

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

Department of History

**FAMILY AND POLITICS IN SCOTLAND,
1578-1596,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE MASTER OF GLAMIS**

Michael J. Lyon

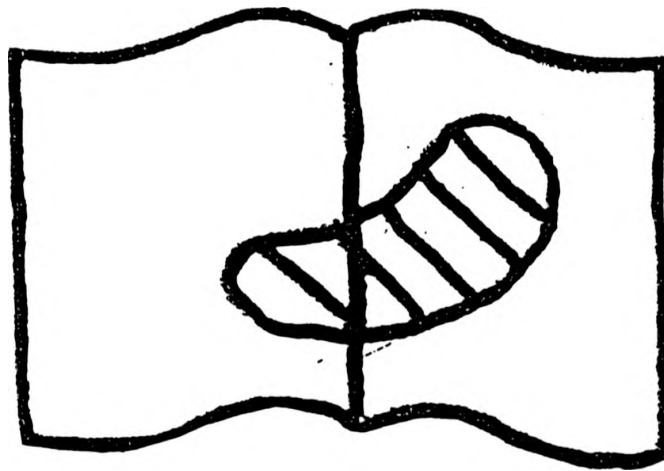
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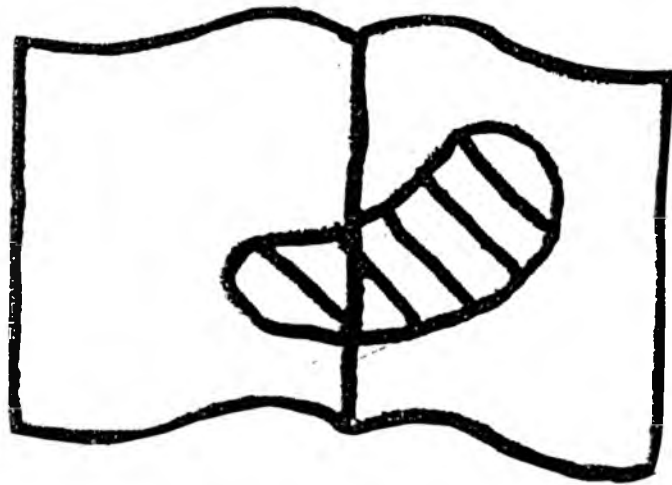
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Declaration

I declare that the thesis has been composed by myself and that it embodies the results of my own research or advanced studies. Where appropriate, I have acknowledged the nature and extent of work carried out in collaboration with others included in the thesis.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of connected loops and a long horizontal stroke.

Date

18.5.05

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

This study examines the importance of the family within Scottish politics during the period in which Glamis was head of the house of Glamis, and uses him and his family predominantly as an example. Its purpose was to find out whether or not the family was an important factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, and, if so, to what extent? In order to do this, the topic was translated into two working propositions. The first working proposition hypothesized that if the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, then there will be a substantial inclination towards the family, in general, in the ideological, institutional, and past policy context within which the parliamentary process occurred. If, on the other hand, the family was not important then, then there will not be a substantial inclination towards the family within that overall political context. The ideological, institutional, and past policy context was important because it largely determined whether or not families were either insiders or outsiders at any one particular point in time when it came to that process. It gave families structural advantages or disadvantages in relation to others, which the decisions of individuals by themselves could not change.

The research found that there was a substantial inclination towards the family within the ideological context, which was apparent in the religious and secular thinking of the time. Ideas and beliefs about the family were clearly bounded by overriding ideologies, notably those that put religion before relatives and the state before dynasty, on the one hand, and simple pragmatism on the other. Family members, such as Glamis, had a considerable degree of ideological choice. There was also a substantial inclination towards the family within the institutional context. This was evident in the structure and function of the Scottish parliament as a whole. The second estate (peers) and the first and fourth estates (prelates and lairds) had a strong hereditary and substantial quasi-hereditary character respectively, and, with regard to the third estate (burgesses), there was a familial interest, at least, in some of the burghs. Dynastic ambition, family succession, and nepotism were major factors in creating, maintaining, and bolstering any familial conduits within the institutional structure. The institutional function favoured the crown's interests rather than those of the family. There was a fairly substantial inclination towards family within the past policy context. Several public acts dealt directly with royal marriages, and a slightly greater number dealt with the family as such.

The second working proposition hypothesized that if the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish parliamentary process (which was central to the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process as a whole), then there will be substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political actors and their families, or significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations within the politics involved in that process. If, on the other hand, the family was not important in this sense, then there will be no such relations or consequences within that process. The second working proposition was investigated through three case studies that focused on the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliamentary processes in general, and enactments concerning England and the kirk in particular. The family was not the only organising factor in the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process, and, consequently, consideration was given, as an ongoing matter, to other individual resources of political power - personal qualities, ideology, numbers and organisation, wealth, and violence, in order to provide an overall perspective.

The research found that there were substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political figures and their families within the politics of the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliamentary processes. None of the relations was at a primary level. There were also significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations, within the politics leading up to the 1587 and 1592 public legislation. Marriage, in particular, was a useful political instrument, but it could also be a disappointing tool. Surprisingly, family relations of any substance were not evident in the polity of the three parliaments. Family relations were far less prevalent than associations formed through state office holding, and participation in the raid of Ruthven (1582). There was no reference to the family in terms of

family relations or significance consequences in the policy enacted by any of the three parliaments. The extent to which the family was important is not easy to determine. The family was not only significant as an individual resource of political power in its own right - it provided an entree into different levels of political groupings both nationally and locally, including the burghs, but also as an indirect and invasive element in other individual resources of political power. Its indirect influence on later-sixteenth century Scottish politics may have been more important than its direct one.

The study is unusual because it took a thematic approach to the Scottish nobility over a short period of time, and employed a methodology based on current political theory and contemporary methods of historical investigation. The application of such theory to the early modern period was an important secondary consideration. It did not, however, set out to prove that one approach or method is better than the other. Rather, a more circumspect view prevailed. A focus on genealogy and family history was useful in providing information about Glamis and his family, which revealed a number of matters that would have been helpful to several recent historical studies. Genealogy and family history still have an important role to fulfil in historical research. Despite this and other efforts, questions remain about the later sixteenth-century family and politics, not least the nature and significance of policy. Glamis too deserves more attention, especially with regard to his role in the raid of Ruthven, and his handling of the treasury (1585-91, 1593-6). He, like many of his contemporaries and less traditional approaches to the study of history, is far too important to disregard.

Contents

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
Tables and Figures	vii
Abbreviations and Conventions	ix
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Ideology, Institutions, and Past Policy	44
Chapter 3 Glamis and Family Past	80
Chapter 4 Glamis and Family Present	111
Chapter 5 Glamis and Politics	142
Chapter 6 The 1585 Parliament	177
Chapter 7 The 1587 Parliament	197
Chapter 8 The 1592 Parliament	222
Chapter 9 Conclusion	248
Appendix 1 The Administrators	259
Appendix 2 Policy	290
Appendix 3 The Policy-Makers	316
Appendix 4 Glamis	359
Bibliography	383

Tables and Figures

Table 1	Marsh and Rhodes's characteristics of policy networks	26
Table 2	Later sixteenth-century Scottish examples of Salisbury and Heinz's policy types	33
Table 3	Dates and locations of Scottish parliaments, 1578-1596	52
Table 4	A summary of the known attendance of the estates and officers in parliament, 1578-1596	54
Table 5	A summary of the numbers of known posts at the senior officer and officers level within the main divisions of the administration-centred institutions, over the period	60
Table 6	The five most common surnames within each administration-centred institutions, over the period	62
Table 7	State offices formally included by parliament in the official membership of the reconstituted privy councils over the period	64
Table 8	Primary, secondary, and tertiary family relations between officers that were formally named by parliament as official members of the privy council over the period	65
Table 9	Number of public and private acts of the parliament during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI, 1542-1596	68
Table 10	Number and type of private acts of parliament that were passed, 1578-1596	69
Table 11	Number and type of private acts of parliament concerning privilege that were passed, 1578-1596	69
Table 12	Number of public acts passed by nine parliaments during the minority reign of Mary, queen of Scots, 1542-1561	70
Table 13	Number of public acts passed by three parliaments during the majority reign of Mary, queen of Scots, 1561-1567	71
Table 14	Number of public acts passed by four parliaments during the minority reign of James VI, 1567-1578	72
Table 15	Number of public acts passed by 10 parliaments during the majority reign of James VI, 1578-1596	73
Table 16	A summary of the type and function of the public acts that were passed during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI, 1542-1596	77
Table 17	Type and function of the public acts that were passed by the English parliament, 1578-1596	78
Table 18	The wives and children of the Lyons of Glamis and their status, and their connection by marriage to other families, c. 1400-1600	134
Table 19	Known sixteenth-century Lyon burgesses of Dundee	136
Table 20	Remissions given under the privy seal from the 22 August 1583 to 10 November 1584 for taking part in the raid of Ruthven (1582)	149

Table 21	Commissioners for holding parliament and lords of the articles in 1585	183
Table 22	The occurrence of the names of Glamis and Robert Melville of Murdocairney on the known sederunts of the privy council, 1586-1590 and 1593-1596	202
Table 23	Commissioners for holding parliament and lords of the articles in 1587	207
Table 24	Known members of the 1592 committee of the articles	236
Figure 1	Salisbury and Heinz's variation of policy output with type of demand and the costs of reaching a decision	32
Figure 2	Systems model of the later-sixteenth century Scottish political process	35
Figure 3	A notional organisation structure of the later sixteenth-century Scottish institutions and their main divisions	59
Figure 4	The 'proof of four descents' of Glamis	112
Figure 5	The immediate members of Glamis's family, 1545-1608	114
Figure 6	The north elevation of the later sixteenth-century Aldbar Castle (with part of the nineteenth-century additions)	122
Figure 7	Focal lands held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets within Forfarshire, 1578-1596	127
Figure 8	Focal lands held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets outwith Forfarshire, 1578-1596	128
Figure 9	The series of heirs of John Lyon, 8 th lord Glamis, 1567	131
Figure 10	Relations between Glamis's family and those of seven other leading privy councillors around the time of the 1585 parliament	186
Figure 11	Relations between Glamis's family and those of seven other leading privy councillors around the time of the 1587 parliament	211
Figure 12	Relations between Glamis's family and those of eleven leading privy councillors around the time of the 1592 parliament	240

Abbreviations and Conventions

- APS* *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, 1124-1707*, eds. T. Thomson and C. Innes, 12 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
- Calderwood* D. Calderwood, *The True History of the Kirk of Scotland*, eds. T. Thomson and D. Laing, 8 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1842-9)
- CSP Scot* *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547-1603*, eds. J. Bain and others, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1969).
- Carse MS National Library of Scotland (NLS) - MSS 88-76, 'A Genealogy of the Principal Scottish Families', Lyon entry, 34-37.
- DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography*, eds. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 22 vols. (Oxford, 1885-1900)
- ER* *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264-1600 (Rotuli Scaccarum Regum Scotorum)*, eds. G. Burnett and others, 23 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
- NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
- NLS National Library of Scotland
- NRA(S) National Register of Archives (Scotland)
- Ogil MS Dundee Central Library, W. Lyon, *Lyon of Ogil* (London, 1867)
- RMS* *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum) 1306-1668*, eds. J. M. Thomson and others, 11 vols. (Edinburgh, 1912-)
- RPC* *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1625*, eds. J. H. Burton and others, 1 series: 14 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-)
- RSS* *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum) 1488-1584*, eds. M. Livingstone and others, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1908-)
- Scots Peerage* J. B. Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910-14)
- Spottiswood* Spottiswood, J., *History of the Church of Scotland*, eds. M. Napier and M. Russell, 3 vols. (Spottiswoode Society and Bannatyne Society, 1847-51).
- Strathmore MSS NRA(S) 885 Survey Part I (1973) and Part II (undated) - Papers of the Earl of Strathmore, Glamis Castle
- T.1* *Accounts of the (Lord High) Treasurer of Scotland (Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum), 1473-1580*, eds. T. Dickson and others, 13 vols. (Edinburgh, 1877-1978)
- WS/HS Writers to His/Her Majesty's Signet/ *The Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet*, eds. C. A. Malcom and others (Edinburgh, 1936)

- 1 Individuals have generally been described by their most commonly used personal name, title, or territorial description, and all have been standardised where possible. Such descriptions do not necessarily conform to strict formal titles.
- 2 In the case of surnames, they have been based on those given in G. F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland, their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York, 1946)
- 3 The terms 'prince' and 'princely' are used inclusively, as they were by contemporaries, to include the various ranks of European sovereign ruler of either sex, whether secular or ecclesiastical. 'Monarchy' is used in its original Aristotelian and contemporary sense meaning, of rule by a single prince. The adjective 'royal' is confined exclusively to matters relating to kings or their courts. The 'higher nobility' has been equated with the peerage in Scotland and England, and their equivalent elsewhere in Europe.
- 4 Peerage titles and numbering conform to those found in the *Scots Peerage*.
- 5 Titles such as 'Sir', 'Magister', 'WS', and 'Colonel' have been omitted unless they are critical in identifying an individual. Preference has normally been given to peerage titles and territorial descriptions.
- 6 Place-names are given, where possible, in the form in which they occur on the Ordnance Survey (OS) Landranger series maps (sheets 28, 29, 30, 44, 45, 53, 54, 58 and 66)
- 7 Where a family has held land for three generations or more and has been described as of that place, then that family has been ascribed with that territorial description whether or not it has continued to own or occupy the ground in question.
- 8 The numbering of the acts of parliament is based on the numbering in *APS*, and the short titles that describe the public acts have been taken from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (HMSO, 1966)
- 9 In transcribing text from manuscripts, contractions have been expanded, and the numeral 'j' has been transcribed as 'i'.
- 10 Text taken from printed works has been given as printed and may not adhere to the conventions above.
- 11 Dates that overlap between the old and the new calendars are given as if they conformed to the latter.
- 12 Currency has been expressed as merks, pounds, shillings and pence, and is cited as Scots not English (Approximate values are: 1 merk = 13s 4d, 12d = 1s, and 20s. = £1 Scots)
- 13 The term 'Europe' includes the British Isles and the western and central parts of the European continent, and excludes territories held under the Ottoman and Russian empires.

1. Introduction

*Most historians are now in some ways sociologists.*¹

This study is primarily concerned with the importance of the family within Scottish politics during the period in which Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis (Glamis), was head of the house of Glamis, using him and his family predominantly as an example. The choice of topic arose out of particular interests in family history and policy formulation. Scott and Storrs state that, at one time, there were only two major approaches to writing about the Scottish nobility. The first, and most common, produced family histories that had their heyday in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These were often genealogical in nature and inspired, and sometimes written, by a descendant. The second resulted in some significant political and institutional studies that appeared in the later nineteenth century. As far as the early modern period was concerned, these tended to focus on the traditional nobility, and how it was affected by the emerging modern state, with the former often appearing as the victim of an ongoing and overwhelming political process. During the inter-war period traditional history slowly gave way to social history and other new developments in the field.

Scott and Storrs identified several broad problems and perspectives in the literature that has been written since the mid-70s. Two fundamental problems were that, in most continental countries, the size of the early modern elite made a detailed and reasonably comprehensive study of a national nobility as a whole very difficult or probably impossible, and that there has been a haphazard and accidental survival of sources, especially written records. The broad perspectives were concerned with the fortunes of an individual family, often over an extended period of time; the biography of an especially prominent nobleman; regional nobilities or prominent groups within a particular elite, and, by making considerable use of contemporary literary evidence, the elite's distinctive ethos or value systems and the way the concept of nobility has changed over a period.² Since the mid-70s, biographies would appear to be the increasingly prominent perspective in Scottish studies, but Brown's recent work on the Scottish nobility as a whole may alter this trend.³ This present study is unusual because it will take a thematic view of the

¹ E. W. Maitland, quoted in 'Letter from the President, Jinty Nelson' in Royal Historical Society 'Newsletter', Autumn 2004, 1.
² H. M. Scott and C. Storrs, 'The consolidation of noble power in Europe c. 1600-1800', in H. M. Scott (ed.), *The European Nobilities of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (London, 1995), 1, 1-9.

³ Examples of biographies include literature on James VI: J. M. Wormald, 'James VI and I: two kings or one?' *History*, lxxviii (1983), 187-209; M. Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1990); S. J. Houston, *James I* (London, 1995); and R. Lockyer, *James VI and I* (London, 1998), and his political contemporaries: M. Lee, *John Maitland of*

Scottish nobility over a short period of time, and employ a methodology based on current political theory and contemporary methods of historical investigation.

The term 'family' is defined as a group of persons united not only by ties of blood, including natural children, and marriage over three generations, but also other less obvious connections, namely betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, adoption, and godparents over one generation, whether living together or not.¹ The main advantage of this definition is that it includes less obvious members of the family who were tied to it by law and religion. The main disadvantage is that it excludes those who were joined over a period of time by intimate affection, particularly mistresses and favourites. The wider the classification of the term 'family', the more it overlaps with the notion of 'kinship'. In later sixteenth-century Scotland, the membership of a kin group was determined by various rules of marriage and descent: who would marry whom, and what rights and duties each individual member had, especially with regard to patrimony, succession, and inheritance. Kinship can be either through a single lineage or any link, and it can be extended through males or females, or both. The 'kindred' is defined as a group of persons related by blood more than three generations removed through males who interact, or have the potential to interact, with each other. 'Marriage' is taken to mean a formal or commonly recognised union of two people through wedlock. Family relations consciously sustained over time are regarded as a 'dynasty', and an elite family that has had a continued settlement over three or more generations in a particular place is considered as a 'house'. The term 'household' is taken to mean all the permanent inmates of a domestic property collectively, including, where appropriate, the domestic servants and major and minor household officials, and members of the family. It is important to note that the above definitions concerning the family employed in this study do *not* include the 'affinity' or the 'following':

'Politics', like 'the family', can be approached from different points of view. For the purposes of this research, it is defined in terms of systems theory. It consisted of a triad of politics, polity, and policy.⁵ An assumption underlying this approach is that modern political concepts and theories can be applied to the early modern period. In other words, there are no chronological barriers between modern and early modern political systems (discussed in more detail below). This is not to say that there are not differences between the various elements of those systems. The idea that modern political concepts and theories can be applied to an earlier period is not new. Perhaps the best known example of this is Niccolò

Thirlstone and the Foundation of Stewart Despotism in Scotland (Princeton, 1959); G. R. Hewitt, *Scotland under Morton, 1572-80* (Edinburgh, 1982); P. D. Anderson, *Black Patie: The Life and Times of Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland* (Edinburgh, 1992); P. D. Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533-1593* (Edinburgh, 1982); M. Loughlin, 'The career of Maitland of Lethington, c. 1526-1573' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1991); and R. G. Macpherson, 'Francis Stewart, fifth Earl Bothwell, c. 1562-1612: lordship and politics in Jacobean Scotland' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1998); K. M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000).

¹ J. Knox, *Blasphemy and Counterblast: Contemporary Writings on the Scottish Reformation*, ed. I. B. Cowan (Edinburgh, 1960), 65. The custom was normally to have one or two godparents, but in Aberdeen there was a concern that too many were being appointed.

⁵ D. Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York, 1965), 29-33.

Machiavelli (1469-1527), who wrote a series of discourses on Titus Livius (59BC-17AD) (Livy), which was a full-scale analysis of Roman republican government.⁶ Another assumption is that Scotland was a monarchical sovereign 'state', which was not a common contemporary term.⁷ For the purposes of this study, this term has been defined as an organised political community under one government formally constituted of a distinct and unique set of institutions that collectively had a monopoly of legitimate violence.⁸ Although this investigation is focused on the national boundaries of Scotland, it recognises that parts of the frontier between Scotland and England, known as the 'debatable land', were in doubt, and vast areas of the Highlands and Islands were beyond James VI's direct control⁹.

The 'period' covered by this work extends from 8 March 1578 to 6 March 1596. The tragic death of Glamis's elder brother John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, which marks the beginning of it, occurred only a few weeks before the 11-year old James 'assumed' the government on the resignation of the last of his four regents, James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton. The majority of Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis (later 1st earl of Kinghorne), which marks the end of it, came just a few weeks after the king very clearly asserted himself in national affairs with the appointment of the 'Octavians' to reorganise the royal finances.¹⁰ The 18-year period was not only significant with regard to Glamis, but also the state. There were 10 major changes of government over that time span, one of which resulted in a ruling coalition formed in 1585 led by Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, Glamis, and John Maitland of Thirlstane (Maitland). The number and scale of major political events were considerable. These included the arrival of James's first 'favourite' Esme Stuart, later 1st duke of Lennox, from France in 1579; the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, in 1587; the king's marriage visit to Norway and Denmark from October 1589 to May 1590; the murder of James Stewart, 2nd earl of Moray, in 1592; and the birth and baptism of the royal heir, Prince Henry, in 1594.

Glamis (1545-1608) was the second son of John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, and Janet Keith, a daughter of Robert Keith, master of Marischal. His elder brother, John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, was chancellor of Scotland from 1573 to 1578. Glamis was heavily implicated in the raid of Ruthven (1582), escaped to Ireland in 1583, and pardoned in 1585. He was treasurer of Scotland from 1585 to 1591, when

⁶ N. Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca de' T. Livio* (1531), J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928), 449, 551.

⁷ J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), 5. Goodare claimed that the Scottish Reformation (1560) made a natural starting point because of the 'orientation of the nobility from autonomous war-making'. K. M. Brown, 'From Scottish lords to British officers: state building, elite integration and the army in the seventeenth century', in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Scotland and War, AD 79-1918* (Edinburgh, 1991), 134-7. Brown maintained that Scotland was lagging behind in state development before 1603. He argued that 'force' only became a royal monopoly, at an ideological level at least, or 'something approximating to it' after the 1598 act of parliament on feudalism, and that a state never did come into being.

⁸ *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Politics*, ed. J. McLean (Oxford, 1996), 474. This definition reflects a Weberian ideal type view of the state.

⁹ Goodare, *State and Society*, 4.

¹⁰ G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V - James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 217.

he was deprived of office for favouring Bothwell, and from 1593 to 1596. He was created a lord of session in 1586, and knighted in 1590. A final assumption is that Glamis and his family will provide a suitable model for the study of family and politics over the period. They were a subjective choice. If they were typical of other noble houses, then the reliability factor should be high. However, it is also important to note that this does not affect the extent to which they are of interest in their own right. Two of the above three assumptions will have an important bearing on the methodology, and, as a secondary concern, consideration will be given to the degree to which Glamis and his family were a suitable model for the topic, and, more especially, the unusual application of current political theory to the early modern period.

The Literature

Unfortunately, there is no full-scale biography of Glamis, and, even more surprisingly, there is no comprehensive account of the role of the lord treasurer, a key position that Glamis occupied for eight years. Murray published a brief account of the development of the office, but scarcely mentioned him.¹¹ Glamis only receives occasional attention in the literature. This gives the impression that he played a minor role in Scottish politics. Scott briefly mentioned him as one of the leaders of the raid of Ruthven, and added:

... when James rose and went towards the door of the apartment, the Tutor of Glamis, a rude and stern man, placed his back against it, and compelled him to return. Affronted at this act of personal restraint and violence, the King burst into tears. 'Let him weep on', said the Tutor of Glamis fiercely: 'better that bairns (children) weep, than bearded men'. These words sank deep into the King's heart, nor did he ever forget or forgive them.¹²

The portrayal of Glamis as a rude and stern man was partly a result of Scott's romantic imagination, but also partly a product of his sources.¹³ Lang pointed out that another version exists.¹⁴ Despite this confusion about the authenticity of the story, it is still very much alive today.¹⁵

¹¹ T.I, siii, pp. vii-xxxi.

¹² W. Scott, *The Tales of a Grandfather being the History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Close of the Rebellion of 1745-46* (London, 1827-30), 338-9.

¹³ Spottiswood, iv, 320 (Glamis quotation); Calderwood, iii, 643.

