tr>
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<td>A.c 146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr Andrew Milne</td>
<td>St Andrews: St Leonard’s</td>
<td>£100.00</td>
<td>A.c 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Nevay [later of that ilk]</td>
<td>[non-graduate]</td>
<td>£100.00</td>
<td>A.c 164</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>John Patrick</td>
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<td>A.c 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Ramsay</td>
<td>[non-graduate]</td>
<td>£100.00</td>
<td>A.c 191</td>
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</table>

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.

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. 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. 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


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".
Acta Fac Art ii 386; 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.
Acta Fac Art 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{49} By way of

\textsuperscript{46} See appendix A.a nos. 072,104,337,204,031,017,099.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{48} See appendix A.c nos.224,009,152,065; A.a nos. 365, 068.
\textsuperscript{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. 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.

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. Mr Thomas Anderson, Mr Andrew Milne and John Baty all had kin who were burgesses of Montrose. Both Mr Alexander Auchenleck and Andrew Auchenleck served in the vicinity of Affleck Castle, seat of Auchenleck of that...

50. 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. 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". 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.

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

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, 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. 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. The acceptance of discipline by The Scots

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. According to Book of Discipline, elders were hence to be:

"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."

According to the Book of Discipline the office of a deacon was to:

"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:

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

60. The Scots Confession of 1560 article xviii.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elders</th>
<th>Elders</th>
<th>Elders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Durham of Grange</td>
<td>Robert Durham of Grange</td>
<td>Robert Durham of Grange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lovell, far of Bellumbie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex Lauder of Omachie</td>
<td>Alex Lauder of Omachie</td>
<td>Alex Ramsay of Airdownie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Ramsay in Airdownie</td>
<td>Henry Ramsay of Airdownie</td>
<td>George Balfour in Barnhill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elders</th>
<th>Elders</th>
<th>Elders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Anderson in the North Ferry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr William Durham in Linlathen</td>
<td>Mr William Durham in Linlathen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Carmichael in Ethiebeaton</td>
<td>Robert Carmichael in Ethiebeaton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Nairn there</td>
<td>Peter Nairn there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henry Lovell in Barnhill</td>
<td>David Lindsay in Ethiebeaton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.......Henry Knight in Monifieth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deacons</td>
<td>Deacons</td>
<td>Deacons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Gould</td>
<td>Thomas Gould</td>
<td>Henry Lovell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Duncan</td>
<td>Andrew Duncan</td>
<td>John Gould</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Knight</td>
<td>Henry Knight</td>
<td>Henry Lovell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gould</td>
<td>Thomas Gould</td>
<td>Henry Lovell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Auchinleck</td>
<td>John Auchinleck</td>
<td>Henry Lorimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lorimer</td>
<td>Henry Lorimer</td>
<td>Walter Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Kendall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 appear 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 comppear to show repentance. In addition, Alexander Lauder of Omachie instigated an important adultery case considered by the assembly in 1565, and Henry Knight was mentioned as a deacon in 1563. Further, John Auchinlek and John Gould had children baptised in 1566 and 1568 respectively.

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*), 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?

65. OPR 310/1: f13v 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

BARNHILL

KEY
--- PARISH BOUNDARY
--- HEIGHT IN FEET
--- COASTLINE
--- LINE OF CROSS-SECTION

CROSS-SECTION OF MONIFIETH PARISH NNW - SSE

HEIGHT IN FEET
0 1 2 MILES

0 1 2 MILES

Broughty
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. James Ramsay in Ardowndie was kin to Margaret Ramsay, wife of Alexander Durham of Grange. Only Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie and Henry Ramsay of Laws played little part in the life of their parish church.

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 Ardowndie 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. 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

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 Quhitttat may be identical with a Thomas Quhitttat 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.
74.0PR 310/1:438v ad loc.
inherited Christian and surnames, the gift of a name expressed solidarity with the past and with, where appropriate, patrons. That

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.f30v:31 July 1578  2.f47r:24 Apr. 1580
3.f61v:15 Aug. 1585  4.f30r:13 Nov. 1575
5.f38r:22 Jun. 1579

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.  

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. 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".

76. RSS ix 87, LHT ix 13; Calderwood, History ii 45,289,382; CH 1.1a.
77. ADCF 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 Durhame of Grange seik in bodie bot hal in spreit and mynd makis my testament and latter will as etfirt followis. First and aboue al things I committ me to ye eternall god and to his mercie belevand w[ill][h]out ony doute or mistrust y[a]it be yir grate meritis and passioun of Jesus and his resurrection of bodie and soule I haif and sall half remissioun of my syl[n]ines as I am further pierieswadit 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 nothf. It 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 Auchenleik, 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 "Tullievaired" [? Dillavaird by Glenervie] 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

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.
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

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.
appointed from the ranks of lesser clergy cannot be due to ecclesiastical leadership, such as was found in the dioceses of Galloway and Orkney.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{85}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
parsons/prebendaries & 55 & 5 & 2 & 7 \\
perpetual vicars & 33 & 1 & 7 & 8 \\
vicars' pensioners & 23 & 2 & 8 & 10 \\
curates, chaplains & 35 & - & 11 & 11 \\
\hline
TOTALS & 146 & 8 & 28 & 36 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

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.

\textsuperscript{82} Professor Donaldson summarises his research into these two dioceses in \textit{Scottish Church History} p.79.
\textsuperscript{83} See appendix A.a nos.050,104,079.
\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{85} This study therefore supports the conclusion of Dr M. Lynch in his chapter on Scotland in \textit{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 [damaged] in Apryll ye vi day of 1.5.6.0.

The quhillk day it is appyntit y[a]t ol[u]r asemblie of ye kyrk of [Monefut] ... [damaged] ... Sunday at twa efter noon at ye kyrk w[i]l[t prayar unto God for his assistans to do y[a]t may be forordan to his gloir and subpressing of Satan ... [damaged]

ye q[uhill]k day it is thoicht necessar be us yat ye hous of prayar [be mendit in] haist yat God may be glorifeit yair ye expensie to be taym 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 Kirck 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. 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. 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

............... 

88. Knox, Works iv p.528. I am indebted 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. cryppId chyld ..."[amount missing]
"gatherit to ye puir xxI d. and wes gevin at y[l]r assemblie commandis to Jhone Valcar."

Prayer were added. 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. 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. Finally, the Discipline's emphasis on the enforcement of moral discipline resulted in a scattering of references to sexual offenders compereing 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."

90. First Book p.133-4 and p.184. From OPR 310/1 f.Br, 15 Oct.1564; "Andro Findlay and Elpit Hardye ratefiet thair contract of marriag and ye said Andro promisit to haid the believe befor the solenisation of his marriag under pane of v mk. and the commandments befor 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 Geneva 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 kirkis in Angus and the Mearns where discipline was not practised and where no meetings of elders and deacons took place. 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". 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 kirkis in Moray by the Assembly of December 1562: he had a similar commission to Banff in 1563. On 4 September 1566, a group of the "most qualified" ministers of Scotland wrote to Beza at Geneva

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 kirkis. 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,57r. Note 80 refers to elders at Abernlyte 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. Mr James Melville,
William Christison and Nicholas Spittal were among the more select
ministers who subscribed the letter sent by the Assembly in December 1566
"to there brethren the Bishops and pastours of Ingland". 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. 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:

"it is ordainit y[alt so mony as dwellis in ye paroch off
Monefurth y[alt nocht communicatit at ye communin last
ministrat ye vii of January] 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". Laws,

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
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, "beacaus 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 debarrd 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

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-Sr; Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss. GD 137.639 and Reg.Deeds RD 1.5.384 for Omachie's contract of assyment 10/15 December 1562.
103. RPC iii p.197-8.
104. RPC iii 264.
which passed possession of a manse or its equivalent in land to "those who minister the charge", i.e. 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. 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

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. 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
withholding" 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. 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

107Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.180v; and see appendix A.c no.041.
108Acts 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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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\textsuperscript{109} Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 f.510v.
\textsuperscript{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

111.Aacts 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

112. Acts and Decs., CS 7.42 f.247r and 55 f.39r; CS 7.55 f.310v; 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.
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 (1) 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"). 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. 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 "beiting of the kirk of Brechin at command of the kirk".

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] vnwillinge of the Parochineiris 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 "divers Paroche Kirkis" had been "demolischit cassin doun and destroyit" and that their stones and timbers had been appropriated to secular use. 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

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

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 sclaitor is w[0]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

\(^{123}\) 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.  

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.  

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. 

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.  

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".  

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  

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. 
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

\[ \text{TABLE 5.4} \]

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<td>70</td>
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<td>73</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\[ i. \] 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. 

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". 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. 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.

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

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. 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 Newdook
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.

The small Angus parishes vacant in 1563
were also vacant in 1590. Ecclesjohn had been united to Dun by act of

134. F. Bardgett, "Four Parische Kirkis to Ane Preicheir", RSCHS xxii
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. Kirkbuudo 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.\textsuperscript{136}

In 1563, eight Angus parishes had ministers of their own.\textsuperscript{137} By 1590, this number had increased three-fold to twenty-seven.\textsuperscript{138} In addition, twenty-seven readers were

\textsuperscript{136} BUK i p.33; "Ordainit that suplication be made to the Queens Majestie and Secret Counsell for union 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 one of the saids kirks, to hear the word and receive the sacraments; because the scarcenes of ministers permitts not every kirk to have a searell minister, and also the small number of sick parochines requyres not the samein."
\textsuperscript{137} Dundee, Brechin [ignoring its link with Panbride], Montrose, Arbroath, Auchterhouse, Tealing, Dunnichen and Rescobie.
\textsuperscript{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". Only three of
the older-style three- or four-way groupings of parishes remained.
Glamar 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. 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
decreased to a quarter, though some who stayed the course were amongst
the most valued - Mr John Hepburn, Patrick Buncle and Mr Andrew Elder:

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.

¹⁴¹See table 5.1 for figures of graduates, pre-Reformation clergy and
benefice-holders.
¹⁴²Spald.Misc. iv "The obits of the lairdis and ladeis of Dwayne"
(appendix to preface) p. lxxvii.
CHAPTER SIX

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. 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. 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.

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.
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 down" 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>1st. sub.</th>
<th>last occ.</th>
<th>deceased by:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THOMAS MACNEILL</td>
<td>3.10.1558</td>
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<td>JOHN ANDERSON</td>
<td>14.4.1545</td>
<td>4.11.1564</td>
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<td>CHRISTOPHER MONCUR</td>
<td>14.4.1545</td>
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<td>14.4.1545</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>WALTER BALDIEVE</td>
<td>14.4.1545</td>
<td>4.11.1564</td>
<td></td>
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<td>THOMAS FETHE</td>
<td>12.9.1554</td>
<td>4.11.1564</td>
<td></td>
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<td>JAMES BALCASKY</td>
<td>-- 1555</td>
<td>4.11.1564</td>
<td></td>
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<td>JOHN WHITE</td>
<td>12.9.1554</td>
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<td>THOMAS LINDSAY</td>
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<td>THOMAS GORMAK</td>
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<td>15.5.1557</td>
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<td>THOMAS SCOTT</td>
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<td>NINIAN CLEMENT</td>
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<td>NICHOLAS PURVES</td>
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<td>DAVID BLACK</td>
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<td>RICHARD CRAIK</td>
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<td>20.9.1586</td>
<td>[-] 8.1592</td>
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<td>ALEXANDER CUBE</td>
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<td>20.9.1586</td>
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### 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.3; Prot.bk. William Pettiloc, RH 4.96 f.67v;
- Kinnaird, Southesk papers, box 4 bund.2, Southesk papers box 4 bund.8, Southesk misc. box 2 bund.28;
- Strathmote 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.
chalder 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,

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.
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 Lycn of Aldbar, Captain of the Guard, has been
mentioned above. 8 None of these teinds were available to the kirk.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>1st. sub.</th>
<th>last occ.</th>
<th>deceased by</th>
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</thead>
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<td>31. 1.1561</td>
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<td>PETER TRENT</td>
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<td>JAMES ANDERSON</td>
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<td>JOHN LAWSON</td>
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<td>JOHN FOGOW junior</td>
<td>10. 5.1558</td>
<td>3.11.1586</td>
<td>30.6.1592</td>
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Authorities
Ramff chtrs., BD 83.64; Reg.Deeds RD i.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.

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. 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. 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. The collapse of Moray's rebellion confirmed Atholl's conquest.

With Argyll's interest in Coupar

9. Acts and Decs., CS 7.115 f.264r refers to decreets of 2 July 1563 and 9 Nov. 1568: 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 E11.

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.
exhusted, permanently as it turned out, James Lord Ogilvy of Airlie next challenged Atholl's new rights in the abbey. Lord Ogilvy was hereditary bailie of Coupar for all lands outside of Atholl, by gift of the late abbot, 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. 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. 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. 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. Though Leslie was to die still commendator c.1603, the post-Reformation disputes for possession of Coupar Abbey

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. RGS v 2879; Acts and Decs., CS 7.49 f.1r, f.136v.
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

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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\textsuperscript{\ldots}\textsuperscript{----------------------}

\textsuperscript{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-
\textsuperscript{17. RSS vi 171; CA Rent. i 115; Strathmore writs box 235.3 no.15.}
\textsuperscript{18. APS iv 76,306.}
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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.}
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

21. RPC i 57; CSP(S) i 236.
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.
25. CSP(S) ii 618; RSS vi 415, 481, 1348.
men during the civil war (1567-1573)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{28} and by Hamilton for destruction of buildings and property of the abbey, and for removing its books.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1}{\textsuperscript{1}}.\textsuperscript{1}{\textsuperscript{1}}

\textsuperscript{26} As discussed in chapter 8 ns.79-80.
\textsuperscript{27} RSS vi 481, 1237, 1222.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{29} RPC ii 380; RSS vi 2309.
\textsuperscript{30} CSP(S) v 284: in 1577.
\textsuperscript{31} RPC iii 146; G.R.Hewitt, Scotland under Morton (Edinburgh 1982), pp.64-70.
parishes. 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.

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. 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. 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. John Carnegy of that ilk also added to his holding of the abbey's lands. 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:

"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;"

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. It is likely that Lennox retained more of the third than his predecessors - 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.

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, archdecan of Lothian, enjoyed the two-thirds of the kirk of Monifieth from before 1560 to after 1590.

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.25.
TABLE 6.3

ASSIGNATIONS OF STIPEND FROM ARBROATH REVENUES, 1576

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>amount</th>
<th>source</th>
<th>paid to:</th>
<th>post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37 6 8</td>
<td>Nigg par.</td>
<td>[blank]</td>
<td>min. Nigg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 6 0</td>
<td>Nigg vic.</td>
<td>Walter Richardson</td>
<td>rdr. Nigg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 13 4</td>
<td>Garvock</td>
<td>Alexander Keith</td>
<td>min. Garvock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 6 8</td>
<td>Garvock</td>
<td>Robert Milne</td>
<td>rdr. Garvock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 11</td>
<td>[the abbey]</td>
<td>Mr Alexander Allardice</td>
<td>min. Ecclesgreig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42 13 4</td>
<td>Kirriemuir</td>
<td>David Black</td>
<td>min. Kirriemuir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Clova</td>
<td>John Mann</td>
<td>rdr. Clova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 15 6</td>
<td>Dunnichen</td>
<td>Mr James Balfour</td>
<td>min. Dunnichen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[blank ]</td>
<td>Dunnichen</td>
<td>Henry Guthrie</td>
<td>rdr. Dunnichen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Lunan</td>
<td>Mr Andrew Strachan</td>
<td>min. Lunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 12 6</td>
<td>Glamis</td>
<td>John Nevay</td>
<td>min. Glamis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 13 4</td>
<td>Inverkeilor</td>
<td>John Fullerton</td>
<td>min. Inverkeilor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>Arbroath par.</td>
<td>Mr James Melville</td>
<td>min. Arbroath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 15 6</td>
<td>Arbroath vic.</td>
<td>Thomas Lindsay</td>
<td>rdr. Arbroath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 8 10</td>
<td>Ethie</td>
<td>David Milne</td>
<td>rdr. Ethie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 15 1</td>
<td>Ethie vic.</td>
<td>ditto</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Monifieth</td>
<td>Andrew Auchinlek</td>
<td>min. Monifieth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Monifieth</td>
<td>James Lovell</td>
<td>rdr. Monifieth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Murroes</td>
<td>William Oliver</td>
<td>rdr. Murroes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 10 1</td>
<td>Arbirlot</td>
<td>Charles Michelson</td>
<td>min. Arbirlot with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[or Panbride]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Panbride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Arbirlot</td>
<td>David Mitchell</td>
<td>rdr. Arbirlot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 5</td>
<td>Mains</td>
<td>Alexander Tyrie</td>
<td>min. Mains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 6 8</td>
<td>Mains</td>
<td>William Bruce</td>
<td>rdr. Mains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ruthven</td>
<td>David Ramsay</td>
<td>min. Ruthven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 14 10</td>
<td>Newtyle</td>
<td>Mr Robert Boyd</td>
<td>min. Newtyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Newtyle</td>
<td>George Halden</td>
<td>rdr. Newtyle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170 4 2</td>
<td>silver third</td>
<td>John Erskine of Dun</td>
<td>Superintendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[who also had victual not here calculated.]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£969 19 2</td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of Arbroath’s kirs 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[chereris] of Kerym[ure] xili lib. xiii s. iii 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 Bogar; at the same time he also feued Alexander Erskine and Margaret Home the manse, Place and

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 Auchenleck, 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.
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

44. Register of Charters of the abbots and commendators of Jedburgh,
CH 6.6.1 ff.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, Gilford, 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 ff.26v,27r. The commendator was at
the horn in 1571 for non-payment since 1566, and again in 1581.
RSS vi 1398,1401; viii 51s.
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:"

"... the real dilapidation of the episcopal lands of Brechin was the work of Bishop Campbell ..."

Some of the feu's must, however, be ascribed to the last catholic prelate, bishop John Hepburn. Several of his charters received royal confirmation 1585-1588. Lands so feu'd 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

47. REB ii nos. cccclxiv, cccclxix, cccclxv, cccclxvii, cccclxvi, cccclxii, cccclvi; Bk. Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.340r.
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. 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. 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. 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

48. See appendix A.b no.081.
49. RPC iii 362 (Murray); Airlie ms., 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 Auchnoul, 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


51. See appendix A b no.015.
52. REB ii cccxxxix, cccxxxviii, ccc, cccxi, ccciii, cccxiv, cccxxiv, cccxxiii, cccxxxxii, cccxxxix, cccxxvii, cccxxi, cccxxvii, cccxlvi, Bk. Asspt. E 48.1.1 f.348r.
53. REB ii cccxlvi; Bk. Asspt. 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 ... enduing 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:

"I am nocht partyteile resolet vyth myself quhat I will dw vyth ye masis of Farnwell as yit quhill forfer occassion 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 ytThler knowledge 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:

"Madame and Ant, eftir harlie commendationis forasmeikill as becaus of thir present trublis occurring we mycht nocht guidlie mait anent ye bessines betuix your ladyship and us but we have written to Mr Johnne Hatoun in this behalf and als has send credit with your sister Isabelle. Thairfoir gif your laldyshipl be myndit to aggre with us on sik heidis as we proposit be Mr Johnne Hatoun it is sufficient vtherwyis your laldyshipl 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:

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 laws naithir yit is our servitour Mr Johne Hatoun as perfyte thairin that we will lippin all our securitie to his dewise quairthrow we can nocht guadie subscribe ye said contract nochtwithstanding your la[dyship] sal be assurit in yourself that ye making us securitie be consultatiaune of six men of jugement as we pleis nominate and that ye will leif the landis at ye nixt witsondayes we be thir presentis promessis that we sal nevir follow nor persue yow for ye violence bigane and thir presentis to stand as our obligatieoune of promois 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 vnykondlie and vncourteslie handelit thairintill bayth be your cheiff and your sone.... for ye remeif yairof I ca[n] say na thing yairto becaus I knaw nocht quhat ... titill zo half yairto. Bot gif ye other haif or may get ony titill ye will be defendit i g 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

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 arrangements 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. 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.

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

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 Deps., 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
to 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{66} Thus the "patrimony of the kirk" was wasted and the
temporalities of the see dispersed.\textsuperscript{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".\textsuperscript{68} Thereafter
he began to take part in public affairs, subscribing the Hamilton bond

\textsuperscript{65} First Book p.161.
\textsuperscript{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
\textsuperscript{67} In 1587, the temporalities of sees were annexed to the crown:
APS iii 431-437.
\textsuperscript{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.

69. CSP(S) ii 650, 1110.
70. BK. Assumpt. E 48.1.1 f.352v; Airlie ms., GD 16.48.21.
71. T. McCrie, Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh 1824) pp.54-56.
72. BUK i pp.320,348.
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 kirk 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. 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.

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 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 kirk of the see of Dunkeld within the shire of Angus, and formerly under the supervision of the laird of Dun. 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. BUF ii 454,467.
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. Paton came under increasing pressure from the Assembly, however, being deprived by it in 1576 for dilapidation of his benefice.

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. 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. His province in the 1574 register of assignments of stipends was entitled: "Diocie of Brechin with the kirkis in the diocys of Sanctandrois and Dunkeld betuix Dee and Tay". 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 Kincardineshie presentations were addressed to the superintendent of Angus.

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

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]Jinis Stermont[hi] and Gowrie”: f.36v.
83. RSS vi 2582, 2639; 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. 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 kirs of the archdiocese were directed to the archbishop alone; during 1579 and the spring of 1580, the superintendent was added as an alternative addressee. The laird of Dun maintained his control over the kirs 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.

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 kirs as his deputies. 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.

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 kirk was 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 Ketting with Collace) for the west.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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".\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{88} RUK i 357-359; see, J. Kirk, Second Book pp.32,54.
\textsuperscript{89} I.Cowan, Reformation p.79.
\textsuperscript{90} WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.31; JRL, The Crawford mss., box E.
\textsuperscript{91} NRH, DPR 310/1 f.29v.
1578/9: "the q[uhilk] day wes ye visitory of y[lr kyrk be ye minister] 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 compair befour q[uhilk] assemblie the q[uhilk] day the ministre did publically in y[lr] presence ..." [gap] "... Henry Ramsay of ye Lawis w[ill] Margere Kynard and Henrie Guthre in Lawis and Marge Vat[soun] and James Duncan servand to y[lr] laird of Kyngany and ...

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 appear before the visitor:

"The said day i, reidar, commandit Henry Ramsay of Lawis and Magri[el] his harlot to compeir yis 24 April befoir ye visit[tour]le of Monefurth and Henry Guthre in Lawis w[i]lt Mag. Watsoun" [...gap] "... James Duncan servand to ye lard of Kincany and Isobell Bluncani and this I did in tyme of prayeris and Reidaryng in presence of ye cong[regation]."

"Item ye xxiii of this instant I passit to yair dwelling places w[i]lt witnessis and maid admonhaisment their."

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


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.

94. DFR 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. 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. There the existing parish court, now increasingly known as the "session" rather than the "assembly", 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. 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

96. J. Kirk, Second Book pp. 102-114.
97. DUK 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 assemble and sessioun deliverit ye puirfolkes box wilit xxx s. in it to Alex Ramsay of Ardowy, 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 distribution of the alms to the poor and to maintain vertue and punische vyce". 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. 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. 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 -

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.86.
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:

...............

104.Bk.Assumpt. E 49.1.1 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. The vast bulk of the £1,800 estimated annual income of the bishopric (i.e. temporality and spirituality combined) had been lost to the reformed church.

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. 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. 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. 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

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,142; 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.
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
1574 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 win of the dean; James Stewart, recipient
of a gift in 1583, has not been further identified. 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.

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. 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

110 See appendix A.b nos.014,076,072,083,082,075,013,073.
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, Chantrie Colleges, Chappellaries and the Freeries of all ... be retaine still in the use of the kirk or kirkis 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 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

113. See chapter 2 n.71.
115. See appendix A.b no.090.
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 saving of dirges.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

117. See appendix A.b nos.090,034,058,044,024,033,076,046,049,017,
080,028,060,077,061,018,063,009,085. 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

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. 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,

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.  

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 [common gift or Ladie a[n]wells" 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.

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:

"The qu[alit]k day ye bailzie[s] and co[tun]sall hes devisit and


124. I. Flett, "Geneva of Scotland" pp.73-76; M. Lynch, Edinburgh p.34.
126. APL, ms. court book 1563-75 f.31v.
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.  

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.

"The quhilk 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[alt] O[u]r Lady benyfes w[ill]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.

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.
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 consideration that the blak freris place of Montrois was first ans 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 tymes, spulzet the poor thairof, intrusand thame selfis thairin, and takand the hail place and rentis thairof to thame; and sen it hes plesit God of his grite mercy to open thair ipcrasie and maist justlie to caus thame be eiecit thairfra, it becumis the saidis lordi~ to thair dewitie, bayth towardis God and man, to restoir the poore of the said toune 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. 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. How much - if any - of the revenues of the

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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

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, Arbuthnot
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{137} An actual almshouse for the burgh's poor was therefore maintained during the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{139} Such a delay of nearly

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{136} J.G.Low ms. list of "the aldermen, bailties and counsails of Munros" in MTH, Montrose mss.,(volumes) M 10/12.
\item \textsuperscript{137} MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/7 and M/W1/9.
\item \textsuperscript{138} D.G.Adam, Religious Houses in Angus p.33.
\item \textsuperscript{139} J.G.Low, Memorials of the Church of St John the Evangelist, (Montrose 1891) p.25.
\end{enumerate}
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

140. See n.129 above.
141. AUL, Arbuthnott wrts 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 feu'd 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 altarge rents for that purpose.  

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.

143. This paragraph is substantially endeated to D.B. Thoms, "Maisondieu" SFBC no.14 (1962) pp.11-23. For Mr Robert Carnegy, appendix A.a no.057. Pace Mr Thoms, Carnegy was parson, not minister, of Kinnoull.
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. 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 roup-ing 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.

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. 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. 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...

144. This paragraph is substantially indebted to D.B. Thoms, "The College of Brechin", SFBC no.3 (1950) pp.6-16.
145. See appendix A.a no.191.
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 unquhill Mr. George Wischart quha for the preiching of the euangell at your toune sufferit martyrdom." 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

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 boil 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 I (1971) p.95.
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 Balgowrie-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

151 D.G. Adams, Religious Houses p.20; Strathmore writs NRA(S) 985 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. 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 doted to hospitalitie and annuall rents" be retained "in the use of the kirk or kirk's within the Townes and parishes where they were doted". 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

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.\footnote{Knox’s History ii p.27.}

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 claithe, corps-present, clerk-maille, 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".\footnote{First Book p.159.} As the kirk gave up its claim to inherit these traditional sources of income, they were
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 deduction of "moestclayth this 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. 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.

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 bischipriok of Brechen of ye vittual yfairlof justlie tabulat as the sammin is now of valo[ur] and payit be ye tennentis viz ye teindiis of the sammin by ye temporall landis fermes and syluer yfairlof maid at Ed[inburgh]."

Detail: [f.348r]
"The Rentall of ye temporall landis.

Barrowny Charlis Demp[ster] xxiii s. 1 lib.
Newtown George Crawmond xvi merkis s. x.
Smyddehill Charlis Murray vii merkis & x1 s.
Myldene Walter Cullace viii lib. vi s. viii d.
Otheris Robert Ky[n]neir vi lib.
Syd George Bartoun xix merkis
Neythre Mr Jo[hn] Cockburne xl merkis
Ardo set in few to ye Justice Clerk xxv merkis vii s. iii d.
Adecat set to Jo[hn] Carnegy vii lib.
Eggliston set to ye laird of Downe vi lib.
Capo set to ye laird of Vllishaven 1 s.
Maritoun set to my lord Argyill in few for xlix lib. vi s. 4 d.
Myrne of auchdowy George Speid liii s. iii d.
Unthank the Lady Crawford iii lib. vi s. viii d.
Littill Dalgaty set for xxvi s. vii d.
Murtoun set for iii lib. lii s. liii d.
Kethik set for xvii lib.
Kyngrony set for xviii lib.
Kirkdauche set for vi lib. vi s. viii d.
Croftheddis set for v lib.
[Ove] Petforchie x lib.
Littill Myrne of Brechen set for iii lib.
Ballowny ane half to Jo[hn] Ky[n]neir iii lib. xii s. iii d.
the uyter half to W[illia]m Lawson for v lib. vi s. viii d.
Dru[mis] set for x lib.
Brauchinch set for xvii lib. vi s. viii d.
Walk Myrne of stracathro set for lii s. iii d.
Eld[st]erm Dr[u]mmis set for xl lib. x.
The Brewhous of Stracathro xxxiii s.
Esauxtoun set to my lord Argyill in few for x lib. vii merkis."
Intermediate heading: [f.347v]
"The haiill Rentall of ye Spraitualitie of Brechen particularlie as it standis in ye buikis off beir meill and quehit to be deducit the [two-part] from ye thrid conforme to ye p[er]ticulure assignatioun gewin in be Mr Jo[hn] Hutoun chamelane of ye said bishoprik under his subscription manuale as ye said assumptioun efter followand mair fullie p[er]portis."

Conclusion: [f.349v]
"Mr Johnne Hutoun chamelane of brechen w[illt]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 Carnberry - 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.

....................

SECOND ENTRY: E 48.1.1 fs.350r - 352r.

Heading: [f.350r]
"The Rentall of ye Bischoprik of Brechen p[er]tening to Alexanderi Campbell bischop y[air]of."

Part-conclusion: [f.351r]
"summa of ye haiill temporall landis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In money</td>
<td>iiiic x lib. v s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caponis</td>
<td>xi doz. vi capons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pultriae</td>
<td>xv doz. x pultriae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geiss</td>
<td>xviiii geiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horscorne</td>
<td>viii bolls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Off ye q[u]hailk somme yair is to be deducit
David Murrayis pensioun q[u]harel unto he is provydit
of auld out of ye temporall landis iii = xxxiii lib. vi s. viii d.