¹⁴ A. Lang, *A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1900-7), ii, 285. Lang gave William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie, as the alternative protagonist. This would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of Medoza's report dated 13 October, which relates to another incident involving Gowrie and the king (*Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English*

Within the last half century, Glamis's standing within the ranks of the 'otherwise mentioned' has somewhat improved. Lee gave a more thorough account of him by juxtaposing his political fortunes with those of his main subject, Maitland, who was chancellor from 1587 to 1595.¹⁶ It was this account which probably contributed to Brown's more considered view that:

He owed his emergence in public affairs to the killing of his brother, Lord Glamis, in 1578 in a fight with the Lindsays in Stirling. As the 8th Lord Glamis was only a child, Thomas, who became master and tutor of Glamis, now became the head of this rich, protestant family ... Though nearly always outmanoeuvred by Maitland whose office he wanted, and only ever rewarded with a knighthood in 1590, Glamis was one of the most important politicians and court managers of the decade following the successful raid on Stirling in 1585. While few major advances were made in reducing violence during this period, the political successes the king had were the base on which later achievements were built, and Glamis had a significant share in attaining those.¹⁷

The only literature on Glamis's family - the Lyons of Glamis, was written before the First World War (1914-19). This was W. F. Lyon, *The Genealogical Tree of the Family of Lyon* (London, 1867); W. Lyon, *Lyon of Ogil* (London, 1867); and A. Ross, *The Lyons of Cossins and Wester Ogil: Caulets of Glamis* (Edinburgh, 1901) and *Lyon, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne* (Edinburgh, 1911).¹⁸ These genealogical works focus in varying degrees of comprehensiveness and accuracy only on the lords of Glamis and lairds of Easter Ogil and Cossins and their immediate kin. They reflect the three main methods that were used within a broad family history approach - the tabulated pedigree, the historical method, and the scientific method, all of which are still recommended to family historians today.¹⁹ Donnachie and Whatley have stressed the need to know more about family history, the sum of which they believed helps to reconstruct the national picture. They thought that family histories were too dominated by legend, such as Scott's 'rude and stern' Glamis, and that putting this to rights could be a drawn out process.²⁰

Macfarlane found that although anthropologists have recognised the importance of the family to society, 'historians have been slower to recognise the need for its study'.²¹ Stone pointed out that little

affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas (Spanish), eds. M. A. S. Hume and others, 13 vols. (London, 1862-1954), iii, 407).

¹⁶ For example, K. M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573-1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in early modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), 113; Lockyer, *James VI and I*, 15; A. Fraser, *King James VI of Scotland I of England* (London, 1974), 11.

¹⁷ Lee, *Maitland*.

¹⁸ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 225. The child was, in fact, the 9th Lord Glamis.

¹⁹ The latter can also be found in J. B. Paul (ed.), *Scots Peerage*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910-1914), 261-317.

²⁰ J. B. Paul, 'An essay on how to write the history of a family', in M. Stuart (ed.), *Scottish Family History* (Edinburgh, 1930), 3-74.

²¹ G. Hamilton-Edwards, *In Search of Scottish Ancestry* (London, 1972), 185-6. Both these books are still on sale today. The Lyons of Wester Ogil are a branch of the Lyons of Cossins that emerged in the early seventeenth century.

²² I. Donnachie and C. Whatley, 'Introduction', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds.), *The Manufacture of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1992), 10.

²³ A. Macfarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin* (Cambridge, 1970), 105.

exploration has been done below the level of the landed aristocracy.²² Although, as will be discussed, actual research into this area generally is slight, as Cressy observed, 'it has not prevented the forming of strong opinions on the subject'.²³ Wormald found that the family survived from the late-medieval period to the end of the sixteenth century (and beyond) as the basic form of obligation in local society. This was more important than feudal commitments to land, and, after the middle of the fifteenth century, pledges based on deliberate personal bonds of maintenance, friendship, and manrent. She argued that this was partly because the crown never challenged it, and partly due to the agnatic nature of the Scottish family group. This depended often on a real or mythical ancestor in the male line, and gave preference to the bonds between male relatives. Women were added on to, or removed from, the immediate or extended family (or kindred) by marriage. The Scottish agnatic system had the advantage of being easily identifiable, at least in the Lowlands where surname became synonymous with the kindred as a whole, and side-stepping conflicting loyalties to different family groups. It had the disadvantage of being tied to geography because distance made the fulfilment of the obligations of family difficult, even to the point where they could be disregarded. She made the important point that identifying members of such a family is never simple.²⁴

Few would disagree with Wormald's comments about the agnatic structure of the family, and the primary importance of its obligating function. However, further steps into the literature reveal that very little else is known about the family as a social entity in early modern Scotland in general, let alone as a political entity. Demographic historians have confounded many traditional historians' beliefs about the family as a social entity through using quantitative techniques.²⁵ Laslett, for example, challenged prevailing opinion that a process of modernisation had led to the nuclear family and greater individualism.²⁶ But, as Cressy argued, there is a danger of replacing one myth with another.²⁷ Flandrin found that the 'family' in the later sixteenth century referred to different structures and functions in England and France.²⁸ Mitterauer and Sieder also studied the European family, and concluded that changes in family structure were derived from changes in family functions.²⁹ Goody established that the ideology of the family (discussed in the next chapter) had significant implications for both the family's

²² I. Stone, 'Family history in the 1980s: Past achievements and Future Trends', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxx (1981), 67.

²³ D. Cressy, 'Kinship and kin interaction in early modern England', *Past and Present*, cxiii (1986), 40.

²⁴ J. M. Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh, 1981), 29-30.

²⁵ The classification of historians' approaches in terms of 'demographic', 'household economics', and 'sentiments' has been taken from M. Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (London, 1980).

²⁶ P. Laslett, 'Introduction: the history of the family', in P. Laslett and R. Wall (eds.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972), 1-10.

²⁷ Cressy, 'Kinship and kin', 41.

²⁸ J. L. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1979), 4-10.

²⁹ M. Mitterauer and R. Sieder, *The European Family: Patriarchy to Partnership from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford, 1982).

structure and function.³⁰ The demographic approach has not been applied extensively to Scottish families. Mitchison and Leneman studied sexuality and social control in Scotland from 1660 to 1780.³¹ Dingwall examined the social and economic structure of Edinburgh in the later seventeenth century.³² Meikle surveyed the landed community of both sides of the eastern Anglo-Scottish border from 1540 to 1603. She found that the notion of 'kinship' was strong, that this partly contributed to distinct spheres of power, and that family communities resisted interference by non-resident outsiders (such as Glamis).³³

Several writers have looked at English noble families as social entities using a household economics approach. For example, Stone worked on the idea that the English aristocracy was in crisis from 1558 to 1641, and undertook a major investigation about different aspects of their lives. Elton raised serious doubts about Stone's quantitative methods, and Stone responded with more specific case studies based on household accounts.³⁴ In a later work, Stone and Stone similarly analysed the houses of various landed families in three counties.³⁵ Mertes studied the English noble household from 1250 to 1600, and found that various domestic functions helped to promote political relations.³⁶ Much less has been written about Scottish families using this method. One notable example is Kelsall and Kelsall, who studied the lifestyle of a later seventeenth-century Berwickshire family.³⁷

Various writers have focused on the family as a social entity as an idea or attitude rather than in terms of structure and function. Two examples of this 'sentiments' approach are Stone's work on sex, marriage, and the family in England, and the English aristocracy, mentioned above. In the first, he supported the idea of a continued 'patriarchy', and found that there was increasing 'affection' within families.³⁸ In the second, he considered such notions as 'military power', 'financial resources', 'territorial possessions', 'self-confidence', 'prestige', and 'authority'. Only Brown has written at some length specifically about families, albeit noble ones, such as the Lyons of Glamis, in early modern Scottish society. Among other things, he suggested that there was a slow thawing of parental authority when it came to choosing a spouse. Although duty constrained by religion, politics, wealth, and rank remained the primary consideration in this choice, the emphasis of the Reformation on the benefits of marital love with

³⁰ J. Goody, *The Development of Family and Marriage in Western Europe* (Cambridge, 1983).

³¹ R. Mitchison and L. Leneman, *Sexuality and Social Control in Scotland, 1660-1780* (London, 1989).

³² H. Dingwall, 'The social and economic structure of Edinburgh in the late 17C' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1989).

³³ M. M. Meikle, 'Lairds and gentlemen: a study of the landed families of the Eastern Anglo-Scottish Borders, c. 1540-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1988). At one time, Glamis and his first wife had the keepership of Home Castle in that area.

³⁴ L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965). Stone presented a new explanation of the long-term social changes leading up to the English Revolution, and argued that the most important was not that relating to the gentry or capitalist bourgeoisie, but the relative decline in the military power, financial resources, territorial possessions, self-confidence, prestige, and authority of the aristocracy. Cf. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (London, 1967), 44-6; L. Stone, *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1973).

³⁵ L. Stone and J. C. F. Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984).

³⁶ K. Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250-1600: Good Governance and Political Rule* (Oxford, 1988).

³⁷ H. Kelsall and K. Kelsall, *Scottish Lifestyle 300 Years Ago* (Edinburgh, 1986), 1-2. One of their sources was an unpublished account book, which they considered to be one of only four in the seventeenth century that have survived in the whole of Britain.

³⁸ L. Stone, *Sex, Marriage and the Family* (Oxford, 1978).

its more positive view of women, the writings of moralists inspired by a humanist education, and the general shift to a more affluent and less martial society all made it more likely for the early modern couple to find love in marriage than their predecessors in former times. But, like Cressy, Brown acknowledged that such matters concerning the family as a social entity remain open to question.³⁹

Considering the family as a political entity, Lander established that English noble blood and marital relationships did not create strong bonds of mutual interest and political support: that they were more likely to produce disputes over inheritances and territory; and that, although affinities were more cohesive than families, they had limitations when it came to political action involving risk.⁴⁰ Looking at the family in early modern Scottish politics, Young found that, although the more rigid aspects of family allegiance were on the decline, especially in the Lowlands, there was still a general consensus concerning obligations to, and expectations from, fellow family members, and that, whereas personal bonds tended to be used for limited objectives, the bond of kinship was a permanent one, and seemed to have been more important than religion.⁴¹ He also pointed out that it is easy to be sceptical about marriages, and that the political importance of them in terms of binding two families even closer together, settling feuds, or pulling one of two families away from a third party had been clearly underestimated by previous historians. Bardgett believed that Wormald's idea that a marriage alliance was less binding than personal bonds probably undervalued it.⁴² Donaldson thought that the importance of the family in politics was reinforced notionally by the importance placed on the name and ancestry, and Zulager demonstrated that it was bolstered practically through nepotism.⁴³

Most historians have recognised the importance of leading noble families, such as the Lyons of Glamis, in early modern Scottish politics. Donaldson, in particular, highlighted the importance of blood and marriage for the 'Hamiltons' at the time of Mary, queen of Scots, and Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, during the reign of James.⁴⁴ He found that genealogy provided a useful restraint on theorising about political principles and motives. He argued that genealogy should be something more than just ancestor chasing, and that, as far as the evidence allowed, the genealogist had an important part to play in

³⁹ Brown, *Noble Society*, 113, 135-7, 155-7, 176-7, 302-3 (n. 2).

⁴⁰ J. R. Lander, 'Family, "friends" and politics in fifteenth-century England', in R. A. Griffiths and J. Sherborne (eds.), *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages* (Gloucester, 1986), 27-40.

⁴¹ J. C. B. Young, 'Scottish political parties, 1573-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1976), 356-8. Young argued that marriages were often used to reinforce a friendship and may have been only one of a number of actions taken to that end. They were often indicative of a friendship between families rather than a cause of such a friendship as the friendship often continued after the death of one of the partners. This may, however, have been due to a common interest in children.

⁴² F. D. Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1989), 14, 18n. Bardgett argued that the grant of a daughter was similar to a grant of land, it sprang from the same motives, and that when Angus lairds were faced with mixed loyalties between marriage, kin, jurisdiction and land tenure, they had a much more freedom than was generally realised. J. M. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 163.

⁴³ G. Donaldson, 'Surnames and ancestry in Scotland,' in J. Kirk (ed.), *Scotland's History: Approaches and Reflections*, Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1995), 89-94; R. R. Zulager, 'A study of the middle-rank administrators in the government of King James VI of Scotland, 1580-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Aberdeen University, 1991), 132-70.

⁴⁴ G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men, Power and Politics in Mary Stewart's Scotland* (London, 1983); G. Donaldson, *Reformed by Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1987), 1-18.

the historian's need to 'go beyond noblemen and their immediate kinsmen'.⁴⁵ This need must clearly include women. Although there has since been a wider application of genealogy, as, for example, in the subsequent work of Donaldson, Kirk, Smart, and Bardgett, this has not touched on the role of the family within Scottish politics.⁴⁶ Donaldson also highlighted the fact that blood and marriage connections could not only create and change constructive alliances, but also antagonisms, between families.⁴⁷ This study will take this into account the fact that the early modern Scottish family could be functional and dysfunctional when it came to politics, and make use of genealogy in an attempt to go beyond high-born noble men and women and their immediate families.

Young argued that later sixteenth-century politics centred on two opposing factions, which he loosely named 'political parties'.⁴⁸ In developing this theme, he moved marginally towards a pluralist or modern party politics view of early modern Scottish politics rather than building upon the usual plural elite or faction one.⁴⁹ He was probably influenced by Donaldson, who earlier had promoted the idea of a *via media* whereby the monarch played two parties off against each other.⁵⁰ Starkey has pointed out that many English historians have spent a lot of time trying to distinguish early modern faction politics from modern party politics.⁵¹ Williams saw factions as the 'ancestors of political parties', which he thought developed around leading men.⁵² Goodare believed that factionalism was the normal pattern of politics in the 1570s. He defined a 'faction' as 'a group within the government or ruling elite, usually headed by a leading nobleman' that was 'held together by personal ties between lords and followers'.⁵³

⁴⁵ G. Donaldson, 'Genealogy and the historian: an address given to the Shetland Family History Society on 7 October 1992', in J. Kirk (ed.), *Scotland's History: Approaches and Reflections*, G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1995), 65-79.

⁴⁶ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*. Donaldson loosely examined the relationship of parish ministers; G. Donaldson, 'The legal profession in Scottish society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', *Judicial Review*, xxi (1976), 1-19. Donaldson looked at the social background and the family relationships of the legal profession; Donaldson, 'Genealogy', 75-6; J. Kirk, 'The exercise of ecclesiastical patronage by the crown, 1560-1572,' in I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 93-113. Kirk investigated the social background of elders in the Scottish parishes in the later sixteenth century; R. N. Smart, 'Some observations on the provinces of the Scottish universities, 1560-1850', in R. Cant (ed.), *The Scottish Tradition*, (Edinburgh, 1974), 91-106. Smart enquired into the graduates to discover from what part of Scotland they came from; F. D. Bardgett, 'Four parishes kirks to one preacher', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxii (1986), 195-209. Bardgett studied a single parish in the 1560s and showed the place of elders in local society; Young, 'Scottish political parties'. Young examines the social background of the Scottish political parties in the later sixteenth century but does not stray very far from the leading nobles and their immediate kin.

⁴⁷ Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 151.

⁴⁸ Young, 'Scottish political parties', 362; J. R. Young, *The Scottish Parliaments, 1639-1661* (Edinburgh, 1996). Young treats parties rather less loosely in this work on this later period.

⁴⁹ Young, 'Scottish Political parties', 360-2. Young found that, among other things, the faction fighting of 1570s and 1580s had died down in the late 1590s.

⁵⁰ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 16. Donaldson thought that these were based on Protestant militarism and Catholic interest respectively, each consisting of groups of families led by the head of kin, and formed a 'party government of a kind'.

⁵¹ D. Starkey, 'From feud to faction: English politics circa 1450-1550', *History Today*, xxxi (1982), 16-17. Starkey described how Renaissance and Stuart political historians scholars have spent a lot of time trying to distinguish early modern faction politics from modern party politics.

⁵² N. Williams, *All the Queen's Men: Elizabeth I and her Courtiers* (London, 1974), 14.

⁵³ J. Goodare, 'Scottish politics in the reign of James VI', in J. Goodare and M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 1999), 34.

Several Scottish writers, such as Donaldson, Wormald, and Brown, emphasised the fluidity of factions of this nature.⁵⁴ Donaldson, for example, maintained that few Scots were steadily committed to a consistent party or faction.⁵⁵ English revisionists, such as Lockyer and Peck, have taken a more dynamic view of political factions, and English post-revisionists, such as Dean, Archer, Smith, and Lambert, have gone one step further and perceived parliamentary factions as pressure groups or 'lobbies'.⁵⁶ Bardgett and Macdonald have taken a more dynamic view of Scottish religious factions than their predecessors. Bardgett identified several local factions that competed for influence, the nature and composition of which changed over a very short period of time.⁵⁷ More particularly, Macdonald argued that the idea of a 'Melvillian' faction has clouded the issues, and that historians have been approaching their sources with too many preconceptions, many of which had their roots in the misleading picture presented by contemporary writers, notably James Melville and John Spottiswood. Macdonald found that there was no firm evidence to suggest Andrew Melville was the leader of a religious faction, or that he was more prominent in the Kirk than many others.⁵⁸ This study will take a more dynamic view of political 'factions', as well as other political groups, such as 'clans', 'followings', and 'affinities',⁵⁹ similar to that of Macdonald, but will consider them in terms of 'pressure groups'.

Rait argued that the most important 'things' were done in the name of Scottish parliament.⁶⁰ Terry and the Mackinnons shared his view, which was strongly influenced by English constitutional historians' perceptions of the English parliament, notably that of Stubbs, although the Mackinnons did make some allowance for ethnic and cultural differences.⁶¹ Ferguson argued that these approaches were flawed with this English 'fixation', and gaps in the evidence.⁶² O'Brien thought that they tended to over-emphasise its constitution and place within a fragmented and broader constitutional system, and to

⁵⁴ Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 143-56; K. M. Brown, 'The price of friendship: the "well affected" and English economic clientage in Scotland before 1603', in R. A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 140; Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 132-51.

⁵⁵ Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 140-3.

⁵⁶ R. Lockyer, *Buckingham: The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London, 1981); L. E. Peck, *Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of James I* (London, 1990); D. M. Dean, *Law-making and Society in Late Elizabethan England: The Parliament of England, 1584-1601* (Cambridge, 1996); D. M. Dean, 'Pressure groups and lobbies in the Elizabethan and early Jacobean parliaments', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, xi (1991), 139-52; D. M. Dean, 'London lobbies and parliament: the case of the brewers and coopers in the parliament of 1593', *Parliamentary History*, viii (1989), 341-65; D. M. Dean, 'Public or private? London, leather and legislation in Elizabethan England', *Historical Journal*, xxxi (1988), 525-49; I. Archer, 'The London lobbies in the later sixteenth century', *Historical Journal*, xxxi (1988), 17-44; D. L. Smith, *The Stuart Parliaments, 1603-1689* (London, 1999).

⁵⁷ Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 10-13.

⁵⁸ A. R. Macdonald, 'Ecclesiastical politics in Scotland, 1586-1610' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1995), 4, 280-3; A. R. Macdonald, 'James VI and the general assembly, 1586-1618', in Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 170-1, 178, 184-5.

⁵⁹ R. Nicholson, 'The Highlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c. 400-c. 1600* (St. Andrews, 1975), 68. Nicholson has pointed out that the structural and functional ties of kinship were the basis both of Highland (and Border) 'clans' and Lowland 'kins', the former group of extended families having been recognised and distinguished by contemporaries for their 'bellicosity' from the end of the fourteenth century onwards; Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 39. Wormald similarly argued that the structure of local society and the controls were common to every part of Scotland, including the Highlands and Borders.

⁶⁰ R. S. Rait, *The Parliaments of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1924), 46-7.

⁶¹ C. S. Terry, *The Scottish Parliament: its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707* (Glasgow, 1905); J. A. R. Mackinnon, *The Constitutional History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1937).

⁶² W. Ferguson, 'Introduction', in C. Jones (ed.), *The Scots and Parliament*, (Edinburgh, 1996), 1.

criticise its apparent subservience to the crown. Their focus on the activities of such less-formal bodies as the lords of the articles, the privy council, and conventions of estates gave the impression that parliament was inadequate. But as O'Brien argued, these 'rivals' to parliament were 'generally very careful in matters that needed the approval of parliament, and seemed aware of the greater authority of parliament'. He concluded that parliament had a right to be consulted on important matters of state, and that there is little convincing evidence that parliament over the period was weak.⁶³

Goodare thought that parliament was sovereign, but that institutions like parliament served more to clarify and systematise the customs of communities than to impose a central 'code' upon them.⁶⁴ Brown, at one stage, believed that parliament was usually the plaything of other political forces, and, consequently, that parliamentary sovereignty was of a 'rubber stamp' kind.⁶⁵ More recently, he and Tanner have concluded that 'parliament held a crucial and unrivalled place in the consciousness of the politically influential as the key forum for settlements of major issues'.⁶⁶ Wormald considered that the idea that parliament was a weak body must depend on the 'unlikely idea that the most powerful people in the kingdom changed from eagles to doves when they entered parliament'. It was the only formal link between the centre and localities, and the interests of both the king and the regions required this intermediary institution to have an authoritative voice.⁶⁷ Several writers, such as Nicholson, Grant, and Duncan, have suggested that earlier parliaments contained more eagles than doves.⁶⁸ Tanner and Macdonald have recently developed this idea further in relation to the lords of the articles of later medieval and early modern Scottish parliaments respectively.⁶⁹ Their work seriously questions Rait's view that the lords of the articles were little more than a committee of the privy council.⁷⁰ Lockyer noted that there has been no recent work on the Scottish privy council.⁷¹ Goodare and Lynch found that little consideration has been given to the relation between the privy council and king's bedchamber.⁷² Brown

⁶³ I. E. O'Brien, 'The Scottish Parliament in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' (Ph.D. thesis, Glasgow University, 1980), v-viii (quote vii); Rait, *Parliaments*.

⁶⁴ Goodare, *State and Society*, 37; J. Goodare, 'Parliament and society in Scotland, 1560-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1989), iv.

⁶⁵ K. M. Brown, 'Review of J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), and J. Goodare and M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 1999)', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxx (2001), 123-4.

⁶⁶ K. M. Brown, 'The Reformation Parliament', in K. M. Brown and R. J. Tanner (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235-1560* (Edinburgh, 2004), 203-31; K. M. Brown and R. J. Tanner, 'Introduction: parliament and politics in Scotland, 1235-1560', in Brown and Tanner, *Parliament and Politics*, 26-7.

⁶⁷ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 21.

⁶⁸ R. Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), 425-31; A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland, 1306-1469* (London, 1984), 166-70; A. A. M. Duncan, *James I, King of Scots, 1424-1437* (Glasgow, 1984).

⁶⁹ R. Tanner, 'The lords of the articles before 1540: a reassessment', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxix (2000), 189-212; A. R. Macdonald, 'Deliberative processes in parliament c. 1567-1639: multicameralism and the lords of the articles', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxix (2002), 23-51.

⁷⁰ Rait, *Parliaments*, 7.

⁷¹ Lockyer, *James VI and I*, 215.

⁷² J. Goodare and M. Lynch, 'James VI: universal king?', in Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 14.

maintained that politics often turned on a council-chamber axis.⁷³ This study will take the view that the most important things were done *by* parliament.

Goodare believed that information about members of parliament, such as family relations, patronage, religious, and political persuasion, can throw light on its deliberations, but that this illumination falls largely upon a blank wall. We rarely know what individual members said, or how they voted.⁷⁴ He studied the minutes of parliament and the committee of the articles for the 1639 and many subsequent parliaments that have survived, and deduced from these that, in earlier sessions of parliament, government leaders, lobbyists, and rank and file members of parliament held impromptu meetings to discuss legislative proposals.⁷⁵ O'Brien found that the committee of the articles' control over what came before it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not absolute.⁷⁶ Macdonald established that there was sufficient evidence to assume that the estates acted separately at times during the course of a parliament for 200 years before the 1639 parliament, especially during the reign of James VI, and that the burghs may have been the driving force behind these 'multicameral tendencies'. The burgh commissioners were the most self-conscious and organised estate, and the only one outside parliament with a corporate existence. Macdonald argued that there was a need to re-examine the form which a meeting of parliament took during James's reign, and reassess the nature and powers of the committee of the articles, which has been generally seen as a 'hand-picked tool of the crown to restrict the freedom of parliament'.⁷⁷ However, in doing this, there is a serious danger of concealing the social relations involved or 'reification'. In deliberately focusing on parliament, this study will give due consideration to individual agency as well as structure at both a formal and informal level within parliament and other governmental institutions.

Administrators played an important role in parliament, and various views have been put forward about the Scottish administration. Brown thought it operated relatively effectively at the centre, but scarcely existed in the localities.⁷⁸ Wormald found that Scottish nobility had a more important position in their locality than some of their European counterparts because the Scottish court was institutionally less well developed.⁷⁹ Goodare and Lynch have argued that James, in contrast to his

⁷³ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 119.

⁷⁴ J. Goodare, 'Who was the Scottish parliament?', *Parliamentary History*, xiv (1995), 177.

⁷⁵ J. Goodare, 'The Scottish parliamentary records, 1560-1603', *Historical Research*, lxxii (1999), 246.

⁷⁶ O'Brien, 'Scottish Parliament', ch. 3.

⁷⁷ Macdonald, 'Deliberative processes', 27-44. Two examples of separate action were given for 1587 and 1594. In 1587, the king told some petitioners 'to be quiet and present their petitions orderly to the committee of the articles, where they should be answered according to reason (*Spottiswood*, ii, 365)'. In 1594, it was asserted the inconvenience of presentation 'of a confused multitude of doubtful and informal articles and supplications', ordered that a convention of four of every estate should meet 20 days before to receive articles and supplications and to transmit them to the Clerk Register 'to the effect that things reasonable and necessary may be formally made, and presented in a book, to the committee of the articles in Parliament time (*APS*, iv, 69, v, 270)'.
⁷⁸ K. M. Brown, *Kingdom or Province?: Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603-1713* (London, 1992), 30.

⁷⁹ Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 14; J. M. Wormald, 'Princes and the regions in the Scottish Reformation,' in N. Macdougall (ed.), *Church, Politics and Society* (Edinburgh, 1983), 66. Wormald argued that the court made comparatively fewer demands in terms of money and war. Regular taxation only began in Scotland in 1588, and the threat of the Spanish Armada (1588) was the nearest James VI ever came to war.

mother, governed less in person, and increasingly more through institutions.⁸⁰ Adamson found that courts throughout Europe had a polycentric institutional structure, which involved a series of power relations emanating from a variety of subsidiary sources, such as immediate members of the ruler's family, senior officers, magnates, prelates, and army commanders, and that any one (or more) of these could qualify or sometimes eclipse the authority of the ruler. He maintained that there was a steady expansion in numbers after 1500; that the administrative distinction between the 'household' serving the ruler, and the 'bureaucracy' serving the government, tended to be blurred; and that this overlap of functions tended to be reflected in the actual space configurations of many courts. He also described how real power had been transferred from the old nobility or *noblesse d'ancienne* to 'new men' or *noblesse de robe*, who had acquired their noble status through bureaucratic service to the state.⁸¹ Lee was probably the first to make this distinction with regard to Scotland.⁸² Wormald also, at one point, adopted this seventeenth-century French idea, which Brown claimed that historians often exaggerated, but that, nevertheless, was grounded in real differences.⁸³

In contrast to Brown's earlier biographical sketches of magistrates and servants, Zulager focused on similarities rather than differences and examined 56 'middle-rank' administrators, including Glamis, using five specific criteria - social origins and land tenure, educational background, services to the king, patronage, and religion. He found that nearly all of the middling folk were well-born noblemen in the 'best of Scottish traditions'. Most were the sons of noblemen and crown free holders in their own right. All except one were university graduates.⁸⁴ Zulager's work suggests that Glamis was typical to a considerable degree with regard to the first two criteria - social origins and land tenure and educational background, but it does not throw any light as to what extent he was typical in terms of the other three.

Later sixteenth-century Scottish policy has long escaped any consideration based on a precise definition, its substantive character or content as a whole, or its significance in relation to the policy-making process as a whole. Because of this, there is a danger of comparative misunderstanding across the literature as a whole, an over emphasis on particular policies or policy areas, and falling into an unjustified claim that the content of later sixteenth century policy was simply a product of the policy-making process. A good example of over emphasis is an article by Goodare on the 1621 Scottish parliament, which essentially concentrates on the Articles of Perth Act and the two Supply Acts and

⁸⁰ Goodare and Lynch, 'Universal king?', 12. 'The business of his privy council expanded hugely in the 1580s and 1590s, and his parliaments passed far more legislation than before.'

⁸¹ J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe: Ritual, Politics and Culture under the Ancien Régime, 1500-1750* (London, 1999), 12, 15.

⁸² Lee, *Mainland*, 143.

⁸³ Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 162; Brown, *Noble Society*, 1.

⁸⁴ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 215-38; Zulager, 'Middle-rank administrators', 197, 225-30. The exception was Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, who was educated with James VI under George Buchanan and Peter Young.

largely ignores the remaining 111 public and private measures.⁸⁵ This study will give a precise definition of policy, take into account its substantive character or content as a whole, and consider its significance in relation to the policy-making process as a whole.

Any study such as this, must consider the nature of political 'power'. Le Goff made this point well when he wrote that 'political history becomes history in depth by becoming the history of power'.⁸⁶ However, perceptions of political power have changed considerably over the last 150 years in early modern Scottish historiography. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, orthodox writers such as Tytler, Burton, (P. H.) Brown, and Lang, gave a mainly narrative account of how early modern Scotland moved from being a medieval or feudal state, in which there was a mutual dependence between the lords and the monarch, to an absolute state, in which the Stewarts enjoyed a complete autonomy in the mid-seventeenth century, and how a small, cohesive, and how an over-mighty Scottish nobility, including the Lyons of Glamis, dominated the remainder of the Scottish people through an exercise of power that was, at best, benevolently paternalist and authoritarian, and, at worst, despotic and corrupt.⁸⁷ The bulk of society was seen as a largely passive and incompetent force, and there was no structural conflict between those who had and those that had not. The emphasis was on kings and queens, great politicians, such as Glamis, and high drama rather than on social and economic matters. This single elite approach to political power was based more on the comments of letter writers, diarists, and social observers of the day than on key decisions of the time or society as a whole. Reality was equated with the perception of these people, but many of the factors determining political power could not be directly observed.

By the mid-twentieth century, there was a rebirth of Scottish history when this evolutionary view was reconsidered. It began when 'later orthodox' writers, such as Willson, Lee, and Donaldson, combined the earlier political *cum* biographical approach to political power with a sociological one.⁸⁸ Donaldson, whose first major work was published in the mid 1960s when the social sciences were already beginning to have a major impact on history generally, was the first Scottish historian to reassess James's leadership qualities, and draw attention to the importance of social and economic issues, including the new self-esteem of lairds and burgesses, the general dissatisfaction of rank and file, and the plight of the poor.

Many of the modified evolutionary views of these later orthodox writers began to be revised in the early 1980s, when 'revisionists' re-examined old sources, took advantage of new evidence, and were

⁸⁵ J. Goodare, 'The Scottish parliament of 1621', *Historical Journal*, xxxviii (1995), 29-51.

⁸⁶ J. Le Goff, 'Is politics still the backbone of history?', in F. Gilbert and S. R. Graubard (eds.), *Historical Studies Today* (New York, 1972), 341.

⁸⁷ P. I. Tytler, *History of Scotland*, 9 vols. (London, 1828-43); J. H. Burton, *History of Scotland*, 9 vols. (Edinburgh, 1853, 1867-70); P. H. Brown, *History of Scotland to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1899-1905); Lang, *History of Scotland*.

⁸⁸ D. H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956); Lee, *Maitland*; Donaldson, *James V - James VII*.

more strongly influenced by the social sciences. In very general terms, history moved further away from an individualistic methodology towards a more holistic methodology. The revisionists all shared an elitist approach to political power, but, in contrast to their predecessors, their description of early modern Scotland was increasingly more pluralistic, and social and economic factors were more firmly included. Their work advocated a co-operative view of the nature of political power based on a mutual dependency. Among other works, this fresh initiative resulted in an important political insight into James VI by Wormald, substantial biographies of three of his political contemporaries by Anderson, Hewitt, and Macpherson, and in depth studies on other politically related themes, notably bonds of manrent by Wormald and blood feuds by Brown.⁸⁹ The co-operative view first came to the fore in Scotland in the 1970s, when Wormald used it to counter Lee's assertion that James prepared the way for absolutism. In hindsight, Lynch and Goodare thought that her approach was inappropriate after 1585.⁹⁰ Whyte considered that it was almost certainly an over-idealised view, but commented that the absence of certain types of popular protest may indicate a degree of social harmony.⁹¹

Although the new thinking of the revisionists remedied some of the shortfalls of the earlier orthodox school in relation to political power, neither approach had all the right answers. Revisionist historians began to be criticised in the late 1980s for a piecemeal rather than comprehensive approach, and the fact that their co-operative view of political power could underplay or ignore serious political confrontation and conflict.⁹² Several works on early modern Scotland written in the 1990s by a new wave of post-revisionists have to a large extent addressed the first criticism, but not necessarily the second. Writers, such as Brown, Goodare, and Lynch, came to terms with the problem of a piecemeal approach by focusing on ideas and attitudes, and underplaying structure and function. But this has tended to over-romanticise the political picture by exaggerating continuity and cohesion, just as earlier orthodox and later orthodox writers over emphasised disruption. In addition, they have tended to ignore individual behaviour, and the economic and social context that constrained the ideas and attitudes they described.⁹³ Goodare and Lynch have addressed the problems of a co-operative by promoting a 'new authoritarianism'.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Wormald, 'James VI and I'; Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney*; Hewitt, *Morton*; Macpherson, 'Francis Stewart, 5th Earl Bothwell'; Brown, *Bloodfeud*; Wormald, *Lords and Men*.

⁹⁰ M. Lee, 'James VI and the aristocracy', *Scotia*, i (1977), 18-23; J. M. Wormald, 'James VI: New men for old?' *Scotia*, ii (1978), 70-6; J. M. Wormald (nee Brown), 'Scottish politics, 1567-1625', in A. G. R. Smith (ed.), *The Reign of James VI and I* (New York, 1973), 26; Goodare and Lynch, 'Universal king?', 11-12; Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 261.

⁹¹ I. D. Whyte, *Scotland Before the Industrial Revolution: An Economic and Social History, c.1050-c.1750* (London, 1995), 152.

⁹² M. A. R. Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments, 1559-1601* (London, 1996), 23-4, 92-3.

⁹³ Anderson, *History of the Western Family*, 83-4.

⁹⁴ J. Goodare, 'The nobility and the absolutist state in Scotland, 1584-1638', *History*, lxxviii (1993), 161-82; Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 262; Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 460; Goodare, *State and Society*, 326; J. Goodare, 'Scottish politics', 32-4, 54.

Goodare's and Lynch's belief that the later sixteenth-century (after 1585) absolutist state needed 'a reconstructed and compliant nobility' mirrors Anderson's earlier conviction about the importance of a 'non-hostile reconstruction of the nobility', which he ably expressed in his well-known study of European absolutism.⁹⁵ Looking at the other side of the argument, as Adamson pointed out, even those revisionists who were generally sceptical about notions of absolutism in European courts, have partly endorsed these views by stressing the importance of the sovereign's personal authority. He found that extensive recent research on European courts showed that noble influence in both political and cultural fields appears to have been far more adaptive, resilient, and extensive than was once supposed.⁹⁶ Scott and Storrs discovered that the consensus of recent research on the European nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was that, although there was occasional conflict, the general relationship between the crown and the nobility was based on mutual dependence and necessary co-operation rather than conflict and rivalry.⁹⁷ Like the many writers referred to in Adamson and Scott and Storrs recent works, Brown has continued to support a co-operative view, believing that the *status quo* between the crown and nobility continued despite occasional absolute rhetoric.⁹⁸

The difference between an authoritarian and co-operative view of the nature of political power in current early modern Scottish historiography, as represented by Goodare and Lynch and Brown respectively, is not as extreme as it once was (Lee v. Wormald). However, the fact that a difference remains is not as so surprising. The two distinct perspectives reflect two corresponding different political philosophies originally put forward by Hobbes and Machiavelli centuries ago, which Bauman has argued as since being advanced by 'legislators' and 'interpreters'.⁹⁹ Goodare, in the well-trodden footsteps of Hobbes, has sought to legitimate a myth of order premised on sovereignty.¹⁰⁰ This study will deal with the current problems arising from the new wave of post-revisionism by duly taking into account disruption and division, individual behaviour, and the economic and social context. It will take a co-operative view of the nature of political power based on a mutual dependency or exchange, but based on a structuralist methodology (discussed below), rather than an individualistic or holistic methodology (as mentioned above).

⁹⁵ P. Anderson, *Lineages and the Absolute State* (London, 1974), 47-8.

⁹⁶ Adamson, 'Ancien-regime', 15.

⁹⁷ Scott and Storrs, 'Consolidation of noble power', 36.

⁹⁸ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 218-19, 235; K. M. Brown, 'A house divided: family and feud in Carrick under John Kennedy, fifth earl of Cassillis', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxv (1996), 196; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 33-4; Brown, *Noble Society*, 275.

⁹⁹ Z. Bauman, *Legislators and Interpreters* (Cambridge, 1987). Hobbes and his successors legislated on what power was, Machiavelli and his adherents interpreted on what power does. Legislators advocated a strong unified fixed state power, while interpreters focused on the strategy and organisation that seemed most likely to secure an ordered totality of power in a scene characterised by flux.

¹⁰⁰ Goodare, *State and Society*, 13. Goodare defined the early modern Scottish state as a political community or society with some form of publicly exercised power or authority, he prefixed it with a notion of 'sovereignty' in the Austinian sense, which separates law and obedience from morality and choice (J. Austin, *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, ed. W. E. Rumble (Cambridge, 1995)).

Zulager thought that patronage was at the core of later sixteenth-century Scottish politics. This was 'where the real give and take of Scotland's kin based society impacted upon the institutions of state and shaped the particular methods of Scottish government'. He argued that the commonality of surnames among middle-rank administrators was evidence of this, and these 'family invasions' were traditional. James himself had a personal preference for 'kin-based' succession. A man's advancement, particularly initially, depended on whom he knew rather than what he knew or could do. In addition, access or proximity to the king, length of crown service, and already existing heritable wealth played a critical part in determining rewards.¹⁰¹ Goodare maintained that royal patronage tended to be in the form of pensions rather than land after 1596, and, consequently, a noble's client network based on land was becoming less important than links with the administration. In explaining this, he used Glamis as a 'transitional example': although Glamis had a large local 'following' when necessary, his 'remarkable pervasive influence at court in the 1580s and 1590s depended more on his various offices'.¹⁰² Hurstfield pointed out that although patronage and favouritism were similar, they involved different political mechanisms: patronage was a system of control that was appropriate and practical for its day, whereas favouritism was a reward for irrelevant personal qualities.¹⁰³ This study will take the view that patronage and favouritism were central to a much wider mutual exchange of individual resources of political power, which, for the purposes of this study, have been categorised as personal factors, ideology, numbers and organisation, wealth, and violence.

Evans argued that the character of a monarch was crucial.¹⁰⁴ Adamson believed that some of the personal factors affecting the standing of a sovereign are obvious, but that it was not just the failings of the monarch, but the court itself that imposed limitations on his or her authority and influence, and that a large portion of the government was determined by what Starkey called the 'politics of intimacy'.¹⁰⁵ Wormald thought that personality was crucial in Scotland, and counted for far more than institutional position. She maintained that James had a profound belief in personal contact, and friendship with him was the traditional way in which magnates influenced the political process.¹⁰⁶ Brown also thought that personality was decisive, especially in the Scottish political system, which had underdeveloped

¹⁰¹ Zulager, 'Middle-rank administrators', 146-51, 154, 157.

¹⁰² Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 460.

¹⁰³ J. Hurstfield, 'Social structure, office-holding and politics, chiefly in Western Europe', in R. B. Wernham and others (eds.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*, 14 vols. (Cambridge, 1968), iii, 133-4.

¹⁰⁴ R. J. W. Evans, 'The court, a protean institution and an elusive subject,' in R. G. Asch and A. M. Burke (eds.), *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility* (Oxford, 1991), 486-88.

¹⁰⁵ Adamson, 'Ancien-regime', 15-16. Adamson thought that this was partly a matter of expectation and tradition. 'The court was embedded in a culture that esteemed custom and convention as much as it did sacred rights of kings, and entrenched conventions governed appointments to court office, inherited perquisites and privileges; deeply ingrained attitudes towards proper aristocratic conduct and honour. All these circumscribed the monarch's freedom to manoeuvre, fencing him in with principles that were difficult, if not impossible, to break.' D. Starkey, 'Introduction: court history in perspective', in D. Starkey (ed.), *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London, 1987), 13.

¹⁰⁶ Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 18-19, 34, 153, 165; Wormald, 'New men for old?', 72.

institutions and undefined royal authority.¹⁰⁷ Like Starkey, he considered that intimacy was power. Most 'realised anyway that far more could be achieved through attendance at court, on a hunt, or in a late night drinking session with the king, than in long tedious hours at the council table'.¹⁰⁸ This view corresponds with an earlier conclusion made by A. L. Brown that an earl at court in the late fifteenth century often achieved more than a clerk register at umpteen meetings at the council. However, such 'fly-on-the-wall' type observations raise several important methodological concerns about perception and reality, and, as Adamson has pointed out, access and intimacy did not always equate with political authority and influence.¹⁰⁹

According to Young, immediate personal and selfish motives, such as greed, jealousy, bitterness, fear, and revenge, were often the underlying reasons for action, and more altruistic ones, such as honour and religion, were often used to conceal them or for propaganda purposes. He suggested that several traceable motives may have existed, important ones such as religion, kin ties, marriage, and personal characteristics as well as looser influences such as geographical locations and others, but there is always the possibility that the one that really mattered left no trace. He thought that this was particularly the case with individual, as opposed to collective, motives.¹¹⁰ Namier warned against applying 'modern psychology' to self-perception and motivation, especially in matters concerning gender, place, faith, and status, but did not say why.¹¹¹ Wormald considered that status and leadership were also important.¹¹² Brown recounted how John Kennedy, 5th earl of Cassillis, eventually won the Kennedy feud partly because he was the earl, chief of the Kennedys, and hereditary bailie of Carrick.¹¹³ Knowledge and intellectual ability were important factors too. Simpson analysed more than 650 of James VI's personal letters, and suggested that one possible key to understanding his personality was the fact that he was an intellectual.¹¹⁴ Personal factors, such as those discussed above, are difficult to deal with. Nevertheless, this study will attempt to assess them, but with caution and only in very general terms.

The nobility in Europe, according to Dewald, all held to common ideas and beliefs until the mid-sixteenth century, when new and competing ones came along, pushed along in part by the new

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 197.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 6, 116, 121; K. M. Brown, 'The nobility of Jacobean Scotland, 1567-1625,' in J. M. Wormald (ed.), *Scotland Revisited* (London, 1991), 65. This view corresponds with an earlier conclusion that an earl at court in the late fifteenth century often achieved more than a clerk register at umpteen meetings at the council; A. L. Brown, 'The Scottish "establishment" in the later fifteenth century', *Juridical Review*, xxiii (1978), 105.

¹⁰⁹ J. Adamson, 'The Tudor and Stuart courts, 1509-1714', in Adamson, *Princely Courts of Europe*, 109.

¹¹⁰ Young, 'Scottish political parties', 359.

¹¹¹ E. B. Namier, *Personalities and Power* (London, 1955), 1-7. Namier thought that 'fear, conscious or unconscious, was often the impelling force behind money making, over-eating, intellectual pursuits, or endeavours to benefit humanity', and that 'idealism' and 'idealists' are misnomers when bestowed merely because self-interest or ambition is not writ large on the surface (p. 6).

¹¹² Wormald, 'Princes', 72-4.

¹¹³ Brown, 'House divided', 195.

¹¹⁴ G. G. Simpson, 'The personal letters of James VI: a short commentary', in Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 142-3. The letters were on a variety of topics, and included all those in print.

printing industry.¹¹⁵ Adamson found that more recent research has identified a far more variegated range of moral and ethical values on offer at early modern European courts that encompassed honour and chivalric duty, as well as familial and religious obligation, and that these values set patterns for courtly behaviour that might affect a monarch's demand for loyalty to the crown.¹¹⁶ Several writers have examined the effects of the Scottish Reformation. These include the later orthodox historians, such as Donaldson, revisionists, such as Kirk and Mullan, and post-revisionists, such as MacDonald.¹¹⁷ Whereas Donaldson had an Episcopalian view, Kirk tended to ply a Presbyterian perspective. Wormald described how the new religion posed a massive challenge to traditional lordship. She argued that the new Protestant religion could change the balance of power at court and elsewhere. It provided some nobles, such as Glamis, with 'a new inspiring image of themselves'.¹¹⁸ Brown related how the Catholic nobility used the Counter-Reformation to further their own local position as well as their faith,¹¹⁹ and Durkan examined the significance of early Jesuit missions in Scotland.¹²⁰

Brown considered that Humanism influenced the new religious thinking in Scotland, and that the Calvinist censure of private violence encountered little resistance at an ideological level from a Scottish elite already disturbed by Renaissance re-evaluations of the honour society.¹²¹ Many writers, including Edington, Gray, and Stevenson, have touched upon this upset.¹²² Some writers, notably Mason, Lynch, and Williamson respectively, have highlighted the importance of 'national myth', 'national identity', and 'national consciousness'.¹²³ Brown found that the idea of 'Britain' was a major undercurrent.¹²⁴ Dawson has recently examined perceptions of this concept found in England and Ireland.¹²⁵ Many writers have highlighted the significance of the changing nature of kingship within a developing Scottish nation.¹²⁶ Goodare argued that the new and competing religious and secular ideas and

¹¹⁵ J. D. Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, 1996), 33-6.

¹¹⁶ Adamson, 'Ancien-regime', 17-18.

¹¹⁷ G. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960); J. Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk* (Edinburgh, 1989); D. G. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland, 1560-1638* (Edinburgh, 1986); A. R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1638: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Aldershot, 1998).

¹¹⁸ Wormald, 'Princes', 78-9.

¹¹⁹ K. M. Brown, 'The making of a *politique*: the Counter Reformation and regional politics of John, eighth Lord Maxwell', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxvi (1987), 152-75.

¹²⁰ J. Durkan, 'Sidelights of the early Jesuit mission in Scotland', *Scottish Tradition*, xiii (1984-5), 34-48.

¹²¹ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 185; Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 66. Brown thought that Buchanan drew from 'a potent mixture of humanist and conciliar ideas, Calvinist resistance theory and possibly Celtic traditions concerning the obligations of chiefs'.

¹²² C. Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland: Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1486-1555* (Amherst, 1994). Introduction, 206-8; D. Gray, 'The royal entry in sixteenth century Scotland', in S. Mapstone and J. Wood (eds.), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998); D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997).

¹²³ R. A. Mason, 'Scotching the brut: politics, history and national myth in sixteenth-century Britain', in R. A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 60-84; M. Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1991); A. H. Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI* (Edinburgh, 1979).

¹²⁴ Brown, *Kingdom or Province?*, 77.

¹²⁵ J. E. A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary: Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹²⁶ R. A. Mason, 'Kingship and commonweal: political thought and ideology in Reformation Scotland' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1981); Goodare, *State and Society*.

beliefs, such as those briefly outlined above, when promoted among the common people, led to a more consensual exercise of power.¹²⁷ His point is similar to that made by Prothero over 100 years ago:

But the Tudor monarchy, unlike most despotisms did not depend on gold or force, on the possession of vast estates, unlimited taxation or a standing army. It rested on the willing support of the nation at large, a support due to the deeply rooted conviction that a strong executive was necessary to the national unity; and that in the face of dangers which threatened the country at both home and abroad, the sovereign must be allowed a free hand.¹²⁸

Many of these and other ideological matters concerning the family and politics will be given further consideration in the following chapter.