Item to Mr Jo[n]n Huttoun in pensioun x lib.
    summa iii = xiii lib. vi s. viii d.

Sua restis of temporall landis xvi lib. xviii s. iii d.

Memorandum the manis of Fernewell in few to ye erle of argill
will ye ballerie and ye dewty discharging his ballie fie
extending to xxxvi lib. xiii s. iii d."
[marginal entry beside this: "no[ch]t laid"]

Conclusion: [f.332r]
"summa of ye haill teind victuall foresaid
m.
Ouheit      xi boles
Beir        xiii ch. vi bs.
Meill       xxv ch. v bs.

Ouhairef gewin out in pensioun to Mr Jo[h]n Grahame the
teindis of Kindrochat and Banabreach extendis to
i ch. vii bs. beir
    iii ch. xiii bs. meill

and to Jo[n]n Testie in Brachen the teindis of Cuikstoun and
Dubboun extending to
    x bs. ii fs. beir
and    i ch. ii bs. meill

sua restis
Ouheit      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 arrangement, 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.

Heading: [f.332v]

"Heir followis the Rentall of ye Bishoprik of Brechin 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 1575 zeir."

Detail: [f.333v]

"The rentall of ye temporall landis of ye bishoprik of brechin

In primis Bawrouy xxiii lib.
Newtoun xi lib. iii s. iii d.
Smyddehill iii lib. xiii s. iii d.
Myldene viii lib. vi s. iii d.
Botheris vi lib.
Syd xii lib. xiii s. iii d.
Ney[her] Pitforchie xxvi lib. xiii s. iii d.
Ardo xvii lib. xvi d.
Addicat vi lib.
Ecglisjohnne vi lib.
Capo xl s.
Maritoun wt ye fisheing xlviii lib. xv s. iii d.
Myll Auchdowy liii s. iii d.
Unthank iii lib. vi s. vili d.
Litill Dayache xxvi s. vili d.
Murtoun iii lib. iii s. iii d.
Kethik xviii lib.
Kyngrony xviii lib.
Kirkdauch vi lib. vi s. vili d.
Croftheidis v lib.
[Over] Pitforchy x lib.
Littill Mylne of Brechin [blank]
Balluny ix lib.
Drymme x lib.
Brathynsche xvii lib. vi s. vili d.
Walk mylne of Stracathro liii s. iii d.
Ester Dr[u]mmis xl lib. x s.
Brewhous of Stracathro xxiili s.
Stracathro xvi lib.
Esauxtoun xiii lib. xiii s. iii d.

[f.354r]

The manis of Fernwell in few to ye erle of argyll w[ii]lt ye
balzilerie and dischargit in his balzie fie

summa by fernwell iii s. lvii lib. x s. vili d
the thrid extendis to i s. xix lib. iii s. vid ii
the tua pairt extendis to ii s. 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 mèrs 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.
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". 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, the laird of Dun has provided historians with a high percentage of the exceptionally few sermons to have survived from sixteenth century Scotland. 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

1. Correspondence de Beze iii no.173.
2. BUK i pp.39,256.
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. 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. 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:

"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[al]t is wes witches 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

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.
his companion, it was said: "

"Practeves and prophecies 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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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.

11. MTH, Montrose mss., M/WI/15.
12. See appendix A.c no.032.
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, the Congregation, 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. 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". 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 .

Christian: 20

"As Christ Jesus came in this world to saif synnaris, sa did he nocht abhore synnaris, bot apply him self maist humlie and lowinglie onto all. ... The exempli 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 notabil 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 affectioun, that the repentance of our hart may ovturadlie appeir, heir the vord of God, pray continewally, be liberall to the pvire, be reconciled every 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 error of Symon, in dammpning the woman quhome the hevinlie iuge hath absoluit. Christ schew this woman to be iustifieit, 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 resaui be faiithe,..."

The forensic nature of Erskine's doctrinal language must be noted: ...

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.
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”, makes this abundantly clear. Salvation to John Erskine was before everything the gift of God. The kirk, having been “redemit fra all servitud” 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

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. A more assured self-image and greater confidence was thus possible for them.

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. 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 blyud of his deir sone...This kirk he hes redemit fra all sertuid... To this kirk he hes giffin the giftis of his Holie Sprait, and to this kirk hes he giffin the ministratioun of the hewinie misteresis, be the quhil ministry he quickins the dede, regeneratis his elect, and swrisis his faythfull."


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;..."

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, Ketins 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

......................

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
politically 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 Queenis 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,

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.
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:

"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

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 vpon 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 Geneva 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

37. Wodrow Misc. i p.291-300. The original was undated.

"... 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 burden, and sa fulfill the law of Christ.

[Erskine]

"Brethren, yf eny man be fallen by chauncse into enie faute: ye which ar spirituall, helpe to amende him, in the sprete of meiknes: consyderynge thy selve, lest thou also be tempted. Beare ye one anothers burthen, and so fulfill the law 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 meiknes, considering thy selve, lest thou also be temptit. (2) Beare ye one anothers burden, and so fulfill 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, 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 .................

40. The following table lists the citations according to proposed source and text, the latter being placed in chronological order.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>GENEVA BIBLE</th>
<th>TYNDALE/GREAT BIBLE</th>
<th>GENERAL/PARAPHRASE</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the Queinis grace (6 May 1559)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montrose burial service (early 1560s)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 7.36f [Dec.1565;March1565/6]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Regent Mar (10 Nov.1571)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the Kirk (13 Dec.1571)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthew 9.37 [n.d.]</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Modrow 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 burial" 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.  

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 fear 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 weryt 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. "Let 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,

43. First Book p.200.
Erskine's promise "we sell fynd grace and sell heir his comfortable wordsis 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

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 oke 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

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, 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, and by the new disciplines of the kirk assembly, 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:

- 316 -

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 Sunday be seven hours and ye prechin be begin 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.
"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

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.
"... 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 anonymous 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 avarice, pryde and ambitioune;"

"Lady Scotland" complained to her children that "My legs 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

58. Satirical Poems i 226f., lines 149-153, 90-1.
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", 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 gare his Kingdom fall, 
With all the might they may. 
Omitting none Occasion, 
To furder their Invasion, 
By Pestilent persuasion, 
Both by night and day. ... 
And to perform their Enterprise, 
They leave not off with once or twice: 
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 "Christ's 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 limellie, 
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 nintane, 
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." The Scots Confession strongly urged the hidden-ness of the kirk:

"This kirk is invisible, known only to God, who alone knows 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. 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:

"Hewir I pray the reader to consider diligently this invisible kirk of Schir Iohne Knox,..."  

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.  
"Moreover the kirk to be invisible it is maist ernonious and repugnant to all scriptures: for quhat can be more manifest and clier, nor that, quhilk of befoir wes cited of Isaac, the portes of the kirk sall ever 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:

"... thairfor he dois call thame the licht of the world. Ouhilk wordes in respect thay ar iustlie referret to the pastours, we do consequentlie imbring that the pastours being known, 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 invisible."

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.

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.

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:

66. Spald.Misc. iv p.94:
"Thairfor thai ar callit the licht of the world... 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 Christ's 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 dismayd,
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

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 "proceed 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

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 known to the Kirk, that of late dayes sundrie apostates are returning within the country, and are spred in diverse provinces, as in Angus and vthyr parts, and no kynd of discipline as zet vsed against them, to the great slander of the Kirk of God, graife of the conscience of good men, and contempt of the acts of the Kirk: The Generall Assemblie ... ordaines the Commissioners of Countreyts 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.
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

82. Greaves, Theology and Revolution pp.1-3, 135; Knox's History i pp.5-6; ii pp.3-6.
"[God] fechtis agains the inemais of it, and destroyis all power that seikis the hurt of it." [the kirk]

"...the kirk hes enemis without and enemis within, bot the Lord sail destroy them all, as he did the outwart enemis of Israel... The scharp executione of Godis iustice in punishsching the enemis of his kirk is expressit in the Scriptor. The gret iymyres alsweill as wher kingdomis, wer brocht to destructioun for vsing turrannie agains the kirk of God..."

"Our synnes hes prouokit the wraith of God, the quhilk is alreid kendit, his plaigis ar to be pourit ypone vs subdantlie, except we preif the same vith spedy repentance."

"For the Mightie Lord, who hath bee a protectour of his kirk in all ages, and hath destroyed and cast doun great iymyres and kingdomes that made battell against his kirk, sail 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. 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 apparis 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 summarized 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"? 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

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."

"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 world, 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. 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 apocalyptic 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 hewlinlie kingdome" was included in his sermon on Matthew 9.37,38. Other references can also be found in his known writings to the judgment. 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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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 gret 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 sail sum 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

90. Williamson, National Consciousness p.154-5 n.66.
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 continewalies 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.
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.98
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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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:

"There is a spirituall jurisdictioun and power which God hath givin unto his kirk, and to those who beare office therein; and there is a temporall power givin of God to kings and civill magistrats. Both the powers are of God, and most agreeing 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. 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

100. Chapter 4, notes 47-71.
101. Calderwood History iii p.158.
102. Melanchthon and Bucer p.186.
Discipline was taken directly from Bucer. 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.

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.

104. Second Book pp.18-23 for J.Kirk's discussion of the background and events of the Leith settlement.
"Ane epistill wrettin to aue faythfull brother, be Johne Erksyne 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 daois luf his onlie Sone, and with aee 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 inemesis 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

as a whole, "Of the Kirk of God" related it specifically to the ministry. 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:

"...to this kirk hes he giffin the ministratioune of the hewinlie mistereis, be the quhilk ministry he quickins the dede, regeneratis his elect, and mwrisis his faythfull. It is the power of God to work saluation."

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:

107. Spald.Misc. iv p.94:
"This holy 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."

"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.
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 aoppin, 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. The first Helvetian Confession, (as translated into Scots by John Erskine's mentor George Wishart), by equating "the keys" with the "auctoritie 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 "auctoritie ... shulde be committed onely to them that are mete therfore: and chosen other by the eleccion of God, or elles by a sure and aduyysed 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. 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".

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. 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. 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.

If Erskine did not distinguish too closely

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 travellis 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. 

"The true members join to Christ be faith, are join together among 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. 

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


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. 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.

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

\[\text{117. Knox's History ii pp.82-4,98,147.}\]
\[\text{118. Erskine refused to produce a draft for the section of the Discipline assigned to him, on the grounds that it was "obscure and mystick". The Assembly nevertheless appointed him with others to confer with regent Morton to secure his assent to the completed Discipline: BUK i 384,398.}\]
Whereas in 1582 John Erskine had stood with those who opposed the young king and his government, in 1585 Patrick Adamson on James' behalf successfully called for Erskine's assistance. 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. Thus satisfied that the power of "the keys" remained in the hands of the kirk, Erskine obtained the


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 olurle traist freind ye laird of Dun.
Eftir olurle maist hartlie comm[en]ld[ait][iou]nis Forsameikle as the pr[le]s[le]nt danger appering to goddis trew religiou and pr[ol]ffessors y[air]of the perrill of the kingis maisteis awin estait and croun and all the mainfest abuss and confusion yat ye haill co[m]mone weill in all estatis hes movis us to cu[m] and remane w[i]t his maiestie qluhill ye truwth heirof be manifesteit to all his hines faithfull subiectis That w[i]t quhais consent ye best remeid may be providit qluhairforsair we maist effectuuslie desyris zou that ze accompanite w[i]t yir best freindis and servandis in maist fersable maner ze will not faill to be heir in Striviling upoun ye viii day of September nixt qluhair zow sall understand ye [con]tancie of olurle honest meaning in all respecis as ze will declare ze gude affeccion to sa necessar caus and obless us to acquite zowr gude will quhair it sall ly in olurle 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 aiss gud oppynioun off you at this present, ass he hess off any subject in Scotland." Spald. Misc. iv p. 70.

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. John Erskine was appointed a commissioner in ecclesiastical causes with powers in the diocese of Brechin, and for the kirms of St Andrews and Dunkeld within his own shires.

Though severely criticized at the time by those who pushed their defence of the kirm to the point of exile, 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 kirm 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 kirm 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.

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 their 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.

ADDENDA TO CHAPTER SEVEN

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON'S DISCUSSION OF ERKINE OF DUN AND JOHN KNOX.

An attempt has been made above [notes 85-98] to demonstrate that Erkine 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.

ADDENDUM A

HALLER'S FOXE'S BOOK OF MARTYRS AND THE ELECT NATION EXAMINED.

Bibliography of works mentioned, listed in chronological order:

Olsen, V. NORSKOV John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church (Berkeley 1973).
BAUCKHAM, RICHARD Tudor Apocalypse (Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics 8, Appleford 1978).
WILLIAMSON, ARTHUR R. Scottish National Consciousness in the age of James VI (Edinburgh 1979).

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. 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. 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 interpretation 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.

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.
(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

3. V. Olsen John Foxe pp.44,47.

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, 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.


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”. 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. 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.

2. R. Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse p.163f.

KNOX Works iii p.105:
[cited from 104]

1 "A PLAGUE THREATNED TO ENGLAND.– O England! lat thy intestin battell, and domesticall wurther provok thee to publice of lyfe, according to the word whilk oppinie hath bene proclaimed in thee otherwise the cuppe of the Lordis wraithe thou salt drink! [In the 5 edit. 1554, "thou shalt shortly drinke of." The multitude sall not eschape, but salt drink the dregis, and have the cuppe brokin upon their 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 consummatoun, but cut away the proude and luxuriant branches whilk beir no frute: and preserve the Communweillis of sic as gif succour and harbour to thy contempnit messingeris, whilk lang have sufferit exyle iu 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 delverit, may obtene everlasting joy and felicitie, throw Jesus Chrystoure 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 batteil, whilk schortlie sail 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 "patient 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.
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.
1 "This no doute, dear Brethren, shal one day be the songe of Godes electe within the Realme of Englannde, after that God hath poured forth his vengeaunce upon these incobedient and blood-thristy tyrauntes, which now triumpheth in all abominations; and therafter, yet ayayne, beloved in the Lord, abyde patientlye the Lordes deliveraunce, avoiding and flyeng suche offences as may sepera~e and devyde you from the blessed felowship of the Lorde Jesus at his
seconde coming. Watche and praye, resist the Devel, and row
against this vehement tempest, and shortly shal the Lorde come to
the confort of your heretes, which nowe are oppresed 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 considering, by the signis foirspokin by oure Maister
Cryst Jesus, (whilk for the maist part ar now present,) the
dayis of this maist corrupt warld to be schort, and thairfor
the joyfull delyverance of that oppressit and afflictit flock till
5 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 "whosoever he taketh into his protection, by the covenant of his

Worde, any reale,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

5 consider and waye, I was in judgement 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

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. 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 any true subject in the using of their religious and conscience ... but innovacion or alteration of any sorte." 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.

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:

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 afferis 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

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. The Comptroller and Collector of Thirds, James Wishart of Pittarrow, was the sole laird of the Mearns to join the rebellion. 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. 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: "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

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.


8. CSP(F) Eliz.1564-5 no.1510; Knox's History ii p.156.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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

10. RMS ii 494, WRH The Haigh Inventory i p.88; above, chap.6 n.148.  
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. 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. 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 Blenervie 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. 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. Additionally the number of Lindsay lairds in Angus was
considerable. 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. In south Angus, Crawford held
Ethiebeaton in feu from the earldom of Angus, and was kin to the

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".
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

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
cautoners 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

27. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 134 bund.7.
Huntly, was not an impartial judge. 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 Droughty, which had been recovered from the French during the campaigns of 1559-60.

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.29 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 infested 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 Newdosh, 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

28. Strathmore writs, NRA(S) 885 box 134 bund.7.
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. 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[l]t zou haue y[l]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.

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

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

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. 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 Belzeordie. 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’s college at St Andrews university, where his regent may have been Archibald Hamilton.

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. 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

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.
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 down"—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. 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. 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

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. 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. 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.

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 Nonetheless, 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, whó had left Glamis, fled in the direction of Dundee summoning 

47. CSF(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.\footnote{CSP(S) ii 752; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i p.75.}

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.\footnote{Justiciary courts, JC 26.1.62. Andrew Naiff in Carsebank also took part in conflict at the Haugh of Meikleour: RSS vi 681.} 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.\footnote{RSS vii 1062.} 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 Auchenleck, 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.\footnote{RPC i 655, RSS vii 1062.} Though this was probably as the result of a private...
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

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.
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.

"Edorso] Band subscrivytt 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 obliissis us be ye fayt[h] and truthe of o[ur]e bodiis upoun o[ur]e hono[u]r and loute to main[t]ene and set furthe ye kingis gr[ace] authoritie and service to ye uttermaist of o[ur]e power. And gif ony of us bieis trublit and put at be our adv[er]siris in our bodiis or guidis that we sall ilk an n[och]t only assist and tak plair[tt to defand o[ur]e selfis but alsua sall entir in ye lik cays w[i]lt o[ur]e enemiis and to o[ur]e power ranpae ye injurie ressavit be ony of us be quhasu[mel] 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]tt beis maid be ony of us to conw[e]r in Forfar or quhar euir we are desiritt and to pas fordwert w[i]lt o[ur]e fors to yir effect forsaid. At Forfar ye xxiii day of Februar ye zeir of God [one thousand five hundred] saxe[t]e and aucht zearis."

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

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

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, 6D 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.\textsuperscript{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 Sordons – 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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{63}. Publications of the Clan Lindsay Society ed. J. Lindsay, vol. iii
no.9 (Edinburgh 1924) "Lindsays of Evelick" p.3; RSS vi 276.
\textsuperscript{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. On the other hand, he had protected Beaton and Westhall and the Ogilvies of Inverkeilor and Balgro after the affray at Dundee, 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.

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

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:

"Prais your [ladye] advertise me of the erl of Hwntleis dyet quhat way hi commis baith horse mene and fit mene his nwummer. Gif ye can noiht woth this bearer prais your [ladye] gar sum trutfal mane mite themone at ye fit the mounth qwha cane nwummer thame and haist adwetisment efter me til Dunde woth ane trutful hand woth ane tikket on [ie not] swpleris cryyet for takkine that I may mak thame that is affor ws forseine of thair dyet and thair nwummer."

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 sent bowmen from the lands of Edzell to assist the master of Forbes’ unsuccessful assault on Aberdeen.

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. 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

"None I excuse on ather syde; for quhy
Ilk an 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 young Prince in Stirling, my right 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

73. CSP(S) iii 123; Satirical Poems i p.231 lines 128,130.
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 prior 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. 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. It was this faction that began the campaign by proclaiming Huntly as Mary's lieutenant at Forfar and Brechin.

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 wiiit 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. Lord John

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 Carnegie 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:

"defens of us o[u]r le convent ten[pl]lantis and servandis and o[u]r le special place" [and] "for resisting o[u]r le nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[u]r le aperand hurt and damage 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. 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 Carnegie of Kinnaird, noting that the exiled queen had been informed "of zour greit constancie towarde the advauncement of oure auctoritie" and "assuringe zou that whensoever it sall ples God we returne ... we sall haue the samin in good remembrance ...

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.

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.\textsuperscript{64} By the end of July, Randolph was able to report that Huntly "finds great disobedience in the north".\textsuperscript{65} 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.\textsuperscript{66} 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

\textsuperscript{64} CSP(S) iii 386.
\textsuperscript{65} CSP(S) iii 386.
\textsuperscript{66} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{flushright}
\textbf{..................}\textsuperscript{87} Diurnal p.190. \textsuperscript{88} CSP(S) iii 426. \textsuperscript{89} CSP(S) iii 386. \textsuperscript{90} APL, ms. Arbroath court book 1563-75 f.55v; Pitcairn, Criminal Trials i/ii p.15.
\end{flushright}
Elizabeth of England imposed an abstention that lasted seven months.\footnote{CSP(S) iii 464.}

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.\footnote{JRL, The Crawford mss., 4.1.83 and WRH, The Haigh Inventory i 99 [box C].}

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.\footnote{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.} The latter's loyalty may have wavered when Adam Gordon of Auchendoun raided Brechin and Angus in July 1572, taking a somewhat lax defence.
by surprise," 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. 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.

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". 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.

By April, it was reported that Gray had surrendered Broughty into the keeping of the earl of Buchan, whose main residence was at nearby

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 quhill day wes nathing gatherit ... uprior wyllt wes in ye countrie for Adam Goaurl torn 1". Mar and Morton's swiftly diverted forces, and had expelled the raiders by the sixteenth. OPF 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

99. CSP(S) iv 250.
100. CSP(S) iv 384.
101. RSS vi 2292; vii 2669.
102. RPC ii f88. 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. 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.

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. 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. The Lord's Supper occurred ("the quhilk[day commun[iou]n was 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 

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. 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.

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:

"It is concludit be ye con[sall] anent ye ordour of ye kyrr that qu[hat]soever be decernit be ye minister elderis and deconis for observing of gud order salbe put to executioun be ye bailzeis and con[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.  

108.0PR 310/1 fs.13v,17v.
109.0PR 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[uhill]k day W[ill][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 remeiz 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 quhilk day it is thowth expedient for ye con[mon weill because of inlaik of ane maister of schwell for ye support y[air] of it is con[cludit y[alt O[uir Lady benyfes w[alt ye halll an[wellis pertenand to ye dairyeis be collctit and tayn op and xx lb. yairof to be giffy[n] to ane maister and ye rest yairof to be disponit at ye sicht of ye bailzeis and co[unisall to ye puyr or co[mon 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 bailzieis and counsell gave yair aithis yairto; and for punishing of transgressors 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

111.[Continued from the previous page.] See also:
APL, court book 1563-1575 f35r: 18 April 1567;
"The sa[mon day it is decernit be ye bailzieis minister elderis and deconis y[alt gyz Jonat Ra[m]say webster missa[y] Jonat Lain his moder w[ill] wordis of iuniuris he sall tyn his fred[ml] and com[ml]on landis ye first tym and ye secund tym to be banist ye town and gyz ye said Jonat his moder misparsun ye said Jonat and beis co[m]vyt y[air] intill sche sall tyn hir lyfrent of hir said com[ml]on landis ye first tym and ye secund tym to be banist ye town."

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.
113.APL, court book 1563-1575 f68r: 27 Oct 1573;
"The quhilk day ye bailzieis and hal[ly] nyboris concludit y[alt yair be ane maister of gram[ml]er schwell prouidit and to mak by yame zeirly viii s. of ilk barn w[ill]tin ye town and twenty pundis to be maid to hy[m] of O[uir Lady benifes or derygeis a[ml]wellis w[ill]t his chalm[ml]er maill fre and David Nycholl is rasauit y[air] to for yis zeir quha hes promisit to enter y[air]to at New Zeir Day nyxt to cum."
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. 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. 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 115.

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.
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. 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. 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. He also wrote to Inverquharity, asking him not to enforce his new rights too harshly against Lord Ogilvy's assignee of the teinds of

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.\textsuperscript{121}

"that pure gentilwoman is in greit doubt fearing hard
handilling at zour handis Off quhose cheifflie sche mon lippin
for maintenance 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 haith to zow and all
ouris movis us at this tyme to request and desire zow
effectuously y[all] ye will suffer the said y[ill]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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{121.}Ogilvy of Inverquharity mss. GD 205 box 1 no.17.
\textsuperscript{122.}Morton's early years may have been spent at Glenbervie: Hewitt,
Morton p.2.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{124.}CSP(S) ii 327,502,616,632; ibid. iii 84,119,122,227,231,363.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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".\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{126} G. Donaldson, Scottish Church History p.120f.
\textsuperscript{127} Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 235.3 no.9.
\textsuperscript{128} CSP(S) v 284.
servants of the eleventh earl,\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{130} Mar (then Lord Erskine) especially attempting to present himself as an impartial national servant, holding Edinburgh Castle above faction.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{The Lamentation of Lady Scotland}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{133} Cambuskenneth was to be

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{129}CSP(S) v 326: Randolph to [Killigrew] "All the devils 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."
\item \textsuperscript{130}Knox's History i 121.
\item \textsuperscript{131}Knox's History i 201,231-2,261-2,264,275,344.
\item \textsuperscript{132}Satirical Poems i p.231 line 136.
\item \textsuperscript{133}Mar and Kellie mss., GD 124 10.37 and GD 124.10.40.
\end{itemize}
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. An English agent reported thereafter "The Earl of Angus's marriage confirms the devotion of the house of Erskine to the Regent".

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. 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

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. 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. 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.

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

137. RPC ii 98.
138. RPC ii 112-3.
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 episcopal 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 kirkis. 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.
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", 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. However, even theology based on divine revelation has to be both developed and implemented in the world as it

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. 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. 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. By 1551, however, an alternative

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, 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 dissenting 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

5. [Continued from the previous page.]


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. 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. 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; 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

10. See chapter 4 ns.14-16.
11. Registers from Edinburgh (CC 8.B.1f.), Brechin (CC 3.J.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 "latterwill") by which the testator bequeathed his property (and soul) and named executors. Testaments aimed to value moveables and debts.
neutrally, omitting equally clauses explicitly catholic and overtly protestant. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, for example, "colm[i]ttit his soule unto ye father omnipotent ye creat[o]r of all and commitit 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 before God at ye day of judgment."

Six further examples of this wording were found, 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. 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

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 well husbandmen as cotteris". 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 Christ[l] over onlie Saviou[r]" 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. 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. 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 saviou[r] hir body to ye erth to ye generall resurrectioun". In CC 8.8.15 f.231r her husband "co[m]mittis my soule to God to be ressavitt 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. 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. 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

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.249r (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 Bassindenh'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[mlendis my saule to ye lord Jesus Christ and my body
to ye erthe quhairfra it came to be bureit w[ilt 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

20. Edin. tests. CC B.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

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.099 for most of what follows on John Lindsay.
LaNNson'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. In 1587/8, Menmuir was chosen as one of Edinburgh's commissioners to the General Assembly. 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.

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. 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:

27. J. Kirk notes Menmuir defending the doctrine of the ordination of elders for life, though with polemical intent: Second Book p.94.
Murray was convicted.\textsuperscript{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 Dalbug, an elder of Edzell kirk, drew up and witnessed the document.\textsuperscript{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 "plesance" that he had constructed at Edzell. Inset into the wall were carvings representing the Seven Cardinal Virtues, including \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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 "pourtaitce 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{29} JRL, The Crawford mss., box Fii and 4/1/96.
\textsuperscript{30} JRL, The Crawford mss., 4/1/95.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Edzell Castle} by W.Douglas Simpson revised R.Fawcett (HMSO 1982) pp.9-12. See also the wooden carving of a crucifixion at Edzell.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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: Newdask.
"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, Decolampadius. 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:

"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 world, 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 travall to live in peace and concord with all men, otherways your life and pairt of the world 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.

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.194 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 Angu:... Campbe1s... 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:

"my saule to ye grete god omnipotent my creatour 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 britheris and sisteris". 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. 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.

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." In Dumfriesshire, "There appears to have been little demand for reform before 1560." 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

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. 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,

"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.

The death-bed held a special place in the custom of the reformed kirk. It could be the occasion par excellence

43. See chapter 5 table 3 and n.75; also, First Book pp.91,192-3.
44. See appendix A.b no.059.
for giving confession of the faith. John Knox, for example, recounted the pre-Reformation dying profession of faith by Elizabeth Adamson, who

"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. 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. Whereas before the Reformation, lairds had given their confession (of sins) and made their will before their chaplain or chosen confessor, 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. 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

46. Knox's History ii 119-20.
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.B.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. 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 deidlly 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 Saviour" has already been suggested. A fuller "confession" was made by Mr David Balward, parson and minister of St Madoes in his manse on 1 December 1590:

"gaif ye confessioune of his fayt y[alt his salvation consists 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]l 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:

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<th>Source References</th>
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<tr>
<td>51. CC 8.8.5 f.60v; CC 8.8.5 f.63r; CC 3.3.1 f.19v; CC 8.8.12 f.34v.</td>
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<td>52. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 3 bund. 32; and see n.16 above.</td>
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<td>53. CC 8.8.23 f.224v.</td>
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<td>54. CC 6.9.5 f.198v.</td>
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"Ye said Elizabeth being seik and infirme in bodie bot zit of gud remembrance left and disponit her saule to ye eternal God, Father, Son and Hailie Gaist to be participand of yat eterneall glorie q[whillk ou[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 ... hail in spreit and mynd albeit weik and febill in body levis my soule to God thro[chit Jesus Christ my saviour[r] my onlie redeemer..."

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

56. CC B.8.8 f.275r: Thomas Lovell in Linlathen’s will was written by "my darrest and best belouit eldest germane broder James Lovell residar wilitin 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 subscribe this my latterwill...": CC B.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. 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. 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. 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. That David Lindsay of Edzell and John Erskine of Dun both studied Oecolampadius is not coincidental. Society in Angus before and after the Reformation was certainly unusually disturbed.

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.
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. 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. At Monifieth, for example, the eldership linked together tenants-in-chief, tenants of the regality of Kilmern, 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.

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
assemble" or its eldership in the ecclesiastical. The reign of
James VI saw a period when "many of the familiar landmarks" of feudal
Scotland were in decay; 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. 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.

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

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.
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
four standard formulae. 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. 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. 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

70. These were: a) "Since nothing is more certain than death and more uncertain than the hour of death" (with variants); 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. DPR 310/1 f.31v, 23 Apr.1576: "ye communion wes ministrated to sex hundrejt persounis". Summaries of subsequent entries follow.

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>27 Apr.1576</td>
<td>600</td>
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<tr>
<td>26 Apr.1579</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Apr.1580</td>
<td>600</td>
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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

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. 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.

74. See diagram 9.2.

75. 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 Egilv’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.
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 communications 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, iar 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

77. See chapter 5 ns.70-73,100-102 and table 5.2.  
79. RPC 1 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.\footnote{See chapter 8 n.102.} 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.\footnote{See appendix B nos. 157-161 for the succession in Ballumbie.} 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.\footnote{RPC i p.555.}

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.\footnote{RPC i p.555.} 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.

\footnote{RPC i 460.}
Gray's defence was that he had the tack of the fishings himself, from Henry Lovell of Ballumbie. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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

85. RPC i p.685.
86. RPC ii p.138.
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.  

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. While Lovell had been in ward in Edinburgh, the Grays took the opportunity to raid Ballumbie's lands with a force of 200 men. 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. 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.

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. When John Lovell's wife Barbara Ogilvy, sister to Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk, died in July 1579, she

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.\textsuperscript{96} When Henry Lovell in Barnhill had his son Alexander baptised, one of the witnesses was Robert Durham of Grange.\textsuperscript{97} The long-serving reader of the kirk was James Lovell, brother to Thomas in Linlathen.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 allotted places within a corporate fellowship. Its institutions provided a link between the normal events of birth,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{96} OPR 310/1 f.42v, 30 July 1579 and see appendix B no.160.
\item \textsuperscript{97} OPR 310/1 f.42r, 12 May 1579.
\item \textsuperscript{98} See appendix A.c no.131; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.8 f.375r.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\end{itemize}
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.

101.0FR 310/1 f.61r, 29 Aug.1585.
102.RSS vii 2651.
103.0FR 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. 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. 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.

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

104. BL, Add. mss.33,531 f.263.
105. RPC ii p.701; iii pp.92,110,249,266; Edin.tests. CC 8.8.19 f.347.
106. See chapter 8 ns.59,125-8. 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. Although a prosecution against him was begun, the earl had licence to go abroad in 1580, returning in August 1581. Further bonds of caution were required of the master of Glamis and the earl in February 1581/2. 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. 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, and of lands in the regality of Scone forfeit to the crown after the fall of Gowrie. The master, meanwhile, was driven into exile in 1583 and 1584/5. 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.

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 knowis I am most innocent and as all yat sawe and knawis ye circumstances of yat unhappy accident understandis and hes beine ewer sensyne villing to have 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.


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. 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, 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 fair of Inverquharity. 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

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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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:

118. See chapter 8 ns.117-120.
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.1593.
"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; in view of the Ruthven Raiders' appeal to Dun for assistance, 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. 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.

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

124.RPC iii 688-692; Band of the Friends of Mar.
125.See chapter 7 n.120.
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. 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. 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. Loyal service to James VI and his governments was welcomed, and could be profitable.

Angus and the Mearns have been described

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, RGS 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.
as part of the "conservative north" of Scotland during the sixteenth century. 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; the explanation provided is somewhat less secure. John Erskine of Dun can not safely be described as "emphatically" in favour of episcopacy. 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". It has been argued earlier that, if the laird of

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.
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

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. 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. The
defeat of the Ruthven Raiders and their Angus supporters, the

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 ..

145. See appendix A.2
146. See appendix A.c no.152.
147. K. Brown, Bloodfeud p.192.
more violent forms of political involvement.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{148} K. Brown, \textit{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, \textit{Collections upon the lives of the Reformers} (Maitland Club 1834) appendix v p.62.
\textsuperscript{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.
"The Lord God, that workes his workes marvelouslie, wroght his worke of Reformation of Religion in Scotland above men's expectation, considering the instruments whom God used in the same, and the power and authoritie that wer against them."

ADDENDUM TO CHAPTER NINE

THE LETTER OF JAMES, LORD OGILVY TO HIS GRANDSON, 11 JUNE, 1606

"Seeing it hes pleisit God, of His unspeakable 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 years auld, and ye hail freindis and name all in ane daye. Sae I wes parentless and freindless altogethir. Quhat in my tyme I hav 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 yourself moickle 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 well here as hereaftir; love and respect your freindis and followers thairof: and know thair naturis weil yat you may accommodat yourself 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 gif I have overseen, myself 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 themeselfs curiously to understand Magick and Necromancy, quhilk are the grytest sins against God yat can be, and hes been ye destruction 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 your King above all worldly things, for my house he's ever done sae, and thay flourish it ye better. Albeit, in battle we receivit gryt skaith in their service, yet God he's ever augment the number of us. Yis I end with God's blessing and mine to you, Guid Sire, and to your brethren and sisters.

At Farnell, 11th June 1606.  

Ogilbe.

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 commented, "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)
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.

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.)

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, occurring 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.

Conventions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BVM</td>
<td>altar/chapel of the Virgin Mary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>collegiate church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>had deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dep./depr.</td>
<td>deposed/deprived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chtr.</td>
<td>charter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gift</td>
<td>gift of a bursary/pension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inst.</td>
<td>(notarial) instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occ.</td>
<td>occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>par.</td>
<td>parson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perpet. vic.</td>
<td>perpetual vicar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IDVIES¹</th>
<th>(St Andrews² / Angus³)</th>
<th>Parson⁴</th>
<th>prebend St Mary on the Rock collegiate church</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 164</td>
<td>Hay, Mr David</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>occ. 1529 - 1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 165</td>
<td>Hay, Mr Edmund</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sup. 1530 - 1547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 168</td>
<td>Hay, Mr William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pres.1547 - 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hay, Mr George</td>
<td></td>
<td>pres.1583 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Drummond, Mr Andrew</td>
<td></td>
<td>pres.1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Term Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABERLEMNO</strong></td>
<td><strong>Jedburgh abbey</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 103</td>
<td>Erskine, John</td>
<td>res. 1533</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 139</td>
<td>Garden, John</td>
<td>sup. 1533</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 140</td>
<td>*Garden, Mr William</td>
<td>occ. 1542 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 212</td>
<td>*Lyall, sir George</td>
<td>occ. 1546 - 1569</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABERLETHNOTT</strong></td>
<td><strong>King's College, Aberdeen</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Rental 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 plairt of ye leving of ye said college to ye nummer of fourtie [and] six maisteris and studentis .... qlk college wes neur taxit be king gownik nor bischope. sit sub Mr Alex Skene procurator collegii.&quot; [Book of Assumption, E 48.1.1 f.362v]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 053</td>
<td>Carnegy, Mr Alexander</td>
<td>pres.1547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AIRLIE</strong></td>
<td><strong>Coupar Angus abbey</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 321</td>
<td>*Smith, sir John</td>
<td>occ. 1539 - 1571</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALDBAR</strong></td>
<td><strong>Methven collegiate church</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson/vicar</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 162</td>
<td>Haliburton, Mr David</td>
<td>occ. 1549 - 1573</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 054</td>
<td>*Hering, Mr James</td>
<td>pres.1573 - 1586</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 189</td>
<td>*Ramsay, James</td>
<td>occ. 1586 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[James Ramsay held by assignation, not presentation]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARBIRLOT</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arbroath Abbey</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 122</td>
<td>Fotheringham, Mr Charles</td>
<td>pres.1483 - 1524</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 202</td>
<td>Lekprevik, sir James</td>
<td>pres.1524 - 1569</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 151</td>
<td>*Michelson, Charles</td>
<td>pres.1569 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ARBROATH/ ST VIGEANS</strong></td>
<td><strong>Arbroath abbey</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Parson</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 127</td>
<td>Fowler, Mr Andrew</td>
<td>d.1536</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 016</td>
<td>Auchmowty, sir James</td>
<td>pres.1536 - 1547</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 017</td>
<td>Auchmowty, Mr Robert</td>
<td>pres.1547 - 1578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 084</td>
<td>*Grainger, Mr John</td>
<td>pres.1578 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Pettiloc, 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 Pettiloc, 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
b 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 Pettiloc, 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) | Fowlis collegiate church  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 123</td>
<td>*Fotheringham, Mr James</td>
<td>pres.1550 - 1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 091</td>
<td>Duncan, sir Andrew</td>
<td>occ. 1552 - 1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 225</td>
<td>McCartney, James</td>
<td>pres.1554 - 1558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Vicar pensioner  
| a 364     | Wigton, sir John      | pres.1540 - 1564          |

| BANCHORY-DEVENICK | (Aberdeen/ Aberdeen) | Aberdeen cathedral  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 090</td>
<td>Dunbar, Patrick</td>
<td>d.1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 222</td>
<td>Marshall, George</td>
<td>sup. 1534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 147</td>
<td>Gordon, Mr James</td>
<td>occ. 1552 - 1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 035</td>
<td>Gordon, Mr Robert</td>
<td>pres.1566 - 1567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 234</td>
<td>*Merser, Mr Robert [1]</td>
<td>occ. 1567 - 1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 150</td>
<td>*Merser, Mr Robert [2]</td>
<td>pres.1578 - 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Vicar pensioner   
| a 216             | Lyon, John           | occ. 1542              |
|                   | [*united to parsonage | 1567]                 |

| BARRAS | (St Andrews/ Mearns) | [Chapel]  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 267</td>
<td>*Patrick, Mr Andrew</td>
<td>pres.1541 - 1568</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The patronage of this chapel belonged to the baron of Wester Kinneff, Straiten of that ilk.

AUL, Arbuthnott writs ms.2764 bund.vi no.295

| BARRY | (St Andrews/ Angus) | Balmerino abbey  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 254</td>
<td>Naughty, Mr John</td>
<td>occ. 1516 - 1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 255</td>
<td>Naughty, sir Walter</td>
<td>pres.1533</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 144</td>
<td>Gilbert, sir John</td>
<td>occ. 1536 - 1558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 004</td>
<td>*Anderson, Mr Thomas</td>
<td>occ. 1558 - 1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 004</td>
<td>*Anderson, Thomas</td>
<td>pres.1581 - 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| BENHOLM | (St Andrews/ Mearns) | St Mary on the Rock collegiate church  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 182</td>
<td>Irvine, Mr John</td>
<td>occ. 1524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 347</td>
<td>Thornton, Mr John</td>
<td>occ. 1526 - 1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 348</td>
<td>Thornton, Mr John</td>
<td>pres.1529 - 1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 346</td>
<td>Thornton, Mr James</td>
<td>pres.1565 - 1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 025</td>
<td>Douglas, William of Glenbervie</td>
<td>gift 1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 159</td>
<td>*Morrison, William</td>
<td>pres.1578 - 1587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 029</td>
<td>Erskine, Mr John of Braidfurd</td>
<td>gift 1587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 114</td>
<td>*Keith, Alexander</td>
<td>occ. 1588 - 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1566, archbishop Hamilton's earlier presentation of Mr John Hamilton to par. Benholm on the decease of Mr Hercules Carnegy
was confirmed. Carnegie may have obtained limited rights as part of Mr John Thornton's lack of the teinds to Sir Robert Carnegie of Kinnaird; however, neither Mr Hercules nor Mr John Hamilton can be shown to have obtained full possession.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vicar pensioner</th>
<th>Doloquhy, sir Patrick</th>
<th>occ. 1538</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 085</td>
<td>*Elder, Mr William</td>
<td>Bk. Assumpt. - 1573</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BENVIE (St Andrews/ Gowrie)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parson</td>
<td>Scrymgeour, Mr James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 309</td>
<td>Luid, sir David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 209</td>
<td>*Spittal, Nicholas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 254</td>
<td>*Scrymgeour, Robert</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vicar pensioner</th>
<th>Luid, sir William</th>
<th>pres. 1560 - 1563</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 210</td>
<td>[reunited to parsonage 1568]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRECHIN (Brechin)</th>
<th>prebend of the bishop of Brechin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bishops of Brechin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 176</td>
<td>Hepburn, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 050</td>
<td>Campbell, abbot Donald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 081</td>
<td>Sinclair, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 015</td>
<td>Campbell, Alexander</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vicar perpetual</th>
<th>Canon of Brechin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 231</td>
<td>Meldrum, Mr William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 232</td>
<td>Meldrum, William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 066</td>
<td>Cockburn, Mr John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 169</td>
<td>Hay, Mr John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 053</td>
<td>Hepburn, James</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 086</td>
<td>Watt, David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 029</td>
<td>Erskine, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 118</td>
<td>*Kinnear, Robert</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| curate          | *Finlayson, sir Richard | occ. 1556 - 7 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRECHIN CATHEDRAL</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subdean of Brechin (Brechin) [an independent prebend]</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 257</td>
<td>Nudry, Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 326</td>
<td>Steel, Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 057</td>
<td>Carnegy, Mr Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 058</td>
<td>Carnegy, William</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 055</td>
<td>Carnegy, Mr Hercules</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: this prebend was independent of the parish of Cookston, to which it has been incorrectly associated. See COOKSTON.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Occasion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boece, Mr Patrick</td>
<td>Treasurer of Brechin (Brechin) [an independent prebend]</td>
<td>1493 - 1528</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Patrick Boece</td>
<td>1527 - 1532</td>
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<td>Mr. Charles Fotheringham</td>
<td>1532 - 1536</td>
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<td>Mr. Robert Moneypenny</td>
<td>1536 - 1537</td>
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<td>James Salmond</td>
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<td>Thomas Hucheson</td>
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<td>Henry Sinclair</td>
<td>1538 - 1544</td>
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<td>James Arrat</td>
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<td>James Wawane</td>
<td>1543 res. 1543</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. John Hepburn</td>
<td>1549 - 1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir David Brown</td>
<td>Altar of All Saints Chaplain</td>
<td>1528 - 1569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. Thomas Fowler</td>
<td>1586 - 1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Thomas Finlayson</td>
<td>1526 - 1547</td>
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<td>William Meldrum</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Andrew Finlayson</td>
<td>1566 - 1569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Nicholas Thomson</td>
<td>Nomine Jesu at the altar of All Souls Chaplain</td>
<td>1541 - 1569</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir John Lindsay</td>
<td>1569 - 1579</td>
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<td>Sir John Erskine</td>
<td>1579 - 1586</td>
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<td>John Purdie</td>
<td>1586 - 1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Nicholas Thomson</td>
<td>1556</td>
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<td>Sir John Williamson</td>
<td>1530 - 1556</td>
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<td>Sir David Ferrier</td>
<td>Altar of St Agnes Chaplain</td>
<td>1558 - 1590</td>
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<td>Sir David Balfour</td>
<td>1588 - 1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir George Gilbert</td>
<td>Altar of St James, Apostle [founded on Boath and Cairncortie]</td>
<td>1533 - 1535</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Drummond</td>
<td>1534 - 1541</td>
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<td>James Mount</td>
<td>1552 - 1558</td>
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<td>Sir Nicholas Thomson</td>
<td>1558 - (1586)</td>
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<td>Sir Richard Finlayson</td>
<td>1586 - 1590</td>
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<td>Sir George Maule</td>
<td>1588 - 1590</td>
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<td>Sir John Williamson</td>
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<td>Sir John Williamson</td>
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<td>Thomas Nicholson</td>
<td>Altar of St Laurence of Ardett</td>
<td>1580</td>
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<td>James Lamont</td>
<td>1533 dep. 1533</td>
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<td>Sir George Gilbert</td>
<td>1533 - 1535</td>
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<td>Sir John Williamson</td>
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<td>Sir John Thomson</td>
<td>1533 pres. 1533</td>
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<td>Sir John Maule</td>
<td>1586 - 1590</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir John Nicholson</td>
<td>1580</td>
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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
a 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
[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  Carnegie, sir William  occ. 1549 - 1550
a 054  Carnegie, Mr David  occ. 1552
a 057  Carnegie, 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
d 069 Murray, David gift 1562 - 1584
Pension of victual from the bishopric
d 038 Graham, Mr John gift 1579

From the commons of Brechin

Teinds of Bonnyton
d 062 Small, James gift 1582

Teinds of Claylek and Kinnaber
d 076 Purdie, John gift 1576 - 1587
d 075 Purdie, Alexander gift 1587

Teinds of Meikle Dysart and Little Dysart
d 014 Bryson, Mr James gift 1573
d 013 Bryson, Mr Alexander gift 1578 - 1583
d 083 Stewart, James gift 1583

Teinds of Middle Drums
d 072 Nicholson, Mr John gift 1577

Mails of Drumgrains
d 073 Nicholson, Thomas gift 1580

Mails of surplus ecclesiastical land
d 074 the poor of Brechin gift 1578

From the deanery of Brechin
Pension of £40 from the deanery
d 070 Nesbit, Hugh gift 1577 - 1588
Pension of victual from the deanery
d 005 Auchinlek, George gift 1578

BURGHILL (Brechin)

Parson/vicar prebend of Brechin
a 228 Meldrun, 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.
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 Vicar perpetual Bishop of Brechin
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 pres.1572 - 1576

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
Curate
a 277 Rae, Mr Alexander occ. 1561 - 1566
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
a 023 *Erskine, Mr James pres.1570 - 1575
b 030 Erskine, Thomas pres.1575
b 052 *Erskine, John of Dun pres.1575 - 1583
b 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)
ab 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 disposed to the "doctoris of the gramma 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.]  
  gift 1583, 1586
  b 087  Wedderburn, David

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
d 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
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
b 152  *Milne, Mr Andrew  pres.1576 - 1579
b 114  *Keith, Alexander  pres.1579 - 1588
b 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
b 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  Stillison, 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
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 Steward, 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
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<td>Parson/vicar</td>
<td>prebend of Brechin</td>
<td>a 052 Carmichael, Mr Henry</td>
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<td>a 361 White, Mr Henry</td>
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<td>a 331 Stewart, Mr John</td>
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<td>a 206 Lindsay, Mr David</td>
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<td>a 207 Lindsay, Mr Hugh</td>
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<td>c 124 *Lindsay, David of Pitairlie</td>
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<td>c 189 *Ramsay, James</td>
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<td>Curate</td>
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<td>a 353 *Wallace, sir John</td>
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<td>Chaplains in Finavon parish</td>
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<td>a 300 Samson, sir Thomas</td>
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<td>a 286 Richardson, Mr Matthew</td>
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<td>a 069 Connelson, sir Richard</td>
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<td>a 279 Ramsay, sir Alexander</td>
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<td>Chaplaincy of St Leonard’s in</td>
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<td>a 175 *Hepburn, Mr John</td>
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<td>FETTERCAIRN</td>
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<td>a 314 Seton, Mr David</td>
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<td>a 336 Strachan, Mr Gilbert</td>
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<td>c 126 *Lindsay, Mr James</td>
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<td>a 268 Pen, Mr John</td>
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<td>(St Andrews / Mearns)</td>
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<td>Parson/vicar</td>
<td>prebend, St Mary on the Rock</td>
<td>a 042 Brown, Mr James</td>
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<td>collegiate church</td>
<td>a 043 Brown, Patrick</td>
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<td>c 152 *Milne, Mr Andrew</td>
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<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>a 266 Paton, Mr David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[united to the parsonage]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FERN</td>
<td>(Dunkeld/ Angus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parson/vicar</td>
<td>prebend of Dunkeld</td>
<td>a 040 Boyd, Mr Archibald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a 248 Muir, Mr Patrick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c 168 *Norie, Mr Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>a 375 Young, Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a 087 Cunningham, Mr Archibald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORDOUN</td>
<td>(St Andrews/ Mearns)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parson</td>
<td>St Andrews priory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td></td>
<td>a 198 Learmonth, sir David</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 068</td>
<td>Collace, Mr David</td>
<td>occ. 1561 - 1562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 020</td>
<td>Collace, Mr William</td>
<td>occ. 1563 - 1577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 019</td>
<td>*Boncle, Patrick</td>
<td>pres.1577 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 | Baldowly, 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
<p>| a 276 | Preston, William | res. 1530 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 136 Galbraith, Robert</td>
<td>sup. 1530</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 292 Rolland, Mr James</td>
<td>occ. 1554 - 1570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 133 *Lyon, Patrick</td>
<td>pres. 1570 - 1575</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 193 *Ramsay, Robert</td>
<td>pres. 1575 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 360 White, sir George</td>
<td>occ. 1537 - 1541</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 213 Lyall, sir Robert</td>
<td>occ. 1537 - 1542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GLENBERVIE (Brechin)
Parson/vicar: prebend of Brechin

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 104 Erskine, Mr Robert</td>
<td>sup. 1525 - 1563</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 029 *Christison, John</td>
<td>occ. 1568 - 1580</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 041 *Douglas, Archibald</td>
<td>occ. 1581 - 1584</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 042 *Douglas, Mr Duncan</td>
<td>occ. 1585 - 1589</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 043 *Douglas, Mr James</td>
<td>occ. 1589 - 1590</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Vicar pensioner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 097 *Elder, Mr Andrew</td>
<td>Bk.Assumpt.</td>
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</table>

Chaplaincy-perpetual at the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 013 Auchinlek, sir James</td>
<td>res. 1530</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 296 Rynd, sir William</td>
<td>sup. 1530</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Chapel of Drumlithie

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 013 Auchinlek, sir James</td>
<td>occ. 1536</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 285 Reid, sir James</td>
<td>occ. 1549</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 015 Auchinlek, Mr Robert</td>
<td>occ. 1565 - 1571</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 024 Douglas, George</td>
<td>pres. 1571 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

GLENISLA (Brechin)
Parson/vicar: Coupar Angus abbey
Vicar pensioner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 096 Edward, sir David</td>
<td>pres. 1529</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

GUTHRIE (Brechin)
Parson/vicar: Guthrie collegiate church: three prebends

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a 168 Hay, Mr John</td>
<td>occ. 1512 - 1529</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 139 Garden, John</td>
<td>sup. 1530 - 1535</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 337 Strachan, Mr James</td>
<td>occ. 1536 - 1576</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 049 Guthrie, Gabriel</td>
<td>gift 1576 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 127 *Lindsay, Mr Patrick</td>
<td>occ. 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preb. Langlands and Hilton of Guthrie</td>
<td>occ. 1574</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 159 Guthrie, sir Patrick</td>
<td>gift 1576</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 046 Guthrie, Andrew</td>
<td>gift 1576</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preb. Little Lour</td>
<td>Guthrie, sir James</td>
<td>occ. 1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 157 Guthrie, sir James</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 157 Guthrie, sir James</td>
<td>occ. 1562</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 048 Guthrie, David</td>
<td>occ. 1569 - 1574</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a 140 *Garden, Mr William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar pensioner of Guthrie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c 008 *Arrat, David</td>
<td>occ. 1574 - 1590</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 - 1590
  [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 - 1590
- 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  pres.1548  
(subprior of Arbroath)  
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  
occ. 1544 - 1576  
a 065  Cockburn, Mr John  gift 1576  
b 017  Cockburn, James  pres.1577 - 1590  
c 122  *Leitch, Mr Andrew  

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  archdeacon 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
da 284  Reid, sir Florentine  d. 1549
c 134  Fullerton, sir Walter  pres. 1549
c 018  Austen, sir William  occ. 1553 - 1576

KINNELL  (St Andrews/ Angus)
Parson/vicar  prebend of St Salvator’s College
a 194  Lamb, Mr William  occ. 1517 - 1550
b 041  Liddell, Mr Patrick  sup. 1550 - 1587
c 073  Gray, James  occ. 1567 - 1587
b 185  *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
b 185  *Rait, Mr James  pres. 1588 - 1590
Vicar perpetual
a 335  Strachan, sir George  occ. 1577 - 1586
b 001  Anderson, Mr William  pres. 1586
b 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
b 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vicar pensioner</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liff</td>
<td>Parson/并不意味</td>
<td>Lindsay, Mr John</td>
<td>pres. 1560 - 1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantley, John</td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>occ. 1517 - (1536)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden, Mr David</td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td></td>
<td>occ. 1537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No reformed clergy had access to these revenues before 1590</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lintrathen</td>
<td>Parson/并不意味</td>
<td>Elder, John</td>
<td>occ. 1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590</em></td>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lochlee</td>
<td>Chaplaincy</td>
<td>Boece, Mr Arthur</td>
<td>occ. 1532 - 1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No separate service before 1560</em></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Logie-Dundee</td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td>Hepburn, William</td>
<td>Bk. Assumpt. - 1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curate</td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td>Elder, John</td>
<td>occ. 1553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No reformed clergy had access to these stipends before 1590</em></td>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Logie-Montrose</td>
<td>Celnach</td>
<td>Boece, Mr Arthur</td>
<td>occ. 1532 - 1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No separate service before 1560</em></td>
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<tr>
<th>Location</th>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Longforgan</td>
<td>Parson/并不意味</td>
<td>Bk. Assumpt. - 1595</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>No separate service before 1560</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 | Auchinleck, Mr Robert | occ. 1549 - 1568 |
| b 006 | Auchinleck, 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 | *Auchinleck, 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 Auchinleck 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

<p>| a 073 | Craigie, sir David | occ. 1528 - 1540 |
| a 160 | Guthrie, Mr Robert | occ. 1548 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MURROES</td>
<td>Vicar perennial</td>
<td>Simson, Mr James</td>
<td>1526-1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cook, Mr George</td>
<td>1540</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cunningham, sir David</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Cook, Mr Ninian</td>
<td>1561-1579</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Oliver, William</td>
<td>1579-1594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAVAR</td>
<td>Vicar/vicar</td>
<td>Meldrum, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thornton, Mr John</td>
<td>1531-2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strachan, Mr Thomas</td>
<td>1533</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Colden, Mr John</td>
<td>1532-1538</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bocce, Mr Arthur</td>
<td>1535</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turing, Mr Alexander</td>
<td>1540-1548</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hepburn, Mr George</td>
<td>1548-1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Hepburn, Mr Edward</td>
<td>1585-1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEVAY</td>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td>Melville, sir George</td>
<td>1568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barclay, Mr Thomas</td>
<td>1525-1552</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swinton, Mr George</td>
<td>1561-1566</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No reformed clergy had access to this stipend before 1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vicar pensioner</td>
<td>Moncur, sir Matthew</td>
<td>1562-1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[united to vicarage-perpetual 1572]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWDOSK</td>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td>Forman, James</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fowler, Andrew</td>
<td>1529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boswell, sir Thomas</td>
<td>1539-1552</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kinghorn, sir Adam</td>
<td>1539-1555</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chalmer, Mr William</td>
<td>1558-1577</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Collace, David</td>
<td>1573-1589</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[David Straiton, c 232, had a gift from this benefice 1574-86.]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEWTYLE</td>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td>Lindsay, sir James</td>
<td>1531-1536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lindsay, sir Andrew</td>
<td>1531-1571</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boyd, Mr Robert</td>
<td>1571-1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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 archdecan 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
b 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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parson</td>
<td>Meldrum, Mr William</td>
<td>1500 - 1518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ferne, George</td>
<td>1518 - 1527</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scrymgeour, Mr James</td>
<td>1521 - 1547</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Scrymgeour, Mr Thomas</td>
<td>1541 - 1560</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser, Robert [sen.]</td>
<td>gift 1564 - 1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser, Robert [jun.]</td>
<td>gift 1565 - 1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicar perpetual</td>
<td>Fraser, Mr Paul</td>
<td>1566 - 1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Willock, sir John</td>
<td>1525 - 1535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guthrie, Mr John</td>
<td>Bk.Assumpt.-1565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guthrie, Mr David</td>
<td>d.1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Sim, John</td>
<td>pres.1570 - 1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Norie, Mr Alexander</td>
<td>pres.1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fraser, Mr Paul</td>
<td>pres.1584 - 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice before 1590]

**STRACHAN (Brechin)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parson/vicar</td>
<td>Pitcairn, Mr David</td>
<td>1500 - 1554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pitcairn, Mr James</td>
<td>pres.1526 - 1564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Erskine, Mr David</td>
<td>pres.1565 - 1590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[No reformed clergy had access to this benefice before 1590]

**STRATHMARTIN (St Andrews/ Angus)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parson</td>
<td>Balfour, sir Alexander</td>
<td>d.1548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Towers, sir James</td>
<td>pres.1548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Wight, sir James</td>
<td>occ. 1550 - 1572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Auchmowty, Mr William</td>
<td>pres.1573 - 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preb. Strathmartin</td>
<td>French, sir Adam</td>
<td>occ. 1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sim, sir David</td>
<td>d.1561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spreule, sir Patrick</td>
<td>occ. 1561 - 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preb. sacristan</td>
<td>Henderson, sir Alexander</td>
<td>occ. 1550 - 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preb. master of the hospital</td>
<td>Lamb, Mr Mark.</td>
<td>occ. 1563 - 1567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sim, sir David</td>
<td>occ. 1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Henderson, James</td>
<td>occ. 1575 - 1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preb. Brodderstanes</td>
<td>Edward, sir David</td>
<td>occ. 1530 - 1549</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mortimer, sir John</td>
<td>pres.1549 - 1561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cumming, Mr Thomas</td>
<td>occ. 1562 - 1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Tyrie, David</td>
<td>occ. 1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Tyrie, James</td>
<td>occ. 1576 - 1585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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


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 queene of France and Scotland; to our louittis Alex[ande]r Samesoun [blank] messingeris ... in yat p[air]t ... greting. For sameikle as ye lordis of our secrete counsal understand and all kerkmens sa callit of lait wer chargeit to haif comperit in Sanctandrois at ane certane day to haif gevin confession of yair fay[th] maid upon renunciatioun of all idolatrie and papistrie and to haue admit yair selfffis to the Christsane congretioun and submittit yame to ye ordnances yairof w[i]ill[th] certification gif thay failzeit yair benefices suld be disponit be ye saith.is lordis as at mair lent is contenit in ye saith.is proclamationis. And yat schir Robert Abircrumbie lait intrusit persone of Buttergill qua be simony and vther unruleful moyenis purchest ye samin [notwithstanding] yat it was first disponit be ye quene dowiar regent for ye tyme to James Hepburne, he contempueslie disobeyit ye saith.is chargis and proclamationis and continuis still in his wickit papistrie. Thairfore ye saith.is 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]ill[th] all the ... teindis and emolumentis of ye saith.is personage of Buttergill. Gevin under olur[e] signet at Halyrudhous ye xii of Apryll... ex deliberando dno consili." 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


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 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.cxxxiii
1 May 1544: wits.chtr. (sir John Gilbert) Montrose mss, M/Wl/13
19 Aug.1547: wits.chtr. REB ii no.cxxxiv
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/Wl/13, RMS vi 438

Conformed as minister, Montrose: c 003.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM
005 Jul.1550: had deceased as perpet.vic. Recсобie. 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

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 kirktown of Arbuthnott, dwelling at the kirktown called the Chapel, left £260 4s Bd. "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" f80
18 Aug.1526: wits. as par. Menmuir. (pref. Dunkeld)
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.v;no.238
5 Aug.1531: par. Menmuir vacant by demise of "N. Arbuthnot"
[sic] last possessor.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2052,f16r
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2059,f31v

ARCHIBALD, SIR JAMES

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.
1548 x 1559: 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 his causit the commone prayeris and homilies be
red owkklie to the parrochineris of the said parrochin,
and vther wyis is content to abyde sik reformatiou as
the lordis of our secreit counsale plesis mak
thatirintill, and als is adionit to Goddis congregatioune,
and takis part with the saidis lordis in setting fordwart
the commone caus, to the glair of God and commone weill
of our realtime."
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 Nouem\ber The zeir of god
[1580] zeiris. It is appoyntit aggret and finalie
[concludit betuix one noble and my[ch]tie lord James lord
Ogilvy of Airlie on yat one pairt And James Archibauld
burges of Stirling and vicar of Lynrathyin 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\mber i[nstant]. And to demit his said
vicarage in ye kingis m. hand, as als to obtene ane
signat\our]e of presenta[tio\n]r of Superinte[ndent\]t of Angus to admit and
provyd David Ogilvy thrid lau[cht]full sone to ye said lord
Airlie to ye said vicarage induri[ne] 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[mer]ber i[n]stant w[i]t[h] ye sowme of foure
hundre[th] m[er]jis. And to deli[ver] ye ye said
James Archibauld for ye dimissiou[n] of ye said vicarage as
said is. And in [comp]lete payme[n]t of all vyair dewtie
yairof. And to resaue ye 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]lis. Be thir
pr[esen]tis subscrivit w[i]th yair handis day zeir and place
foirsaid befoir yir vitnessis Willia[m] Ogilvye in Kelo[our]le
Willia[m] Balfour. And Mr Du[n]ca[n] Skene notar publict
w[i]th} vy[er]lis. 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
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1858,f140v

AUCHINLEK, sir JAMES
013 11 Feb.1530: inhabilitated or incapacitated when resigned perpet. chaplaincy at BVM altar at Glenbervie; but ...
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2001,f147

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, Arbuthnot 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

AUChMWOTY, sir JAMES

020  Sept.1542: wits.chtr. (cardinal David Beaton)  
030  Oct.1547: had resigned as vic.pens. Arbroath in favour of Mr Robert Auchmowty.  
060  Feb.1551/2: had deceased at legitimation of his natural son Thomas.  
090  Regular member of the household of cardinal David Beaton: see - M.H.B. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland (Edinburgh 1986) index.