According to Powis, noble families, such as the Lyons of Glamis, not only inherited power of command over others, but also exceptional resources that allowed the head to assert both the honour and reputation of the house and his or her own role as its leader.¹²⁹ Kelham summed up these exceptional resources in Scotland as simply land and men.¹³⁰ Lee maintained that the "greatest nobles" were those who combined extensive land holdings with a wide family connection.¹³¹ Dawson found that earl of Argyll not only relied on his own resources, but also those of his kin and his wider affinity, which he created and extended through deliberate personal bonds of maintenance, friendship, and manrent as well as marriage alliances.¹³² The individual resource of political power provided by numbers and organisation was not straightforward. Boardman found that personal bonds were a pledge of good behaviour rather than a long-term commitment to social and political co-operation.¹³³ Wormald believed that the service of men was not given through personal bonds for lordship; it was given for good lordship. Brown observed that unquestioned obedience was never the basis of the relationship between lords and men, even when personal bonds were reinforced by kinship.¹³⁴ Kelley discovered that, when the earls of Douglas and Angus were involved in civil strife, they did not receive the full support of their kindred.¹³⁵ Like the

¹²⁷ Goodare, *State and Society*, 305.

¹²⁸ *Select Statutes and Other Constitutional Documents Illustrative of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, ed. G. W. Prothero (Oxford, 1994), xvii.

¹²⁹ J. Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1984), chapters 2-3.

¹³⁰ C. Kelham, 'Bases of magnatial power in later fifteenth-century Scotland' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1986), 7, 351-60. Kelham found that half the members of the affinities were kinsmen of some kind, although he was not convinced that kinship alone was the reason for their relationships, most of the rest were linked to the lord by feudal tenure (a declining element) or bonds of manrent (a rising element), and again it is not clear what element was decisive—some followers received material rewards, but most received intangible benefits of maintenance and protection.

¹³¹ Lee, *Mainland*, 7. Lee thought that, after the Stewarts, the Hamiltons, who were next in line to the throne after them and immensely powerful in western Scotland, were the first and foremost of these. Not far behind them were the highland Gordons and Campbells, whose power partly lay in the lowlands, the Boarder families of the Maxwells and Johnstones in the west, the Kers, Scotts, and Hepburns in the centre, and Homes in the east, and the Lowland families of the Douglases, Kennedys in the south-west, and the Erskines, Lesser families were those of the only slighter less important earls and lords, which included the Lyons and many others.

¹³² J. E. A. Dawson, 'The fifth Earl of Argyll, Gaelic lordship and political power in sixteenth-century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxvii (1988), 7-13.

¹³³ S. I. Boardman, 'Politics and feud in Late medieval Scotland' (Ph.D. thesis, St. Andrews University, 1989), xx.

¹³⁴ Brown, 'House divided', 195.

¹³⁵ M. G. R. Kelley, 'The Douglas Earls of Angus: a study in the social and political bases of power of a Scottish family from 1389 until 1557' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1973), iii.

family, this individual resource of power could be functional and dysfunctional when it came to politics. This study will take this into account when considering numbers and organisation.

Dewald found that, although nobles dominated most early modern societies in Europe as much by wealth as by honour or social reputation, important questions still remained unanswered about noble wealth, particularly about the scale of the economic changes and challenges that nobles faced, and the strengths and weakness that they brought to the problem.¹³⁶ Brown pointed out that finding such answers is made particularly difficult by the nature of the record sources: that, more than any other individual resource of political power, the temporal length of an investigation can alter the picture enormously; and that the range of noble wealth was considerable.¹³⁷ He maintained that, because inflation outstripped income from land, a major economic problem for them was that they tied the bulk of their assets in land.¹³⁸ Land was not only the most prevalent source of material wealth, but also had a potent non-material value, which, according to Powis, necessitated a 'visible' spending.¹³⁹ Hospitality and display were important political and social tools, but, as Adamson remarked, they generally contained a substantial element of bluff, and, consequently, opulence did not necessarily correlate with the actual political power of a family.¹⁴⁰ Rabb thought that some historians, in 'their relentless quest to find propagandist meanings' in opulence, ran the risk of over-looking 'shows of learning, homages to antiquity, or *jeux d'esprit*'.¹⁴¹ Several Scottish architectural historians have examined the proliferation of brick and stone later-sixteenth century urban and rural buildings, and how they reflected the changing self-image and behaviour of families. McKean has been particularly successful in doing this.¹⁴²

Brown has portrayed the Scottish nobility as:

ferociously gobbling up former ecclesiastical lands, operating skillfully in the dynamic land market, exploiting perpetual male entails to hold on to their lands, seizing every opportunity to diversify their income from their estates and elsewhere, spending heavily in a life-style that was consistent with their status, and demonstrating considerable ability in manipulating credit. Borrowing from other nobles and merchants became increasingly necessary.¹⁴³

He believed that, for most families, such as the Lyons of Glamis, the period was one of growth and confidence, which provided exceptionally good opportunities for younger sons. For some families,

¹³⁶ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 60-2.

¹³⁷ Brown, *Noble Society*, 272.

¹³⁸ Brown, 'Nobility of Jacobean Scotland', 66.

¹³⁹ Powis, *Aristocracy*, 27-31.

¹⁴⁰ Adamson, 'Ancien-regime', 38.

¹⁴¹ T. Rabb, 'Play, not politics: who really understood the symbolism of Renaissance art?', *Times Literary Supplement*, 10 November 1995, quoted in Adamson, 'Ancien-regime', 38.

¹⁴² C. McKean, *The Scottish Chateau. The Country House of Renaissance Scotland* (Stroud, 2001).

¹⁴³ Brown, *Noble Society*, 272.

however, over-ambition brought ruin and, occasionally, permanent damage to the lineage.¹⁴⁴ He argued that a marked rise of indebtedness shook the confidence of nobility during the last two decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁵ For many of them, a properly handled marriage could help to improve their finances.¹⁴⁶ For a few, foreign sources - mainly English, French, and Spanish, were a means of raising money, but this cash did not have a great influence on domestic politics or international relationships.¹⁴⁷ Goodare emphasised the importance of the English subsidy to the king's finances,¹⁴⁸ and Zulager stressed the financial advantages of offices of state.¹⁴⁹ Wealth was also an important individual resource of political power for non-nobles, especially in the burghs. Marshall found that it was important for women too.¹⁵⁰ This study will consider visible and invisible wealth, but will assess it only in very general terms.

Elliott thought that violence was a normal way of life, and wars were an accepted 'institution'.¹⁵¹ Dewald believed that illegitimate violence changed in Europe during the course of the sixteenth century, and that, although nobles, such as Glamis, enjoyed increasing wealth and important privileges, for much of the time they were a rebellious group ready to oppose the monarch, and encourage their 'following' to revolt as well.¹⁵² Nobles were also prepared to oppose each other. Brown found that blood feuds and other forms of illegitimate violence in Scotland worked their way into national politics from local and personal sources. He maintained that both the king and the nobility were unwilling to shed blood, and that the executions of Morton in 1581 and William Ruthven, 1st earl Gowrie in 1584, and George Gordon, 6th earl Huntly's murder of Moray in 1592 were notable exceptions. Although contemporaries described Scotland as a violent place, Brown questioned the accuracy of their views and pointed to the difficulty of finding evidence. Recently, he has re-examined his perception of the balance between blood feuds and Renaissance ideals, and portrayed a less violent society as far as the early modern Scottish nobility were concerned.¹⁵³ Whyte maintained that the idea that the early modern Scottish society was inherently violent is not borne out by the evidence, at least where the Lowlands were

¹⁴⁴ Brown, 'Nobility of Jacobean Scotland', 66; Brown, *Noble Society*, 272-3.

¹⁴⁵ K. M. Brown, 'Aristocratic finances and the origins of the Scottish Revolution', *English Historical Review*, lvi (1989), 46-87.

¹⁴⁶ Powis, *Aristocracy*, 31-33.

¹⁴⁷ K. M. Brown, 'Noble indebtedness in Scotland between the Reformation and Revolution', *Historical Research*, lxii (1989), 260-275; Brown, *Noble Society*, chapters 1-4; Brown, 'Price of friendship', 139-62.

¹⁴⁸ J. Goodare, 'James VI's English subsidy', in Goodare and Lynch, *Reign of James VI*, 110-25.

¹⁴⁹ Zulager, 'Middle-rank administrators', 146-51, 154, 157. Zulager found that this was especially the case with clerical and some fiscal ones, including that of treasurer, which provided a ready opportunity for graft and profit skimming in addition to the other benefits attached to the post. Other fiscal offices, notably the comptroller, collector and treasurer-depute, did not provide such institutionalised opportunities.

¹⁵⁰ R. K. Marshall, *Virgins and Viragos: A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980* (Chicago, 1983), 66.

¹⁵¹ J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided, 1559-1598* (London, 1977), 74-5, 389-90. Elliott believed that the radical voice of Humanism earlier in the sixteenth century had given way to a conservative siege and more nationalist mentality, and that these complicated networks that had developed in place of the old feudal system could rapidly lead to clashes with national overtones.

¹⁵² Dewald, *European Nobility*, 109, 134.

¹⁵³ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 4, 12, 14, 112-6; Brown, *Noble Society*, viii.

concerned.¹⁵⁴ James himself was only too aware of illegitimate violence when he condemned those members of the nobility who 'bang it out bravely, he and all his kin, against him and all his'.¹⁵⁵

Legitimate violence was also a viable individual resource of political power in later sixteenth-century Scotland.¹⁵⁶ In a symbolic form, it was a subtle one. Despite military innovation, and James's own distaste for taking part in personal combat, the 'breaking of lances' between nobles, such as that undertaken by Glamis and Maitland, was still an important part of political life and culture.¹⁵⁷ Young thought that such anachronistic symbolism helped to reinforce non-religious ideologies, and Strong argued that they had lost their religious purpose in Protestant countries by 1600. However, as Friedrichs has pointed out, actual violence was normally used as a final measure in Europe. Petitions, consultations, negotiations, appeals to external authority, demonstrations, public protest, and violence were normally effective, incremental forms of legitimate and illegitimate political action.¹⁵⁸ This study will take into account legitimate and illegitimate violence, and recognise that aggressive violence, as opposed to symbolic violence - as in the case of breaking lances, was normally used as a last resort.

Methodology

Mann thought that too much zigzagging between historical and theoretical scholarship had unsettling effects: 'Too much scholarly attention to the facts makes one blind; too much listening to the rhythms of theory and world history makes one deaf'.¹⁵⁹ Given the need for a balance between the two, Lloyd advised that philosophies, methodologies, and general theories should form the framework for formulating particular theories and methods, and selecting the kinds of evidence or record sources used in research.¹⁶⁰ The underlying philosophy that has been advocated for this research is a form of philosophical realism - policy realism.¹⁶¹ It does not make any strong claim about reality or the truth or falsity of a theory, but simply advocates a consensual nature of truth. It accepts that frameworks change

¹⁵⁴ Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 18-23.

¹⁵⁵ James VI, *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. Mellwain (New York, 1965), 24 (*Basilikon Doron*).

¹⁵⁶ In addition to the two executions mentioned above, the king took to the field against rebels on six occasions between 1587 and 1594.

¹⁵⁷ H. Sturton, *Glamis: A Parish History* (Forfar, 1913), 25; A. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), 16, 37 - Young thought that such anachronistic events helped to reinforce non-religious ideologies; R. Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals, 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984), 19 - Strong argued that they had lost their religious purpose in Protestant countries by 1600.

¹⁵⁸ C. R. Friedrichs, *Urban Politics in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2000), 50-64.

¹⁵⁹ H. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, Volume I: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760* (Cambridge, 1986), viii.

¹⁶⁰ C. Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Oxford, 1993), 30.

¹⁶¹ Policy realism is based on epistemological and transcendental realism.

over time as a result of new findings about the world, and that, although all knowledge is provisional, some knowledge is more confirmed, plausible, and reliable than others.

The explanation underpinning policy realism is methodological structurism, which, unlike methodological individualism and methodological holism (mentioned above), conceives a person, such as Glamis, as having been a causal power. It attempts to link the macro-level and micro-level of social and political analysis together at any one point in time on an equal footing by giving an account of the structuring process through which human personality, intentions, and actions interact with culture and structure to determine each other and social and political change over time. It relies on an ontology that recognises two types of causal power – agency or ‘despotic’ power, which stems from persons, who, as social and political agents, structure the world through time, and conditioning or ‘infrastructural’ power, which comes from institutionalised and historical structures of social relations. Structurist methodology relates closely to many structurist theories, including structuration theory.¹⁶²

Structuration theory presumes that there was a mutual dependency, rather than opposition, between human agency and social structure. The structural properties of social systems provide the means by which people act, and they are also the outcomes of those actions. Although historians generally may be unfamiliar with structuration theory, and may have not have used the concepts of ‘methodological structurism’ and ‘structurationism’ to date, Lloyd maintained that their main elements have in effect been employed by many of them in various explicit and implicit ways.¹⁶³ Within a general structurationist approach, writers have usually modelled groups as a set of ‘levels’ or ‘networks’ of relations, which provide templates for the rules, roles, and practices that determine those relationships. Policy realism, methodological structurism, and structuration theory have been used as an overall philosophical, methodological, and general theoretical framework for dealing with this topic.

Structuration theory has been criticised mainly for its failure to provide empirical illustration. Knoke, for example, thought that its failure to provide a research methodology for testing its ‘arcane theoretical formulations’ severely limited the usefulness of this structural approach to the study of politics. He argued that the two main conceptual tasks in adopting such a theory should be identifying the power sources, and devising a method for studying organisational power.¹⁶⁴ Smith did both. Although he focused on recent politics in Britain and the United States, his ideas are essentially relevant to the early modern Scottish plural elite political system. He believed that power was based on a resource dependency

¹⁶² Lloyd, *Structures*, 83-8. This approach includes some *Annales*, Marxist, Weberian and other historians.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 83-4. Lloyd maintained that structurationism had a tacit existence in the work of many contemporary social historians and historical sociologists, and that two concepts ‘structurationism’ and ‘methodological structuralism’ have become part of our way of thinking without everybody being aware of it because of the pervasive influence of Marxist, Weberian and Piagetian theories.

¹⁶⁴ D. Knoke, *Political Networks: The Structural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1990), 17.

based on the mutual exchange of information, legitimacy, and implementation resources, and his particular method for studying organisational power was to focus primarily on the interrelationship between pressure groups and the state using two key concepts - 'policy networks' and 'state autonomy', rather than the activities of such interest groups on their own.¹⁶⁵ These two concepts are flexible. They take into account the entire political system and not just pressure groups, and, consequently, provide a means for assessing the various often-conflicting political groups, and the interests of state or leading political actors, such as Glamis.

Early modern Scottish historians generally have used 'defined interests', such as the church or the nobility, or a 'particular cause', such as the king's party or queen's party, whose membership was open to all, to categorise pressure groups. Smith employed a third kind based on 'insider groups', which were those that were legitimated by the state and consulted with on a regular basis, and 'outsider groups', which were those that did not want a consultative relationship, or were unable to gain recognition. Whether the individuals within or directly associated with these groups, such as families, or the groups themselves were insiders or outsiders at any one particular time depended largely upon the ideological, structural or institutional, and historical or past policy context in which they operated. Smith argued that concentrating on pressure group behaviour, the individual resources of political power being exchanged, and change and the causes of change was unhelpful without considering these three additional decisive dimensions.¹⁶⁶ They gave structural advantages or disadvantages in relation to others, which the decisions of individuals by themselves could not change.

Smith based his method for studying power on a policy network typology developed by Rhodes and Marsh. They placed policy networks along a continuum that ranged from almost closed and close 'policy communities', through 'policy networks', to open and loose 'issue networks'. They used the term 'policy networks' to describe pressure groups as a whole, as well as a particular type of pressure group. Policy networks could include women and families. Rhodes and Marsh maintained that policy networks generally influenced, but did not determine, a policy outcome, and they reflected the relative order or power of different interest groups in a broad policy area.¹⁶⁷ They outlined a number of dimensions in relation to the two main ideal types at the opposite ends of the continuum: policy communities and issue networks or issue groups. These dimensions theoretically determine a networks position along it (Table 1). They recognise that, in practice, the character of policy networks varied

¹⁶⁵ M. J. Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy: State Autonomy and Policy Networks in Britain and the United States* (New York, 1993), 63.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁶⁷ R. A. W. Rhodes and D. Marsh, 'Policy networks in British politics: a critique of existing approaches', in D. Marsh and R. A. W. Rhodes (eds.), *Policy Networks in British Government*, (Oxford, 1992), 2. They used the term 'policy networks' to describe pressure groups as a whole, as well as a particular type of pressure group.

almost infinitely because they could diverge across a number of them.¹⁶⁸ Various writers have defined and used the term 'policy networks' in different ways. Rhodes and Marsh found that most agreed that it was a meso-level concept because it provided a link between a macro-level and a micro-level of analysis.¹⁶⁹ They argued that the concept must be used in conjunction with one of several different theories of state, and different models of the distribution of power within a specific context, in order to fully explain the political process and its outcomes.¹⁷⁰ This study's plural elite stance and its adoption of the notion of mutual exchange respectively satisfy Rhodes and Marsh's two criteria.

<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Policy community</u>	<u>Issue network</u>
<i>Membership</i>		
Number of participants	Very limited, some conscious exclusion	Large
Type of interest	Narrow range of groups	Wide range of groups
<i>Integration</i>		
Frequency of interaction	Frequent, high quality	Contacts fluctuate
Continuity	Membership, values, outcomes persistent	Fluctuating access
Consensus	All participants share basic values	A degree of agreement but conflict present
<i>Resources</i>		
Distribution of resources within network	All participants have resources	Some participants have resources, but limited
Distribution of resources within participating organisations	Relationship is one of exchange Hierarchical leaders can deliver members	Varied and variable distribution and capacity to regulate members
<i>Power</i>		
	There is a balance of power among members. One group may be dominant but power is shared	Unequal distribution of power.

Table 1. Marsh and Rhodes's characteristics of policy networks.¹⁷¹

Baggot thought that the concept of 'policy networks' was also useful because it took into account the fact that the relationship between groups and government varied considerably, and that these different relationships had implications for the way in which the government formulates policy. In

¹⁶⁸ D. Marsh and R. A. W. Rhodes, 'Policy communities and issue networks: beyond typology', in Marsh and Rhodes, *Policy Networks*, 251. The term 'policy networks' in the typology was used as a generic term for pressure groups, as well as for a particular type of pressure group.

¹⁶⁹ Rhodes and Marsh, 'Policy networks', 1-5.

¹⁷⁰ Marsh and Rhodes, 'Policy communities', 268.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 251.

addition, it allowed for the fact that the impact of pressure groups on policy did not depend solely on their resources and strategies, but on the decision structure, and on the interests of the government itself. It also allowed for the fact that different parts of government are often in conflict with each other. He pointed out that policies often emerge because of conflict between different government agencies, each supported by an alliance of pressure groups. The three main problems with such an approach, he believed, were the difficulty of making generalisations, distinguishing between overt and covert activity, and separating the impact of one group, such as families, from that another, particularly political institutions.¹⁷² Because of these theoretical problems (which are made worse by a scarcity of sources) it is recognised that this study can only achieve a tentative yet, nonetheless, creditable explanation.

Policy communities, such as those headed by Lennox in the early 1580s, could not only increase a leading political actor's autonomy by isolating the parliamentary process, but also by establishing infrastructural power. For most of the period, James, as head of state, had the dominant interest, and he was able to act autonomously and pursue his own interests. When dealing with a policy community that included a major section of the nobility, he could generally act autonomously on the strength of infrastructural power, but with an issue group, such as that involving the Presbyterian ministers (mentioned above), he was more likely to use despotic power.¹⁷³ If James chose to act autonomously, without using infrastructural power, then he would have to take into account the cost of using despotic power. This theory, for example, would explain Brown's perception that both the king and the nobility were unwilling to shed blood (also mentioned above). The extent to which a leading political actor, such as Glamis, had the ability to act autonomously at any one time on an issue largely depended on the types of policy networks involved and structures of dependency within them, but also the individual resources of political power available to him, perceptions of others, and, ultimately, the degree to which he was prepared to take despotic action.

Policy communities developed where key politicians or state actors, such as Glamis, wanted to achieve particular goals. They were a means to an end. The number of participants and groups was limited, access was highly restricted, and institutions were involved. All participants shared a consensus or ideology, which determined its 'world view'. Ideology rather than pragmatism tended to set the agenda of issues that the policy community had to deal with. It limited 'the range of arguments that are permissible, legitimate and likely to be accepted as valid forms of controversy'.¹⁷⁴ As a result, issues within a policy community were often depoliticised, even to the point that potential groups outwith the

¹⁷² B. Baggett, *Pressure Groups Today* (Manchester, 1995), 25-30.

¹⁷³ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 229.

¹⁷⁴ E. O. Laumann and D. Knoke, *The Organisational State* (Wisconsin, 1987), 315; Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 63.

policy community would not seek to be involved.¹⁷⁵ In early modern Scotland, this was particularly the case with ideas and beliefs concerning the 'monarchical state'. This concept depended on a deep-rooted general conviction that strong leaders were necessary for national unity, and that in the face of national danger, the people must allow a monarch, such as James, on occasion, a free hand. At this level, ideology was the most fundamental individual resource of political power. Policy communities had other significant individual resources of political power. In particular, their hierarchical leaders, such as Glamis and senior members of his family, could deliver members

If a policy community contained more than one person with substantial political authority, such as the Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition of autumn 1585, then the ability of that group to withstand external pressures was likely to be less. In this circumstance, conflict could come into being between and within such pressure groups, which, for example, could result in territorial disputes, the politicisation of issues, and the inclusion of an increasing number of other people. Although policy communities had a high degree of vertical interdependence, horizontal articulation was limited. Although one sub-group, such as members of one particular family, may have been dominant within it, by and large there was a balance of power between these political entities. A policy community tended to have a core and a periphery. The core contained the key members, who set the rules of the game, determined membership, and the main policy direction of the community on a day-to-day basis. The periphery abided by the rules of the game, and, although the core members may have consulted it on specific issues, it did not exert a continuous influence on policy. As regards later sixteenth-century Scottish parliaments, James depended on policy communities, and could not afford to ignore them.

Issue groups occurred where there was no clear state-led view. They tended to have a large membership, and involve a wide range of sub-groups. There was almost no exclusion. They lacked an institutional contact with parliament, and, although there was a degree of agreement, conflict was often present.¹⁷⁶ As regards later sixteenth-century Scottish parliaments, their expression, for example, in the Maxwell disturbances of the mid-1580s or the burgh riots against the fixing of prices at various times over the period, would appear to have been infrequent, short lived, and often geographically limited.¹⁷⁷ Issue groups usually developed in either existing policy areas, where it was difficult to establish a consensus, or government agencies saw an issue as secondary, or new policy areas, where no one group had become dominant or there were no established institutions to enable exclusion. Although they had a low degree of vertical interdependence, horizontal articulation was often extensive. People had to see

¹⁷⁵ J. Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Oxford, 1980), 1-32. Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 63.

¹⁷⁶ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 57-66.