AUChMWOTY, Mr ROBERT

017  1531/2-1533: determined and licentiate, St Leonard's College at St Andrews.  
020  Sept.1542: wits.chtr. (cardinal David Beaton)  
030  3 Oct.1547: pres. vic.pens.St.Vigeans/Arbroath, and also held vic. Fortheviot.  
040  1 Jan.1547/8: pres. vic. Stirling.  
050  8 Jan.1547/8: had resigned vic. Fortheviot.  
060  24 Apr.1549: as Steward and Master Almoner gifted an escheat.  
080  1551: Steward to the governor.  
100  28 Feb.1550/51: as vic. Stirling pres. chaplaincy of the Virgin Mary at Bannockburn.  
120  Book of Assumption: held vic.pens.Arbroath.  
130  Book of Assumption: held perpet.vic. Dun:  
140  E 48.1.1 f358r  
150  Book of Assumption: held vic.pens. Kinneff. E 48.1.1 f359r  
160  "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".  
180  2 Jan.1565/6: shared general remission to the duke and other Hamiltons.  
200  1 Mar/1577/8: had resigned vic.pens. St Vigeans/Arbroath.  
210  1583: had been succeeded as perpet.vic. Dun by Mr William Auchmowty.  
220  Died 5 July 1587: Mr Robert Auchmowty vicar of Stirling had his testamentary registered 1 Aug.1587 by John Auchmowty, burgess of Stirling, his nephew.  

AUChEHN, sir WILLIAM

018  30 Apr.1544: as vic. Catterline wits.inst. at Inverbervie.  
040  30 Jun.1553: [sir William (blank)] helped find a hoard of coins in the choir sidewall of Kinneff kirk.  
100  31 Oct.1576: had deceased as vic. Catterline.
BALDOWY, sir JAMES

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.
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
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.
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 Salvador'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


Nov.1550: had deceased as par. Eassie.

RSS iii 2415

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. "dives"

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


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

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
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
Dundee RFVA, SRR manuallia 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 manuallia 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


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.

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.cxiv
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 (RFB i) 18

BROWN, MR JAMES

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


27 Jan.1557/8: registered obligation to repay 500 merks to Dame Katherine Campbell and David, ninth earl Crawford. RD 1.2.359r

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 repayd 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 ecclesiastical vestments and ornaments. Acts & Decs., CS 7.29 f106r

CANTLEY, JOHN
26 May 1524: archdeacon of St Andrews, (pars. Rescobie and Kinneff); fought George Drury for possession. Watt, FESMA p.308
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. S crymgeour-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 Carney 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.]
15 May 1566: had deceased, claiming par. Benholm; but see, Mr
John and Mr James Thornton.

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
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.test., 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.cclxxxvii
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.cclxxii; 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)
   Benholm and Hedderwick mss, GD 4.51
   10 May 1565: as par. Newdosk, wits. sasine ( commendator of Deer) Benholm and Hedderwick mss, GD 4.51
   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
   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
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
Servant of cardinal David Beaton. Sanderson, Cardinal, pp.27,142

CLATTO, sir ANDREW

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 & Dects., 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
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.

23 Sept.1540: wits.


27 Jun.1550: summoned at instance of sir John Wallace as a co-defendant for the spulzie of the manse, glebe and kirklands of Finavon with James master of Ogilvy in 1543.


27 Jun.1550: summoned at instance of sir John Wallace as a co-defendant for the spulzie of the manse, glebe and kirklands of Finavon with James master of Ogilvy in 1543.


15 Apr.1556: a commissary of Brechin.

22 Apr.1558: to resign perpet.vic. Dunnichen.


15 May 1577: had deceased as par. Kilmoir.

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.

22 Sept.1532: occ. as chancellor of Brechin.

22 Aug.1533: litigation continued.

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.

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).
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
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 p.xxx
1540: signed as vic. Murroes. 
RSS ii p772-3
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 "Wl"m" 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

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

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

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
22 Dec. 1555: John Stillison par.  
RFVA, Resignations, no.256, ResA 171, 18; and
Consensi 32, 381r
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
RMS iv 2089
16 Oct. 1572: his goods gifted following escheat for non-payment
of thirds for year and crop 1571.  
RSS vi 1771
(Rewunews 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

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 f375r; 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

15 May 1551: 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. Scrymegeur-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.1560f: after Nudry's death, disputed the par. vs Mr James Lamb. RFVA, Reg.Sup. vol.2013, f172v; 2040, f13v, 14r; vol.2094, f197v

DOLOGUHY, sir PATRICK
085 18 May 1538: wits. sasine in Inverbervie as vic.pens. Benholm. AUL, Arbuthnot ms 2764 bund.v,278

DRUMMOND, WILLIAM
[?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 Durrus. RSS iv 1675
(Book of Assumption entry of vic. Durrus names no occupant: the benefice was vacant 2 Aug.1565.) E 48.1.1 f364v, RSS v 2233

DUFF, MR JOHN
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) Book of Assumption: held par. Durrus. RMS iv 1014
Oct.1562: struck a woman in Aberdeen and later escheated for not underlying the law.
RMS v 1482
2 Aug.1565: new presentation to par. Durrus on his resignation or dismissal. RMS 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.Supp. vol.2133,f39v
30 Jul.1534: par. Banchory-Devenick, brother of Mr Alexander Dunbar, dean of Moray; both resigning their canonnies.
RFVA, Reg.Supp. vol.2149, f256v,257r

DUNCAN, sir ANDREW
11 Jul.1554: resigned as preb. Ballumbie.NP1.16.3r/RH 2.1.22 p163

DUNCANSON, JOHN
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.Supp. 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.  
20 Aug.1540: as chaplain and wits., at Edzell.  
JRL, The Craw. mss., 1.1.1  
RSS ii 1765

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)  
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  
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.  
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 Chr.s. 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  
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.  
NP 1.16 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. McNeil "Scottish entries" SHR xliii 74
6 Feb.1559/60: wits.chtr. as par. of Dunnottar. (earl Marischal)

Benholm and Hedderwick wrrts, 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.

RMS 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. RMS 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.

RMS 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
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

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
Brechin) having bought out Mr Henry White's claim with a pension. 
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.1858,f140v; Resignations no.79,Consensi 1,7v
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 in the college of St Salvator, nation 
of Angus. STA Recs 22B
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
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. 
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 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 proceeding against him for spulzie, upholding his privilege
of clergy as subject to the bishop and chapter of Aberdeen.

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 ms, GD 45.16.959
14 Jul. 1552: collated to par. Arbuthnott.

Dalhousie ms, 45.16.2215

5 Mar. 1556/7: summoned as dean of Aberdeen to give witness in the
case against the laird of Arrat for forging the false discharge
for the "spulzie of Finhaven".

Dalhousie ms, 45.16.959
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.

RMS v 1321
19 May 1563: had deceased as par. Arbuthnott.

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. 205B, f262r
1530-32-34: chaplain at Brechin supported from the fermes of
Dundee.

ETAL, sir JOHN
106 12, 16 Jun. 1526: occ. as notary and chaplain at Brechin.

RMS iii 285
3 Mar. 1527/8: occ. as priest of Dunkeld and curate of Menmuir.

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.

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

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


WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.27: JRL, The Craw. mss.,box C [x]x] 155--: decree 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

9 Dec.1558: notary. (inst. by Fenton of Ogil) REB ii no.cxxxvi

3 Dec.1558: 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]

FERRAR, 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


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. IB 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]Ix] 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. ch. as vic. St Machar’s, Aberdeen. (Erskine
of Brechin) (Mr Robert Erskine dean of Aberdeen, pref. St Machar
also wits.  
     RMS iii 2678
4 May 1547: wits. ch. 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)
     RMS iii 2678
18, 27 Jun. 1556: occ.  
     RMS 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] 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 Maison dieu 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. ch. at Auchterhouse (John earl of Buchan).
     RMS iii 358
15 Sept. 1527: wits. ch. 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
     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 2547
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. (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. cxxxix

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 f.62r/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

   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

   A D C P 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, f.146v

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

   E 48.1.1 f.559v

1566-7: held perpet. vic. Kirriemuir.
   TB 167, 236
   (George Clepen had succeeded by 1569.

FORMAN, JAMES

117 23 Jan. 1529: had resigned as par. Newdoksen, reserving its fruits 
   and rights of reversion.
   RFVA, Reg. Sup. vol. 1967, f.181r

FORREST, MR ALEXANDER

118 1532-4: matriculated (nation "Laudoniae"), determined and 
   Licentiate at St Salvador'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
e 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
RMS iv 2778
(archbishop of St Andrews)
RMS iv 2197
(archbishop of St Andrews)
20 Mar.1560/61: wits.as provost, Kirk o’ Field.
RMS iv 2314
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 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
RMS iv 1691
12 Jan.1567/8: wits.chtr. (John, abbot of Arbroath)
RMS iv 2516
RSS vi 2311
9 Jul.1574: had deceased as perpet.vic.Inverkeillor.
RSS vi 2577

FORSYTH, ANDREW
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 Chr.s. 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.

1480 and 1481: matriculated and determined as student in arts at Cologne. These and several other refs.: CA Chr.s ii 128n

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 Chr.s. 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.

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
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
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

[1572/3: died as preb. St Mary on the Rock and perpet.vic. Tealing. His 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 nothing is mair certane yan deith and nothing mair uncertane yan ye holur1 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[urJe 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

FOWLER, ANDREW

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 Dct.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 × 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 (prt 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
6 Jun.1517: wits. inst. as perpet. vic. Dun. REB ii no.cx

FULLERTON, sir WALTER

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
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: Acta Fac Art 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.46r; vol.2123, f.109v
12 July 1532: held provostry of Guthrie. Watt, FESMA p.360
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
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

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,
7 Jul.1542: had deceased. James V Letters p440

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


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)

RMS iii 44

Benholm and Hedderwick wits., 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 Morphee)

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/W1/3
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.
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 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  
RSS v 2669
GORDON, MR WILLIAM

     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

     Arb.Lib. ii 771  
     RSS iv 283  
     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 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. pref. [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  
     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.2321, 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 Stillison.  
     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
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.1721

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.
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
Arb.Lib. ii no.736
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:
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.

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".

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 befor ye ryng of ye congregatioun for
x1 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 thre zeiris bypast."
1565: ["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
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
McNeill, "Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.76
24 Sept.1547: deceased as par.Idvies.
RSS iii 2448
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
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 ms, 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 206
24 Aug.1565: as commendator of Balmerino, had gift of escheat of
Mr James Haliburton, provost of Dundee.
RSS vi 1861
23 Feb.1572/3: had resigned par. Monymusk.
RSS vii 2275,2583

HAY, MR WILLIAM
McNeill, "Scottish entries" SHR xliii p.76
8 Jun.1544-Nov.1547: chaplain of BVM chapel in the Garioch and expected to resign.  

24 Sept.1547: pres. par. Idvies. (preb St Mary on the Rock CC)

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.

6 Jul.1583: had resigned par./vic. Idvies.

HENDERSON, sir ALEXANDER

171 25 Jun.1550: master of Hospital, Trinity CC. (joint-par. Strathmartin)  

27 Feb.1562/3: as a preb. Trinity CC, one of the joint-par.s. of Strathmartin.


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 taking the teinds to Thomas, son and heir of Andrew Wenton of Strathmartin.

18 Apr.1583: master of the hospital of Trinity CC, joint-par. Strathmartin, confirming a feu.

HENDERSON, MR DAVID


5 Aug.1537/10 Mar.1537/8: : pres. chaplaincy of Baikie, and held against competition, succeeding his uncle Mr George Pettilock.

5 Oct.1546: had also succeeded Mr George Pettilock as perpet.vic.Rossie, and took sasine as his heir in lands in Longforgan.

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.

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 14.4 no.62

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

HEPBURN, MR GEORGE
173 1539: matriculated at St Andrews (nation "Laudoniae").

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.

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

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

Watt, FESMA p.41, Dowden, Bishops p.189

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
1528: unsuccessfully summoned George Wishart for heresy. ARDCP p372
10 Dec.1540: at Parliament for forfeiture of Glamis and Douglas. ADCP p427
1 Feb.1542/3: four natural sons legitimised. RMS ii 2232/3
23 Aug.1546: accused of not paying the clergy’s contribution/tax. RMS iii 75
17 Apr.1556: included among those charged with the spulzie of Glenesk; discharged from recognising the case to his own court. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p29
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. RMS v 3265
27 Mar. x 22 May 1557: died. 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 chaplainy 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 chaplainy from 1569. RSS vi 1103
HEPBURN, WILLIAM

HUGHESON, 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 manua. 213.492r,504r,560r 17 Aug.1547: had deceased. RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2617 7 f253r; and Dundee RFVA, SRR manu. 244.135v,182r

HUNTER, MR WILLIAM

IRELAND, sir THOMAS
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 annuallent 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 chaplainy. 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. Newdask 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.
RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.2519, f210r; vol.2610, f246; vol.1785, f323r
Jul.1550: supplicated for perpet.vic. Recscobe, 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 Newdask as par. to David, ninth
earl of Crawford.
4 Feb.1562/3: had deceased as vic. Linton.
1 Jul.1563: alleged to have given a tack of par. Newdask to Mr
William Chalmer.

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"), 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 Banar. James V Letters p.270
[See 8 Nov.1533, 9 Sept.1534 for Banar'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. ACDP 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.
RMS 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.
Later subprior of St Andrews.
ActaFacArt ii 351
StAUL graduates' index

LAING, sir WILLIAM
191 4 Sept.1541: for service, gifted a royal pension until a suitable
benefice become available.
8 Jan. 1547/8: appointed royal almoner "for life", and also pres. perpet.vic. Forteviot.

WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p.29

17 Apr. 1556: horned for not appearing to produce documents in the aftermath of the spulzie of Finavon.

JRL, The Craw. mss, box P bund.iv

5 [Apr.] 1557: assolized 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


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


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


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
Nephew, adopted son of Patrick Paniter, royal secretary.  
1514: supplicated for par. Conveth.  
1522: active at St Andrews; notary chtr. (Erskine of Dun)  
1525: abroad in France; resigned benefices under reservation, and later fought to be reestablished.  
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: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  
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.  
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  

LAMONT, WILLIAM  
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  
26 Apr.1523: wits.chtr. at Dundee.  
18 May 1530: wits.chtr. at Dundee.  
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  
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.  
24 Oct.1526: wits. at St Andrews.  
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.

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
26 Apr.1540: held lands in the Mearns from the abbey of Lindores. RFVA,ASPA,vol 105
6 Apr.1548: had deceased.

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

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
LESLIE, sir JAMES

203 30 Apr.1530: wits. as chaplain, at Brechin.

Leslie, Southesk Misc. box no.6. formerly Papers box 4 bund.5 9 Aug.1530: common procurator of the vicars, chaplains and choir of Brechin.

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.

LIDDELL, MR PATRICK

204 c.1509 - born. [see below]

1529: matriculated; St Leonard's, St Andrews.

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.

23 Dec.1530: aged c.21, a clerk of Brechin; had resigned to him par. Croy (preb. Moray) by Mr William Lamb.

4 Mar.1548/9: had a gift of nonentries.


"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 Souterne 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.


Feb.1552: supplicated for a perpetual chaplaincy at the All Saints altar at Brechin - unsuccessfully.

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,f248Br.


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


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
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 ms, 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.

1544: ace. as vic.pens.Inchbrayock.

28 Mar.1549: had resigned as vic.pens.Conveth.

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.

"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.1526/9: 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: SRD'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
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 manuilia 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 Chr. 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

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
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 f3Br
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.
21 Apr. 1564: wits. protocol dated with papal regnal year.
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 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

Prot.bk.Duncan Gray, NP1.16.3r/RH 2.1.22 p163

His claim seems to have been lost to Mr James Fotheringham.


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.

18, 27 Jun. 1556: prob. occ. as one of the chaplains of the choir of Brechin.

Conformed as reader, Maryton: c 141.

MELDRUM, MR DAVID

227 1506-1509/10: matriculated, determined and Licentiate at the Pedagoguery at St Andrews.

25 Jan. 1531/2: as archdean of Dunkeld, wits. chtr. (Mr William Meldrum, vicar of Brechin and former archdean of Dunkeld)

6 Mar. 1534: made a pres. as archdean of Dunkeld (par. Tealing).

23 Dec. 1547: had resigned as archdean - though still in possession on 31 Aug. 1548.

MELDRUM, MR JOHN

228 1505: priest and Licentiate, St Andrews.

30 May 1511: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin).

10 May 1518: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin).

30 Apr. 1530: par. of Burghill (preb. Brechin).

Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box no. 6: formerly Papers box 4 bund. 5

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.

MELDRUM, THOMAS

230 26 Aug. 1510: occ. as chancellor of Brechin (par. Navar), having been subdean of Brechin earlier.

3 Jul. 1524: occ. as chancellor of Brechin.

7 Aug.1531: had deceased at Rome as par. Strathcathro (preb. chanter of Brechin).

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.
21 Jul.1528: feuded his tenement and garden as vicar of Brechin to sir David Brown, chaplain.

20 Apr.1533: had resigned as vicar of Brechin to the Pope, in favour of William Meldrum junior; and had died at Rome.

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.

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.
Feb.1552: had deceased as All Saints chaplain, Brechin.

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.

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.

METHVEN, DAVID

235 25 Aug.1539: provided to be treasurer of Brechin on resignation of Thomas Hucheson. See also, James Arrat.
4/9/3/17 May 1545: further references to his claim to par. Inverarity.

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.

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.

Monypenny, 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

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 [xJf] 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.
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
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
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.cxxviii
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.cxxix
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.
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.cxviii

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
16 May 1516: as vic. Barry appeared before Kincardine sheriff court as procurator for Mr Patrick Paniter. Montrose mss, M/W1/2
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

NAUGHTY, sir WALTER
255 22 Jan.1531/2: wits.chtr. at Montrose. RMS iii 1146

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
10 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.
24 May 1548: expected to resign perpet.vic. Inverkeilor. RSS iii 2789

OLIPHANT, Mr Andrew

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

16 Nov.1539: as perpet.vic. Fowlis, being at Rome, received instructions from cardinal Beaton. James V Letters p382
20 Oct.1544: as 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 Châtellerault’s campaign to prevent Alexander Gordon obtaining the archbishopric of Glasgow. Hannay,"Some Papal Bulls", SHR xxxii 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.  
26 Apr.1538: vic. Fowlis. [See also, Andrew Oliphant.]
RMS iii 809  
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.
[Possibly this Mr Gilbert also held a chaplaincy at Perth (9th Oct. 1560).]  
RMS iii 2605
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]
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

AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund vi, 329
29 Jul.1580: had deceased as vic.pens. Fetteresso.

PATRICK, MR ANDREW
267 1497: matriculated (nation of Angus) at St Andrews. StA Recs 196
8 Nov.1516: vic. Arbuthnott, wits.chtr.
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.
10 Dec.1535: wits.chtr.
28 Apr.1541: wits.chtr.
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

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 iii (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 p109

PETTILock, MR GEORGE
270 1506: licentiate, St Andrews. StA Recs 93, ActaFacArt ii 281

Strathmore writs NRA(S) 885 box 14.2 no.17
5 Jun.1525: wits.chtr. (Elizabeth countess of Huntly, Lady Glamis)
10 Dec.1528: wits.chtr. (John Lord Glamis)
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

Arb.Lib. ii 761
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 Carney 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 Carney of Seaton)  
RMS iv 1670
9 Nov.1564: notary inst. sasine by abbot and convent of Arbroath to John Carney, graniter.
Northesk mss, GD 130 box 17 bund."Ethic no.1"
10 Mar.1567/8: notary tack by sir James Lekprevik of his vic.
CS 7.42. S10v
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.
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.cxvii
22 May 1537: held court as archdean of Brechin.  REB ii no.cxvii
[x] Jun.1541: occ. as archdean of Brechin.  REB ii no.cxxv
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.cxxxiv
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 cccxxxvii; 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 commenderator 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. 
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

RAMSAY, sir WILLIAM  
282 13 Apr. 1524: a chaplain of the College of Brechin.  
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.  
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.  
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  
23 Mar. 1548/9: had deceased as vic. pens. Kinneff. (umq.dom. Florentini (blank))  
RMS 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; Acta Fac Art 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.  
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  

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.
19 Aug.1547: occ. as commissary of Brechin. REB ii no.cxxviii
18 Jun.1550: occ. as commissary-general of Brechin.
10 Jan.1552/3: occ. as notary and clerk to the chapter of Brechin.
12 Jun.1555: occ. as commissary of Brechin.
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


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

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


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).

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 prep. Balquhidder.

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
[?1575] had deceased as perpet.vic. Fowlis. NLS, ms 17.1.4 (RAMS)

ROW, sir JOHN
7 Mar.1574/5: had resigned perpet.vic. Fowlis. RSS vii 72
[see also, sir Andrew Row]

RUTHERFORD, dom. THOMAS
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 4 bund.8
14 Apr.1545: monk of Arbroath.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 4 bund.2
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
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 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 prep.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 523

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
26 May 1541: vic. Durris. RFVA, Resignations no.197:ResA 80 7 123v
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
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. Longorgan 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 manaulia 248.60; 248.401v  
RMS iii 3201  
RMS iii 3288  
8 Aug.1551: pres. to chapel of BVM in Wellgate, Dundee by the patron, the constable of Dundee.  
SCRymeour-Wedderburn mss., GD 137.3878  
1559: held preb. Kinnetles - St Salvator’s College.  
REB ii 204  
SCRymeour-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. Kinnetles (preb. St Salvator’s College) and had third remitted "et 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

SCRymeour, 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:
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
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
optino 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.
see Mr Kirriemuir resigned to him. [The claim was not successful:
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.1815,f273v
vic. Kirriemuir resigned to him. [The claim was not successful:
1529: par. Benvie.
RFVA,Reg.Sup.vol.2125,f185r
1532-3: chaplain at St Saviour's altar, Dundee parish church.
ER xvi p.226
Aug.1533: as dean of Glasgow died at Rome.
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) Brother of David Scrymgeour of Fardle and inherited after him; 28 Jul.1523 wits. as chanter of Brechin and of Fardle. RMS iii 759; Strathmores 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, f 55v; ASPA vol. 101 [x] Jun. 1541: occ. as chanter of Brechin. REB ii no. cxxviii 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 Scryggeour 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, f 300v

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, 1559 and 1559. No payment was recorded for 1560 or thereafter. ER xix pp. 436, 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) f 80v 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 chantor 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.cxiii
18,27 Jun.1556: a chaplain of choir of Brechin. REB ii no.cxiv
Conformed as reader, Brechin: c 212.

SIM, sir DAVID
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
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

SMART, sir RICHARD
320 8 Nov.1546: escheated for the slaughter of Archibald Durham, the previous October.
12 Nov.1546: respite for art and part of the slaughter of Archibald Durham in the Mains of Ethie.
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.
22 Aug.1582: died, having made his testament testametary 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.

SMITH, sir JOHN
321 5 Aug.1539: wits. Coupar Angus chtr. as Johannes Fabri, priest of St Andrews, notary.
1542 and 1543: vicar of Airlie, tacking Drumdarne from the abbey of Coupar Angus.
1547: wits. chtr. (Ogilvy of Airlie) as notary.
17 Dec.1549: wits. chtr. (Ogilvy of Airlie) as chaplain, notary.

SOUTER, sir JOHN
322 31 Dec.1524: wits. as chaplain, at Pitcur.
2 Apr.1566: the Dundee Council suppressed his private school; and 1573: received payments from the queen’s donation to Dundee.
8 Jun.1586: had deceased as chaplain of St Thomas, in Dundee.

SPENS, MR DAVID
323 23 Dec.1547: provided to archdeanery of Dunkeld (par.Tealing);
gained possession after 1550.
22 Oct.1554: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)

[Note: Other references to sir John Smiths in CA Chrs. ii 151n, with other links accepted in Hawes’ Parish Clergy, have been rejected for not demonstrating connections either with Airlie or the abbey of Coupar Angus. Other Smiths occurred at Fordoun, Longforgan and Inchture: c 217,218. Hawes, Parish Clergy p.312]
Dunkeld against intrusion of Alexander Crichton.


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)

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)

12 Jan.1584/5: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)

18/21 Jan.1584/5: wits.chtr. as archdean Dunkeld. (par. Tealing)

SPITTAL, NICHOLAS

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. pref. of sacristan at Trinity CC. RSS v 2296

27 Feb.1562/3: as a presb. Trinity CC, one of the joint-par.s of Strathmartin.

Register of Deeds, RD 1.6 f.82r

16 May 1565: wits.chtr. as pref. Trinity CC. RMS iv 1657

26 Aug.1565: new pres. pref. sacristan at Trinity CC. RSS v 2296


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 April 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.
19 Aug. 1547: held subdeanery of Brechin. REB ii no. cxxxiv
4 Feb. 1547/8: had deceased as vic. Lathrisk.
ADCP p. 545
RMS iii 2618

STEPHEN, Alexander
327 24 Aug. 1528: wits. chtr. RMS iii 677
1552: curate of Fowlis.
Haws, Parish Clergy p. 94

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
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. f 28v–29;
Reg.Sup.vol.2142, f 126v; 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. f 28v–29;
Reg.Sup.vol.2118, f 1er: vol. 2142, f 126v; Annates vol. 71 f. 15v
(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 p 228
RSS v 1403
15 Apr. 1565: ? had deceased as archdeacon 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


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

1519v1523: 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. ACDP 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. ACDP 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. Memmuir (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

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

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


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

STRACHAN, MR JAMES

STRACHAN, MR JAMES

337 Born c1506: brother of John Strachan of Claypotts.


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

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26 Mar.1530/31: wits.chtr. as par. Fettercairn. RMS iii 926


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, ASFA 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 iv 314, 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

RMS iv 1098


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 [that] ye thrid p[ar]t of ye fruitis of ye bel[n]lacies 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

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)
STRUBLE, MALCOLM

SWINTON, MR GEORGE
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.

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.
29 Jun.1556: pres. by John Lord Erskine to new single BVM chaplaincy. REB ii no.cxxxiv
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: cautions 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).


22 Aug.1533, 1 Jun.1534, 1 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


20 Dec.1538: wits.chtr. as sub dean of Ross. RMS iii 1877

11 Dec.1540: wits.chtr. as sub dean 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 transumt a feu-chtr. AUL, The Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund.vi,317

19 Aug.1547: chancellor of Brechin REB ii no. cxxxiv

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 305,386
Book of Assumption: held the perpet.vic. Garvock. E 48.1.1 f97v
13 Feb.1564/5: sued James Keith of Drumtochtay 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.
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.
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

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, f. 28v-29; also, Reg. Sup. vol. 2142, f. 126v (15 Oct. 1533); vol. 2118, f. 16r; and Annates vol. 71 f. 73r, vol. 71 f. 15r.