¹⁷⁷ Goodare and Lynch, 'Universal King', 4. Whyste, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 193.

issue groups as having some political interest, mutual dependency, and minimal resources to exchange for them to be effective. Although they had a definite goal, it was not sufficient for establishing a policy community. Issue groups tended to be selfish. They promoted the interests of a particular section of society, such as those led by Maxwell mentioned above, or altruistic, such as those led by various Scottish Presbyterian ministers in the later 1570s.¹⁷⁸

Smith argued that the extent to which people took up issues at this level depended on whether they themselves felt affected, or had strong feelings about a matter that did not involve them. An issue may have been an outlet for those who were generally dissatisfied, especially, for instance, those families that had suffered badly in times of famine or plague over the period.¹⁷⁹ The perception and intelligibility of the issue would appear to be also important. Sometimes people could no doubt only see the practical effects after policy had been put into practice. Unlike policy communities, issue groups did not need a detailed grasp of the issue, or an obvious integration or structure of dependency. Structures of dependency within issue groups are particularly difficult to assess. They were more of an amalgam of pressure, which was often not well articulated, and much more close to popular opinion. They were more affected by the poor communications of the time than other types of policy networks. Some participants had resources, but these were often limited.¹⁸⁰ Where issue groups had a high level of resources, such as Maxwell and his large number of supporters,¹⁸¹ their impact on the parliamentary process would tend to be even more negative.¹⁸²

The type of policy network, and the resources available within it, according to Smith, affected the development of a policy or the ability to effect a policy change. Whether it was harder to develop or change a policy where there was a particular type of group, such as a policy community or issue group, depended on who was trying to do it. Both policy communities and issue groups had great difficulty in exercising any influence if the state actors saw them as only important for particular goals, or chose to ignore them. Power and influence were perceptual as well as relational. Policy networks were not only different in terms of types of policy networks (policy communities to issue groups), the resources available to them, perceptions of various state actors, but also structures of dependency within them. These could vary from close and closed policy communities, with limited and stable participants, to open issue groups. The former could provide state actors, such as Glamis, with a mechanism for agreeing and

¹⁷⁸ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 127-8.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 59-66, 229.

¹⁸⁰ S. James, *British Government: A Reader in Policy Making* (London, 1997), 212-13.

¹⁸¹ *RPC*, iii, 735. 13 April 1585. Order to denounce George Carruthers, Edward Maxwell, and others.

¹⁸² James, *British Government*, 212-13.

implementing a particular policy change, the latter could make it difficult for state actors to build a coalition to support and then implement that change.¹⁸³

Smith thought that the state's boundary with civil society was vague and often changing, and that it was not easy to make a stark distinction between the two. He believed that the distinct interests and capabilities of leading political actors were important variables that have to be included in a comprehensive analysis of the political process. They had the resources to impose their state interests on civil society, but they had to constantly take into account pressure groups that represented societal interests. The interests of leading political actors and those groups developed alongside each other, and the extent to which the state was autonomous depended upon their nature. The interaction between leading political actors and pressure groups involved two analytically separate things: the interests of the leading political actors, and the interests of the various groups supporting them. Interests are not predetermined by, but developed within the context of the wider political, social, and economic environment, and the relations between leading political actors and groups. Both types of interest are difficult to separate; they developed within the framework of policy networks. For example, because someone like Glamis derived interests from his institutional role, it is difficult to distinguish between his own individual and other interests.¹⁸⁴ Whereas policy communities, like the Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition of Autumn 1585, were much more likely to reflect the interests of the king and the privy council, issue groups, such as that led by Andrew Melville and others a decade earlier, were much more likely to have other interests or policy options on the agenda.¹⁸⁵

Marsh and Rhodes found that policy network writers had little to say about why networks develop and change. They saw policy communities, in particular, as static organisations that prevented change by excluding threats to the dominant interests.¹⁸⁶ After examining various existing theories of change, Smith found that writers either based their theories on macro-developments in the economy and society, or overestimated the influence of particular individuals and groups.¹⁸⁷ He was particularly interested in how policy communities changed when access was limited, and thought that Kuhn's 'policy paradigm', which ran parallel with Lukes' parallel idea of a 'fixed agenda', and Gramsci's notion of a 'war of position' provided clues. Prothero, mentioned earlier, would be likely to agree with Kuhn and

¹⁸³ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 72.

¹⁸⁴ S. Lukes, *Power: A Radical View* (London, 1974), 34. 'The question of individual interests is even more complicated. Lukes, for example, argued that a 'liberal' view of individual interests supposes that he could assess his own interests; a 'reformist' perception assumes that, in addition, he might have submerged or concealed wants; and, finally, a 'radical' view suggests that his wants may have been the product of a system which worked against his 'real interests'—those wants he would have had if he were not bound by the society in which he lived. This study will take a radical approach to interests.

¹⁸⁵ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 58-75.

¹⁸⁶ Marsh and Rhodes, 'Policy communities', 260-1. Their view was taken from G. Vickers, *The Art of Judgement* (London, 1967), 257.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 76-98.

Gramsci's argument that change was not likely to be sudden, and that it was likely to happen initially at an ideological level.¹⁸⁸ Smith identified several external and internal causes of change. Those former included external relations, economic and social change, new problems, especially ideological ones, and new technology, and the latter embraced internal divisions, such as Glamis and Maitland's apparent struggle for the chancellorship, despotic power, for example, the Morton and Gowrie executions, challenges between networks, for instance, the Glamis/Crawford family feud, and challenges between communities, as evident in the apparent privy council/bedchamber axis. This study will adopt Smith's understanding of, and criteria for dealing with, change.¹⁸⁹

Although Smith was concerned about how policy networks affected policy, and how policy influenced groups, he placed little emphasis on the substantive character or content of policy. Salisbury and Heinz, like Smith, believed that policy determined politics, and that there was a dynamic link between the two. They advocated four functionally different types of policy, and argued that for every policy type there was likely to be a distinct type of political relation based on the cost of reaching the decision (or exchange value) and the degree of fragmentation in relation to the (pressure group) demand pattern (**Figure 1**). 'Distributive' policies meant that everyone gained and no one in particular lost; the cost of reaching a decision was low or totally absent within a fragmented demand pattern. 'Regulatory' policies resulted in a situation where some could lose more than others, the cost of reaching a decision was high within an integrated demand pattern. With 'redistributive' policies, both winners and losers emerged; the cost of reaching a decision was low within an integrated demand pattern. 'Self-regulatory' policies were those that were made in a situation where groups accepted restraints for beneficial options; the cost of reaching a decision was high within a fragmented demand pattern. Distributive and redistributive policies conferred direct benefits on individuals of groups, whereas regulatory and self-regulatory policies established rules to guide future allocations. They made a clear distinction between 'allocative' (which vary along a distributive-redistributive dimension) and 'structural' (which vary along a regulatory-self-regulatory dimension) policies. Allocative policies simply conferred benefits, whereas structural policies, in contrast, deferred benefits by creating units and guidelines for future action.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ T. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1970), 156-9. Kuhn argued that ideological and cultural constraints provided solutions to problems, but not new or radical solutions. As a result, a policy community would not only have set problems, but set solutions. A. Gramsci, *Letters from Prison* (London, 1975), 235. Gramsci's 'war of position' is a situation in which a pressure group had to undermine the dominant ideology before attacking a policy community more directly through a complementary strategy.

¹⁸⁹ Smith, *Pressure, Power and Policy*, 91-7.

¹⁹⁰ R. H. Salisbury and J. Heinz, 'A theory of policy analysis and some preliminary applications', in I. Sharkansky (ed.), *Policy Analysis in Political Science*, (Chicago, 1970), 39-60.

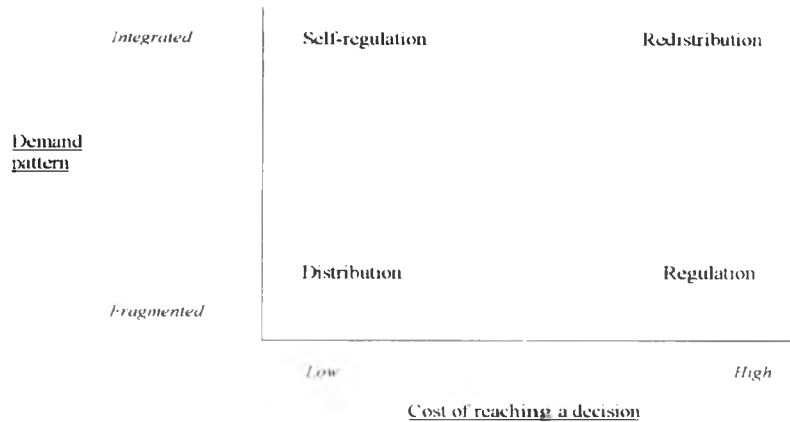


Figure 1. Salisbury and Heinz's variation of policy output with type of demand and the cost of reaching a decision.

In considering the dynamics involved in these two dimensions, Salisbury and Heinz raised at least six major points:

1. Different types may be evident in one policy.
2. Perceptions of an issue may vary.
3. There is always an amount of overlap between demand pattern and decision structure. The composition of the latter, in terms of representation of demand, may be significant.
4. Over time there may be a cyclical relationship between various policy types, a characteristic pattern possibly being for some fragmentation to occur in both the demand and the decision structure leading to an eventual stability.
5. Pressure groups may demand not only various types of allocation but also, at the same time, structural changes, especially in respect of an integrated decision structure, which may not be in their own interests.
6. The demand pattern is seldom sufficiently integrated and/or the decision costs seldom sufficiently low enough to result in a heavily redistributive policy.

In addition, they put forward a basic hypothesis based on these theoretical points that the more costly it is to organise the requisite coalition on an issue, the more likely it is that the outcome will be structural.¹⁹¹

Jenkins thought that this approach to policy content was worthwhile at a simple level of analysis.¹⁹²

Examples of later sixteenth-century Scottish policy types are given in Table 2. This study will adopt Salisbury and Heinz's model as a very basic means of analysing policy content.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, R. H. Salisbury, 'The analysis of public policy: a search for theories and roles', in A. Ranney (ed.), *Political Science and Public Policy* (Chicago, 1968), 151-75.

¹⁹² W. I. Jenkins, *Policy Analysis: A Political and Organisational Perspective* (New York, 1978), 104.

<u>Distributive</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> General taxation Customs tariffs and imports General expenses Prices Coinage Bullion Dearth, sumptuary, and export of scarce goods General rents Vacations
<u>Re-distributive</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appointments to, and ratifications and priority of, particular offices Education and qualifications for particular offices Revocations, annexations, redemptions, and annulments Forfeitures, banishments, disinheritances, and demolitions Pacifications, rehabilitations, remissions, and restitutions Suitors, signatures, gifts, and exceptions Privileges of particular burghs and groups and groups within them Allocation of factories and patronage Privileges of individual ministers and papists Compensation, beggars, and poor relief
<u>Regulatory</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Execution of law and order Execution of particular offices Maintenance of lands and property Up-keep of king's parks and forests Construction of highways, bridges, and buildings Defence practices and personal safety Manufacturing practices and holding markets Trade practices and individual travel Church practices, marriage, and morals
<u>Self-regulatory</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Royal sovereignty, marriage, and children Regent's responsibilities Creation and reformation of royal household Creation and reformation of other administrative bodies Parliament and conventions jurisdiction Commissions and visitations Ratification of church and burgh freedom and privileges Church and burgh jurisdiction Foreign representation and privileges

Table 2 Later sixteenth-century Scottish examples of Salisbury and Heinz's policy types

As mentioned above, 'politics' has been defined in terms of systems theory. Systems models have several theoretical weaknesses, particularly in respect of cause and effect, motivation and behaviour, and level of simplification. Causal linkages are not straightforward, perceptions of motivation are problematic, and behaviour is not predictable. However, as Magnusen has argued, although such models do not allow a deep penetration into such matters, they do permit an overall understanding.¹⁹³ The model that has been constructed as an overall conceptual support for this investigation is illustrated in **Figure 2**.

¹⁹³ K. O. Magnusen (ed.), *Organisation Design, Development and Behaviour* (Glenview, 1977), 46-7.

¹⁹⁴ It shows how the political process itself relates to the wider political context, and to the way in which it maintained itself and changed over time. The 'environment' affected anything and everything. It consisted of the more fixed elements or 'political context' - ideology, institutions, and past policy, as well as more fluid external causes of change - political, social, and economic events and developments. 'Resources', 'pressure groups' have already been considered above, the 'decision structure' and 'policy' will be considered and are considered in some detail later. Writers who have analysed the present day political process, at least up until the 1980s, have generally portrayed the 'decision structure' as a 'black box' from which 'policies' emerge or, at best, in which solutions to patterns of political action can be found in the size and variation of political majorities or modes of elite control.¹⁹⁵ Later sixteenth-century Scottish political historians have tended to lay an emphasis on the process of choice within 'black box' bodies, such as the privy council, bedchamber, and lords of the articles; or 'black box' groups, such as the Ruthven lords or the Stewarts; or 'black box' minds of individuals, such as Angus, Glamis, and Maitland. But, as discussed above, the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process may have been more heavily constrained by the multi-various networks within which it operated, and the process of choice may have been as important as the actual choice itself. Power is central to the model: agency power occurs at point (a), and infrastructural power at point (b).¹⁹⁶

An important assumption underlying this research is that there are no chronological barriers between modern and early modern political systems. As also mentioned above, this is not to say that there are not differences between the various elements of those systems, such as 'pressure groups' (politics), 'decision structure' (polity), and 'policy' (policy) identified in the model (Figure 2). This is evident in the following examples. Whereas innovative market principles (European Common Market, commercial globalisation, and the national health service) and democratic responsibilities (European Union, national political parties, and devolution) are have a major impact on the politics of modern Britain, conservatism and tradition of lordship continued to have a leading influence in later sixteenth-century Scotland.¹⁹⁷ The institutional structure of the Scottish state then was no more than an extension of the royal household, whereas in Britain now the royal household is little more than an extension of one particular institution.¹⁹⁸ Although both polities delegated government functions to, and through, institutions, the more modern state undertakes the private side of its governance more through choice and contract than inheritance and

¹⁹⁴ Salisbury, 'Public policy', 151-75; A. Easton, 'The flow characteristics of policy making', in F. J. Lynden and others (eds.), *Policy, Decisions and Organisations* (New York, 1969), 28-44. The model is based on Salisbury's systems model, which was a 'quasi-Estorian' one.

¹⁹⁵ Jenkins, *Policy Analysis*, 23.

¹⁹⁶ A similar analysis could also be applied to the later sixteenth-century extended family.

¹⁹⁷ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, ch. 2.

¹⁹⁸ A. Jubala, 'The royal court of James VI, 1580-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 2001).

tradition. The chief ideological justification used in the later sixteenth century for the Scottish state's role as a provider of policies was a shared concept of kingship in which 'royal authority' marginally predominated over 'popular consent' in ensuring the welfare of the nation. In contrast, popular consent far outstrips royal authority in Britain today.¹⁹⁹

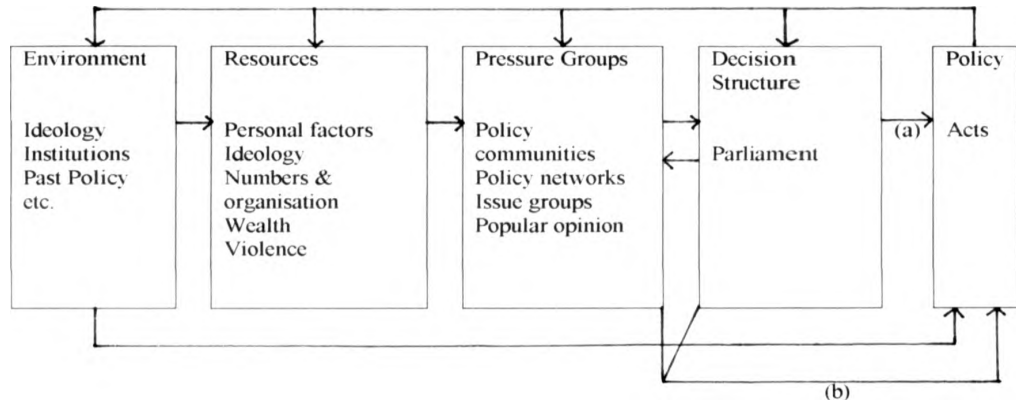


Figure 2. Systems model of the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process.

The prime concern of this study is to find out whether or not the family was an important factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, and, if so, to what extent? In order to do this, this objective has been translated into two working propositions:

1. If the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, then there will be a substantial inclination towards the family, in general, in the ideological, institutional, and past policy context within which the parliamentary process occurred. If, on the other hand, the family was not important then, then there will not be a substantial inclination towards the family within that overall political context.
2. If the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish parliamentary process (which was central to the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process as a whole), then there will be substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political actors and their families, or significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations, within the politics involved in that process. If, on the other hand, the family was not important in this sense, then there will be no such relations or consequences within that process.

¹⁹⁹ Mason, 'Kingship and commonweal'.

The first proposition calls for simple structural analysis to deal with institutions, and a more complex content analysis (as discussed above) to consider policy. Both types of analysis can be undertaken using a computerised database.²⁰⁰ Databases are abstractions of the real world.²⁰¹ The main advantages of using a computerised system is the quantity of multi-sourced information that can be modelled and remodelled, and its quality in terms of the integrity of meaning of each type of input and the logical ordering of them. It can bring to the front significant elements and relationships which otherwise might have gone unnoticed, and enforced a rigorous and systematic analysis of data sources. The main disadvantages are the amount of time that can be spent on deciding what should be stored and source analysis, and the possibility of breaking the integrity of the original source. If the data is regular and straightforward in form, then a database can yield good results.²⁰²

The second proposition requires the use of case studies, and the 1585, 1587, and 1592 Scottish parliamentary processes as a whole general have been chosen for this purpose. These were the most notable parliaments that were held during the decade in which Glamis was continually at the centre of court politics following the successful second raid on Stirling in 1585. The 1585 parliament was the first one attended by him. Although Arran's supremacy had ended, both the climate and the bulk of his administration survived, including Maitland. The 1587 parliament, which was held only five months after the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, in England, was probably the most important parliament in James's reign. The 1592 parliament passed a total of 181 acts, which was the highest number for any sixteenth-century Scottish parliament.²⁰³ Although Glamis was temporarily out of office for six months prior to the holding of the 1592 parliament, he undoubtedly had an influence on it. The three parliaments were held under contrasting regimes. The 1585 government was headed by an Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition, whereas the 1587 government was dominated more by Maitland. Despite this, both were likely to have been highly inclusive of Glamis's family. On the other hand, the 1592 government was much more narrowly based, partly as a result of Glamis and Maitland's temporary loss of office, and it was likely to be unreceptive to Glamis's family. In addition, each case study will also look at the more detailed politics, polity, and policy in relation to a single enactment or set of the enactments concerning both England and the kirk as part of the secondary concern with the unusual application of current political theory to the early modern period. These two particular policy areas have been chosen for this

²⁰⁰ M. F. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden, 1996). A good example of the use of a database in early modern Scottish history is Graham's study of godly discipline and popular behaviour in Scotland and beyond between 1560 and 1610, which used 4,594 cases.

²⁰¹ Khun, *Scientific Revolutions*. Khun has warned that such paradigms may inhibit as well promote knowledge, especially in changing environmental circumstances.

²⁰² C. Harvey and J. Press, *Databases in Historical Research: Theory, Methods and Applications* (London, 1996), 12.

²⁰³ Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 482. Goodare also includes a private and specific ratification to William Keith of Delny (NAS - PA7.1.45; RMS, v. 1625). On the basis of this, he suggests that there may have been others.

purpose because, firstly, England and the kirk continued to be of major importance, and, therefore, the availability of evidence is likely to be high, and, secondly, Glamis was generally consistent in his positive support for the two subjects involved (as will be discussed).

Because the number of cases studies is small - involving only three parliaments, the method of dealing with the second working proposition will be rooted in a 'most different' systems approach, which is based on the method of (indirect) agreement.²⁰⁴ The main advantage of adopting this particular logic of inquiry is that it has a strong internal validity. In addition, the case studies, like the database discussed above, should provide an insight into the various relations that might have remained hidden in a larger or more intuitive traditional study, but may be crucial to an understanding of the political processes. The main disadvantage in looking at the political process over a fairly prolonged period is that it can run the risk of having a weak external validity. Because of this, the relatability of this particular aspect of the research will be more important than its generalisation. The case studies will include an occasional use of 'sociometry'. The main advantages of this simple diagrammatic method of assessing small group relationships are that it provides a fair degree of objectivity and a means of comparison over time. The main disadvantages are that some of the relations may not have been all that amicable, and the method of selection might exclude more influential people.²⁰⁵

'The family' and 'politics' are not easy to deal with. They are not only elusive as theoretical concepts, but also as operational ones.²⁰⁶ For the purposes of exploring the second working proposition, 'family relations' are classified as follows:

primary members - who were linked by birth or marriage, including any second and subsequent marriages;

secondary members - who were the primary kin of primary members (grandparents, uncles, brothers-in-law, nephews, parents-in-law, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law); and

tertiary members - who were the primary kin of secondary members (spouse of ex- or previous spouse, heirs of secondary family members, and other less obvious connections through betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, adoption, and godparents).²⁰⁷

Methodological problems concerning the nature of political power centre on difficulties arising from intention, comparison, quantification, and time and causation. Where the definition of power is extended

²⁰⁴ Given sufficient data, in a most similar systems approach it is easier to locate the variables that do differ, and in most different system approach, after all the differing circumstances have been eliminated as explanations, there will be one alone in which all instances agree.

²⁰⁵ Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 151. As discussed earlier, Donaldson, for example, has pointed out that familial and personal influences could create alliances or antagonisms between families.

²⁰⁶ G. Moyser and M. Wagstaffe, 'Studying elites: theoretical and methodological issues' in G. Moyser and M. Wagstaffe (eds.), *Research Methods for Elite Studies* (London, 1987), 8; Lukes, *Power*, 26. Lukes argued that 'power' is essentially a contested concept because the use of it inevitably raises critical issues of value and perspective.

²⁰⁷ These categories have been adapted from those found in A. Plakans, *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life, 1500-1900* (Oxford, 1984), 229.

to include intention, as in the case of this study, the difficulty of determining attribution will to a certain extent be overcome by means of expressed preferences and underlying grievances. But problems of intention, attribution, and comparison will be made more difficult when any quantification is made because of the additional factors that need to be considered. Similar difficulties are likely to be encountered when dealing with political groups, especially when it comes to quantification. This is particularly so in this study which, for the purposes of the more detailed analysis, will consider key political groups as multi-level and ever changing 'policy communities', 'policy networks', and 'issue groups', as opposed to less dynamic and more amorphous bodies, such as 'factions', 'affinities', and 'followings'.

This novel theoretical approach, which is based on the findings in the literature review, does not always lend itself to generally accepted methods for observing and collecting information. For example, several recent authors on late-medieval Scottish political and family studies have attempted to come to terms operationally with affinities or similar groups by analysing the frequency of witness signatures to charters and related documents over a period of time. Grant's work on the fourth earl of Douglas is a good example. He examined 134 charters and related documents issued over 24 years (1400-24) involving 117 individual names (probable), and produced a table, which, he argued, provides a good idea of the 'personnel' and 'shape' (inner and outer circles) of the earl's 'affinity'.²⁹⁸ Grant's definition of an affinity is almost tautological: affinity = witnesses; witnesses = affinity. It is only concerned with legal transactions and literate people. His methodology for observing and collecting data was first applied to Scotland by Simpson.

Simpson examined an unspecified number of charters issued over an unspecified period by Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland, and analysed 315 individual names in order to identify the important members of his '*familia*'. This concept is based on Niermeyer's definition of that term: 'the aggregate dependants of different kinds subservient to a lord', and Du Cange's statement that familiars were 'those whom king and princes especially adjoined to their own family'.²⁹⁹ As Simpson pointed out, his method had certain defects: the physical presence of a witness was not a necessity; the clerks had a variety of motives for selecting appropriate witnesses; the surviving charters are only a fraction of those issued by the earl, and a witness may have only remained, or have been

²⁹⁸ A. Grant, 'Acts of lordship: the records of Archibald Douglas, 4th earl of Douglas', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Historical and Historiographical Essays Presented to Grant G. Simpson* (East Linton, 2000).