22 Feb. 1535/6: James V to Pope Paul III; James V Letters p. 313. "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, f. 86v; 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.


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] 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 annual rents etc ] "...pertaining 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
sincere and trew religioun, and of guid conversation,
and hes renunctit 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

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
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.

29 Jun.1556: had resigned as a BVM chaplain in favour of sir Nicholas Thomson.

WILLOCK, sir JOHN

30 Apr.1525: wits.chtr. as vic. of Stracathro. (John Erskine of Dun/ earl of Crawford) RMS iii 376
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 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

   RFVA, Reg.Sup.vol.205B,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 ...
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. 48
15 May 1555: summons against him as 11 pretended parson of Lethnot 11 at instance of David Lindsay of Edzell, ninth earl of Crawford.

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.

WYLIE, Mr ALEXANDER
372 7 Aug. 1536: notary inst. (Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk)
AUL, Arbuthnott writs, ms 2764 bund. v 260
RMS 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 wits. chtr., 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.
RMS iii 1465
11 Nov. 1565: had deceased as chaplain of St Michael's in Dunkeld cathedral.
RMS v 2428
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, mazer; 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
BARNES, 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 2006; 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, Souteshek Charters box no.6. bund. no.2
    2 Apr.1588: the temporality of the bishopric was set to him.
    Feb.1608: died.
        PS 1 (RSS) 67.58
        Watt, FESMA p.41

CLEPEN, JOHN
    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.

COCKBURN, SAMUEL 018 8 Jun.1586: son of Andrew Cockburn; pres. chapel of St Thomas, Dundee; at the college of Elgin.

COLLACE, DAVID 019 Brother of John Collace of Balnamoon; later David of Auchfersie.

Collace had close connections with the Melvilles: St Leonard’s in his time had a reputation as a radically-protestant college.

1 Nov.1577: still regent; but deceased by 28 Jan.1577/8.

CUMMING, MR THOMAS 021 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. Collace had close connections with the Melvilles: St Leonard’s in his time had a reputation as a radically-protestant college.

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.

DMS iv 2750; RSS vii 871
22 Aug.1566: his pres. by the archbishop to be vic. Dalkeith also confirmed.  
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.  
FS 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 Drumilthie for seven years at the schools, being the son of William Douglas of Glenbervie, patron, and having collation by John Erskine of Dun.  
RSS vii 1354,1479

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; IB 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.  

ERSKINE, MR JOHN OF BRAIDFORD
029 20 Nov.1587: pres. par./vic. of Benholm; held until Alexander Keith, minister, was inducted 1588.  

ERSKINE, THOMAS
030 24 Mar.1574/5: pres. par./vic. of Dun; being a son of John Erskine of Dun, who was himself pres. to these stipends 11 Aug.1575.  

FERRIER, JOHN
031 29 Jul.1588: deceased chaplain of St Ann in Brechin cathedral.  

FRASER, ROBERT [1]
2 Apr.1565: resigned as par. Stracathro (preb. chanter Brechin) in favour of Robert Fraser his son and heir, being ill.  

FRASER, ROBERT [2]
033 2 Apr.1565: pres. par. Stracathro (preb. chanter of Brechin) on resignation of Robert Fraser, his father.  
5 Mar.1565/6: pres. a preb of the Chapel Royal.  
18 Jul.1566: resigned as par. Stracathro.  

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.  
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.  
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.  

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.

**GRAHAM, ALEXANDER**

036 21 Feb.1588/9: had deceased as vic. Mains. No evidence of service in the reformed kirk exists.  

**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.

**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 ...

"scolar of gud ingine, hable to inccres in literator and sciences, ciuile and diuine... to support his buirding and expens at grammar scoles and scholes of universiteis in his minorite, and to by his bukis to help his studie, to the fine, that he may cum to perfection 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.

RFC 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.

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.

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 Mar.1574/5: was challenged as chaplain of Cowie by William, son of Hay of Ury.

Acts & Decs., CS 7.55 f.63r


Acts and Decs., CS 7.55 f.63r

HAY, MR ROBERT

050 26 Nov.1568: as chaplain of St Nathlan in Cowi2, 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


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.36r-v

“Therentall of ye vicarage of Brechin gewin in be David Wat vicar ylair10f as it wes set in asessedatioun the tenoulur e of ye qk followis. Be it kend till all men be yir present1 ltres me James Hepburn vicar of Brechin To haue sett and in asessedatioun latin and be yir presentis setjis and in asessedatioun latis To my lout Matho Hepburne of Caldhame and to his aris and assignayis ane or ma of na greitar degreis nor powar than himself all and hail my said vicarage of Brechin wt all and sindrie teindis emolumentis proffeitis duteis and pertintis pertening or
ry[ch]tfullie may pertain y[air]lto for the dayis zeiris space and terms of thrie zeiris nixt and instantlie following ye dait heirof qlk dait salbe and begin the said Mathis Hepburne his airis and assigis fairsaid entrie y[air]lto ... 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 Davuid Schewane wt v[ther]jis. Provdyng always yat yew said James Hepburn releif and kep me skaitless of ye thrid of ye said vicarage at ye quenis handis or v[ther]jis halfand enters yis induring ye said thrie zeiris gif ony beis requirat y[air]lto... 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 samain conforme as the same wes set be unq James Hepburn his predecessor qlk is ffortie merkis as ze may persawe be yis said assedatioun set be ye said unqle James to Mathow Hepburne his br[other] Off ye dait at Brechin ye xii day of Merche The zeir of god [1562] zeiris and failzie not heirin keipand thir presentis to zofulr warrand. Subscrivand wt my hand At Edinburgh the xix day of Januar 1565 sit sub. Tullibardin comptrolleare." 1 Apr.1565: had deceased at new pres. on resignation of Mr John Hay.

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 vii 2123
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.

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.

LAING, NEIL


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. IB p.230; RD 1.7 f.304r

Described as the queen’s servant 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


RSS vi 2558

1565: matriculated at St Mary’s College, St Andrews.


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;


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

[x11x] 1573: feu’d teinds of par.Lethnot to Dame Katherine.

Dalhousie mss., 45.15.1738

31 Dec.1576: gifted a pension of £100 from the archbishopric of St Andrews by archbishop Patrick Adamson.

RSS vii 1766

29 Nov.1580: married Marion, daughter of Alexander Guthrie and Jonet Henrisan - 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

[dorsal]
"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."

[versal] "Grace and Peace
Mr Johne Lyndsay wes married in our paroche kyrk of
Edinburght wi[ll]t Marrion Guthre upon ane Wednesday the
penult of November ane thousand fyve hundredh foure score
and extractit forthw of ye buke of regester be me John
Cairns, reidar St G[lis].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year</th>
<th>child</th>
<th>sponsors</th>
<th>day</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>John</td>
<td>John Durie</td>
<td>Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr James Lawson, minister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>Mr Alex Guthrie, town clerk</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td>David</td>
<td>Mr David Carnegy</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr John Graham</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr Walter Balcanquhal, minister</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>Jonet</td>
<td>Mr Robert Bruce, minister</td>
<td>Sunday</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr William Scott, scribe</td>
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</table>
The year 1590 omitted in seeking, named Alexander, qua had to witnes Alexander Hay clerk of register, Mr Alex Guthrie town clerk. This barne was baptiz[ed] upon ane Wednesday ye nynth of December. All thir afoirsaid drawin fourwth of ye buke of regester be me John Cairns reidar St [Giles]

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 witnes 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 feuèd 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 [x1x158-: 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 f iar 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.
RMS 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 annuities 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 annuities had been mortified by his predecessors, and that the £10 were to support him for seven years at the schools.

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.

9 Apr.1566: died. JRL, The Craw.mss box Eii, bund.f

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 reinfemption; 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.

1 Apr.1565: pres. canon vicar of Brechin on resignation of Mr John Hay; described as Master of Requests.

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.

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]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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUCHINLEK, ANDREW</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barry</td>
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<tr>
<td>63 67-9 72 74.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Murroes</td>
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<td>63 67-9 72 74 76 78 79 80.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monifieth</td>
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<td>74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90</td>
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<tr>
<td>Monkie</td>
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<td>76 78 79 80.</td>
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</tbody>
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out of RAMS by 1599. 5

1563: minister at Barry and Murroes. 6
17 Apr.1575: wits. at Monifieth for the baptism of a child from Murroes.
26 Apr.1574: wits. the testament testamentary of William Durham of Grange, and was owed £108 by him for the teinds for 1574.
31 Jul.1578: assisted with a distribution to the poor from a legacy left by Durham of Grange. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.29r
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.
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]gregatio[n] of
Eglisgreig being in yis p[resent] synodical assembly
convenit be the co[m]mission of ye remenand of the
[con]gregatio[n] of Eglisgreig for ssa ordour takin for
biging 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
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.
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.
CA Chrs. cc, cclxxiv;

1558-1584: sub. with the convent of Coupar.

Apr. 1581: with John Erskine of Dun on a commission for Angus for establishing presbyteries. 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

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.

4 Sept. 1566: one of the "most qualified" ministers who accepted the Helvetic 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 Auchinleck - 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 ministrie of Montrose". E47.3 f.17v
ANDERSON, THOMAS
004
Reader
Dun/Ecclesjohn
Barry
out of RAMS by 1608.

9 Nov.1580: wits. inst. (John Erskine of Dun) as a servant of
John Erskine of Dun. Burghs, B S1.1.1 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
cauteriser for George Anderson to pay his feu-duties to the elders
and deacons of the kirk of Fordoun. B S1.10.2 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

ARBUTHNOTT, MR ROBERT
006
Minister
Arbuthnott
out of RAMS by 1607.

1570-173/4: matriculated, BA and Intranct 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
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.delete in ms]

1563: reader at Guthrie - entry deleted. TB p.233
ARRAT, DAVID

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
dispensed" 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
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

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

AUCHINLEK, ANDREW

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
Monkie 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; f65v; f68v
[Cannot be identified with the John Auchinleek 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).


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 an 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.


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".

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 religious and devout feilling; the Psalms, quilk he haid almost by hart, in prose." Melville, Diary p. 22

1563: reader at Dun (£20), Lunan (£20) and Montrose (£40).

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


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

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.48v

10 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.

9 Mar.1577/8: discharge by him as collector of the hospital to Sir David Lindsay of Edzell.

26 Oct.1579: wits. 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") Brechin tsts. CC 8.8.7 f.251v

BICKERTON, MR THOMAS

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.]
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 Daud Blak is electit and chosyn maister of schwell and sall have ten pundis of Our Lady chaiplanry ilk zeir to him fre and iiiii s. of ilk fre ma[n]lis barn wthin ye toum" [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]lsall hes com[landit Thomas Lindsay to g[fy] Jhone Paramor x l s. of Or Lady a[n]wel[is becaus he is ane puyr ma[n] and als hes ordand to gfy Daud Blak x l s. of ye said a[n]wel[is 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 Daud Blak of ye ken[ing] of ye grammer schwell and of his ten lib.
Of ye qlk he had of ye toum."
Airlie mss, GD 16.47.13
Airlie mss, GD 16.41.23
"In dei nomine Amen per hoc [etc...] The quhilk day David Blak minister at the kirk of Keremfiure paste to ye paroche kirk of Cortoquhie wythin jerysdictiou n of Jhone Erskyn of Dwee Superintendente And wythn the said kirk immediatlie after his preching befoir noine opinie 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 sheryfdom of Forfar conforme to our souerane lordis letto[ur] 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 enter ye said James to ye real possessioune 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 haille possessioune of the saidis personage and viccaradg of Cortoquhie belyvering in his handis of ye buik of god efter the forme and teno[ur] of ye said Superintendentis 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 noon or yclairbye and befor thir witnessiss Alexander Ogilvy of Cloway Waltir Ogilvye his brother David Ogilbye his sone William Wilson 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.]1580: sub. with the convent of Arbroath. Kinnaird, Southesk Misc. box 6 bund.6
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 Kirriemuir 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 efter followis. Item ye said David noeminaltis 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": RSSCHS xviii (1974) p.211
BLAIR, JOHN
017
Reader
Kinfuans  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 Kinfuans.

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.

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.
Newdsk  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,Newdsk.
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
Southesk Charters box no.3. bund. no.20


10 Mar. 1575/6: John Strachan of Thornton complained of letters issued from three separate plaintiffs demanding he pay teneinds 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 ff. 86v

12 Oct. 1580: promised a gift to his god-daughter. B 51.1.1 f.61r

"Patrick Bonkill minister at yr kirk of Fordoun obliist hym faythfullie 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[mlendis] hir soule to ye m[ler]cies of god through Jesus Christ hir saviour hir body to ye erth to ye generall res[onnectio]n;"

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[resent] l[E]it[ers me] Sir John Wishart of Pittarrow knight, hail in mynd spirit and bodie pl[er]fyte in soule sensis und[e]rstanding and of gude memorie praisit be god knawing nathing mair certane nor deith and ye hol[u]r y[air]of maist uncertane col[m]ittis 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 with 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 disposed by the executors as they will answer to God.)

1599: demitted Fordoun vic.

PS 1.71 (RSS) f. 45

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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


Oct.1577: John Anderson appeared in the General Assembly to beg forgiveness for an attack on Boyd and for shedding his blood.

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 -

" Be it kend to al men to quhom it efit- is and special e to ye [rich]t honerable James Master of Ogilbe y[alt I am weil content and allow y[alt my belouit bruder in Christ and gude frend Mr R[ob]ert]t Boyd minister of Newtyld be anseruit obeyed and thankfullie payed be ye said master of Ogilbe and his factoris of thrie scor four lib. usual money of yis realm of ye crop of ye zeir of god [1597] conforme to his letteris obtenit yairupoun notyeles y[alt I haue bein in use of resaving payment be my self during zeiris bygane he hauing lyk letteris Becaus ye said maister Robert has fayfullie promisit y[alt his intromissioun sall nay way be preiudicial or hurtful to me bot yet I s[ul]d be thankfullie payed of my part of ye said soume conforme to use and wont."

29 Mar.1588: pres. vic. Nevay - but David Brown was holder in 1590. [c 021]

BROWN, DAVID
021
Minister
Nevay
still in RAMS 1608.
1590: stipend included the whole vic.of Nevay with the manse and glebe.

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.l, no.119

BRUCE, WILLIAM
022
Reader
Mains

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]

BUCHAN, MR JOHN

023

Minister

Liff 63.
Invergowrie 63.

Oct. 1537: Licentiate at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.
("pauper")  
Ayr burgh accounts ed. G. S. Pryde (SHS, 1937) pp. 119, 121

1553/4 and 1554/5: schoolmaster at Ayr.

1563: minister at Liff and Invergowrie.

ActFacArt ii 386

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, Beltn 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)
25 Feb. 1541/2: notary chtr. (Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin/ Robert Collace of Balnamoon)

WRH, NRA(S) 5, The Arbutnott 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)

RGS 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

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.
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.
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] IB 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 Archibald comittit his soule unto ye father omnipotent ye creat[or] 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 shall 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 nothing is mair certane nor deith" "seik in body but haill in mynd and spreit, makis his testament as followis ... leiffis his soul1 to ye almychtie god, his bodie to be bureit in the common sepulcur..."

CHRISTISON, WILLIAM
030
Minister
Dundee 60 63 67-9-72 74 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
Ballumbie 74 78 78 79 80.

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.]


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 Helvetic 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
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 subscryve 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 admonish 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

CLAYHILL8, 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.
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.

CLEMENT, NINIAN

032

Minister

Arbroath 63 67-9-72.

Forfar/Restenneth 74.

Kinnettles 74.

Tannadice 74.

Pre-Reformation: a monk of Arbroath.


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 Pettilocock) f.171r

10 Feb.1562/3: sub. with the convent of Arbroath.

Airlie mss, GD 16.14.21

1563: minister at Arbroath.

IB p.231

25 May 1563: wits. inst. as minister at Arbroath.

RH 4.96 (prot.bk. William Pettilocock) 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 Pettilocock) 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"

Dec.1564: accused of causing a woman to "pait wi[th] twa barnes" [miscarry] - presumably by witchcraft. The burgh court upheld his complaint of mis-saying: Janet Bocce 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 qylk day anent ye co[m]playnt maid be Nynaine Clement minister apoun James Baxter for ye wrangus w[ill]thalden of ye kais of his zard in ye abay callit Denithin zard and occupying ye sa[m]lin ye said Nynaine producit ane infestment ondir ye sig and subscription of sir W[i][i]la Pityllok noter q[where] ye said James promisit to red ye said zard at Lam[mas] last bypast ye bailzies efter consultatioun hed and tayn in ye said mater deponit and deklarit y[alt] ye said James Baxter hes na tytill tak nor iust entres to ye said zard nor na part yair of and yairfor ordand ye officeris to pass w[ill][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]lin 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 caws pris ye caill y[alt] growis w[i][t][h]lin ye said zard and deliu[er] ye sa[m]lin to ye said Nynaine for part of payme[n]t for dettis awand to hy[m] be ye said James apoun ye q[uhi][l]k 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


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 our convent ten[n]antis and servandis and o[ur]le special place" and "for resisting o[ur]le nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]le aperand hurt and damage and skaith". Airlie mss, GD 16.47.13

6 May 1572, 11 Mar.1573: 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
72 74 76 78 79 80
88 89 90
Strathmartin
72.
out of RAMS by 1595.

Possibly kin to Peter Cochran of Pitfour. RFC iii 58

COLLACE, MR JOHN
034
Minister
80 85 86.
Fettercairn
85 [86. dlt. ms.]
Newdok
[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


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.

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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.
DOUGLAS, MR JAMES
043
Minister
Glenbervie
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. Brchnt.tsts., CC 3.3.5 f.182r

DRUMMOND, MR ANDREW
044
Minister
Idvies
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
Murroes
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, QPR 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.tsts., CC 8.8.31 f.172r

DUNCANSON, ROBERT
046
Reader
Kinnettles
Tannadice

76.
78 79 80.
DURHAM, MR JOHN
047
Minister
Monikie still in RAMS 1615

1569-1572/3: matriculated, graduated BA and MA at St Mary’s College, St Andrews. Sta Recs 277,166,170: Acta Fac Art 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.282

DURIE, JOHN
048
Minister
Montrose [previous service, see below] 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. tsts., 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~t~KS: he left c.£244. Edin. tsts., CC 8.8.34 (unfoliated)

ELDER, MR ANDREW
049
Reader
Menmuir out of RAMS by 1608.

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Glenbervie: a 097.

17 Apr. 1574: notary at Balnamoon.  
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. 1578: sub. test. testamentary of Matthew Walker.  
Brechin tests., CC 3.3.1 f.31r

"Quaham nothing is mair certane nor deth or mair uncertane  
nor ye hour of death, [therefo]r I ... being seik in body  
neuertheless hail in soul makis ... I leiff my soul to ye  
onnipotent god and my bodie to be bureit in ye kirk of  
Memmu[re] ...." [His executors were to fulfill ] "... yis my  
latterwill in all pointis as ye will an[swer] to ye  
et[er]nall god in ye extreme day of jugment qu[he]n ye  
secrettis of all harts salbe discloisit."

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 f.96v

Be it kend to all men and in speci[all] to ye lordis of  
our souerane lordis counsell and Sessione yat forsameikle as we  
Johne Levingstone of Donepace Mr Wlm Gray minist[er] of  
Memmu[re] and gentillmen of ye congregation of Memmu[re]  
under[er]written[en] hes hard yat Mr Andro Eldar not[ar] publict  
and reidar at ye kirk of Memmu[re] was summond ye sxt day of  
Novem[bar] last bipast be our souer[ane] lordis [let]tres  
purchesit 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 qu[he]llk 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[e]mtie ...  
yat stoppis his secht, and thairthru is becum on able in his  
bodye yat he may noy[er] wrette nor travell." [They have seen  
him and the sickness: and testify that he avows that he did  
abless the instrument in question.] "... yat he hes bene  
yis sax oulkis bigane, q[he]n god restore him to ye secht of his  
en[e] 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

ELDER, MR WILLIAM  
050

Pre-Reformation vic.pens. Benholm: a 100.
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.

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]

20 May 1583: had demitted par. Dun. [RSS vii 266; REB ii pp.307-8
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 Clerk (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. Lasine 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


RSS vi 2028

FIFE, GEORGE
058

Reader
Arbuthnot 69-72.

Nov. 1569: translated to Arbuthnot.

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 lasine (original 12 Apr. 1556) by sir George Wilson, Holy Cross chaplain in Brechin.

Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box no.4. bunds. nos.4,7

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.

IB 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
Reader
Invergowrie 74.
1574/5: died. NLS, ms 17.1.4 f.34r,mgn.

FORBES, MR WILLIAM
Minister
Kingoldrum 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.

FORESTER, ROBERT
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
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. IB 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
1571(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.

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]ll[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[u]hen 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]ll[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[u]hen 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
Minister
Durris 68-9-72.
30 Jan.1577/8: wits. chtr. as son of Thomas Fraser of Durris.

FRASER, MR PAUL
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
20 Feb.1566/7: granted a tack of par. Stracathro for five years to Mr Robert Maitland, dean of Aberdeen. REB ii 332
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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 lovi t freind and causing 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.
Dunlapnie 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
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[ith] chyld knowing nothing surar nor deid yit ye ho[ur] uncertaine left frelie and uncompeillit 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.
JRL, The Craw. mss., box Fii 122
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 Hospit.
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, our souerane lord and lordis of his heines secret counsell and to all and sindrie utheris quhom efferis, I his heines humble] [serv]vand Maister James Fullertoun persone of Edzell, mi[n]ister of godis word at ye kirk y[air]lof, wischeis grace mercie and peace in Jesus Christ. Makis it manifest and knawin yat yis in[st]ant day of dait of yir pr[esen]titis I passit and veisit Sir David Lyndesay of Edzell, kn[y]ch[lt], one of ye parochineris of ye said kirk and parochin of Edzell, quhom I fand sa vexit and exercisit w[i]lt[h]n are informatie seiknes or discourse of his bodie co[m]onundlie callit be ye mediciner quhair cuir and counsell be pr[esen]tlie usit for remed y[air]lof ... yat ye said Sir David is nocht pr[esen]tlie abill to ryde nat travell to compier personalie befor o[ur]le souerane lord ...." [etc: recites the case pending before the Lords] " ... w[i]lt[h]lout greit danger of his lyfe and further alteracione of his bodylie health. O[l][uh][l] I certifie to be of trowth on my co[n]sense safar as my judgment 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 Memmuir and Robert Collace apparent of Balnamoon.
Edin.tests. CC 8.8.28 f.237v

"Sen nothing is mair certain nor deith nor mair uncertain nor ye hyl[of deith, seik in bodie nevertheles haill in soule and of perfyte memorie, In ye first I comitis my soule to ye omnipotent god creatoUr y[lair]lof and my body to be buriet w[i]lt[h]in ye kirk of Navar...."
1590: the new par./min. of Edzell had only the third of 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

FULLEF:TON, JAMES 071
Reader
Kinneff 63 67-9-72.
1563: reader at Kinneff. [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.

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 Baldowie 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 Bryanston in the parish of Inverkeilor. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f69

"Sen nothing is mair certane yan deith nor uncertane yan ye hour of deith... seik in bodie bot hail 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 constitutes 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, hail in spreit [and] mynd albeit weik and febbill in body levis my soule to god throulght Jesus Christ my saviour my onlie redeemer and my bodie to be bureit in Innerkellou[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.
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.

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

Minister
Kinnell

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. RGS vili 832
28 Jun.1587: pres. par. Kinnell. CH 4.1.2 (RPB ii) 177

"The q1k day Johnne Borate 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]e he is pr[es]entlie pryvdit betwix and the first day of November nixtocum. Togidder wiull[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

Minister
Fowlis
Longforgan

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

Reader
Tannadice

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; IB 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


GIB, ANDREW
080          Reader
Tealing     67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90 out of RAMS by 1608.


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.

19 Feb.1582/3: obtained letters in four forms for the vic.
Montrose from year and crop 1582.
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.

Calderwood, History iv 660

1588: with Mr Andrew Milne, attacked at "sindrie tymes" by William Douglas, son of Douglas of Glenbervie.


1591: 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.

GORMOK, THOMAS
083
Minister
Rescobie 63 67-9-72.
Fyvie etc 74

Pre-Reformation a monk of Arbroath; wits. chtr.12 Sept.1554.


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 "Ethis 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

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.

RPC iii 191,228; M. Lynch, Edinburgh p.105

1575: matriculated at St Mary's College, St Andrews. STA Recs 286
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 RAMSJ]

GRAY, sir DUNCAN
085
Reader
Auchterhouse

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 vii 1678
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

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
Newdusk [ entries ] 88 89.

out of RAMS by 1607 in both entries.

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.

Banchri 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 Newdusk 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 lوردis of our . souerane lordis counsall and Sessione yat forsameikle as we John Levingstone of Donepace Mr W[ill]i[am] Gray minist[er] of Menmu[re] and gentillmen of ye congregation of Menmu[re] und[er]written] hes hard yat Mr Andro Eldar nottar] publict and reidar at ye kirk of Menmu[re] was summond ye saxt day of Nove[m]bar last bipast be our souerlane lordis ltres...."

25 Feb.1586/7: as minister of Logie-Montrose, with John Durie
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.


GREIFF, MATTHEW
088
Reader/exhorter
Monikie 61- 63 67-9-72.


1561: allowed his third as reader at Monikie; repeated, 1562.

1563: allowed his third as exhorter at Monikie.

1 Jul.1566: as notary, wits. chtr. (Henry Ramsay of Ardownie)

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.

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

RSS vi 2635
30 Apr.1577: as reader at Lunan, sued John, commiss. 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
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
Reader
Dunnichen
74 76 78 79 (80.dltc)

GUTHRIE, JAMES
Reader
Kirkbuddo
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
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 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
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
Minister
Abernyte
67-8-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88 89 90
LogieDundee
74.
Liff
74.
Invergowrie
74.
Invergowrie
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)
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 Inchmarline. RMS iv 472

6 May 1562: notary. (Haliburton of Pitycur) RMS iv 1832
7 Jun. 1566: notary. (Ogilvy of Inchmarline) 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 pref. Abernyte (1/4th of par.). A precept from Mr John Winram, superintendent of Fife, addressed to Nicholas Spittal as minister of Longforan 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.

17 Jun. 1575: sub. as notary 11 Clericum ac ler·bi dei minister apud ecclesium de Abernyte on a marriage contract at Abernyte church.

29 Jan. 1588/9: had deceased as pref. and vic. pens. Abernyte.

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 honorable James Master of Ogilbe y[at] I am weel content and allow y[at] my belouit bruder in Christ and gude frend Mr R[ob]ber[t] Boyd minister of Newtyld be answiert 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 yair-upoun no[ch]tyeles y[at] 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[at] his intromission sall nay way be preiudicial or hurtful to me bot yat I si[l]d be thankfullie payed of my pairt of ye said soume conforme to use and wont. George Halden reidar. "
HALL, NINIAN

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

Reader
Logie Dundee 74.
Liff 74.

HAWICK, DAVID

Reader
Kirkbuddo 74 76 78 79 80 85 86 88.

HAY, MR GEORGE

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

Reader
Lochlee (63. deltd. in ms.)

1563: reader at Lochlee: deleted in ms. TB p.233

HAY, WILLIAM

Reader
Lochlee 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85 (86.deltd)

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

Minister

Navar 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

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 Helvetic 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 wretting makand mensione off your synodall conventione to be heldin 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 wretting: 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 proporctis; I summond him vpon your wretting 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 virgent 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 toward 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 commendant 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 (RFB 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 inserted 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. FS 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.
2 Aug.1565: pres. par. Durris. RSS v 2233
31 May 1575: sub. as a member of the convent of Arbroath. 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.
Kinnaird, Southesk Papers box 2 bund.28
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 J ky day ye bailizeis abou writyn conducit w[illth] Nycoll Howeson to ken ye grammer schwell and promisit to hy[m] ten pundis of fie for ye sal[m]in and ye said Nycoll said y[a]lt he wald no[ch]t cum to teche nor ken ye said schwell w[ill]tou he half 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.]
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.

1567-8: James Irving was factor for the par. Strachan (preb. archdean of Brechin) on behalf of the archdean, the commendator of Dryburgh.

JAMESON, JAMES
112
Reader
Kettins 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 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.

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.


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
Keith, Mr Archibald

Minister
Balmerino 62.
Logie Murdoch 62.
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.

Kerr, Andrew

Reader
Aldbar 74.
Benholm 76 78 79 80.

1557: possibly the Andrew Kerr who matriculated at St Mary’s College, St Andrews.

Kinloch, James

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

II8

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


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

II9

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


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[ander] Ky[n]l[n]mounthe minister at Kerimu[re] be
yr p[re]sent testifies y[al]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
according to ye direct[lon] of my lord and ladyes

Mr Alex Ky[n]l[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
"Gpd 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
protection and defendaris of innocenitis, having discouerit thair
hid and detestit purpois to the minister of Killymure" -
Kinninmonth hastened after him, met up with him and them; "and earlnistlie 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.


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.

21 May 1596: had deceased as vic. Dundee.

LEASK, MR WILLIAM
121
Minister
Nigg

68 88 89 90

Dunnottar

out of RAMS by 1593.

1588-90: had the par. and vic. of Dunnottar as his stipend.

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; Acta Fac Art ii 438, 441


23 Mar. 1579/80: obtained letters in four forms for teinds as par. Kilmoir.

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
a tenement with a ruined building formerly belonging in common to the cathedral canons, and subsequently to the crown. RMS v 82
10 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
"knowing my dayis to be uncertane" ...[makes testament] ...
"makand me y[clair]by mair reddie for my god," ... [bequeathed his] "saull to ye eternal god to be glorifieit [i]t[he] 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 78 79 80.
Finavon 74 78 79 80.
Inverarity 74 78 79 80.
Kirkbuddo 74 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:
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

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.

1563: minister at Forfar and Aberlemno.

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


Edin. tests., CC 8.8.5 f.206r

"Sen thair is nathing mair certane yan deid and depairting from yir 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 evangal", 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]th[h] him redeemit by Christ and my body to ye erth to remane to his cuming..."

LINDSAY, MR DAVID
125

Minister
Forfar/ Restenneth
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

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.
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. 

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.

15 Jul. 1579: matriculated at St Leonard's, St Andrews. 

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. 

Andrew Melville wrote a Latin elegy in his memory. 

LINDSAY, MR PATRICK

127

Minister

Guthrie

88 89 90

out of RAMS by 1595.

1579: matriculated at St Leonard's, St Andrews. 

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. 

17 Jan. 1588/9: Arrat had the minister's letters suspended pending a further hearing of the case. 

5 Apr. 1589: sub. tack of teinds as part of the chapter of Brechin, being provost of Guthrie.
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
[This cites a charter of 1558 as the earliest known.]

1563: exhorter at Arbroath.
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(uhilk) day ye haill co[n]sall hes co[n]sentit y[a]lt
sir Thomas Makesoun collek and tak op ye a[n]wellis and malis
pertenand to Sanct Nytolas chaipranry y[a]lt restis on tayn up
be James Ra[m]say deposit[u]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 zeirlly to ye deposit[u]r of ye town and
lykwis Thomas Lindsay is chasing and eletit to garder and tak
up Our Lady a[n]wellis and malis y[a]lt ar on tayn wp be ye
said James Ra[m]say and forder indurand ye will of bailzeis
and co[un]sall 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 conven 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(uhilk)k day ye bailzeis and co[un]sall hes co[m]andit
Thomas Lindsay to gyf Jhone Paramor x l s. of Or Lady
a[n]wellis becas he is ane puyr ma[n] and als hes ordand to
gyf David Blak x l 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]le
convent ten[n]tantis and servandis and o[ur]le special place" and
"for resisting o[ur]le nonfreindis and innemeis in manifest
assultis and attemptis of yame attemptit till o[ur]le apeirand
hurt and damage 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 pleasure" to act with John Aikman, deacon.

APL, 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 wirts, 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.

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 "nochst laid" in the central registers. E 47.1 f.24v

LOVE, THOMAS
130
Reader
Clova 63.

1563: reader at Clova.

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.
10 Jan.1562/3: reader at Monifieth.

28 Jan.1563/4: as reader of Monifieth, wits. inst. sasine of John Arbuthnott of Easter Brichy in his one-third of Monifieth.

31 Dec.1577: as reader at Monifieth, sub. the test. testamentary of Thomas Lovell in Linlathen, his brother.

31 Jul.1578: as reader, assisted with the distribution to the poor of Monifieth of the legacy left them by William Durham of Grange.

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.

16/18/23 Dec.1582: gathered the collection for the poor, presumably in absence of any elders/deacons.

[x] Feb.1583/4: stood witness for the baptism of a child "gotten in fornication".
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.

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 Carney. 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
Nether Airlie 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
MALE, 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.

1563: reader at Panbride. TB p.233
30 May 1566: procurator for Thomas Maule of Panmure, paid 200 merks to redeem lands.

MAWELL, MR ALEXANDER
139
Reader
Tealing 63.

1539-1542/3: matriculated (nation of Angus), determined and Licentiate ("pauper") at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.

Notary in St Andrews diocese before 1555; his protocol book contained extracts from "Ane Exclamation againis 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.  
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  
Reader  
Ruthven  
79.

MELDRUM, MR DAVID  
Reader  
Maryton  
61 63.


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

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 third 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 slit 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, compared 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: wīts. 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
26 Jan. 1572/3: gave discharges for stipend to James Lord Ogilvy.

Airlie ms., GD 16.47.14
2 Sept. 1573: had deceased as vic. Farnell.

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 admonish the bishop of Galloway. BUK i 277
2/3 Feb. 1580/81: "pro bono servito" feuded the charterhouse of Arbroath abbey and a garden occupied by dn. Richard Craik, by Esme, 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
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 ttmrd 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 reflects (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 wisdome 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 wisdome 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 premises done by the superintendent, but that his proceedings therein are worthy of praise." [sub.: I. Gray, clerk of the Assembly.]
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 £1,288. CC 8.8.5 f.140r

"Sen nothing 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]th[] my foirbaires in ye kirk of Maritoun...."

Barbara Melville his daughter married Mr James Balfour, minister of Idvies in 1575.

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.

22 Dec. 1553: wits. chtr at Aberdeen.

RMS iv 389
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 RMS'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 comparison of handwriting, 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

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: admonished 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.

Monkie 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

1583: minister at Arbirlot and Inverkeilor. TB p.232

14 Apr.1567: pres. vic. Arbirlot. RSS vi 571

"makand mentiou that whereas the said Charles upoun examination and tryall tane of hym be Jhone Erskyne of Down Superintendent of Anguss is laufhitfullie ressavit and admittit to ye said vicarage [and] be pr[esen]t[ation] 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 vicars 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) Banff 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.

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.

"... 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 hail kirk and in special that part pert[enand] to ye personage of Dunnottar called the quere q[uehirllk be the iniquite of time was almost decayit and fallin to the ground"

24 Nov. 1579, 29 Jul. 1580: pres. par./vic./vic.pens. of Fetteresso. RSS vii 2096,2441

"Of our proceedinges 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 writ. Qwhat succes our maters sali have in counsall we ar yet uncertain, but fearis it sali not be according to our desire, and the necessitie of this horrible confusion, quhilk is lyk to wrak 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 xxii 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.93; Scott, Fasti viii 512; E 45.20

MILNE, JOHN
154
Reader
Maryculter 85 86 88 89 90
still in RMS 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 hail in spirit ... In ye first he leivis his soule to ye eternall god omnipotent and his body to be burit w[ill][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] hail in my spirit and soule prais gloirlie and hon[oul]e to ye eternall god and makis my latterwill ... I gif my soule to god omnipotent fa[th]er sone and hailie spirit beseikand yat gracious god to halie mercie upon my synnes Alto[our] I maik ... "

1563: reader at Eassie. TB p.233


Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.279v " Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertane yan ye hof[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but hail 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 hof[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but hail 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 hof[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but hail 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.

"Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertaine yan ye ho[ur] of deith I y[air]for, seik in bodie but hail in mynd and spirit, levis my soule to ye eternall god commitis my bodie to ye erth..."


"Sen nathing is mair certane yan deith and nathing mair uncertaine yan ye ho[ur] of deith, ... seik in bodie but hail in mynd and spirit, I levis and com[m]endis my spirit to ye eternall god omnipotent and my bodie to ye erth..."


3 Nov.1574: as reader at Nevay, with Alexander Tyrie, minister, sub. the test. testamental of Jonet Watson, spouse of John Tyrie in Nevay.

"In ye name of god so be it. I ye said Jonet Watsoun seik in bodie bot hail 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.

"seik in bodie bot hail 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 (RBP ii) f.133v

**MORRISON, MR WALTER**

158

Minister

Garvock

Catterline

go 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. Brchntests.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.

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.
Longfor gan 67-9-72.
Fowlis 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80 85.

1567-72: reader at Benvie, Longfor gan 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.

IB p.250
1 May 1574: had the whole vic. of Fowlis for his stipend.

NLS ms. 17.1.4 f.34r

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-welle 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 B.B.6 f.24Bv

"being weik in body bot haill in spreit and of gud remembrance 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


Edin. tests., CC B.B.9 f.207v

8 May 1588, 29 Mar. 1589: sued the par. of Eassie, the prior of Inchmahome and the abbots of Coupar and Arbuthnot 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; Acta Fac Art 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
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
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(0)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
18 Jun.1587: as minister of Fern, wits. chtr. (Mr Andrew Leitch. John earl of Mar) 
Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.967
Jan.1597/8: 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

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

RSS vi 1557
7 May 1580: had demitted par. Cortachy.

RSS vii 2354
OGILVY, MR JOHN
172
Reader
Montrose
out of RAMS 1607.

1577: matriculated at St Leonard's College, St Andrews.  
StA Recs 291
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 Inverquhartiy.  
Edin.test.,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
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.


1563: reader at Arbuthnott. 
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 Balnagararrow)
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 f iar 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
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
RAFT, ARCHIBALD
184
Reader
Fetteresso 67-9-72 74.

RAFT, 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 (RFB 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

RAFT, 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.x1

RAFT, MR WILLIAM
187
Minister
Mains 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 deith I ... being seik in bodie but hail in mynd and spirit disposis 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 gear were left to his wife, Euphame Black and their two sons.

"Item yair was awin to ye said unqu Patrick Ramsay be ye provost of ye College of Sanctandrois maisteris [thair]of p[ler]sounis of ye kirk of Conveth [and] Johne Striviling ye fact[olur] his stipend for reiding at y[ilr] kirk of Conveth of ye croppis [and] zeiris of god i' v£ lxxxvi lxxxvi lxxxviii lxxxix zeiris fourscore 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
Idvies

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 nothing is mair certane nor dieth and ye ho[ur]Je of deith uncertane, being seik in bodie nevertheles of hail and pierlyfe memorie makis his testament ... In ye first he com[m]itis his soule to ye p[ro]tectione of ye almichtie god and hoips assurable to be ressavit in his mericie onlie thro ye meritis of Christ Jesus his saviour. And his bodie to be bureit w[i]lh[in ye kirk of Idvies."

Ramsay, Robert
193
Reader

Glamis

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 nothing is mair certane nor dieth and ye ho[ur]Je of deith uncertane, being seik in bodie nevertheles of hail and pierlyfe memorie makis his testament ... In ye first he com[m]itis his soule to ye p[ro]tectione of ye almichtie god and hoips assurable to be ressavit in his mericie onlie thro ye meritis of Christ Jesus his saviour. And his bodie to be bureit w[i]lh[in ye kirk of Idvies."

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 entrice to the ministrie without the Superintendent of Angus his admissioun; for affirming there was a midway betwixt Poprie and our religioun; for borrowing money from the towne of Innerness, 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 Superintendent 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


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

Bervie

out of RAMS 1591.

89. 89 90

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 ... Scott's Fasti vi 79
16 Jul.1602: had died.

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
testimonial 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
still in RAMS, 1615.
1584: occ. as MA at St Andrews.
20 Dec.1593: as minister of Dunnichen, wits. test. testamentary
of Mr Robert Ramsay, minister of Idvies. Edin.ts. CC 8.6.26 f.66v
13 May 1629: registration of the test. of his wife, Elspet
Duchterlyny.

ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER
203 Reader
Maryculter 64 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80
Peterculter 63 67.

1563: reader at Peterculter; also 1567.
1564: reader at Maryculter.

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.

1563: minister at Tealing.
18 Jan.1565/6: sub. act of procuracy 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
priest-town 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.
Andrews!" 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

Haws, Parish Clergy p.307
TB p.232
TB p.224
TB p.224
TB p.224
TB p.224
TB p.224
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 Nielson this berar my servant hes schawin me that ye wald notch[t] buik ye sowme of fourtie poundis augmentit be me to David Robertson minister at Rossy wil[lt]hout my hand writt and consent qhhairfoir I haue tho[u]g[t] gud to desyre zow be this my writting to buik him w[il]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 presentis. Subscrivit w[il]t[h] our hand at Sanctan[roiJs ye sevin day of Maii 1577 Youris at powar Robert bishop of Cathnes."

26 Jun. 1584: sub. with St Andrews' convent.
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.
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".

ROSS, CHARLES
207
Reader
Inverkeilor 63 67-9-73.

1563: reader at Inverkeilor.
May 1573: "depl[er]tit Beltane 1573".

TB p. 234
Reg. Min., E 48.2 f. 20v
ROSS, MR JAMES
208
Minister
Strachan
Echt
85 86 88 89 90
90
out of RAMS as minister of both, 1599.

1585-90: stipend included only the third of the archdean of Brechin.

SALMOND, MR WILLIAM
209
Reader
Dunnottar
74.


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.

7 Jun.1567: action against him as pretended vicar of Clunie to reduce a grant of kirklands.

5 Nov.1567: with Mr John Elder feued the kirklands of Dunnottar heritably to William earl Marischal.


DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.33v

"Inter Willelmum Hay et Barbaram Moncur In the parroche kirk of Innergowrie vpone ye xxvii day of ye monethe of october The zeir of god im v= threscoir nyne zeiris personalie constitue honorabill partieis thay ar to say Willia[m] Hay of Mekill Gurdie liand w[i]kthlin ye parroch of Clunye vpone yat ane part And Barbara Motcur ladie Fardill lyand w[i]kthlin ye said parroch 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 ministratoun of ye sacramentis and mariagis And thair ye saidis parteis requirit and chargit the said maist[er] Willia[m] exhortar that he as ane vigila[n]t pastir in Christ ministrat and solemn[n]sat ye band of matrimonie betuix ye said Willia[m] and Barbara as to thame qhilikis ar pr[esen]tlie his parrochenaris and congregatioun of ye said parroche of Clunye and exhibit and ane testimoniall of ye said maist[er] Willia[m] berand in effect y[alt] 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 lathfull impediment 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 procedings of ye said personis as in ye said band of proclamatione vnder ye hand
writ of ye said maist[er] William of ye dait ye xxv day of September the zeir of god i° v° threescoir nyne zeirs at mair lenth is co[n]tenit ffordir the said maist[er] William declared vpone oppinlie In pr[esence] of ye congregatione and witnessis vnder writ[tt y[alt he knew na lauchtfull impediment bot ye saidis p[er]sonis micht procede w[i]lt[h] ye saidis band and y[air]leftir ye said maist[er] William exhibit and producit ane wri[tt con]teni(n]d ye forme of comission direct Be my lord Superintendent of Angus Mernis Gowrie and Starmo[w]nt to ye parrocheneris and vicar of Cluny exhortar and redar y[air]of w[i]lt[h] charge co[n]tenit in ye saimin To ye saidis parrocheneris to pass and charge y[ir] vicar and exhortar Mr William Salmond for ministration of sacramentis and mariagis to be done be ye said maist[er] William to his parrochineris and na vtheris as ye said wri[tt 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 wri[ttis ye said William on ye ane part and Barbara on ye vther part humlie exhortit ye said maist[er] William to his parrochineris and na vtheris to procede and ministrat and solemnisit ye matrimonial band betuix yame conforme as ye Word of God requiris The said maist[er] William willing to obey ye said godlie request he maid and declarit as ane vigilant pastir in Christ and y[air]leftir publicalie solemplie and in ane godlie maner solemnisat ye band of matrimonie betuix ye saidis William Hay and Barbara Mo[n]tcu[r conforme to ye ordour In all poyntis visi in ye Kirk and Bodis Congregatione in thir partis At lenth betuix elliewin and twelv hours befuir nowme or y[i]lt[h] by. Super quibus dictis ... in pr[esentibus honorabilis viris Alex Scrymgeour one of ye baillies of Dundie James Scrymgeour of Balbuc[lie Alex] Flesheour burgess of Dundie John Webst[er portioner of Innergowrie William Charteris portioner of Innergowrie [and others.]]"

SANDERSON, [alias SANDERS], JAMES

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
" hail in my soule and spirit but sieklie in my bodie
commandis my soule and spirit unto ye [pro]tection of ye
almichtie god to be ressavit he his halie spirit and his
bodie to be burreit in ye kirk of Alyth"
17 Jun.1579: as "lector ecclesias de Aly[ch]t", sub. test,
testamentary of Christine Brown, spouse of Thomas Futhe in
Leitfie. Edin.tsts., CC 8.8.7 f.308r
" seik in bodie and hail 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.
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
Minister
Nigg/ Maryculter to Deer, 1586.

SIM, JOHN
Reader
Stracathro 63 67-9-72 74 76 78 79 80. 85.
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.


1563: reader at Stracathro.
1567-72: RAMS clearly brackets Stracathro and Dunlappie as the parishes John Sim served.
1574-79: RAMS gives his name twice: under each parish, with a separate stipend attached. RSS vi 965
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
Reader
Cortachy 76.
Kinnetles 78 79 80 85 86.

SIM[P]SON, JAMES
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[ps]on'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.
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


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


(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[plson, 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


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
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.
2 Sept.1566: sub. with the convent.
1567-72: "P. St Andr[ois]"—marginal entry by his name.
1574-79: his stipend "his auld portioun or pensioun out of ye priorie of Sanctandrois".


1563: reader at Glenisla.
27 Jul.1571: had deceased.

SPALDING, JAMES
Reader
Nether Airlie

SPALDING, MR JOHN
Minister
Rescobie

SPALDING, WILLIAM
Reader
Nether Airlie

1583: graduated MA at St Andrews.
1590: had the par. and vic. of Rescobie with the manse and glebe for his stipend.

1590: the Airlie minister was expected to pay the reader: "he payand the reidar qil his deith or depairsture". The reader was not, however, named.
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.

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 Spittal'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 Spittal, 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.

1576-1580: had the whole vic. of Kingoldrum provided to him for
stipend.
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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£16</th>
<th>for year/crop</th>
<th>1574</th>
<th>discharged on 10 July 1575</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>£8</td>
<td>[half year]</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>28 July 1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£64</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>(14 Feb.1582/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£16</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>[x] Feb 1587/8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£32</td>
<td>1587</td>
<td>}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>}</td>
<td>(20 Feb 1591</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[the series continues haphazardly to the last ...]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£16</td>
<td>1602</td>
<td>30 April 1603.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
PS 1.55 (RSS) f.122r

STIRLING, MR HARRY
227
Minister
Edzell / Newdosk
To Aberlemno with Aldbar, 1597; out of RAMS by 1607.

STRACHAN, MR ANDREW
228
Minister
Nigg/ Maryculter/ Strachan (74.d1td ms)
Inverkellor 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 Andreas.
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.

11 Nov. 1577: assisted at the consecration of the bishop of Aberdeen.

2 May 1583: par. Dun united to vic. Dun and to par. Ecclesjohn to provide a full stipend for him.

"ane letter maikand mention 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 resonabill stipend, according to the stait and habilite 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 having 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 ..."

29 Nov. 1585: as par. Dun, wits. inst.
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

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**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

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**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

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**STRAITON, DAVID**

232

Reader

Newdosh 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 Newdosh [not in RAMS] discharged Sir David Lindsay of Edzell for 20 merks as assigned to him from par. Newdosh as tacked to Edzell. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii p. 145

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**SYMMER, sir JAMES**

233

Reader

Garvock 63 67-9.

Pre-Reformation curate [?] Garvock: a 341.

1563: reader at Garvock. TB p. 235
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 8.3.19 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
3 Jul.1594: pres. par./vic. Auchterhouse. PS 1.66 (RSS) f.166r
17 Oct.1603: resigned as "agit and alitogidder 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.  
1568: minister at Meigle.  
1569: exhorter at Meigle.  

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 feu farmer 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  
Dennie  90  
out of RAMS 1591.

1592-1596: 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.  

1563: reader at Catterline.  
20 Oct. 1575: as reader at Arbuthnott, sub. and scribe for, the test. testamentary of John Thomson alias Webster, citizen of Cotton of Allardice, who left him £10.  

"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.  

"he left his saull to almy[ch]tlye god creator[y]lair tof and his body to yr erthe to be bursit ... 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.  

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.  
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.  

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; Acta Fac Art 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.
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; Acta Fac Art ii, 358

1563: minister at Kirriemuir and Kingoldrum.

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**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.
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]


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, horizontal [....] 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.

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


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

BANCHORY DEVENICK

James Rhind [e]

NIGG

William Mar. (69). BD

John Leslie

MARYCULTER

Alexander Robertson. (64)

STRACHAN

Andrew Young

BIRSE

Andrew Hogg

DURRIS

Alexander Gerard> Dalmayock

GLENBERVIE, DUNNOTTAR, FETTERESSO

JOHN CHRISTISON. (60-3)

John Auchenlek... B

Robert Rait F

GARVOCK [with KINNELL]

CATTERLINE, KINNEFF, BERVIE, ARBUTHNOTT, GARVOCK

(ALEXANDER KEITH)

sir James Symmer... B

CATTERLINE

( Kirriemuir) George Fife. (69). A

ARCHIBALD WATSON... C

BERVIE

James Simpson... B

ARBUTHNOTT, KINNEFF

JOHN PATRICK

Mr Andrew Patrick. A

Fordoun, F-CAIRN, NEWDOSK

Patrick Boncle

William Strachan

CONVETH, ABERLETHNOTT

Patrick Ramsay

Mr Alexander Wylie C

Thomas Ramsay...

[1563-1572 continues next page]
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1567-9</td>
<td>John Goodfellow</td>
<td>Mr William Elder . MR William Elder</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Robert Neilson</td>
<td>John Burnet. (69) E</td>
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<td>BENHOLM, ECCLESGREIG</td>
<td>Mr William Elder B. Mr William Elder</td>
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<td>John Burnet (69) E</td>
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<td>Angus or Forfar</td>
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<td>DUNDEE</td>
<td>William Christison (60-3)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Kyd</td>
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<td>BRECHIN, PANBRIDE</td>
<td>Mr John Hepburn. (60-3)</td>
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<td>James Sharp (70) B</td>
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<td>Mr Thomas Anderson</td>
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<td>(John Baty)</td>
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<td>David Lindsay of Pitairlie</td>
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<td>Robert Wood F+R</td>
<td>John Guthrie F</td>
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<td>sir George Lyall</td>
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<td>Ninian Clement</td>
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<td>Thomas Lindsay</td>
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<td>NEWTYLE, NEVAY, EASSIE</td>
<td>John Nevay of that Ilk</td>
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<td>Archibald Erskine N (to Nov.67)</td>
<td>Matthew Moncur (Nv62 E63)</td>
<td>Nv+E</td>
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<td>Thomas Strachan Mt. (occ. Mt 69: unlisted in ms)</td>
<td>Inverarity</td>
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<td>INVARIARITY, MEATHIE, KINNETTLES</td>
<td>Alexander Nevay (73) I, K</td>
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<td>Mr James Fotheringham</td>
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<td>John Blindscheil I</td>
<td>Thomas Strachan I.</td>
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<td>LUNDIE, KETTINS</td>
<td>Mr Archibald Keith</td>
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<td>Balmerino (62)</td>
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<td>James Jameson K</td>
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[1563-1572 continues next page]
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<td>Mr. John Buchan, David Dinmure</td>
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<td>Logiedundee, Liff, Invergowrie</td>
<td>Alexander Tyrrie, Duncan Gray</td>
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<td>1570-2</td>
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<td>Ninian Hall</td>
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**Auchterhouse**
- Mr. John Buchan
- Alexander Tyrrie, Duncan Gray

**Tealing**
- David Robertson, Alexander Maxwell

**Logiedundee**
- Mr. John Buchan
- Alexander Tyrrie, Duncan Gray

**Monifieth, Monkie**
- Mr. Gilbert Gardyne, Andrew Gib

**Barry, Murroes**
- Charles Nichelson, Robert Forester

**Inverkeilor, Arbirlot**
- Charles Michelson, Walter Lindsay

**Glamis**
- Mr. Robert Boyd

**Kirkmuir, Kingoldrum**
- Mr. John Young

**Rescobie**
- Thomas Gormak

**Guthrie, Ivies**
- Mr. James Balfour, David Arrat

**Kirriemuir, Kingoldrum**
- Mr. John Young, David Black

[1563-1572 continues next page]
1560-63

KINNELL [with GARVOCK] TANNADICE
(ALEX. KEITH) (Cortachy). MR JAMES RAIT
David Fife

1567-9

TANNADICE, [71-2: with ABERLEMNO
MR JAMES RAIT

1570-2

Angus or Forfar

MR JAMES RAIT

A

Mr William Garden (Nov.72) A

K

[above]. George Lyall

KIRKBUDDO

K

MENMUIR, FERN, TANNADICE : MENMUIR, FERN, KINNELL
MR JAMES MELVILLE : MR JAMES MELVILLE
Walter Fairweather F : Mr Andrew Elder (68). M.
James Kinloch T : (James Sharp (67-70 F)

... David Fife David Fife

STRACATHRO, DUNLAPPIE STRACATHRO, DUNLAPPIE
MR ANDREW MILNE : MR ANDREW MILNE
John Sim. John Sim. John Sim.

DUN DUN

MR JAMES ERSKINE : MR JAMES ERSKINE

PERT, LOGIEMONTROSE : PERT, LOGIEMONTROSE
MR WILLIAM GRAY : MR WILLIAM GRAY
Mr James Erskine [e.L:] (John Baty (67-71). L... ]74) (Mr John Melville (71-2) L)

... John Wilson... P. John Wilson

MARYTON, INCHBRAYOCK MARYTON, INCHBRAYOCK, LUNAN
Mr David Meldrum (61-3) M. (John Baty. (ML)... ]74) (John Baty L: from Nov.71+1)

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 Thomas Fowler. Lt... Mr Thomas Fowler

LETHNOT

Archibald Erskine (Nov. 67). N. Archibald Erskine

[Mr Thomas Fowler dild ms.]: [Nevay] (67) /

[1563-1572 continues next page]
1560-63

MAINS
Ninian Hall [e]

ALDBAR
David Fowler

FARNELL
(¿ Mr John Meldrum). . . . Mr John Meldrum

EDZELL
Mr Thomas Ramsay

LOCHLEE
[George Hay dlt d ms]

CLOVA
Thomas Love

CORTACHY
Mr James Rait.>Tannadice] Starmonth

LOCHLEE
William Hay

CORTACHY
James Ogilvy

CORTACHY
Starmonth

FARNELL
(¿ Mr John Meldrum). . . . Mr John Meldrum

EDZELL
Mr Thomas Ramsay

LOCHLEE
William Hay

CORTACHY
James Ogilvy

CORTACHY
Starmonth

EDZELL
Mr Thomas Ramsay

LOCHLEE
William Hay

CORTACHY
James Ogilvy

CORTACHY
Starmonth
1560-63  KINNOULL
   (? MR WILLIAM RYND (60). . .
KILSPINDIE,RAIT,
   INCHTURE
   MR ALEXANDER JARDINE
   [suspended 63: \..>Monimail]
   ERROL and pertinents
   [Kirkcudbright/]
   INCHTURE
   John Smith
   KINNAIRD
   James Wighthand
   ABERNYTE
   WILLIAM HAILIE
   ROSSIE [and TEALING,above] (DAVID ROBERTSON)
   David Cook
   FOWLIS,LONGFORGAN,BENVIE
   NICHOLAS SPITTAL
   Patrick Mortimer
   INVERGOWRIE,LIFF
   [as in Angus above.]

[1567-9]  KINNOULL
   MR WILLIAM RYND, (68) . . . . MR WILLIAM RYND
KILSPINDIE,RAIT,
   INCHTURE
   MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR . . . . MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR
   ERROL and pertinents
   MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE . . Ecclesgreig, 72

[1570-2]  Gowrie
   Gowrie

[end of 1563-1572]
Mears or Kincardine

Diocese of Brechin, with kirk of St Andrews and Dunkeld between Dee and Tay.

NIGG, MARYCULTER, STRACHAN
[MR ANDREW STRACHAN dtd ms] Inverkeilor 74J

MARYCULTER
Mr Edward Menzies N
Alexander Robertson M
... John Irving S

BANCHORY TERNAN, STRACHAN
JAMES REID ... (in Aberdeen dioc.)
John Irving S

DURRIS
MR GEORGE FRASER
BANCHORY DEVENICK, NIGG
DAVID MENZIES
Mr Robert Merser [e] BD, N.
William Mar BD
John Leslie N

GLENBERVIE, DUNNOCTAR, FETTERESSO
JOHN CHRISTISON
John Auchinleck G

DUNNOCTAR, FETTERESSO, BENHOLM
John Paton D [Stracathro ...] MR ANDREW MILNE
Archibald Rait ... F Archibald Rait F

BENHOLM, ECCLESGREIG
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
Mr William Elder B
John Burnet E [below]

CATTERLINE, KINNEFF, BERVIE, ARBUTHNOTT, GARVOCK, ARBUTHNOTT, KINNEFF, and GARVOCK
ALEXANDER KEITH
Robert Milne G
Archibald Watson A
James Simpson B
James Fullerton K

CONVETH, ABERLETHNOTT
PATRICK RAMSAY
... PATRICK BONCLE
Thomas Ramsay A [below]
: David Straiton N

CONVETH, FORDOON, FETTERCAIRN, NEWDOSK
FORDOON, FETTERCAIRN, NEWDOSK
PATRICK BONCLE
David Strachan Fo

John Thom Fe

[1572-1574 continues next page]
Mearns or Kincardine

(above)......MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE

[above]......John Burnet E

[above]......Thomas Ramsay A

Angus or Forfar

Montrose

Mr THOMAS ANDERSON.................................Mr THOMAS ANDERSON
(John Baty)...........................................(John Baty)

Logiemontrose,Pert

Mr WILLIAM GRAY......................................Mr WILLIAM GRAY
John Wilson.......P..................................John Wilson P
(John Baty).......L...................................(John Baty L)

Menmuir,Fern, Kinnell

Mr JAMES MELVILLE..>Arbroath:
Mr Andrew Elder........M.
(James Ramsay (70) F..>Dun,76]
(Thomas Sewan. (73). F.