²⁹⁹ G. G. Simpson, 'The familia of Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester and constable of Scotland', in K. J. Stringer (ed.), *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1993), 102-29. Presumably the number of charters extant over the period over which they were issued are given in his unpublished Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis (1965). J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976) and Du Cange, *Glossarium* (Niort, 1883-7). Both are quoted in Simpson, 'Familia of Roger de Quincy', 123 (n. 17).

important, for a short period of time.²¹⁰ Carroll used a similar methodology for coming to terms with patterns of noble affiliation and urban support given to the Guise family in Normandy during the French Wars of Religion in the latter part of the sixteenth century. He adopted the term 'affinity' because it 'best expresses the range of ties in noble followings, of which the patron-client-relationship was but one aspect'.²¹¹ However, none of these authors agree on what an affinity was, and the political groups they describe cover large spans of time. Given the very fluid nature of early modern groups considered in the literature review, and the quantitative and qualitative nature of later-sixteenth century sources discussed below, the witness methodology used by them is not germane to one particular group involved in one particular activity, especially political, at one particular point in time over the period. This is not to say the witness methodology cannot be of value elsewhere.

As mentioned earlier, this study will make use of various genealogical techniques in order to establish the nature and quality of ties within a family based on kin and marriage. Where a connection has not been strongly confirmed, an individual will be included, where possible, on the basis of a calculation from what is already known or 'extrapolation'. Extrapolation will usually involve inferences, identification strategies, and clues about social practices, such as kinship roles, office holding, and naming customs, which were meaningful at the time.²¹² In such cases, where a relationship can be reasonably assumed as being more than 50% likely or less than 50% likely, the prefixes 'probably' or 'possibly' will be used respectively. The main advantage of this procedure is that members of the family will be included that might not have been otherwise considered. The main disadvantages are that it runs the risk of distorting family relationships, and under-estimating the effects of change, especially those caused by major events such as plague, famine, and war. Territorial descriptions involving the prefaces 'of' and 'in' are not straightforward. They were sometimes used inter-changeably, moved between families, varied in terms of property, and tend to mask other land interests. The general term 'kinsman' is occasionally found to apply to someone who was not related by blood, and this will be taken to denote a close rather than a genealogical tie. A genealogical chart will be used to illustrate Glamis's relation to the main branch of the Lyons of Glamis, and a drop line and slip system of presentation will be used to give further detail about the main and cadet branches. The sub-division into cadet branches will be done for clarity; they will not necessarily indicate status within the family. Genealogical techniques will be confined to factual material, and the information displayed will be largely unrelated to contemporary

²¹⁰ Simpson, 'Familia of Roger de Quincey', 105, 107 (quote).

²¹¹ S. Carroll, *Noble Power During the French Wars of Religion: the Guise Affinity and the Catholic Cause* (Cambridge, 1998), 7.

²¹² Scottish naming customs were used to help to identify the genealogical location of several individuals, especially the specific branch to which a member belonged and the order in which they were born. For example, the name 'Sibilla' was popular with the Lyons of Curse, and several cadet branches of the family attached different degrees of importance to the name of the king or the head or a senior member of the family.

events and historical processes. Because of this, the bulk of it will be placed in the appendices (Appendix 4.1), but will be referred to in, and integrated into, the discussion.

The main sources of information about political relations will be published state papers arising from the various institutions and offices of state, published records of political observers of the time, and various unpublished primary source material. The most important published state papers will be the acts and records of parliament and the register of the privy council.²¹⁴ The printed text of the acts and records of parliament, which also includes similar information about conventions of estates, is not completely reliable. Some statutes were excluded, and several sederunts for the commissioners for parliament, the members of the estates and administration in attendance, and the committee of articles are missing. The records are largely consequential as little information is given about the actual transaction of business, especially the voting pattern. Brown and Tanner pointed out that the thin and often haphazard nature of these sources made 'it so much more difficult to get beneath the promulgated outcomes to the private and public agendas' and 'likely to remain impossible to reconstruct the events of any one parliament to the extent that it can be done for the English parliament'.²¹⁴ A sample of the printed text has proved to be an accurate transcription from the original documents.²¹⁵ The register of the privy council is more reliable, and offers abridged detail of its wide ranging 'acta' or public and administrative acts of council, 'decreta' or judgements pronounced in causes coming before the council in its judicial capacity, and various other documents, warrants, bonds and proclamations. Again, little information is given about transactions, especially voting. Other published state papers that will be useful include abridged registers of the great seal and the privy seal, and the unabridged treasurer's account.²¹⁶ The records of documents issued under the privy seal have only been published down to 1584. The treasurer's accounts are only in print down to 1580, and there are gaps in these papers over the period as whole for the years 1575 to 1578 and 1584.

Many state papers outside Scotland have been published as calendars, and the most useful of these will be those relating to Scotland and Mary, queen of Scots, which give contemporary political observations of mainly English agents in Scotland over the period.²¹⁷ Published records of the political observers of the time, such as those of James Melville of Halhill, will help to fill one or two of the gaps in the statutes and sederunts of parliament and the conventions of estates, and should provide at least some

²¹⁴ *APS*, iii, iv, *RPC*, i-vi.

²¹⁴ Brown and Tanner, 'Parliament and politics', 19.

²¹⁵ The sample consisted of the 1585 Benefices Act, Church Lands Act, Treaty with England Act, Ministers and Schoolmasters Act (NAS - PA2 13, 36v, 38v-38r, 38r-39r, 49v-49r; *APS*, iii, 376, 380, 380-1, 395-6); 1587 Annexation Act, Defence of the Realm Act (NAS - PA2 13, 81r-86v, 150v; *APS*, iii, 431-7, 517); 1592 General Assembly Act, Customs Act (NAS - PA2 13, 10r-11r, 24v-24r; *APS*, iii, 541-2, 561).

²¹⁶ *RSS*, i-viii; *T/L*, i-xii.

²¹⁷ *CPS Scot.*, i-xiii.

insight into transaction of business of those and other institutions.²¹⁸ Such accounts are subjective, and the views expressed may not necessarily be valid or reliable. Where possible, other sources will be used to counteract this possibility. The most important unpublished primary material that will be used are the registers of the privy seal from 1584, and the court of session.²¹⁹

The main sources of information about family relations will be unpublished primary sources, particularly the Strathmore manuscripts, and various other genealogical sources, including the *Scots Peerage*. At one time there was an 'excellent inventory to the whole' of the Strathmore manuscripts,²²⁰ but, from the different numbering on some of the documents, the entire archive appears to have been reorganised earlier this century, when two calendars were produced which cover part of the collection.²²¹ The Historical Manuscripts Commission surveyed the manuscripts in 1947 (Survey No. 198), and again in 1973 (Survey No. 885). The second survey replaced the first, and from the resulting inventory it would appear that the documents that cover the period of investigation consist almost entirely of transactional. There are no household lists, and there is just one genealogical chart that covers the senior members of the family only. At least two writers have commented in some detail on the contents of the collection. Stuart reported that 'there are no documents of political importance among them', but 'for purposes of local and family history they are of great value'.²²² Wormald found that only one bond of manrent and maintenance had survived.²²³ She thought that 'this archive contains such a preponderance of land titles and such an almost complete absence of personal papers from the period (1442-1603), when bonds were common place that it looks as though a later Lyon with an overdeveloped sense of order cleared them out, fortunately missing one in the process'.²²⁴ What was recorded was determined by particular social interactions, mainly legal transactions, and what remains has been left entirely in the hands of such 'record keepers'. Unfortunately, what has been passed down can only be a fragment of the original papers. A preliminary survey of the Strathmore manuscripts revealed that the majority of them are in good condition, but vary overall in terms of consistent numbering and legibility. Many relate to Glamis. Nearly all of these concern lands he once owned. Unfortunately, none were directly concerned with his or the family's political role over the period.

²¹⁸ J. Melville of Halhill, *Memoirs of His Own Life, 1549-1593*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannantyne Club, 1827, and Maitland Club, 1833).

²¹⁹ NAS - PS1 25.48-77, CS 7, 8.1-10.

²²⁰ Strathmore MSS, boxes 1-4, 9-43, 198, 235, 257-8.

²²¹ Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Roxburgh, Sir H. H. Campbell, bt., the Earl of Strathmore, and the Countess Dowager of Seafield*, 14th Report, Appendix iii. (London, 1894), 186. The two calendars are 'Glamis Charters 1329-1667', a manuscript hand written by A. H. Millar probably before 1935, and 'Calendar of Strathmore Writs 1308-1770', a typescript manuscript compiled by C. T. Melnes in 1935.

²²² Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Second Report*, Appendix (The Papers of the Right Honourable Earl of Strathmore at Glamis Castle), 186.

²²³ There are at least two.

²²⁴ Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 3.

Conclusion

It is evident from the literature that historians have been inclined to write more about later sixteenth-century Scottish politics than the family. Apart from its agnatic structure and the primary importance of its obligating function, very little else is known about the family as a social entity. Most historians have recognised the significance of the family as a political entity, but none have considered its importance specifically within the political process or the political context within which that process occurred. In considering the family as a political entity, there is still a need to go beyond noblemen and their immediate family in order to take into account the extended family and less obvious members of the family who were tied to it by law and religion, namely those links derived from betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, adoption, and godparents. Although a great deal of attention has been given to politics, fundamental questions about the characteristics of political groups and the nature of political power remain unanswered. Post-revisionists have gone a long way to come to terms with the problem of an earlier piecemeal approach of revisionists to these two critical matters by focusing on ideas and attitudes, and underplaying structure and function. But this has tended to over-romanticise the picture by exaggerating continuity and cohesion, just as earlier orthodox and later orthodox writers had over-emphasised disruption. In addition, post-revisionists have tended to ignore individual behaviour, and the economic and social context that constrained the ideas and attitudes they described. The answers to these two issues possibly lie in a more contemporary historical approach, but, despite McInnes's plea for a Scottish post-modern perspective made more than a decade ago, this stone has remained largely unturned.²²⁵ This study will take a less traditional approach.

The topic has been translated into two working propositions, and the theoretical methodology that has been laid down to deal with them rests on the premise that policy realism, methodological structurism, and structuration theory are proper foundations for writing history. This general approach advocates that that causal power consisted of agency (or despotic) power, which stems from individuals who, as social and political agents, structure the world through time, and conditioning (or infrastructural) power, which comes from ideological, institutional, and past policy structures of social relations.

This foundation has been used to support several different particular theoretical platforms from which to view a very complex, often obscure, and temporally distant reality. The main platforms or perspectives are that:

²²⁵ A. I. MacInnes, 'Early modern Scotland: the current state of play', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxiii (1994), 30.

1. Mutual dependency (co-operation), rather than opposition (conflict), of human agency (stemming from individuals) and social structure (derived from ideology, institutions, and past policy) based on a reciprocal exchange of individual resources of political power - personal factors, ideology, numbers and organisation, wealth, and violence, provided the means for forming policy.
2. Policy determined politics - there was a dynamic link between the two
3. For every type of policy - regulatory, self-regulatory, distributive, or redistributive, there was likely to be a distinct type of political relation based on the cost of reaching the decision (or exchange value) and the degree of fragmentation in relation to the (coalitions or pressure group) demand pattern.
4. Pressure groups were normally extensive, fluid, and diverse, and could be placed along a continuum that ranged from almost closed and close policy communities to open and loose issue groups.
5. The extent to which a leading politician, such as Glamis, had the ability to act autonomously at any one time on an issue largely depended on the types of policy networks involved, and the structures of dependency within them

These perspectives are not listed in order of importance, and, although they do not make up a completely integrated theoretical viewpoint, they should provide a different insight into the topic than would otherwise have arisen from a more traditional method. They are presented as a way of supplementing, rather than replacing, a more traditional approach. As Karvonen has observed, 'theories are like eyeglasses of various colours: they help us to see the world in a new light, but they do not necessarily correct previous conclusions'.²²⁶ The perspectives are not only particularly difficult to deal with as theoretical concepts but also as operational ones, not least in matters concerning intention, comparison, quantification, and time and causation. As a result of such problems, any comparison or quantification in respect of political groups and the nature of political power will be done at a low level of analysis, and, where intention is involved or one event follows another, any causal link will be only inferred. The novel theoretical methodology employed in this study does not necessarily lend itself to traditional methodologies for observing and collecting data, as in the case, for example, of affinities. The less traditional approach is simply a post-modern means of evaluating past politics, and not an appliance for pronouncing on past politics in terms of the present.

²²⁶ I. Karvonen, *Fragmentation and Consensus: Political Organization and the Interwar Crisis in Europe* (New York, 1993), 106.

2. Ideology, Institutions, and Past Policy

As long as I may be allowed to give advice, I will not change my opinion by affirming the contrary But, as a servant, I will obey her majesty's commandment Presuming that she, being God's chief minister, it shall be God's will to have her commandments obeyed You see I am in a mixture of divinity and policy.¹

This chapter will consider the first working proposition presented in the previous chapter. This hypothesized that if the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, then there will be a substantial inclination towards the family, in general, in the ideological, institutional, and past policy context within which the parliamentary process occurred. If, on the other hand, the family was not important then, then there will not be a substantial inclination towards the family within that overall political context. As discussed earlier, the ideological, institutional, and past policy context was important because it largely determined whether or not families were either insiders or outsiders at any one particular point in time when it came to that process. In other words, it gave families structural advantages or disadvantages in relation to others, which the decisions of individuals by themselves could not change. The word 'ideology' was not a contemporary term. For the purposes of this study, the term 'ideology' has been defined as a manner of thinking based on 'beliefs', which were inclined to be static and based on authority and evidence, or 'ideas', which tended to be more dynamic and speculative. The terms 'Catholicism' and 'Protestantism' have been used of what is known of those two systems of religion in a strictly historical sense.²

Ideology

Roman Catholicism had no substantial ideological rival until the German theologian Martin Luther (1483-1546) sparked off the Reformation in Europe in the early sixteenth century. Luther's theological approach to the family was largely based on two fundamental texts of Christian doctrine. These were the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue: 'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days

¹ W. Cecil, 1st Lord Burghley, letter to his son, Robert, 13 Mar. 1596 (quoted in *Quotations in History: A Dictionary of Historical Quotations c.800 A.D. to the Present Day*, eds. A. Palmer and V. Palmer (Hassocks, 1976), no. 195).

² Allen, *Political Thought*, 1-4.

be long', which Protestants consider as the fifth commandment, and the Epistle to the Ephesians in which St Paul emphasised the authority of the father of a family over his wife, children and servants, and his duties of love and education to them.³ But Luther's religious ideas about the family were not radically different from those of the Catholic Church, and the leaders of both the Reformation and Counter-Reformation steadily and consistently reinforced the traditional idea of the family as a monarchy based on divine right over the period.⁴

The authority of the father and the authority of God not only legitimised one another, they served to legitimise all other authorities. It was common for kings, lords, patrons, and ecclesiastics to represent themselves as fathers and as the representatives of God. Both Catholicism and Protestantism used Christian doctrine to justify wide sweeping programmes to strengthen the framework of the family and prevent excesses. The Italian Charles Borromeo (1538-84), bishop of Milan, advised that 'it would be desirable that, on all the first Sundays or other solemn days, the heads of families should assemble in their parishes with the parish priest, to discuss together the measures which must be taken to regulate properly and govern their families'. The manuals for confessors published after the Council of Trent (1545-7, 1551-2 and 1562-3) gave guidance that was more diverse and precise.⁵ By such means, sixteenth-century religious reformers of both persuasions not only bolstered the already existing and commonly held ideas about sex (outside of marriage), marriage, and the patriarchal family, but also everyday beliefs concerning such matters as individual privacy within the home, family meals, socialising outside the home, and supervision of children. In general, such thinking led to a political conservatism, and, theoretically, the family as such was not a major issue. Translating these ideas and beliefs into practice, however, was not as easy as they might have supposed. Several Reformation leaders, including Luther, had serious conflicts with their fathers.⁶

The 'Familists' were an unusual yet notable exception to the general trend in religious thinking about the family. They were members of a Protestant extremist sect also known as the 'Family of Love' founded by Hendrick Nielaes (dates unknown) at Emden, in Germany, in or around 1540. He derived his ideas from David George, or Jorizoon (dates unknown), an Anabaptist of Delft, in Holland, whose followers some people called Davidists or Davists. The Familists were known to have practised in the eastern counties of England during the reign of Edward VI in spite of persecution.⁷ This minor religious movement focused on identification, intimacy, and emotional needs, and maintained that all people are

³ New Testament, 5.22-6.9.

⁴ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 242.

⁵ J. C. Dhôtel, *Les Origines du Catechisme Modernes* (Paris, 1967), 423, quoted in Flandrin, *Families in Former Times*, 121.

⁶ B. Gottlieb, *The Family in the Western World from the Black Death to the Industrial Age* (Oxford, 1993), 170.

⁷ It revived under the Commonwealth and lingered on until the eighteenth century.

one family and that religion consisted essentially of love in its broadest sense.⁸ Although there was clearly a substantial, and occasionally extreme, inclination towards the family in contemporary European religious thinking, Protestant and Catholic rulers and subjects alike still continued to unite families though marriage for political and other purposes regardless of their religious views.⁹

A good example of this was the marriage between James Lyon, 4th of Easter Ogil, who was a Protestant, and Elizabeth Tyrie, who was a Catholic. She was a sister of a Thomas Tyrie, who was concerned in various Catholic political schemes, and Father James Tyrie, a distinguished Jesuit scholar, who was involved in the affair of the Spanish Blanks (1594).¹⁰ But one of the consequences of this alliance was not so positive as their son Thomas Lyon, a Jesuit priest, was to learn. According to a letter written in 1595 by William Crichton to Father James Tyrie, then an *Assistenti* with the Jesuits in Rome, it created quite a problem:

*Father Robert Abercromby sent to us your kinsman (nepotem) Thomas Lyon, who was nearly blind, to recover his sight, which could not be done short of a miracle. He is a good young man but entirely useless in everything, as if quite blind. On account of his constancy in the Catholic faith his father turned him out some years ago. His elder brother, who is married and has his own house, cannot maintain him. He has nothing, and knows not where to turn. He wishes to go to you, but it is not advisable. I shall see that a doctor gives him purgings and cauterisings, but it will lead to little except new tortures and added expense. If it were only his maintenance it could be done at less cost in Scotland than elsewhere, so I advise him to return there and we will give him a viaticum, and perhaps help him in other ways, at least that he may have assistance from Angus and Errol, whose charity we shall compensate in respect to their brothers, for Errol will summon hither his two brothers.*¹¹

Scotland was no exception when it came to the substantial inclination towards the family in religious thinking, which was largely supported by the scriptures, but, as with the rest of Europe, this inclination was also circumscribed by those same scriptures, not least in the sacrifice of Jacob, the Bible's concern with tribes rather than kindred, and the non-heredity tradition in the New Testament. Such writings required an overriding commitment that clearly put religion before relatives. Some Scottish Presbyterian ministers were particularly aggressive in casting down such an earthly consideration as the family. For example, Robert Bruce (1554-1631) preached that Christ turned his back on the 'carnal band' which joined him to his own family, and Robert Rollock (c1555-99) advised that 'Fra time thou enters in the Kirk of Christ, thou enters in bonds'.¹² Rollock urged that 'All thir outwardlic thingis, as kindred,

⁸ Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, ed. E. H. Evans (London, 1969), 397.

⁹ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 242.

¹⁰ A. Tyrie, *The Tyries of Drunkilboe, Dunrudeer, and Lunan* (Glasgow, 1893), 30-2. Elizabeth was the sister of David Tyrie of Drunkilboe, who was married to Lillias Gray, the sister of Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar's first wife Agnes Gray. Elizabeth had three brothers: David, who was killed by Adam Crichton of Ruthven in 1581; Thomas Tyrie, who was concerned in the schemes of the Catholic party; and James Tyrie, a distinguished scholar and one-time Professor of Philosophy and Divinity in the Jesuit College in Paris and later with the Jesuit Society in Rome. *DNB*, lvii.436. He disputed publicly with Andrew Melville at Paris in 1574.

¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, 615. The letter was dated 18 June 1595.

¹² R. Bruce, *Sermons by the Rev. Robert Bruce, Minister of Edinburgh*, ed. W. Cunningham (Wodrow Society, 1843), 67 (Lord's Supper); R. Rollock, *Selected Works of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh*, ed. W. M. Gunn, 2 vols. (Wodrow Society, 1844-9), i, 348 (2 Corinthians 5).

nobilitie, beautie, wisdome, wardlie eloquence, riches, honour, with all the rest of thir things quhilk man has in admiration is nathing'. He pronounced that 'the leist spark of regeneration is worth all the genealogies that can be in this world'.¹³ As one recent writer has succinctly put it, to these particular ministers 'the New Testament was far more valuable than the testaments of their fathers'.¹⁴

John Knox (1505-72) had unusually strong views about the testaments of fathers, at least as far as women were concerned. In particular, he maintained that, whatever the legal position, no woman could inherit a throne. His reason was based partly on his understanding of the scriptures, and partly on what he considered the nature of woman, which he described as 'weak, frail, impatient, feeble and foolish inconsistent, variable, cruel and lacking the spirit of counsel and regimen'.¹⁵ To his patriarchal mind, 'woman in her greatest perfection was made to serve and obey man'.¹⁶ For her to assume authority over men was against God, and for man to recognise authority in a woman was against nature.¹⁷ In some circles, the idea of putting religion before relatives, and such understandings of the scriptures and nature in relation to the role of women, in particular, played down the nonetheless important role of 'Godly' parents, especially the mother. This was probably less so in the case of godparents, who formally entered through baptism into a spiritual relationship with the child and each other.¹⁸

There was also a substantial inclination towards the family in contemporary European secular thinking, which occasionally went to extremes too. Jean Bodin (1530-96), for example, interpreted the state as a collection of families ruled by the authority of the 'father'.¹⁹ It is doubtful whether many European secular thinkers would disagree with his view that, man and woman being naturally what they are, the man must and ought to be master. Nor would many argue with François Rabelais's (c.1494-c.1553) idea that a happy marriage was one arranged by the father in accordance with his own tastes and interests, or Michel Eyquem de Montaigne's (1533-92) opinion that love matches simply did not work.²⁰ Whereas later secular histories in their idealised form tended to reinforce these perceptions of the family, and often included a place for natural children, medieval romances and Renaissance literature, such as the Scottish court songs and poetry under James VI, stopped short of it. They celebrated matters of romantic love, which like matters of state, was a common theme. Love in this narrow sense was something that generally flourished before, at the point of, or even outside of marriage, whether it was arranged or not.

James enthusiastically wrote love-verses to his prospective Danish bride in 1589, but, like his poetic style, the object of his poetic devotion continually changed. At one point in the early 1590s, it fell on 'faire Anna Murraye mestres to the King'.²¹ Anna, who later married Glamis's nephew Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, in 1595, was herself the author of two surviving sonnets and probably the subject of another.²² In the first of these poems, she hoped to shake off her sorrow as a rejected lover:

¹³ Rollock, *Works*, i, 319 (2 Corinthians 5), 344-5 (2 Corinthians 5), 355 (2 Corinthians 5), ii, 629 (Resurrection).

¹⁴ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 206.

¹⁵ J. Knox, *The Works of John Knox*, ed. D. Laing, 6 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1846-64), iv, 374.

¹⁶ Knox, *Works*, iv, 377.

¹⁷ From his commonly held patriarchal perspective, the consequences of such rebellion against God were plain: 'England had been handed over' to Spain through Mary Tudor (1516-58), Scotland to France by way of Mary Stewart (1542-87), and France was 'in the hands' of the Italian queen regent Catherine de' Medici (1519-89).

¹⁸ Knox, *Blast and Counterblast*, 65. The custom was normally to have one or two (male) godparents, but in Aberdeen there was a concern that too many were being appointed.

¹⁹ J. B. Collins, *Classes, Estates and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge, 1994), 280.

²⁰ Allan, *Political Thought*, 408; Gottlieb, *Family in the Western World*, 55, 187.