David Fife........K.>below]

Stracathro,Dunlappie

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

Mr JOHN HEPBURN....................................Mr JOHN HEPBURN
(Thomas Sewan. (73). B............................: Richard Finlayson B
Robert Maule.....P.>below] : Thomas Sewan F

Andrew Kerr A

Aldbar

(John Ramsay (70).>Dun 76]

Farnell

Mr John Meldrum

Leithnot, Navar

Edzell, Dunlappie, Leithnot, 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]
(Angus or Forfar Diocese of Brechin)

KIRRIEMUIR, KINGOLDRUM
DAVID BLACK
James Steel Kn
Abraham Piggott Kr

NETHER AIRLIE [with LINTRATHEN, GLENISLA]
James Spalding nA

ANDREW OGILVY
James Spalding nA CORTACHY, CLOVA
JAMES OGILVY

CORTACHY, CLOVA
[blank] Ct
James Ogilvy........ CC [blank]

FORFAR + RESTENNETH
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAIRLIE

[Arbroath..] NINIAN CLEMENT
John Guthrie.. .F/R
.......... Alexander Nevay K
TANNADICE, ABERLEMNO
: Alexander Garden T
MR JAMES RAIT, [t Lanark]
George Lyall A
: ABERLEMNO, FINAVON, INVERARITY, KIRKBUDO
Mr William Garden A (Nov. 72)
[with KIRKBudo]
: Mr William Garden A
: Thomas Cramond I
KINNETTLES, INVERARITY, MEATHIE
Mr James Fotheringham [Glenluce]
: [blank] F
Thomas Strachan I (73)
Alexander Nevay...IK. (73)............

DUNNICHEN
NICHOLAS HOWESON...Nairn
: David Guthrie I
IDVIES, GUTHRIE
: William Garioch R
MR JAMES BALFOUR
: Henry Guthrie D
David Arrat (69)... G
Mr John Johnston I

RES CobIE
THOMAS GORMAK...Fyvie]

MARYTON, INCHBRAYOCK, LUNAN
RICHARD MELVILLE OF BALDOVIE

(John Baty L: from Nov. 71+1)
(Mr John Melville (71-2) M
"Sanct Ska neidis na reidar"

GLAMIS
MR ROBERT BOYD...Newtyle]
[Newtyle]...JOHN NEVAY OF THAT ILK
Patrick Lyon G
William PettilocK E

LINTRATHEN: [with AIRLIE, GLENISLA]
Robert Stewart... (to 71) [gap]
[Robert Stewart L
Thomas Cowland (71-2: dep. 72)

[1572-1574 continues next page]
(Angus or Forfar Diocese of Brechin)

INVERKEILOR, ARBIRLOT
CHARLES MICHELSON
[below]
Walter Lindsay
[Strachan 74]
John Pitcairn

INVERKEILOR
[JOHN FULLERTON dlt ms]
[Strachan 74]
Mr ANDREW STRACHAN
Maryton, 75
John Pitcairn

ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS
NINIAN CLEMENT
[Menmuir, Forfar]
David Milne
[above]
Thomas Lindsay
[Strachan 74]
Mr ANDREW STRACHAN
Maryton, 75

ARBROATH/ST VIGEANS, ETHIE, KINNELL

BARRY, MURROES
ANDREW AUCHINLEK
Robert Forster
William Oliver
Mr Ninian Cook
Mr Ninian Cook

BARRY, MURROES
MONIFIETH, MURROES
ANDREW AUCHINLEK
Robert Forster
William Oliver
Mr Ninian Cook

MONIFIETH, MONIKIE

MR ANDREW CLAYHILLS

James Lovell

[1572-1574 continues next page]
1572
(Angus, Bowrie and Starmouth)

ABERNYTE
WILLIAM HAILIE

LOGIEDUNDEE, LIFF, and INVERGOWRIE
NINIAN HALL. (Biggar)

BENVIE, FOWLIS, LONGForgan
NICHOLAS SPITALL

INCHTURE
John Smith

ERROL, and pertinents
RAIT, KILSPINDIE
MR ALEXANDER DUNMUIR

ST MADOES
Richard Deffers

TEALING, ROSSIE
DAVID ROBERTSON

KINNAIRD
James Wighthand

KINNOULL
MR WILLIAM RYND

SCONE, MELGINCH, CAMBUSMICHAEL
THOMAS MORRISON
James Pitcairn
Alexander Gray
Walter Murdoch

LUNDEIFF, CARGILL, LETHENDY
MR WILLIAM EDMONSTON
William Drummond

1574
Diocese of Brechin
with the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld
between Dee and Tay

(above) George Cochran Lu

Alexander Forbes I
Andrew Hany LD, Li
Michael Greig A

Mr William Powrie E
Nece Ramsay R
Andrew Stewart K

James Wighthand K

Robert Rynd Kf
James Smyth Kf

John Salmond Cp
William Drummond Ca

John Morris L

[1572-1574 continues next page]
Diocese of Brechin
with the kirks of St Andrews and Dunkeld
between Dee and Tay)

Angus, Gowrie and Starmonth

[BLAIR: deleted ms.] [THOMAS CRUIKSHANK]

LUNDEIFF, RATTRAY, BLAIR,
with KIRKMICHAEL IN STRATHARDLE

STRATHARDLE, GLENSHEE

THOMAS CRUIKSHANK
Archibald Hering L
Andrew Moncur B
William Eviot KinS
David Cargill R

ALYTH, RUTHVEN, RATTRAY

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] [Arbirlot]/
Alexander Mackay... Thomas Irving/Duncan Murdoch M

BENDOCHY, COLLACE, KETTINS

JAMES ANDERSON
Thomas Auchinlek B
James Thrift... C
James Jameson... K

NEWTYLE, NEVAY, EASSIE

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.
### SECTION THREE

<table>
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<td>Mr Andrew Strachan (d)</td>
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<td>Alexander Robertson</td>
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<td>Mr Edward Menzies</td>
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<td>S. &gt; 80</td>
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<td>Mr William Carmichael</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Sir Andrew Strachan</td>
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**Notes:**
- Mr Andrew Strachan (d) is deceased.
- Walter Richardson is a teacher.
- "na reidar Nyg" indicates a citation or reference.
- John Irving is a noted scholar.

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**Dioceses:**
- **DURRIS:**
  - Mr Archibald Hogg
  - Mr Robert Merser (1)
  - Mr Robert Merser (2)

- **GLENBERVIE:**
  - John Christison
  - Mr Archibald Hogg

- **GARVOCK, etc:**
  - Alexander Keith
  - Robert Milne
  - Archibald Watson
  - James Sim[on] KCB

- **FETTERCAIRN:**
  - Mr James Lindsay

- **ECCLESGREIG, ABERTHEINTHOTT:**
  - Mr Alexander Allardice
  - John Burnet
  - Thomas Ramsay

- **LOGIEMONTROSE etc:**
  - Mr William Gray
  - Mr Andrew Elder
  - John Wilson
  - John Wallace

---

**References:**
- Mr William Carmichael
- Walter Richardson
- Sir Andrew Strachan
- John Irving
- Mr Archibald Hogg
- Mr Robert Merser
- Mr James Lindsay
- Mr Alexander Allardice
- John Burnet
- Thomas Ramsay

---

**Other Notes:**
- Mr William Carmichael
- Walter Richardson
- Sir Andrew Strachan
- John Irving
- Mr Archibald Hogg
- Mr Robert Merser
- Mr James Lindsay
- Mr Alexander Allardice
- John Burnet
- Thomas Ramsay

---

**Additional Notes:**
- Mr William Carmichael
- Walter Richardson
- Sir Andrew Strachan
- John Irving
- Mr Archibald Hogg
- Mr Robert Merser
- Mr James Lindsay
- Mr Alexander Allardice
- John Burnet
- Thomas Ramsay
STRACATHRO  
MR PAUL FRASER  
(John Sim )  

MONTROSE  
MR THOMAS ANDERSON  
(John Baty)  

DUN, ECCLESJOHN  
MR JAMES ERskINE  
David Falconer  
(Fern) > James Ramsay  

BRECHIN+KBC, FARNELL, ALDBAR  
MR JOHN HEPBURN  
Richard Finlayson  
Andrew Kerr  
Thomas Sewan  
Thomas Ramsay  

EDZELL, etc  
MR JAMES FULLERTON  
Thomas Ramsay  
Mr Thomas Fowler  
William Hay  
Archibald Erskine N  

KIRRIEMUIR, etc  
David Black  
Abraham Piggott  
James Steel  
James Spalding  

CORTACHY, CLOVA  
JAMES O'GILVY  
Gilbert Simson  
John Mann  

FORFAR, etc  
NINIAN CLEMENT  
John Guthrie  
Alexander Nevay  

ABERLEMNO, etc  
DAVID LINDSAY OF PITAILIE  
Mr William Garden A  

[1574-1578 continues next page]
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<td>MR JAMES BALFOUR</td>
<td>MR JAMES BALFOUR</td>
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<td>Henry Guthrie D.</td>
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1578

Angus and Mearns

NIGG. MARYCULTER

MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL

"na reidar Nyg"


DURRIS

MR ARCHIBALD HOGG

MR ROBERT MERGER

GLENBEVIE

JOHN CHRISTISON

Glenbevie

1579

Angus and Mearns

NIGG. MARYCULTER

MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL

MR ROBERT WILLIAMSON

1580

Angus and Mearns

NIGG. MARYCULTER

MR WILLIAM CARMICHAEL

MR ROBERT WILLIAMSON

DURRIS

MR ARCHIBALD HOGG

MR ROBERT MERGER

GLENBEVIE

JOHN CHRISTISON

JOHN CHRISTISON

JOHN CHRISTISON

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MR PAUL FRASER
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MONTROSE
MR THOMAS ANDERSON
(John Baty)
DUN, ECCLESIJOHN
JOHN ERSKINE of DUN.
James Ramsay... DE
BRECHIN+KBC, ALDBAR
MR JOHN HEPBURN
Richard Finlayson B
James Neilson A
FARNELL
MR JAMES NICHOLSON
Thomas Sewan
EDZELL, DUNLAPPIE, LETHNOT, LOCHLEE, NAVAR
MR JAMES FULLERTON
Thomas Ramsay... E
Mr Thomas Fowler... Lt
William Hay... Lt
Archibald Erskine N
FERN, DUNLAPPIE
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KIRRIEMUIR, etc
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SECTION FIVE

1580

Angus and Mearns

NIGG,MARYCULTER
MR ROBERT WILLIAMSON to Aberdeen
"na reidar Nyg"
Alexander Robertson M

DURRIS
MR ARCHIBALD HOGG to Aberdeen

BANCHORY DEVENICK
MR ROBERT MERSER to Aberdeen

1585

Angus and Mearns

FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE to Aberdeen
William Paton

GLENBERVIE
JOHN CHRISTISON Mr DUNCAN DOUGLAS
John Auchinlek

BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON to Aberdeen
Andrew Kerr

DUNNO T ARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT,
Bervie,KINNEFF
ALEXANDER KEITH Mr John Wylie D
Mr John Wylie G
Robert Milne G
Archibald Watson A
James Simpson KCB
James Simpson K,B

FORDOUN,NEWDSK
FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE
David Strachan F
David Straiton N

FETTERCAIRN
MR JOHN COLLACE
John Thom

1586

Angus and Mearns

FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE to Aberdeen

GLENBERVIE
JOHN CHRISTISON Mr DUNCAN DOUGLAS

BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON to Aberdeen

DUNNO T ARVOCK,ARBUTHNOTT,
Bervie,KINNEFF
ALEXANDER KEITH Mr John Wylie D
Mr John Wylie G
Robert Milne G
Archibald Watson A
James Simpson KCB
James Simpson K,B

FORDOUN,NEWDSK
FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE
David Strachan F
David Straiton N

FETTERCAIRN
MR JOHN COLLACE
John Thom

ECCLES GREG,E ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
John Burnet E
Thomas Ramsay A

[1580-1586 continues next page]
1580

MONTROSE

MR THOMAS ANDERSON

JOHN DURIE

(John Baty)

Mr George Gledstanes

MR THOMAS ANDERSON

JOHN DURIE

(John Baty)

Mr George Gledstanes

MR THOMAS ANDERSON

JOHN DURIE

(John Baty)

Mr George Gledstanes

LOGIEMONTROSE,PERT, MENMUIR

MR WILLIAM GRAY

MR WILLIAM GRAY

(John Baty)

Mr Andrew Elder

[85 below]

John Wilson

P

STRACATHRO

MR PAUL FRASER

John Sim

DUN, ECCLESHALL

JOHN ERKINE of DUN [Maryton] MR ANDREW STRACHAN

Mr Andrew Strachan

DE., [Barry, 86]

BRECHIN+KBC, ABDAR

MR JOHN HEPBURN

Robert Kinnear

B

James Neilson

A

FARNELL

MR JAMES NICHOLSON

Thomas Sewan

Mr Dougal Campbell

Thomas Sewan

Mr Dougal Campbell

Mr Andrew Elder

M

[85 above]

NAVAR

Mr Andrew Elder

Mr Alexander Norie

Mr Alexander Norie

John Wallace

F. [80]

KIRRIEMUIR, KINNOLDRUM, N-AIRLIE

DAVID BLACK

James Spalding

James Steel

William Piggott

[Finavon 85]

MR ALEXANDER KINNIMOUTH

William Piggott

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**FORFAR/RESTENNETH, KINNETLES, TANNADICE**

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**ABERLEMNO, FINAVON, INVERARITY, ABERLEMNO, ALDBAR**

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**DUNNICHEN, IDVIES, GUTHRIE**

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|      | Mr Andrew Leitch | Mr Andrew Leitch | |
|      | John Melville M | John Melville M | M |
|      | David Guthrie L | [blank] Ogilvy L | |

**GLAMIS, EASSIE, LINTRATHEN, MEATHIE**

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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  [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  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
Angus and Mearns
FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE
GLENBERVIE
MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS
BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON
DUNNOTTAR, GARVOCK, CATTERLINE
ALEXANDER KEITH
KINNEFF, BERVIE, RESCOBIE
MR DAVID RATTRAY
ARBUTHNOTT
MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE
CONVETH
(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
FETTERCAIRN, NEWDSK
MR JOHN COLLACE
ECCLESGREIG, ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
MONTROSE
JOHN DURIE
Mr George Gedestanes
Mr John Ogilvy

1588
Angus and Mearns
FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE
GLENBERVIE
MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS
BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON
DUNNOTTAR, GARVOCK, CATTERLINE
ALEXANDER KEITH
KINNEFF, BERVIE, RESCOBIE
MR DAVID RATTRAY
ARBUTHNOTT
MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE
CONVETH
(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
FETTERCAIRN, NEWDSK
MR JOHN COLLACE
ECCLESGREIG, ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
MONTROSE
JOHN DURIE
Mr George Gedestanes
Mr John Ogilvy

1589
Angus and Mearns
FETTERESSO
MR ANDREW MILNE
GLENBERVIE
MR DUNCAN DOUGLAS
BENHOLM
MR WILLIAM MORRISON
DUNNOTTAR, GARVOCK, CATTERLINE
ALEXANDER KEITH
KINNEFF, BERVIE, RESCOBIE
MR DAVID RATTRAY
ARBUTHNOTT
MR ROBERT ARBUTHNOTT
FORDOUN
PATRICK BONCLE
CONVETH
(MR WILLIAM GRAY)
FETTERCAIRN, NEWDSK
MR JOHN COLLACE
ECCLESGREIG, ABERLETHNOTT
MR ALEXANDER ALLARDICE
MONTROSE
JOHN DURIE
Mr George Gedestanes
Mr John Ogilvy

[1586-1589 continues next page]
FORFAR/RESTENNETH, KINNETTLES, TANNADICE

MR JAMES RAIT................. MR JAMES RAIT................. MR JAMES RAIT
Gilbert Simson K

ABERLEMNO, ALDBAR
JAMES RAMSAY................. JAMES RAMSAY................. JAMES RAMSAY
Mr William Garden, Ab........ Mr William Garden, Ab........ Mr William Garden, Ab

ABERLEMNO, ALDBAR, FINAVON
JAMES RAMSAY................. JAMES RAMSAY................. JAMES RAMSAY

FINAVON, INVERARITY, KIRKBUDDO
John Guthrie I............... John Guthrie I............... John Guthrie I
David Hawick K.............. David Hawick K.............. James Guthrie K

IDVIES, DUNNICHEN
MR JAMES BALFOUR............ MR JAMES BALFOUR MR GEORGE HAY
Alexander Guthrie D......... Alexander Guthrie D....
William Garioch I........... William Garioch I :

IDVIES, DUNNICHEN
MR JAMES BALFOUR............ MR JAMES BALFOUR MR GEORGE HAY

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 Pettilocock E........ William Pettilocock E........ William Pettilocock E
John Watson M.............. David Guthrie M.............. David Guthrie M

INVERKEILOR
JOHN FULLERTON............. JOHN FULLERTON............. JOHN FULLERTON
John Pitcairn.............. John Pitcairn.............. John Pitcairn

ARBROATH/ST V., ETHIE, KINNELL
MR JAMES MELVILLE......... MR JAMES MELVILLE......... MR JAMES MELVILLE
David Fife K.............. K

KINNELL
MR ARTHUR FUTHE............. MR ARTHUR FUTHE

MONIFIETH
ANDREW AUCHINLEK........... ANDREW AUCHINLEK........... ANDREW AUCHINLEK
James Lovell

[1586-1589 continues next page]
MONIKIE
MR JOHN DURHAM
Henry Greiff

MURROES,BALLUMBIE
MR HENRY DUNCAN
William Oliver

BARRY,ARBIRLOT
CHARLES MICHELSON
Thomas Anderson

BARRY,ARBIRLOT
CHARLES MICHELSON

DUNDEE
WILLIAM CHRISTISON
William Kyd

AUCHTERHOUSE,etc
ALEXANDER TYRIE
Duncan Gray

NEWTYLE,NEVAY
MR ROBERT BOYD
George Halden

ABERNYTE,LUNDIE
WILLIAM HAITLIE
George Haitlie

BENVIE
John Blair

[1586-1589 continues next page]
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Commissioner: Commissioner: Commissioner:
John Erskine of Dun | John Erskine of Dun | Mr Robert Bruce.

[end of 1585-1589]
### SECTION SEVEN

**1589**

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| Kilmoir          | Robert Kinnear ..Br .......... Kilmoir Robert Kinnear Br |
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| Cookston         | |
| Stracathro       | MR PAUL FRASER .......... Stracathro Dunlappie MR PAUL FRASER |</p>
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**Arbroath**

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<tr>
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**St Vigeans**

**Ethie**

**Arbirlot**

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**Benvie**

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1589
[Dunkeld]

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1590
[Meigle continued]

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[Angus]

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<td>William Spalding nA</td>
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[clause to protect un-named reader]

| Kingoldrum    | MR WILLIAM FORBES    |

<table>
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<tr>
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[above] Kinnettles | MR JAMES RAIT

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| 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 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
30 Mar. 1540: infeft.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.31
14 Jun. 1541: had married Margaret Erskine.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.36; RMS ii 4120
Sept. 1547: killed at Pinkie.
Barclay-Allardice mss., GD 49.47

John Allardice of that ilk
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
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
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
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.8 f.195r

Andrew Arbuthnott of that ilk
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
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
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
24 Sept.1564: had deceased. RMS iv 1942

Thomas Arrat of that ilk
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
16 Feb.1576/7: had succeeded his father. RSS vii 906
[1590: still alive]

AUCHINLEK
Robert Auchinlek of that ilk
17 Feb.1530/31: occs. MTH, Montrose mss., M/W1/13
5 Aug. 1541: had deceased. RSS ii 4150

Gilbert Auchinlek of that ilk
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
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
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
Sept.1577: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.6 f.248v

BARCLAY
David Barclay of Mathers
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
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
RMS v 527

Thomas Barclay, f. Mathers
JRL, The Crawford mss., box P bund.vi
Sept. 1582: died, still f.iar.
Edin.test., CC 8.8.13 f.282r

BEATON
James Beaton of Melgund
1537: had died.
Sanderson, Cardinal p.299; RSS ii 2307

David Beaton of Melgund
8 Mar. 1538/9: had succeeded his uncle in Melgund.
RMS iii 1931; Sanderson, Cardinal p.289

Robert Beaton of Westhall
8 May 1559: had succeeded his father.
DAC, prot.bk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.46r

CARNEGIE
Sir Robert Carnegy of Kinnaird
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
6 Dec.'1546: had married Agnes, daughter of David Wood of Craig.
Fraser, Southesk i p.55
Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.1. bund. no.9
Feb. 1595/6: died, survived by Margaret Keith, his wife.
Edin.test., CC 8.8.31 f.295r
Mr David Carnegy of Colluthie/ of Kinnaird
1 Feb. 1548/9: occurs as par. of Tough.
6 Feb. 1559/60: occurs as "of Panbride".
Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.30
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
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: occurs as "of that ilk".
DAC, prot.bk.no.4 (Thomas Ireland) f.31v
17 Oct. 1570: occurs 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
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.

COLLACE
Patrick Collace of Balnamoon
1 Apr. 1517: married Katherine [x].
RMS iii 147
8 Nov. 1532: had deceased.
RMS iii 1238

Robert Collace of Balnamoon
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: occurs.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.14 f.9r
8 Jul. 1577: had deceased.
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.16 f.443r

John Collace of Balnamoon
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**

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<td>15 Feb. 1523/3</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>RMS iii 254</td>
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**James Crawmond of Aldbar**

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<td>15 Feb. 1523/3</td>
<td>occurred</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Jun. 1527</td>
<td>married Isabel Erskine, sister of Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin</td>
<td>RMS iii 465,2439</td>
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<td>9 Jan. 1541/2</td>
<td>infeft his son William as fillar</td>
<td>RMS iii 2574</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Dec. 1558</td>
<td>occurred</td>
<td>Reg.Deeds, RD 1.3 f.124v</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 Feb. 1563/4</td>
<td>his grandson occurred as fillar</td>
<td>DAC, prot.bk.no.6 (Herbert Gledstanes) f.28r</td>
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<td>10 Aug. 1571</td>
<td>occurred</td>
<td>Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.1233</td>
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<tr>
<td>14 Sept. 1574</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>RSS vi 2681</td>
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**William Crawmond fillar of Aldbar**

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<td>9 Jan. 1541/2</td>
<td>infeft as fillar; married Margaret Maxwell</td>
<td>RMS iii 2574</td>
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<tr>
<td>22 Jul. 1542</td>
<td>occurred</td>
<td>RMS iv 194</td>
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<tr>
<td>23 Feb. 1556/7</td>
<td>predeceased his father</td>
<td>Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.82r</td>
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**Robert Crawmond of Aldbar**

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<th>Reference</th>
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<td>23 Feb. 1556/7</td>
<td>grandson and heir of James Crawmond of Aldbar</td>
<td>RMS iv 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Feb. 1563/4</td>
<td>occurred as fillar of Aldbar</td>
<td>Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.82r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Aug. 1571</td>
<td>his grandfather still alive</td>
<td>Strathmore muns., NRA(S) 885 vol.2 no.1233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Jul. 1573</td>
<td>still fillar</td>
<td>Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 68 bund.3 no 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Sept. 1574</td>
<td>succeeded his grandfather and died</td>
<td>RSS vi 2681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**James Crawmond of Aldbar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Nov. 1575</td>
<td>succeeded his father, being a minor</td>
<td>Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 68.3 no 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Jul. 1576</td>
<td>still under curators, including Mr Thomas Lyon</td>
<td>RSS vii 661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4 Apr. 1580</td>
<td>sold the lands of Aldbar to Patrick Lyon in Dundee -</td>
<td>RMS iv 3009,3008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### CRICHTON

**John Crichton of Ruthven**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 Oct. 1527</td>
<td>married Jonet, daughter of deceased Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovat</td>
<td>RMS iii 504/5/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Feb. 1545/6</td>
<td>occurred</td>
<td>RMS iii 3203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Jun. 1555</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>RMS iv 1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**John Crichton of Ruthven**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19 Jun. 1555</td>
<td>succeeded, and married Isobel Lindsay</td>
<td>RMS iv 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Jan. 1574/5</td>
<td>occurred, escheated.</td>
<td>RSS vii 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Sept. 1578</td>
<td>deceased</td>
<td>RMS iv 2798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adam Crichton of Ruthven
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 squire of Ruthven
22 Jun. 1588: condemned to death. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 165

DEMPSTER
William Dempster of Careston
5 Sept. 1528: occs. RMS iii 654
14 Mar. 1538/9: infeft his son David as squire. RMS iii 1947

David Dempster of Careston
14 Mar. 1538/9: infeft as squire. RMS iii 1947
26 May 1544: infeft his son William as squire. REB ii no.ccxxxiii
19 Aug. 1547: had deceased. REB ii no.ccxxxiv

William Dempster of Careston
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 squire. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.6 f.435v

DOUGLAS
[Douglas earls of Buchan - see under STEWART.]

Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie
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.B.12 f.34v

William Douglas of Glenbervie, ninth earl of Angus
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.B.12 f.34v
20 Mar. 1582/3: occs. RSS viii 1220
"weill past in aige and subject to dyverse disess 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
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
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
married Matilda Baldovie, who died Sept.1598. CC 8.8.32 f.357v
30 Jul. 1589: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.22 f.203v

ERSKINE
John Erskine of Dun
1508-9: born. T.Crockett, "John Erskine of Dun" p.6
9 Sept.1513: succeeded when his father and grandfather were killed at Flodden.
Dec. 1522: to marry Margaret Lindsay, daughter of the eighth earl of Crawford. She died 29 Jul.1538. HMC v p.639
1538: had married Barbara de Beirle. She died 15 Nov.1572. LHT vii 129;

John Erskine, fiar of Dun
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
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.1xxvii

John Erskine of Logie/Kirkbuu; later, of Dun
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
John Erskine of Dun

24 Aug. 1588: to marry Margaret, daughter of Robert [Keith] Lord Altrie. Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.2, bundle no.10, no. 175

Mr [Sir] Thomas Erskine of Haltoun/ of Brechin and Navar


15 Aug. 1513: occs. as Mr Thomas of Haltoun. Spald. Misc. ii lxxiv
30 Apr. 1518: had married Elizabeth, daughter of Scrymgeour of Dudhope. Spald. Misc. iv 13
6 Aug. 1531: occs. as Sir Thomas of Haltoun. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.2797 f. 2r no. 10
12 Mar. 1531/2: occs. as "of Brechin". RMS iii 1049
8 Jan. 1550/51: occs. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.16.961
18 Nov. 1551: had deceased. RSS iv 1419

Thomas Erskine of Canterland

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

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

FALCONER

David Falconer of Haulkerton

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

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

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

13 Dec. 1524: occs. RMS iii 285
20 Jun. 1545: infecct his nephew David as fiar. RMS iii 3123
30 Nov. 1565: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.8 f.177r

David Fenton of Ogil

20 Jun. 1545: infecct 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 vii 2246

FOTHERINGHAM

James Fotheringham of Powrie

21 Aug. 1515: heir of Thomas Fotheringham and Elizabeth Arbuthnot. RMS iii 36
5 Sept. 1528: had deceased. RMS iii 648

Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie

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

Sept. 1547: succeeded his father as a minor. CC 8.8.4 f.238v
25 Feb. 1575/6: occs. RPC iii 498
28 Nov. 1576: had deceased. WRH, The Haigh Inventory ii 111

Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie

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

5 Jul. 1531: occs. RMS iii 1040
24 Jun. 1549: occ. as married to Christine Arbuthnot and infeccting his nephew Thomas as fiar. RMS iv 335
1561: had deceased. TB p.117

Thomas Fraser of Durris married a daughter of Guthrie of Lunan.

"Mearns Genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.219
24 Jun. 1549: infecct 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.

Thomas Fraser of Durris
married a daughter of Wishart of Pittarrow.

"Mearns Genealogie"
Third Spald.Misc. ii p.219

1561-1564: occ. as younger of Durris.

24 May 1567: occ. as fiar of Durris.

23 Apr. 1569: had succeeded.

30 Jan. 1577/8: occ. as married to Margaret Gordon.

Alexander Fraser fiar of Durris

2 Aug. 1577: to marry Helen, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk.

FULLERTON

William Fullerton of Ardoch/ of Craigo

18 Jan. 1548: occs.

25 Aug. 1550: had married Agnes Lindsay.

6 Mar. 1577/8: described as Fullerton of Craigo [as married to Agnes Lindsay on 10 Aug.1578 under that title]. RMS iv 2874;

Jan. 1580/81: died, and survived by Agnes Lindsay. CC 8.8.9 f.69r

William Fullerton of Ardoch

22 Jul. 1578: occ. as younger of Craigo.

Jan. 1580/81: succeeded his father.

Fe

Alexander Fullerton, portioner of Craigo

2 May 1523: as portioner of Craigo, married to Elizabeth Garden, who had killed herself by 21 Jul. 1529.

20 Mar. 1534/5: had married Jonet Sibbald.

19 May 1540: had deceased.

Henry Fullerton of Craigo

19 May 1540: had succeeded as a minor.

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

3 Nov. 1552: infeft as fiar of Craigo.

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

30 Apr. 1527: occs.

9 Jan. 1534/5: had deceased.

Alexander Fullerton of Kinnaber

30 Apr. 1527: had married Margaret Lamb.

9 Jan. 1534/5: had succeeded his father.

Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie.
John Fullerton of Kinnaber

Sept. 1547: succeeded his father.
8 Feb. 1550/51: had married Isobel Barclay.

GARDYNE/ GARDEN

Patrick Gardyne of that ilk
25 May 1529: occs.
2 Jan. 1530/31: had married Margaret Garden.
15 Mar. 1566/7: had deceased.

Patrick Gardyne of that ilk
29 Nov. 1549: had married Agnes, daughter of David Garden of Leys.
15 Mar. 1566/7: had succeeded his uncle.
10 May 1578: killed by William Guthrie of Ravensby.

Mr David Gardyne of that ilk
10 May 1578: succeeded his father.

Mr David Garden of Cononsyth
5 Nov. 1511: occs.
26 Mar. 1533: David Garden of Leys his son and heir.
26 Mar. 1534: had deceased.

David Garden of Leys
26 Mar. 1533: described as son and heir of David Garden of Cononsyth.
26 Mar. 1534: had succeeded Mr David of Cononsyth.
24 Aug. 1536: had married Jonet Beaton.
26 Jul. 1543: resigned Leys and Cononsyth to David his heir.
27 Jun. 1550: occ. with David his heir.
20 Nov. 1580: died.

David Garden of Leys and Cononsyth
26 Jul. 1543: son and heir of David of Leys; married to Agnes Lyon; received joint-infeftment in Cononsyth and Leys.
27 Jun. 1550: occ. with his father.
28 Nov. 1574: had married Isobel Garden.
20 Nov. 1580: succeeded his father.
2 Jul. 1596: died.

GLEDSTANES

Herbert Gledstanes
Jun. 1539: to marry Mirabelle Gledstanes.
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


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

24 Oct. 1513: served heir, though a minor.


24 May 1571: died.

Robert Graham, master of Montrose

22 Dec. 1543: had married Margaret, daughter of Lord Fleming.

Sept. 1547: killed at Pinkie.

John Graham, third earl of Montrose

24 Aug. 1563: to marry Jean, daughter of Lord Drummond.

24 May 1571: succeeded his grandfather. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.178r

[1590: still alive]

John Graham of Ballargus and Claverhouse

14 Mar. 1529/30: had married Margaret Beaton; hence brother-in-law to cardinal David Beaton.

2 Apr. 1568: had deceased.

William Graham of Ballargus and Claverhouse

2 Apr. 1568: occs. having succeeded.

William Graham of Fintry

8 Jan. 1529/30: succeeded; married Katherine, sister of cardinal David Beaton, daughter of John of Balfour.


13 Jul. 1541: infeft his son David as fiar.

24 Feb. 1541/2: had deceased.

Sir David Graham of Fintry

24 Feb. 1541/2: had succeeded his father as a minor.

30 Sept. 1546: knighted, and had married Margaret Ogilvy.


5 Feb. 1585/6: died.

David Graham of Fintry

5 Feb. 1585/6: succeeded.

15 Feb. 1592/3: executed for treason as a Catholic agent.

Calderwood, History v 224
Robert Graham of Morphie
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
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
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
son of Gilbert Gray of Buttergask. Peerage iv 280
21 Sept. 1537: married Marion, daughter of James fourth Lord Ogilvy. WRH, Inventory of Kinafs muniments, NRA(S) 217/1/1
28 Apr. 1542: charter to the lordship of Gray. RMS iii 2650
post Sept. 1584: died. Peerage iv 281

Patrick, fifth Lord Gray
1538: born. Peerage iv 283
14 Jan. 1556/7: to marry Barbara, daughter of William Lord Ruthven. WRH, Inventory of Kinafs muniments, NRA(S) 217/1/5
post Sept. 1584: inherited. Peerage iv 281; RSS viii 2414

Patrick, sixth Lord Gray
10 Sept. 1584: ref. to Patrick master of Gray younger. RSS viii 2414

Andrew Gray of Dunninald
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 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

Alexander Guthrie of that ilk
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
5 Oct. 1587: killed.
Edin.tests., CC 8.8.19 f.347v

Alexander Guthrie of that ilk
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
married Isobel Ogilvy.
1528: occs. RMS iv 647
3 Nov. 1551: occs.
27 Jun. 1554: had deceased.
Dalhousie mss.,GD 45.16.962

Henry Guthrie of Colliston
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
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
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
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
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
30 Mar. 1596: occs. NRH, OPR 310/1 (Monifieth) f.87v

Alexander Guthrie of Kingoldrum
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
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
26 Dec. 1580: had inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v

Hercules Guthrie of Lunan
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
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
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
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
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
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
Patrick Hay of Urie

2 Dec. 1531: occs.
9 Feb. 1531/2: occs.
9 Apr. 1539: had deceased.

Alexander Hay of Urie

9 Apr. 1539: had inherited as a minor.
5 Dec. 1541: occs.
18 Oct. 1542: had deceased.

William Hay of Urie

18 Oct. 1542: inherited.

Sir William Fraser Papers (SRS 3rd series) ed. JRN Macphail no. 5

William Hay of Urie

Succeeded Alexander his brother: son of Patrick Hay above.

Sir William Fraser Papers (SRS 3rd series) ed. JRN Macphail no. 5

KEITH

William Keith, fourth earl Marischal

27 Feb. 1529/30: had inherited as a minor.
31 May 1529: to marry Margaret, co-heiress of William Keith of Inverurie.
7 Oct. 1581: died. Edin. tests., CC 8.8.11 f.53r; 8.8.12 f.330v

William Keith, master of Marischal

14 Jan. 1543: married Elizabeth, daughter of George, sixth earl of Errol.

George Keith, fifth earl Marischal

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

22 Jan. 1542/3: pres. to abbey of Deer, being a brother of William earl Marischal.
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

9 Nov. 1583: died, succeeded by his son Mr Alexander. CC 8.8.19 f.77r

James Keith of Drumtochty

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.
Mr James Keith of Drumtochty

20 Feb. 1574/5: succeeded his father.

LAMBY

John Lamby of Dunkenny

13 Mar. 1533/4: occs.
1542: occs.
26 Nov. 1547: had deceased.

1574/5: succeeded his father.

George Lamby of Dunkenny

26 Nov. 1547: had succeeded.

8 Sept. 1549: to marry Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Carnegy.

11 May 1570: occs.
21 May 1575: had deceased.

John Lamby of Dunkenny

21 May 1575: had succeeded his father as a minor.

LAUNDER

Alexander Lauder of Omachie

Probably acquired lands of Omachie from his grandfather Sir Robert Lauder of Bass after 1538.

16 Dec. 1580: had deceased.

Alexander Lauder of Omachie

16 Dec. 1580: had succeeded his father.

LEIGHTON

Thomas Leighton of Usan [Ullishaven]

1 Oct. 1526: had married Helen Stirling.
26 Mar. 1540/41: infeft his son and heir John in lands.

John Leighton of Usan

4 Apr. 1542: had married Jonet, daughter of Alexander Livingston of Dunipace.

14 Aug. 1546: had succeeded his father.

John Leighton of Usan

1 Jul. 1548: infeft as fiar.
20 Mar. 1549/50: had succeeded as a minor.
26 Feb. 1574/5: had married Katherine Wood.

9 Nov. 1591: occs.
LINDSAY

David Lindsay, eighth earl of Crawford
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
married Janet, daughter of Lord Sinclair.

Peerage iii p.26

2 Sept. 1527: infet as heir of the earldom.
RMS iii 494

30 Mar. 1537: renounced his rights as fiar.

WRH, The Haigh Inventory i p.69/70

Lord Lindsay, Lives i p.197

1537-8: died.

David Lindsay, ninth earl of Crawford
[see under EDZELL, below]

[142]

David Lindsay, tenth earl of Crawford
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 infet 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: infet 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
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

Peerage iii 31

David Lindsay of Edzell
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
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 infet 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
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.

John Lindsay of Evelick
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.9 p.6
29 Apr. 1541: had deceased.
RMS iii 2523

John Lindsay of Evelick
29 Apr. 1541: had inherited.
RMS iii 2523

24 Aug. 1528: had deceased.
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.9 p.9

Alexander Lindsay of Monikie
24 Apr. 1516: occs.
RMS iii 268
24 Aug. 1528: had deceased.
RMS iii 677

Mr John Lindsay of Monikie
RMS iii 677
9 Jul. 1538: occs.
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.2 p.138
13 May 1546: had deceased.
RMS v 1191

Patrick Lindsay of Monikie and Kinnettles
13 May 1546: granted lands of Kinnettles.
RMS v 1191
9 Nov. 1550: had died, survived by his wife Margaret Spalding.
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.2 p.138

David Lindsay of Kinnettles
9 Nov. 1550: had inherited, probably as son of Patrick.
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.2 p.138
1562: occs.
Lord Lindsay, Lives i 442
11 Mar. 1614: had deceased.
Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. iii no.11 p.139
[ Clan Lindsay Soc. Publ. divided David Lindsay of Kinnettles into two
individuals - but gave no authority for this seemingly unnecessary
assumption.]
David Lindsay of Pitairlie
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
1580/81: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.9 f.207v
17 Apr. 1607: had deceased.

Alexander Lindsay of Vane
31 Aug. 1547: had married Elizabeth Beaton. RMS iv 142
20 May 1561: had deceased. Reg.Deeds, RD 1.4 f.267v

Alexander Lindsay of Vane
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
1 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.

John Livingston of Dunipace
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

John Livingston of Dunipace
25 Apr. 1583: occs. with his father and mother. RSS viii 1281
7 Nov. 1586: occs. [or his son ?]

Kinnaird, Southesk Charters box no.6. bund. no.3

JOVELL
Sir Henry Lovell of Ballumbie
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. Pitcarrow, Trials i/i 177*
9 Nov. 1540: dead. Strathmore mss., NRA(S) 885 box 14 bund.3 no.44

Andrew Lovell of Ballumbie
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
11 Feb. 1555/6: had deceased.
Henry Lovell of Ballumbie
11 Feb. 1555/6: had married Janet, daughter of Sir William Scott of Balwheary; with her infeft in life-interest in Ballumbie by their son John, heir of Andrew (Henry's brother?)

2 Aug. 1565: had married Margaret Moncreiff; reinfeft in his life-interest conjointly with her.

27 Jan. 1574/5: occs.

23 Feb. 1575/6: had deceased.

John Lovell of Ballumbie
11 Feb. 1555/6: being a minor, infeft his father Henry and his father's wife Janet Scott in life-interests in Ballumbie.

6 Feb. 1557/8: son and heir of Henry.

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.

23 Feb. 1575/6: freed from disputed possession by his father's death.

William Lovell of Ballumbie
10 Apr. 1579: son of John; apparent of Ballumbie.

23 Jul. 1596: married Mary Barclay as fiar of Ballumbie.

Andrew Lundie of Benholm
22 Jun. 1525: had married Margaret, daughter of Scrymgeour of Dudhope.

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
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.

Elizabeth Lundie, lady Benholm
16 Aug. 1553: succeeded her father as a baby: warded by Carnegy of Kinnaird.

7 Nov. 1554: her marriage sold to William earl Marischal.

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.

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
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
1586: married Eupham, daughter of William earl of Morton. Peerage viii p.287
18 Feb. 1608: died.

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: infect 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: infect 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. RPC iii 249
17 Dec. 1579: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 119
24 Aug. 1584: occs.
1591: occs.

MAULE 175
Thomas Maule of Panmure
married Elizabeth Rollock;

Robert Maule of Panmure
married Isobel Mercer, who died in 1540.
married Isobel, daughter of Arbuthnott of that ilk.
3 May 1560: died. Dalhousie mss., GD 45.26.53 p.65

Thomas Maule of Panmure 177
1547: married Margaret, daughter of George Haliburton of Pitcur. 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

MAXWELL 179
Hugh Maxwell of Tealing
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
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 Melville of Baldovie
4 Jan. 1529/30: occcs. RSS ii 489
8 Jan. 1541/2: had married Giles, daughter of Thomas Abercromby, burgess of Montrose. RSS ii 4440;
Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie. Warden, Angus or Forfar iii p.147
1 Feb. 1564/5: had married Katherine Lindsay. RMS iv 1581
28 May 1575: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.5 f.140r

Richard Melville of Baldovie
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
1 Feb. 1564/5: son of Richard Melville, infeft as fiar. RMS iv 1581
20 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
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
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
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
14 Aug. 1582: had married Helen Keith and succeeded his father. RMS v 535

MORTIMER
John Mortimer of Flemington
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
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: occs. 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
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
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
23 Mar. 1516/17: occs. RMS iii 139
8 Sept.1528: had married Margaret Garden. RMS iii 678
2 Nov. 1529: had deceased.

Alexander Ochterlony of that ilk/of Kelly
2 Nov. 1529: had succeeded.
10 Jun. 1530: had married Elizabeth Learmonth.
7 Dec. 1547: infested his son James as fiar, reserving liferent and terce to his then wife Isobel Cunningham.
3 Feb. 1553/4: had deceased.

James Ochterlony of that ilk/of Kelly
7 Dec. 1547: infested as fiar.
3 Feb. 1553/4: had inherited.
8 Oct. 1577: licence to [blank] Ochterlony of Strathmore muniments NRA(S) 885 box 235 bund.3 no.9

OGILVY
James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie
29 Nov. 1524: retoured as heir of his father.
Nov. 1547: died.

James, master of Ogilvy
25 Sept.1539: had married Katherine, daughter of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor.
10 Sept.1547: killed at Pinkie before the death of his father.

James, fifth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie
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.
9 Dec. 1563: still under curators.
Oct. 1606: died.

David Ogilvy of that ilk
11 Aug. 1525: inherited as heir of the late Alexander.
29 Mar. 1530: to marry Margaret Moneypenny.
5 Jul. 1542: made his son Gilbert fiar.
[Delete] 1558: occs. as liferenter with Gilbert as fiar.
Aug. 1560: occs.
17 May 1562: had deceased.

Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk
5 Jul. 1542: made fiar.
27 Apr. 1557: to marry Sibella, daughter of David Lord Drummond. 
Reg.Deeds, RD 1. 2 f.185v
[x][x] 1558:occurs. as sliar with father as liferenter. RD 1.3 f.250v
17 May 1562: had inherited. 
DAC, prot.blk.no.7 (Alexander Wedderburn) f.137v
23 Aug. 1584: occurs. RSS viii 2314
27 Aug. 1601: had deceased. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn mss.,GD 137.328
Mr John Ogilvy of that ilk
Feb. 1581/2 : occurs. 
NLS, ch.5869
12 Aug. 1584: occurs. 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
27 Aug. 1528: occurs. as of Cookstone. Pitcairn, Trials i/i 138*
2 Mar. 1539/40: had married Marjorie Durie; granted Balfour. 
SS ii 3423
20 May 1547: occurs. 
RPC i 68
31 Aug. 1558: had deceased. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?
Mr James Ogilvy of Balfour
31 Aug. 1558: had inherited. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?
27 Jun. 1562: occurs. 
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.5 f.218r
16 Jan. 1575/6: had married [Margaret] Grant. Acts & Decs.CS 7.55 f.113r
10 Nov. 1588: had deceased. Warden, Angus or Forfar iv ?
James Ogilvy of Balfour
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
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
9 Nov. 1556: occurs. 
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.2 f.8r
15 Feb. 1584/5: occurs. Airlie mss.,GD 16.41.61
Thomas Ogilvy of Clova
11 Aug. 1468: occurs. 
RMS iii 693
9 Jan. 1529/30: occurs. with James his heir. RSS ii 502
9 Jan. 1534/5: had deceased. RMS iii 1465
James Ogilvy of Clova
9 Jan. 1534/5: occurs. RMS iii 1465
23 Jun. 1545: had married Katherine Gordon. RMS iii 3142
20 May 1547: occurs. RPC i 68
14 Apr. 1548: had deceased. Airlie mss., GD 16.2.24
Alexander Ogilvy of Clova  
14 Apr. 1548: had inherited.  
27 Nov. 1581: occs.  
[x]1594: had deceased; his son James had inherited.  
Airlie mss., GD 16.2.24  
Airlie mss., GD 16.41.52  
Airlie mss., GD 16.25.11

Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine  
6 Dec. 1521: occs.  
10 Mar. 1538/9: had married Elizabeth Kinnaird.  
14 Jul. 1554: occs.  
29 Apr. 1555: had deceased.  
RMS iii 210  
RMS iii 1933  
BL, Egerton ms 1819 f.10r  
RMS iv 2963

William Ogilvy of Inchmartine  
6 Apr. 1541: married Jonet, daughter of Patrick Lord Gray.  
29 Apr. 1555: had inherited.  
7 Jun. 1566: had deceased.  
RMS iii 2327  
RSS iv 2963  
RSS iv 1945

Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine  
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.  
10 Sept.1583: occs.  
RMS iv 1945  
RSS viii 1493

John Ogilvy of Inverkeilor  
son of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; married Katherine Strachan.  
5 Oct. 1561: occs.  
Peerage i p.118  
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.4 f.397r  
Airlie mss., GD 16.25.9

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity  
20 Feb. 1530/31: occs.  
Pitcairn, Trials i/i 138*  
RMS v 515

Sir John Ogilvy of Inverquharity  
23 Feb. 1541/2: with his wife, Elizabeth [daughter of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie] infet 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

John Ogilvy of Newton, fiar of Inverquharity  
marrried Helen, daughter of James master of Ogilvy and Dame Katherine Campbell, countess of Crawford. JRL, The Crawford mss., 3.1.14  
14 Dec. 1573: occs.  
28 Feb. 1581/2: killed, dying before his father.  
NLS, ms.593.2038  
NLS, ch.5773  
Reg.Deeds, RD 1.12 f.389v  
RSS viii 693

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity  
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
Archibald Ogilvy of Lawton
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
13 Jul. 1548: second son of James, fourth Lord Ogilvy of Airlie; granted Wester Craigs by Alex Livingston of Dunipace.

Thomas Ogilvy of Wester Craigs
15 May 1559: had married Janet, daughter of Thomas Lord Fraser of Lovet. Peerage i p.117; 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
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
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
1573: succeeded his father. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.4 f.294v
7 Jul. 1576: occs. RMS iv 1576

OLIPHANT
Laurence, third Lord Oliphant
18 Nov. 1516: had succeeded his father; Scots Peerage vi p.544
10 Jul. 1525: had married Margaret, daughter of Sandilands of Calder;
29 Mar. 1566: had died.

Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant
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
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
married a daughter of Garden of Bractullo.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

Rait, David of Hallgreen
married a daughter of Lundie of Benholm.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

Rait, William of Hallgreen
married a daughter of Garden of Leys.
"Mearns genealogie" Third Spald.Misc. ii p.217

12 Dec. 1564: occs.

RAMSAY

Henry Ramsay of Ardowie
26 Feb. 1536/7: occs.
29 Jun. 1549: had married Christine Ouchterlony.
1 Jul. 1566: his heir Alexander had deceased, after marriage to
Christine Strachan.
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.

William Ramsay of Balmain
11 Apr. 1534: had married Marjorie, daughter of William Wood of
Bonnyton.
19 Feb. 1539/40: had succeeded.
1 Jun. 1548: as deceased, probably having remarried a daughter of
Strachan of Thornton.

David Ramsay of Balmain
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.
6 Feb. 1559/60: occs. Benholm and Hedderwick writs, GD 4.30

John Ramsay of Canterland
16 May 1516: occs.
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
24 Apr. 1520: occs.
30 Sept.1540: had married Christine Auchinlek.
2 Apr. 1543: had deceased.

Dalmhousie mss.,GD 45.15.1
John Ramsay of Laws
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
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

James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, constable of Dundee
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.

John Scrymgeour of Glaister and Dudhope, constable of Dundee
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
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
[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
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
Nov. 1588: succeeded his father. Edin. tests., CC 8.8.21 f.228r

Walter Scrymgeour of Glasswell
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

James Stewart, fifth Lord Innermeath 251
17 May 1554: to marry Helen daughter of James Lord Ogilvy. RMS iv 946
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.  
22 Jan. 1555/6: had deceased; possibly succeeded by a succession of younger brothers/sons.  

Robert Stirling [presumably of Braikie]  
22 Jan. 1555/6: had deceased.  

David Stirling of Easter Braikie  
22 Jan. 1555/6: had succeeded as a minor; heir of Robert.  
24 Mar. 1562: deadly sick, and of infirm mind and judgment.  

George Stirling of Braikie  
24 Mar. 1562: due to inherit from David; but promising to infeft his brother John in exchange for an immediate cash payment.  

John Stirling of Braikie, burgess of Dundee  
24 Mar. 1562: promised the expected inheritance of his brother George.  
9 Nov. 1567: had succeeded.  
18 Apr. 1587: occs. with his son John as fiar.  

STRACHAN  
Alexander Strachan of Brigton [of Kinnettles]  
6 Feb. 1515/16: infeft his nephew and heir Alexander in Brigton.  
19 Jan. 1524/5: had deceased.  

Alexander Strachan of Brigton  
6 Feb. 1515/16: infeft as fiar of Brigton of Kinnettles.  
19 Jan. 1524/5: to marry Euphame Ayton.  
29 Dec. 1561: infeft his heir Alexander as fiar.  
[This laird’s date of death is uncertain.]  

Alexander Strachan of Brigton  
29 Dec. 1561: infeft as fiar of Brigton; had married Isobel Arbuthnott.  
4 Mar. 1587/8: occs.  

Thomas Strachan of Carmyllie  
9 Oct. 1540: occs.: held Carmyllie from Maule of Panmure.  
15 Jan. 1564/5: had deceased.  
had married first Agnes Maule and second Isobel Gray, who survived him.  

David Strachan of Carmyllie  
15 Jan. 1564/5: had inherited.  
22 Nov. 1568: died.
James Strachan of Carmyllie
22 Nov. 1568: succeeded his father, being a minor. Dalhousie ms, GD 45.16.739
[1576]: still under the tutorship of Patrick Lord Gray.
Dalhousie ms, GD 45.16.744
27 Apr. 1593: occs. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.25 f.297r

John Strachan of Claypotts
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
2 Jun. 1517: occs. RMS iii 171
4 Aug. 1522: infrfet his heir as sir, 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
married Isobel, daughter of Falconer of Haulkerton; and then Katherine Erskine. C.Thornton-Kemsley Bonnet Lairds p.219
4 Aug. 1522: infrfet as sir. RMS iii 231
16 Aug. 1532: had inherited. RMS iii 1217
13 Jun. 1542: occs. with John his son and heir.
AUL, Arbuthnott wrts 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
13 Jun. 1542: occs. with his father as heir.
AUL, Arbuthnott wrts 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
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
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.  

George Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk  
26 May 1539: heir of Andrew; had married Christine, daughter of Forbes of Pitsligoe.  
"Mearns genealogie", Third Spald.Misc. ii 213  
4 Feb. 1545/6: had succeeded.  
Jul. 1575: died.  

Alexander Straiton of Lauriston/ of that ilk  
19 Jan. 1553/4: infeft as fiar; had married Agnes, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk.  
Jul. 1575: inherited.  

Andrew Straiton of Criggie  
7 Apr. 1553: occs.  
10 Dec. 1553: had deceased.  

David Straiton of Criggie  
10 Dec. 1553: had succeeded as a minor.  
8 Aug. 1580: had deceased.  

Andrew Straiton of Criggie  
8 Aug. 1580: had succeeded.  

SYMMER  
George Symmer of Balzeordie  
6 Sept. 1529: had inherited.  
27 Mar. 1543: occ. with George his heir.  
20 Dec. 1543: occs.  
6 Jul. 1544: had deceased.  

George Symmer of Balzeordie  
27 Mar. 1543: occ. with George his father.  
6 Jul. 1544: had inherited.  
6 Apr. 1546: had married Margaret Straiton.  
24 Nov. 1556: infeft his son George as fiar.  
16 Oct. 1570: died.  

George Symmer of Balzeordie  
24 Nov. 1556: infeft as fiar.  
24 Nov. 1556: had married Christine, daughter of Robert Arbuthnott of that ilk.  
31 Jan. 1580/81: death of Christine Arbuthnott, Lady Balzeordie.  
30 Apr. 1585: occs. with George his son and heir.  

Georg~

Symmer of Balzeordie

6 Jul. 1582: married Magdalene, daughter of John Strachan of
    Warden, Angus or Forfar iv p.354

30 Apr. 1585: occs. with George his father.    RMS iv 817

THORNTON

Ludovick Thornton of that ilk

4 Oct. 1533: served heir though a minor and married Mirabella
    Strachan.  StrathmEe writes, 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

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.1

Gilbert Thornton of that ilk

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

13 Apr. 1532: inherited as heir of Walter his good-sire.
    Northesk mss., GD 130 box 1 bund.2

8 Oct. 1548: had deceased.  Northesk mss., GD 130 box 13 bund.A no.29

David Tyrie of Drumkilbo

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.test., CC 8.8.5 f.109v

William Tyrie of Drumkilbo

Aug. 1571: inherited.
    Edin.test., 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

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

21 Feb. 1590/91: died, leaving Agnes Gray his relict.  CC 8.8.24 f.68r
WHITELAW

Alexander Whitelaw of Newgrange
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. JCl.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
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. 1394: occs. Pitcairn, Trials i/iii 119

WISHART

John Wishart of Logie Wishart/ of that ilk
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
14 Apr. 1550: occs. RSS iv 652
1574: inherited. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.3 f.249v
23 Oct. 1582: occs. RSS viii 965

Mr James Wishart of Pittarrow
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
21 Jun. 1525: had inherited. RMS iii 319
28 Sept. 1585: died. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.15 f.231r

WOOD

John Wood of Balbegno/ Fettercairn
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
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
brother of David Wood of Craig.
26 Jul. 1520: occs. Strathmore writs NRA(S) 805 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
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
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

David Wood of Craig [alias Craig of Inchbrayock]
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
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
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
22 Nov. 1585: inherited as a minor. Edin.tests., CC 8.8.15 f.154v
BIBLIOGRAPHY
PRIMARY SOURCES: MANUSCRIPT, including unpublished INVENTORIES

ABERDEEN

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS
The Arbuthnott manuscripts (ms. 2764)
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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
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
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E 46.3,4,9 Compt of subcollectors of the thirds of benefices:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E 47.1 to .10</td>
<td>Register of assignations and modifications of stipends (1576-1615)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E 48.1.1</td>
<td>The Book of Assumption</td>
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<tr>
<td>E 48.2</td>
<td>Register of Ministers and Readers 1567-1572</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 1.47</td>
<td>[Documents from Miss Low]</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 1.1039</td>
<td>[Tacks by Balmerino Commendators]</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 4</td>
<td>The Benholm and Hedderwick writs</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 16</td>
<td>The Airlie muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 45</td>
<td>The Dalhousie muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 49</td>
<td>The Barclay-Allardice muniments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 70</td>
<td>The Scott of Brotherton muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 79</td>
<td>James VI Hospital Perth muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 83.1092</td>
<td>The Bamff Charters: protocol style book sir Alexander Ramsay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 86</td>
<td>Inventory of Fraser Charters</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 121</td>
<td>The Murthly Castle muniments [handlist only]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 123</td>
<td>The Erskine of Dun muniments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 124</td>
<td>The Mar and Kellie muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 130</td>
<td>The Earl of Northesk muniments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 137</td>
<td>The Scrymgeour-Wedderburn muniments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 175</td>
<td>The Erroll charters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GD 205</td>
<td>The Ogilvy of Inverquharity muniments</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD 212</td>
<td>Maitland Thomson notebooks: no. 6, Foulis-Easter Charters; no.23, Moray writs</td>
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<td>JC 1.6,7</td>
<td>Justiciary Court records: court books</td>
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<td>JC 26 box 1</td>
<td>Justiciary Court: loose papers</td>
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<td>NP 1.16</td>
<td>Protocol book of Duncan Gray 1554-1572</td>
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<td>NP 1.33</td>
<td>Protocol book of George Fyffe 1573-1587</td>
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<td>NP 1.36</td>
<td>Protocol book of Thomas Auchinleck 1576-1615</td>
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<td>NP 1.43</td>
<td>Protocol book of Ronald Brown 1584-1607</td>
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<td>NP 2.1</td>
<td>Register of admissions</td>
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<td>PS 1</td>
<td>Register of the privy seal of Scotland</td>
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<td>RD 1.1 etc</td>
<td>The Register of Deeds</td>
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<td>RH 1.2.373</td>
<td>[Letters by two Brechin canons]</td>
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<td>RH 2.1.20</td>
<td>Transcript of protocol book of James Harlaw</td>
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<td>RH 2.1.22</td>
<td>Transcript of protocol book of sir Duncan Gray</td>
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<tr>
<td>RH 6</td>
<td>Calendar of Register House Charters</td>
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<td>RS 48</td>
<td>Perth Sasines secretaries' register</td>
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<td>SP 13.68</td>
<td>[State Papers]</td>
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<td>WEST REGISTER HOUSE</td>
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<td>RH 4.96</td>
<td>Microfilm of protocol book of William Pettilok</td>
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<td>RHP 9280</td>
<td>Sketch of the royal burgh of Inverbervie</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHP 35213/14</td>
<td>Plans of Brechin Castle</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 5</td>
<td>Inventory of writings belonging to the Right Hon. John Viscount of Arbuthnott, Lord Inverbervie</td>
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<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 124</td>
<td>Inventory of Jackson of Kirkbuudo writs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 224</td>
<td>Inventory of writs of Carnegy of Lour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 237</td>
<td>Inventory of Scottish muniments at Haigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 217,369</td>
<td>Inventories of Kinfuans muniments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 885</td>
<td>The Strathmore Writs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRA(S) 0925</td>
<td>Inventory of Erroll Charters</td>
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</tbody>
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GLASGOW UNIVERSITY: DEPARTMENT OF SCOTTISH HISTORY
Draft calendars of materials in the Vatican archives: derived from Ross Fund materials
Acta Sancti Paenitentiarum Apostolicae
Resignationes et Consensus
Lateran Register
Register of Supplications
Armarium
Libri annatarum

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Add. mss 38,747 State papers (Scotland)
Egerton ms 1818 State papers (Scotland)
Egerton ms 1819 State papers (Scotland)

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE
SP 50.3 State papers (Scotland)
E 351/213 Accounts relative to Broughty Craig
E 351/3327 Accounts relative to Broughty Craig

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The Crawford muniments

MONTROSE

THE TOWN HOUSE, MONTROSE
Montrose burgh muniments

PERTH

THE SANDEMAN LIBRARY ARCHIVES DEPARTMENT
B 59/8/13 Protocol book of Malcolm Bower, 1572/3-78

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Ms. index to graduates of St Andrews

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