²¹ James VI, *New Poems of James I of England*, ed. A. F. Wescott (New York, 1911), vii-viii; and poems numbers 1-x, xvi-xvii, xix, xx.

²² W. Fowler, *The Works of William Fowler*, ed. W. M. Meikle, 3 vols. (Scottish Text Society, 1914-39), i, nos. xiii, xiv, xxi.

*My hart not mine, my harte is from me gone
Unto that hart first set my harte on fyre
Regardlesse nowe of all my plaints and more
None now companions me but cares alone* ...²³

She yearned to return to the company of the court where 'her beauty gave such pleasure'.²⁴ Such sung and recited words on courtly love were concerned with men and women as slaves to the heart, not the home.²⁵ This noble idealism, which proponents portrayed in the visual arts as well as literature and could almost verge on the religious, contrasted sharply with a contemporary and crude misogynistic realism.²⁶

The following sample of sixteenth-century proverbs in English regarding patriarchy, happy or arranged marriages, and love matches provide at least a hint of the day-to-day and often conflicting ideas and beliefs about, as well as the hard reality of, the family in Scotland.²⁷

Patriarchy

*He that will thrive must first ask his wife (early sixteenth century)
Silence is a woman's best garment (mid-sixteenth century)
A woman and a ship ever want mending (later sixteenth century)
A woman's work is never done (later sixteenth century)*

Marriage

*Never choose your woman by candlelight (later sixteenth century)
Happy's the wooing that is not long a-doing (later sixteenth century)
Marry in haste repent at leisure (later sixteenth century)
A young man married is a young man that's marred (later sixteenth century)²⁸
Better be an old man's darling than a young man's slave (mid-sixteenth century)
There goes to marriage more than four bare legs in a bed (mid-sixteenth century)
A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple (later sixteenth century)
Better one house spoiled than two (when two wicked or foolish people joined in marriage) (later sixteenth century)
It is a wise child that knows its own father (later sixteenth century)*

Love matches

*Love and a cough cannot be hid (early sixteenth century)
Faint heart never won fair lady (mid-sixteenth century)*

²³ *Ibid.*, i, no. xiii

²⁴ H. M. Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under James IV* (Cambridge, 1969), 193.

²⁵ D. D. R. Owen, *Noble Lovers* (London, 1975), 30. It is interesting to note that in the twelfth century, in some medieval romances the courtly love took the form of the feudal pact between lord and vassal with the woman taking on the role of the lord.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 100, 160. While earlier poets fused romantic love with the feudal warrior mentality, the Italian poets Alighieri Dante (1265-1321) and Francesco Petrarca Petrarch (1304-74) were the first to harmonise it with the Platonic ideal, and so help to reconcile it with religion. 162. The influential English poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1345-1400) and Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-75), for example, wrote about both types of love.

²⁷ *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, ed. F. Knowles (Oxford, 1999), 594-616. The entire sample is taken from this entry.

²⁸ Also found in W. Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well* (1603-4) act 1, scene 1, line 232.

*The course of true love never did run smooth (later sixteenth century)*²⁹
Hanging and wiving go by destiny (mid-sixteenth century)
Marriages are made in heaven (mid-sixteenth century)
One cannot love and be wise (early sixteenth century)

While later secular histories and, no doubt, the Scottish 'Godly society' often included a place for natural children, the harsh reality was that sometimes that society did not. A good example of this was when James Lyon, who was a natural son of Glamis, was warded in the Tolbooth in Edinburgh in 1614 for threatening the life of Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, unfortunately within the hearing of his kinsman David Lyon of Balgillo. James:

'grantit and confest that he had spokan the saidis speecheis oute of his heitt and passioun, without ony pupois or intentioun to haif putt the same in execution: Quhilk confessioun being hard and considerit be the saidis Lordis, and thay finding it a mater of ane verie evill preparative and example that suche swaggering and uncomelie formes sould be usit aganis noblemen of honor and credite, and the havnousnes of this offence being aggregit to the said James with the punishment whilk he had justhe deservit for the same, and he being urgert to find caution for keeping of his Majesteis peace with the said Erll, and to forbear such insolent formes in tyme coming under pane of an ll., he declarit upoun his grite and solemne oathe that he could gett nane that wald become cautionarie for him in this matter.'

The lords then threatened to banish him and not to return without permission. James agreed on condition that Patrick 'wald mak him some supplee and help to by him claithis, and to mak his intrecynement some certane space after his landing, and upon this conditoun he wald act him self under the pane of deade nevir to retorne agane within this realme without his Majesteis licence.' David was asked to contact Patrick so that he could provide for his transportation out of the kingdom for 'the said James being one of his house and his neir kinsman.' Eventually a letter came from the Patrick's wife Anne Murray 'purporting in expres termes that no supplee nor supporte wes to be gevin to thee said James.' In the end common sense prevailed, and James was released on the understanding that he would keep good rule and quietness with Patrick under pain of £10,000.³⁰ Although natural children could be politically important, as in the case of the regent, James Stewart, 1st earl of Moray, who was a half-brother of Mary, queen of Scots, the legitimacy laws laid a limit on that importance, which in the case of Moray and other natural children of rank was clearly and immediately visible to all in the arms that they bore.

Whereas some Scottish religious thinkers played down such earthly considerations as the family, David Home of Godscroft (c.1560-c.1630) promoted them.³¹ He was secretary to Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, in the 1580s. His politico-moral ideas were the culmination of a patriotic

²⁹ Also found in W. Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595-6), act 1, scene 1, line 72.

³⁰ *RSS*, vii, 787, *RPC*, x, 237.

³¹ *Calderswood*, iv, 154. James Melville described Scottish elites in the same fashion, but warned against propertied people alienating lands to their 'wives, children and friends'.

historiographical tradition that went back at least to Hector Boece (c.1465-1536) in 1520s. A central theme of this tradition was a sturdy and independent way of life that involved a high degree of public-spiritedness, which required a responsible participation rather than a concern with luxury, commercial self-interest, and corruption. The idea of a professional or standing army or a separate political class, for example, was much disfavoured. Like Angus, he was extremely pious. Of particular interest, he argued that blood ties were a source of honour and authority, and that within a Calvinistic context the energies of kinship could translate into civic commitment. To him, family and politics (*polis*), blood and virtue went well together.³²

Godscroft's re-valuation of the family within a political context is evident in his recollection of the dialogue that took place between himself and Angus after their return from England in 1585. In his *History of the House of Douglas and Angus*, he described how James Douglas supported Robert I against Balliol and England not only for both personal and patriotic reasons, but also because of their kin connection:

... So not onely the thrilled liberties of Scotland and his private losses did oblige Sir James to side with King Robert and stick so constantly to him, but his tie of blood and consanguinity also, being a near kinsman.³³

Livy described how various selfless patrician families of early Rome were prepared to sacrifice themselves for the republic. His views about the importance of the family to good government reflected an Aristotelian tradition, which underpinned the mainstream of classical thinking during the sixteenth century. Platonic philosophy increasingly began to challenge this. In his *Republic*, Plato, who was primarily a theologian, considered the family, with its propensity for corruption, to be detrimental to good government. Godscroft's approach to history was similar to Livy's. To him, the history of Scotland was the story of families, but only the families of greater barons and of ancient blood appeared to have the necessary moral and political authority to lead as 'new men bent to seek their own profit onely without regard to any other duty'. In essence, he envisaged Scotland, including the Highlands, Islands, and Borders, as a cultural and historic whole, which was 'inherently integrated through a complex synthesis of kin, Calvinism and classical politics'.³⁴

Whereas writers such as Godscroft promoted the family, other secular thinkers demoted it. Denigrating the family was by no means a new or just a theological trend. John Mair (c.1470-1550)

³² A. H. Williamson, 'A patriot nobility? Calvinism, kin-ties and civic humanism', *Scottish Historical Review* lxxii (1920), 5.

³³ D. Hume of Godscroft, *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (London, 1644), 15.

³⁴ Williamson, 'Patriot nobility?', 6.

thought that the nobility was 'naught but a windy thing of human ancestry. True nobility was the consequence of virtue, not ancestry'.³⁵ The idea of 'true nobility' in this sense went back to classical antiquity. Although James VI himself acknowledged that a monarch 'must be of no surname nor kinne, but equall to all honest men it become you not to bee followed with partiall or factious servants', his own family was never without favour in politics.³⁶ Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (c. 1500-c. 1565) made the point that 'na kyndnes standis with zow quhar proffet may be haid'.³⁷ Others had already taken up a stance against nepotism and other forms of familial partiality in royal service. For example, Alexander Hume (c. 1560-1609) argued that 'particulair gaine dois sa man's reasone blinde'.³⁸ and James Melville of Halhill (1535-1617) thought that royal service should not be subject to 'favour of surname, kin, frend or allia, bot for sufficiency, vertue, and loyaltie'.³⁹ Richard Maitland of Lethington (1496-1586) was one of several who lamented the gradual passing of 'true kindness'.⁴⁰ Family relations, however, were a different matter when it came to such notions as 'kingship', 'lordship', and 'dynasty', all of which rested, in large part, not only on the idea of male authority, but also on the legally critical notions of 'inheritance' and 'succession' within a family and political context.

Medieval romances and later secular histories throughout Europe promoted concepts of family inheritance and succession. Their roots lay largely in notions of historically distant national organization, and the regard for them reinforced concepts of national sentiment. In Scottish literature the ultimate ideological importance of 'dynasty', as opposed to 'state', for example, is particularly evident in Pitscottie's *The Historie and Chronikles of Scotland* (1570s), which not only focused on 'the five kingis of the Steawartis', but also his own family, the Lindsays. This was just one of many genealogically-based works that 'continued to display all the rhetorical flair, all the moralistic fervour and educational purpose of Renaissance humanism as it was still evolving across contemporary Europe'.⁴¹ The theme was very similar to the politico-moral ideas put forward by Godscroft. The idea of the family as dynasty was also very evident in non-literary manifestations, such as the oral tradition and less scholarly recalling of family stories: the celebrations surrounding royal occasions, the ambitions of the middle ranks of society, particularly within the church, the legal profession, and the royal burghs; and the inheritance strategies of tenant farmers. Surely, the most fundamental thought and minimum personal political priority for most people, at whatever level, must have been, as with tenant farmers, 'to pass on their holdings along with

³⁵ Quoted in Williamson, *National Consciousness*, 98.

³⁶ James VI, *Basiliakon Doron*, i, 22-3.

³⁷ W. C. B. Fraser, *Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollock*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1863), ii, 154-5 (no 152).

³⁸ A. Hume, *The Poems of Alexander Hume*, ed. A. Lawson (Scottish Text Society, 1902), 72.

³⁹ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 304.

⁴⁰ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 203.

⁴¹ D. W. Allan, 'Historians, 1500-1700', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford, 2001), 305.

the stock and equipment with which to work it' to the next generation, at least to the extent to which they in turn had received them? ⁴² In sum, there was a substantial inclination towards the family within the ideological context, which was apparent in the religious and secular thinking of the time.

Institutions

For the purposes of this study, an 'institution' has been defined as a national organisation that has evolved for promoting the public good with regard to defence, law and order, finance, and welfare and other governmental functions. Each later sixteenth-century Scottish institution had its own unique structure and function, and an underlying body of largely unwritten fundamental principles according to which a specific aspect of the state was governed. These and other lesser-known rules and procedures favoured certain interests over others, including those of the family. As discussed earlier, this study takes the views that the most important things were done *by* parliament. Parliament was the main arena in which *formal* politics occurred. This is not to say that other governmental institutions were not politically important, particularly the privy council. The Scottish parliament met 11 times, roughly every two years, over the period (Table 3). This was a much lower figure than that of the convention of estates (Appendix 3.1). After the County Franchise Act (1587), lairds attended both policy-centred institutions as shire commissioners, who represented a new 'fourth' estate. ⁴³

Parliament	Location	Dates of Opening	Date of Closing
1578 Parliament	Stirling	15 July	25 July
1579 Parliament	Stirling	20 October	11 November
1581 Parliament	Edinburgh	24 October	29 November
1583 Parliament	Edinburgh	24 October	18 November
1584 Parliament	Edinburgh	19 May	22 May
1584 Parliament	Edinburgh	3 August	22 August
1585 Parliament	Edinburgh	1 December	10 December
1587 Parliament	Holyroodhouse	8 July	29 July
1592 Parliament	Edinburgh	3 April	5 June
1593 Parliament	Edinburgh	3 April	21 July
1594 Parliament	Edinburgh	22 April	8 June

Table 3. Dates and locations of Scottish parliaments, 1578-1596.

⁴² White, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 163.

⁴³ APS, iii, 509-10. c.120 1587 Barons in Parliament Act (more commonly known as the 'County Franchise Act'). Brown, *Kingdom or Province?* 43-4. The formal distinction between the peers and lairds only occurred in parliament. It was an attempt to prevent the peers controlling the shires, which resulted in apathy and a few rich and powerful local leaders.

The first estate in parliament consisted of prelates: bishops, abbots, and priors, who did not represent anybody except themselves. They had to face the rivalry of the more active general assembly.⁴⁴ Known prelaties, and the known attendance of prelates in the parliaments held over the period are given in **Appendix 3.2**.⁴⁵ There were at least 56 known prelaties held by various people for the whole or part of the period. Of these, about 20% (11) were bishoprics, just over 50% (29) were abbaties, and around 30% (15) were priories. The number of abbeys and priories fell by seven over the period. This was because the abbeys of Deer, Dunfermline, Newbattle, and Paisley, and the priories of Blantyre and Pluscarden were made into temporal lordships. The priory of St Mary's Isle was converted into a temporal tenancy. At least just under half the abbaties (14) and priories (7) were 'quasi-hereditary' - they were kept without any strict legal entitlement within the same family over two or more generations. Notable examples of this practice include the abbaties of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, and the priory of Inchmahome, all of which were held by various members of the Erskine family. There was, therefore, a strong hereditary element within the 'clerical' representation as a whole, which was endorsed by the six conversions of abbaties and priories into temporal lordships. This substantial leaning towards the family was influenced by the pattern of attendance, which varied between bishops, abbots, and priors. Taking the prelaties as a whole, about 90% (11) of the bishops, around 85% (25) of the abbots, and approximately 40% (6) of the priors were known to have attended one or more parliaments.⁴⁶ As can be seen in **Table 4**, the known attendance of the prelates in the 10 parliaments in the sample varied between 3 and 9 for bishops, 6 and 13 for abbots, and 2 and 4 for priors.⁴⁷ The fact that the attendance of bishops was high may have been a reflection of their value to the crown. As will be discussed later, the Lyons of Glamis had no strong links with the first estate or the reformed church.

The second estate in parliament consisted of dukes, earls, and lords of parliaments.⁴⁸ Peerages were hereditary. With very few exceptions, such as the Hamilton brothers, they were based on land until 1587, when all honours became personal, and the rules of descent were altered.⁴⁹ Although theoretically all peers had a right to attend parliament, they required a personal writ of summons issued from the

⁴⁴ O'Brien, 'Scottish Parliament', ch. 6; R. S. Rait, *The Scottish Parliament* (Historical Association, 1925), 6.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately there is no systematic way of measuring attendances because of the incomplete nature of the records. There were many members of parliament generally who arrived late or left early.

⁴⁶ The non-participants were the holders of the bishopric of Ross, the abbeys of Arbroath, Holywood, Iona, and Kelso, and the priories of Ardhattan, Beaulieu, Charterhouse, Inchmahome, Lesmahagow, Portmoak, St Andrews, St Mary's Isle, and Strathfillane.

⁴⁷ Not surprisingly perhaps, one of the highest attendance figures for this estate as a whole (23) was for the May 1584 parliament, which was responsible for the so-called 'Black Acts', which reaffirmed Episcopal government and asserted the supremacy of king over all estates, both spiritual and temporal.

⁴⁸ Lord John Hamilton and his brother Lord Claud Hamilton, both sons of a duke, have been regarded as lords of parliament for the purpose of this chapter. Strictly speaking, they were not.

⁴⁹ Ferry, *Scottish Parliament*, 12-13.

Estates and Officers	Parliament									
	1578	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Prelacies	14	23	16	23	15	13	19	8	8	8
(Bishops)	(6)	(7)	(3)	(9)	(6)	(3)	(5)	(2)	(2)	(3)
(Abbots)	(6)	(13)	(9)	(10)	(7)	(6)	(11)	(5)	(6)	(5)
(Priors)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(1)	(-)	(-)
Peers	21	23	25	29	20	17	20	8	8	12
(Dukes/earls)	(10)	(11)	(13)	(14)	(10)	(6)	(8)	(5)	(2)	(4)
(Lords)	(11)	(12)	(12)	(15)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(3)	(6)	(8)
Shires	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	18	5
Burghs	16	36	16	23	19	20	31	7	47	8
Administration	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	5	7	-
Total	51	82	57	75	57	50	70	36	88	33

Table 4. A summary of the known attendance of the estates and officers in parliament, 1578-1596.

chancery to participate. Masters, such as Glamis, did not normally attend parliament.⁵⁰ As with the reformed church, they had to depend on others to have influence. The peerage, and the known attendance of peers in parliament, over the period are given in Appendix 3.3.⁵¹ At the end of the period, the peerage consisted of consisted of one dukedom and 22 earldoms (just under 40%), and 29 lordships of parliament (just under 60%). The nature, number, and many of the holders of these peerages changed over the period.⁵² Robert Stewart, earl of Lennox, was created earl of March (1578), to make way for his cousin Esmé Stewart, who was promoted from earl to duke of Lennox (1581). Lord Claud Hamilton was created

⁵⁰ Rait, *Parliaments*, 193. The only exception to this was the master of Errol in 1584. Terry, *Scottish Parliament*, 18. Terry states that the eldest sons of peers intermittently had the right to attend, but without the privilege of voting or speaking.

⁵¹ From this point on, peers in the text will not normally be described by their full name and title.

⁵² Robert Stewart, earl of Lennox, was created earl of March in 1578, to make way for his cousin Esmé Stewart, who was promoted to duke of Lennox in 1581. Lord Claud Hamilton was created lord Paisley in 1587. The number of peerages increased from 53 to 64 over the period. In addition to the earldom of March, the earldoms of Gowrie and Orkney were created in 1581, and the following lordships of parliament were created at various times: Doune in 1581, Dingwall in 1584, Atrie in 1587, Urquhart in 1588, Spynie and Thurlstone in 1590, and Newbattle in 1591. Forty per cent (10) of the 25 earldoms and above changed hands over the period. Of these, two changed twice – the dukedom/earldom of Lennox mentioned above and the earldom of Arran in 1581 and 1585, and one thrice – the earldom of Morton in 1581, 1585, and 1588. Just less than 35% (13) of the 39 lordships of parliament also changed hands. Of these, only one changed more than once – the lordship of Hay in 1586 and 1591.

lord Paisley (1587). The number of peerages increased over the period. The earldoms of Gowrie, March, and Orkney were created in 1581, and lordships of parliament were created at various times: Doune (1581), Dingwall (1584), Altrie (1587), Urquhart (1588), Spynie and Thirlestane (1590), and Newbattle (1591). Forty per cent (10) of the 25 earldoms and above changed hands over the period. Two changed twice – Lennox, mentioned above, and Arran (1581, 1585), and one thrice – Morton (1581, 1585, 1588). Just less than 35% (13) of the 39 lordships of parliament also changed hands. Only one changed more than once – Hay (1586, 1591). There was, therefore, an exceptionally strong hereditary element within the second estate, which increased over the period. This leaning towards the family was influenced by the pattern of attendance, which varied between types of peers. As can be seen in **Table 4**, just over 90% (23) of the 25 earls and above, and just over 70% (28) of the 39 lords of parliaments – 80% (51) of the 64 peerages, were known to have attended one or more parliaments over the period.⁵³ The known attendance of peers in the 10 parliaments in the sample varied between 6 and 14 for earls and above, and 10 and 14 for lords of parliament.⁵⁴

A unique feature of the second estate is that most of the ages of peers are known, at least in approximate terms. These are given for a smaller sample of eight parliaments over a 15-year period in **Appendix 3.4**.⁵⁵ The table shows that the average age of earls and above was around 33 years, whilst that of lords of parliament was around 39 years.⁵⁶ Just over 50% (13) of the earls and above (25), and just over 60% (24) of the lords of parliament (34) survived the 15-year period. Where the ages of deceased 16 earls and above, and 10 deceased lords of parliament are known, just over 30% (5) of the former lived beyond 60 years, while 40% (4) of latter survived beyond that age. Just under 40% (7) of earls and above died in their thirties, whilst all of the lords of parliament survived that age band. Compared to today, life expectancy was short for peers, as for everyone else, despite their social and economic advantages, and, for some unknown reason, the thirties would appear to have been a difficult age for earls. Minors headed more than 50% (13) of the houses of earls and above, and around 30% (12) of the houses of lords of parliament, at some point during the period. The houses of Cassillis, Crichton, Glamis, and Torpichen were the only ones to be headed by minors for the whole of the time span. Albeit on a lesser scale, minorities of peers could no doubt be just as politically problematic as those of sovereigns. The age of a

⁵³ The 'non-participants' were the holders of the earldoms of Cassillis and Menteith, and Lord Claud Hamilton and the Lords Altrie, Borthwick, Cathcart, Dingwall, Elphinstone, Glamis, Lovat, Maxwell, and Torpichen. John Matland, 1st Lord Thirlestane is recorded as having attended the 1593 and 1594 parliaments in his capacity as an officer of state.

⁵⁴ The highest attendance figure (29) for the peerage as a whole was also for the May 1584 parliament.

⁵⁵ Most of the ages of peers were recorded, but where there is a discrepancy concerning the date of one individual, the earliest recorded birth date was used. This will tend to exaggerate any averages given.

⁵⁶ The difference may have been partly due to promotions and creations.

peer was important because it could limit the extent to which he and his family could be represented in parliament.⁵⁷

The third estate in parliament represented the royal burghs and several abbots' and bishops' burghs, such as Arbroath and St Andrews respectively. As can be seen in **Appendix 3.7**, 48 of these were known to have sent representatives to one or more parliaments over the period.⁵⁸ Town councils normally elected the commissioners.⁵⁹ They were self-elected bodies,⁶⁰ and varied in size from seven to 33 members. There was a continuing tendency for burgh magistrates to hold office as a quasi-hereditary right despite the passing of various acts of parliament against such practice.⁶¹ A notable example of this is Aberdeen, where the Menzies of Pitfodels, a client family of the earls of Huntly, were quasi-hereditary provosts until the end of the sixteenth century, but not all burghs were controlled in this way.⁶² Whyte argued that there was a lessening of interest by such landowners in burgh government in the later sixteenth century, and that this was signalled by the ousting of the Menzies dynasty in the 1590s.⁶³ The earls of Crawford had a political interest, similar to the earls of Huntly, in Dundee, where they had a large lodging and family vault, and in the much smaller burgh of Forfar, where the Lords Glamis focused a more limited attention. Whyte also argued that there was an increasing interest by the crown in burgh government in the later sixteenth century.⁶⁴ Sometimes, landowner and royal interest combined, as was the case when the king wrote to the magistrates of Dundee in 1583 'commanding them to elect and take Crauford (David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford) to be their Provost, albeit they had chosen their own Provost to be still continued in his office'.⁶⁵

There was a substantial hereditary interest in the third estate, but this varied from burgh to burgh, and although some burgh commissioners probably did owe their seats to familial and other interests, they were not necessarily subservient to them once parliament was sitting. This substantial leaning towards the family within the third estate as a whole was influenced by the pattern of attendance, which also varied from burgh to burgh. As can be seen in **Table 4**, the average attendance of the burgh

⁵⁷ Although peers technically represented the nobility as a whole until 1587, and themselves as peers only after that date, they, as with the members of the other estates, no doubt took on some responsibility within parliament for their respective localities, and any trade or profession to which they may have been formally or informally attached.

⁵⁸ Five of them – Anstruther Easter, Anstruther West, Burntisland, Inverkeithing and Kilranny, were promoted to royal status at various times over the period.

⁵⁹ I. Pagan, E., *The Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1926), 45. Aberdeen would appear to have been at least one exception to this.

⁶⁰ Ran, *Scottish Parliament*, 6.

⁶¹ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland*, eds J. D. Marwick and T. Hunter, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1866-90), I, 374, 383-6. For example, the 1585 convention of royal burgh ordered that none shall hold an office within the burghs on this basis, and, seven years later, it censured the provost, bailies, council, and community of Aberdeen for not holding free elections for those offices involved.

⁶² Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 194.

⁶³ I. D. Whyte, *Scotland's Society and Economy in Transition, c.1500-c.1760* (London, 1997), 120-1. Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 194.

⁶⁴ Whyte, *Society and Economy*, 121.

⁶⁵ A. H. Millar, *Roll of Eminent Burgesses of Dundee, 1513-1886* (Dundee, 1887), 58. *CSJ Scot.*, vi, 622 – 28 Sept. 1583 – Bowes to Walsingham.

representatives in the 10 parliaments was 31, and this varied considerably between 17 and 41. Attendance could be high. Commissioners for Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Haddington, Perth, and Stirling sat in all 10 parliaments. Less than 20% (28) of burgh commissioners were elected more than twice. Only Alexander Clerk of Blabernie (Edinburgh), James Drummond (Perth), Patrick Lyon (Dundee), and Alexander Rutherford of Rubislaw (Aberdeen) were elected three times, and just James Cockburn (Haddington) was elected four times. There was, therefore, no hereditary element within the representation itself.

In theory, the fourth estate in parliament represented no more than a few hundred people, and this small, rigid franchise varied in size between the 33 shires. In practice, it was much less. For example, only 17 out of a total of 140 possible electors were present at the head court of Aberdeenshire in 1595.⁶⁶ The minimum number of electors necessary to constitute a valid election was only six. The relatively small group of landowners who had a right to vote or be elected had a substantial hereditary or quasi-hereditary element in as much as the franchise was tied to land, and, as with the burgh electors, they consisted entirely of men.⁶⁷ Inflation did not increase the number involved in the shire elections because of the static nature of the land valuation (the old extent assessment). As can be seen in **Appendix 3.6**, the known shire commissioners were greater or lesser lairds. As with commendators (lay abbots and priors) and peers, the vested interest in land held by shire representatives varied considerably. Patrick Brown of Colston and Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton and Luffness both represented Haddingtonshire, but whereas Colston only held a small barony and four pieces of land in the shire, Wauchton not only held land there but also in the shires of Aberdeen, Berwick, Fife, Kincardine, and Perth.⁶⁸ The majority were knights of the realm. In many ways, they had a similar status to the knights of the shires in England. None (at the time) were privy councillors, and John Murray of Tullibardine, who with Crawford was a sponsor of County Franchise Act (1587),⁶⁹ and Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch were connected to the royal household.

This substantial leaning towards the family within the fourth estate as a whole was influenced by the pattern of attendance (**Table 4**). Of the three parliaments that were held after the County Franchise Act (1587), the 1593 parliament is the only one that has an extant sederunt for the whole parliament and not just the committee of articles. In that session, the attendance was roughly 20% (19) of what was theoretically possible, and the number of entries on the sederunt suggests that rate of attendance over the

⁶⁶ Terry, *Scottish Parliament*, 39.

⁶⁷ *IPS*, iii, 509–c.120; Rait, *Parliaments*, 210; M. D. Young (ed.), *The Parliaments of Scotland, Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1992), i, p. xvii. Both the franchise and the qualifications of the shire commissioners were restricted to a limited number of people. Initially these were the tenants-in-chief of the crown, whose lands were assessed at 40 shillings annual value, under what was known as the 'old extent assessment'.

⁶⁸ *Retours*, i, Haddington, 21, 26.

⁶⁹ *IPS*, iii, 509.

three parliaments might have been at least comparable with one or more of the other estates. Less than 20% (5) of the 27 shire commissioners in this limited sample were elected more than twice. None were elected three times. There would, therefore, be no hereditary element within the representation itself.

The four estates in parliament were not the only groups present in the Scottish parliament. Officers of state also attended in an *ex officio* capacity probably by custom and practice rather than enactment.¹⁰ Their known attendance in parliament is given in **Appendix 3.8** and **Table 4**. Unfortunately, only four extant sederunts give information about their attendance as such. These entries cover the 1581, August 1584, 1592, and 1593 parliaments. Some officers were recorded in the estate to which they belonged and voted. From these four lists it would appear that between four and seven officers attended parliament regularly over the period. In a sense, they were a "fifth" estate in parliament. They represented the large number of people who were employed, formally as well as informally, in the administrative process and their families and others. In times of change, as with the deliberations that eventually led to the radical introduction of eight administrators known as the "Octavians" to reorganise the royal finances in 1596 (and, probably, their demise), this estate political group could be a formidable political force.¹¹

A notional organisational structure of the later sixteenth-century Scottish governmental administrative-centred institutions and their main divisions is shown in **Figure 3** below, and the known administrators employed within them at the level of officer and above are listed in **Appendix 1**. In drawing up this information it has been assumed that there were clear horizontal and vertical lines between institutions, divisions, and sections on the one hand, and senior officer, officer, and servants on the other. In reality, these demarcations were not so clean-cut, and terminology varied.¹² Lack of sufficient record sources, especially in respect of the timing of appointments and variations in titles, rewards, and roles, made it impossible to give a completely accurate picture of the people officially employed at this level. The list excludes many geographically peripheral persons, such as bailies on the numerous crown lands, and assumes that the institutions were operating at full strength, and that there was no absence due to rotation or other reasons.

A summary of the numbers of known administrators is given in **Table 5**. A total of 655 official posts are listed. The total including the excluded persons must have been in the region of 1,000 persons at any one time over the period. Allowing for say about 20% of people holding two or more official posts,

¹⁰ Terry, *Scottish Parliament*, 4-5.

¹¹ *RPS*, v, pp. xlv-xlvi, lvii, 349n. Masson, for example, argued they were particularly vociferous at the time of the appointment of the Octavians in 1596.

¹² *Scots Peerage*, vi, 53; *Spottiswood*, ii, 315. For example, there was a long continued dispute between the high constables of Scotland, Andrew and Francis Hay, 8th and 9th of Errol, and the earl marischal, William Keith, 5th earl Marischal, regarding the respective rights and privileges of their offices over the period, and in 1581 James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran, as captain of the guard, questioned the privileges of Eme Stewart, then 1st duke of Lennox, as chamberlain.

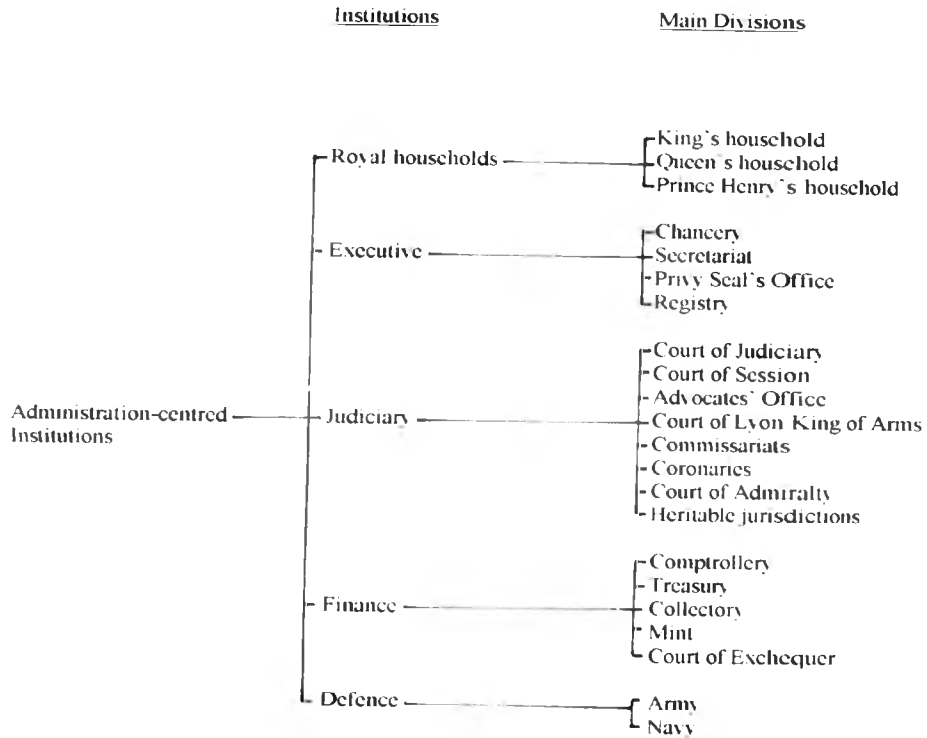


Figure 3 A notional organisational structure of the later sixteenth-century Scottish institutions and their main divisions.

the net figure must have been around 800. This somewhat speculative figure does at least suggest that the fifth estate had more significance than first appears. Excluding ecclesiastical posts, MacCaffrey estimated that the English crown had about 1,200 official posts that were 'worth a gentleman's having'. Once again allowing for about 20% of people holding two or more official posts, which is the percentage that he calculated, he worked out that there must have been around 1,000 people officially employed at this level at any given moment in Elizabeth's reign. The figures derived from this study and those of MacCaffrey are only roughly comparable. Much depends on the definition of 'gentleman', and what Scottish posts that person would have considered worth having. This somewhat speculative comparison does at least suggest that the number of Scottish official posts at the officer level and above was high for the population of the country; that James had served a substantial apprenticeship in court management before

moving to the English court in 1603; and that committed financial officers, including Glamis (discussed later), were probably right in trying to curb his household expenditure.

Institution/ Division	Total (Sub-total)
Royal Households:	
King's Household	153
Queen's Household	61
Prince Henry's Household	33
Sub-total	(247)
Executive:	
Chancery	9
Secretariat	11
Privy Seal's Office	5
Registry (and Privy Council)	5
Sub-total	(30)
Judiciary:	
Court of Judiciary	5
Court of Session (includes lords of session)	29
Advocate's Office	3
Court of Lyon King of Arms	15
Commissariats	21
Coronaries	51
Heritable Jurisdictions	193
Sub-total	(311)
Finance:	
Comptroller (excludes crown land and customs officers)	3
Treasury	10
Collector	17
Mint	7
Sub-total	(37)
Defence:	
Army (excludes special commissions, governors depute, etc)	25
Navy (excludes special commissions)	5
Sub-total	(30)
TOTAL	655

Table 5. A summary of the numbers of known posts at the senior officer and officers level within the main divisions of the administration-centred institutions, over the period.

As can be seen from Appendix 1, there was a great deal of formal linkage between and within the administrative-centred institutions themselves and the departments or sections within them. For example, for two or three years, Glamis was not only employed in the royal household as captain of the guard, but also in the executive, justice, finance, and defence, as a privy councillor, an extra-ordinary lord of session, treasurer, and occasional head of a larger military force, respectively. It was not uncommon for both senior and junior officers to have several official roles. Maitland was vice-chancellor, secretary,

and an extra-ordinary lord of session from 1586 to 1587, and James Purdie of Kinnaldie managed to combine the duties of Islay herald, usher to the exchequer, and collector of the thirds of the benefices in 1579.⁷³ There was a great deal of informal linkage between and within institutions.⁷⁴ This involved any grouping formed by individuals for their own sectional or social purposes, such as communal worship in the royal chapel, and dining in the royal household. Given these formal and informal connections, it would be a mistake to interpret the horizontal divisions, as Goodare, for example, implies, as somehow closed or mechanistic.⁷⁵ These links were extremely important familial conduits which permeated all the administrative-centred and policy-centred institutions, including parliament.

A commonality of surnames can be detected in **Appendix 1**, and the five most common of these within each of the five administrative areas are given in **Table 6**. Even given the fact that surname and kin are two distinct entities, and that some surnames were more prevalent and localised than others in society generally, these figures suggest that there was a substantial inclination towards the family within the formal administration as a whole at the level of officer and above over the period, and that particular families were attracted to particular governmental administrative areas. Such family 'invasions' were common throughout Europe,⁷⁶ and, as can be seen in **Appendix 1**, they were particularly strong in Scotland where legal skills were required.⁷⁷ No doubt, experience built up within one particular area by one particular family created a very efficient unit, not to mention suspicion and resentment. The Lyons of Glamis were not a typical family in this regard: the name 'Lyon' only occurs three times in each of the lists involving the royal household, judiciary, and treasury (**Appendix 1.1, 1.3, 1.4**). The chief weapons of the invaders – marriage, hereditary and quasi-hereditary succession, and nepotism, must not only have encouraged a vertical rather than a horizontal integration but also a political conservatism.⁷⁸

As with the five estates, the notional and actual composition of the parliamentary committees – the commission for holding parliament, the committee of articles, and the *ad hoc* commissions, and those who selected them, were important because they helped to determine the nature and extent to which there was a substantial inclination towards the family within parliament as a whole. This was particularly the case with the committee of articles. The known members, and attendance of members, of the committee of the articles are given in **Appendix 3.9**. Normally, between eight to 10 people represented each

⁷³ *RSS*, viii, 1521.

⁷⁴ The policy-centred institutions had fewer horizontal divisions within them, but they had a considerable degree of overlap resulting from the participation of the estates, officers, and executive, legislative, judicial, and financial functions.

⁷⁵ Goodare, *State and Society*, 105, 124 – Goodare thought that 'Chinese walls' separated the finance offices.

⁷⁶ Hurstfield, 'Social structure', 142; H. G. Koenigsberger and others, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1968), 276.

⁷⁷ Donaldson, 'Genealogy', 77.

⁷⁸ The informal administrative organisation and nepotism through marriage are almost completely invisible, and this is even greater when it comes to appointments made on the basis of betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, natural children, adoption, and god-parenting.

Royal Household	Executive	Judiciary	Treasury	Defence
Murray (41)	Hay (19)	Bannatyne (15)	Young (13)	Stewart (19)
Home (36)	Sinclair (12)	Graham (9)	Stewart (9)	Douglas (12)
Stewart (35)	Scott (10)	Lindsay (9)	Melville (6)	Carmichael (8)
Elphinstone (22)	Young (10)	Purdie (7)	Lindsay (6)	Erskine (6)
Lindsay (17)	Laing (6)	Skene (7)	Fenton (5)	Home (6)

The figure in brackets indicates number of times the surname is mentioned in Appendix 1

Table 6. The five most common surnames within each administration-centred institutions, over the period

estate before 1587, when it was agreed that those numbers should be between six and ten. In 1592, it was decided that there should be eight each for prelates, nobles and barons, and seven for burgesses, but eight each became the norm.⁷⁹ O'Brien thought that the estates were responsible for selecting their members on the committee of the articles, but recognised that the method of selection was ambiguous, and probably varied, over the period.⁸⁰ One contemporary view was that the lords temporal were elected by the lords spiritual and vice versa, and that these two groups combined to choose commissioners for the burghs and the shires. A second was that the prelates, being the king's 'creatures', could be trusted to select the peers who supported the king, while they could not fail to select the prelates who were subservient to the crown. The chosen prelates and peers were then instructed to retire and select the remainder of the committee of the articles, and the king's secretary intimated privately to the peers the names of the commissioners whom the king wished them to choose.⁸¹ A third also suggested the existence of royal influence.⁸² A fourth was that they were chosen 'by the whole Estates', which suggests that they were not chosen by the estates individually.⁸³ A fifth was that the nobility always chose from their rank.⁸⁴ Each of the five views had particular consequences on the nature and extent to which there was an inclination towards the family within this centrally important committee. The composition of the commission for holding parliament and the *ad hoc* commissions varied considerably (Appendix 3.10-11), and little is known about who selected them.

⁷⁹ Burgh members of the committee tended to come from the wealthiest burghs. Sederunts and attendance lists only give information about the participation of officers on the 1581, August 1584, 1592, and 1593 committees. From this limited insight, it would appear that between four and seven officers were regular members of the committee over the period.

⁸⁰ O'Brien, 'Scottish Parliament', ch. 3.

⁸¹ Rat, *Parliaments*, 337.

⁸² Calderwood, v. 331 (1594).

⁸³ APS, iii. 530, iv. 7, 125, 260.

⁸⁴ J. Row, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society and Manland Club, 1842), 379. A petition of 1633 asserted that this was the practice before 1609.

Parliamentary procedure and changes in parliamentary procedure could be to the advantage or disadvantage of the family.⁸⁵ The major problem with changes in procedure is trying to determine whether or not these represented *ad hoc* attempts to improve the efficient transaction of business, or deliberate efforts to enhance or weaken the crown's influence over it, or both. Generally speaking, more efficient procedures must have given the crown greater influence than other interests, such as the family. Perhaps the most politically potent procedures were the discretionary ones that the king could deploy in cases of disagreement.⁸⁶ Other effective procedures included the 'theatre' of parliament, and the role of the chancellor and clerk register. The rituals that accompanied the opening and closing ceremonies were theatrical spectacles. These not only highlighted the continuity between medieval and later sixteenth-century parliaments, but also reinforced the popular convention that the king and his people, like the head and body of a family, were not independent, and that their strength was in their interdependence.

The roles of the chancellor and the clerk register were fundamental to the smooth running of parliament. Although both officers were crown appointees, there would appear to be no undue conflict between their duty to the king and the estates as a whole. They were servants of both. The chancellor acted as a key intermediary between the various individuals and groups within and outwith parliament, while the clerk register supported him in this. He also gave him assistance in planning parliamentary business and keeping records. The chancellor acted for the king when he was not there, and he and the clerk register had immense influence in their own right.⁸⁷ The chancellor, as head of the administration, was the dominant patronage officer. Both Morton and Maitland were noted for their nepotism.⁸⁸ Parliament frequently ratified the exercise of patronage, and was, no doubt, a prime arena for it.⁸⁹ The patronage system generally tended to centralise politics and preserve powerful loyalties that were neither national nor monarchical but dependent upon the horizontal ties of family and other alliances, and, to a lesser extent, the vertical links between patrons and their clients, which often involved family members. It did not necessarily promote integration and cohesiveness, and even those close to the king sometimes had primary loyalties to other noble families.⁹⁰

The privy council was a bridge between the policy-centred and administrative-centred institutions. Its nominal composition was re-determined from time to time over the period by parliament.

⁸⁵ Smith, *Stuart Parliaments*. Smith explored this important theme in relation to seventeenth century English parliaments.

⁸⁶ For example, he could prorogue or dissolve parliament, refuse royal assent, expel individuals from deliberations on a particular statute, or suspend deliberations on a statute altogether.

⁸⁷ In particular, they played an important part within the committee of the articles in setting the agenda as to which articles should be considered each day and thereby favouring certain interests over others. It was important to James that the chancellor and the clerk register, or, in cases of absence, their substitutes, pressed those issues that he supported, and delayed those he disapproved of. Personal factors, such as personality and experience, and the way that both the king and the estates received them were crucial. A bad reception from either could lead to trouble and division. However, personal factors were by no means the whole story.

⁸⁸ Hewitt, *Morton*, 35-8; Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 127 (Morton); Lee, *Maitland*.

⁸⁹ Goodare, *State and Society*, 80-1.

⁹⁰ Goodare, *State and Society*, 45.

and its actual size varied between a large well-attended extra-ordinary council, and which occasionally bordered on being a convention of estates, and a small working core of official members. **Table 7** shows the state officers that were formally included by parliament in the official membership of the seven formally reconstituted privy councils over the period. In sum, the average inclusion was 10 officers; the number of officers increased over the period, with a greater involvement of officers from the king's household; and the chancellor, clerk register, justice clerk, secretary, and treasurer were always incorporated.⁹¹ Given the inclusion of some officers, such as preceptor and captain of the guard, the office holder rather than the office must have been an important consideration in some cases

Officer	Privy Council ⁹²							Total
	78	79	81	85	87	92	93	
Advocate	x	x			X	x		4
Almoner						x	x	2
Captain of the Guard							x	1
Chamberlain			x					1
Chancellor	x	x	x		X	x	x	6
Clerk Register	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	7
Collector General	x		x		X	x	x	5
Comptroller	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	7
Justice Clerk	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	7
Keeper of the Privy Seal	x			x	X	x	x	5
Master of Requests				x	X	x	x	4
Master of the Wardrobe						x	x	2
Preceptor		x						1
Secretary	x	x	x	x		x	x	6
Treasurer	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	7
Treasurer Depute				x	X	x	x	4
Vice-Chamberlain						x		1
Total	9	9	8	8	10	14	13	70

Table 7. State offices formally included by parliament in the official membership of the reconstituted privy councils over the period.

Appendix 3.13 consists of brief biographies of 29 office holders, who were nominated official members when the privy council was reconstituted over the period. The emphasis of this simple survey is on family connections among officers. As can be seen in **Table 8**, family relations would appear to be a significant connecting factor between office holders over the period. The nature and type of each of family relations varied, and the number increased as the notional distance between them widened. All of the primary and secondary family relations were extant before the office connections were made. In

⁹¹ The chancellorship was vacant in 1585, and Maitland held the office of chancellor and secretary in 1587.

⁹² July 1578 - *APS*, iii, c.4, 96-8; *RPC*, iii, 14n; November 1579 - *APS*, iii, c.32, 150-1; *RPC*, iii, 233n; November 1581 - *APS*, iii, c.38, 228-9; December 1585 - *APS*, iii, c.10, 378; *RPC*, iv, 36n; July 1587 - *APS*, iii, c.19, 444; *RPC*, iv, xxiv-xxv; June 1592 - *APS*, iii, c.41, 562-3; *RPC*, iv, 749-50n; July 1593 - *APS*, iv, c.46, 34; *RPC*, v, 92n.

contrast, most (8 out of 12) of the tertiary family relations occurred after the office connections. This would suggest that nepotism was more prevalent at the primary and secondary level rather than the tertiary level. Appointments at this level did not preclude natural children: both Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, and Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth were collector generals. As can also be seen in **Appendix 3.13**, family relations were not the only link between these official members. Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) and Maitland (chancellor) were granted jointly a charter in feu-ferme for the administration of justice in the county of Orkney and the lordship of Zetland, and at least six of the 29 offices were involved in the Ruthven Raid (1582), namely Auchnoul (justice clerk), Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll (justice general), Alexander Home, 6th lord Home (captain of the guard), Glamis (treasurer), Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline (secretary), and William Ruthven, 4th lord Ruthven (treasurer). In sum, there was a substantial inclination towards with family within the institutional context, and this was evident in the structure and function of the Scottish parliament as a whole.

Primary relations⁸³

- 1 Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) and John Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) – father/son (A)
- 2 Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll (justice general) and Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll (justice general) – brothers (hereditary office) (A)
- 3 Chancellor Maitland (secretary, keeper of the privy seal) and Richard Maitland of Lethington (keeper of the privy) and William Maitland of Lethington (secretary) – father/son, brothers (A)
- 4 James Makgill of Rankeillor-Nether (advocate) and David Makgill of Cranstoun Riddell (advocate) – brothers (A)
- 5 **Glamis** (treasurer) and John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis (chancellor) – brothers (A)

Secondary relations⁸⁴

- 1 Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) and Mr Thomas Bellenden (justice clerk) – grandson (A)
- 2 Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) and John Cockburne of Ormistoun (justice clerk) – brother-in-law (A)
- 3 John Cockburne of Ormistoun (justice clerk) and George Home of Spott (master of wardrobe) – brother-in-law (A)
- 4 Robert Crichton of Ellik (advocate) and James Stewart, 1st lord Doune (collector general) – brother-in-law (A)
- 5 Patrick Gray, master of Gray (master of the wardrobe) and **Glamis** (captain of the guard) – brother-in-law (A)
- 6 William Murray of Tullibardine (comptroller) and Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline (secretary) – brother-in-law (A)
- 7 William Murray of Tullibardine (comptroller) and regent Mar – brother-in-law (A)
- 8 David Seton of Parbroath (comptroller) and Patrick Gray, master of Gray (master of the wardrobe) – brother-in-law (A)
- 9 Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline (secretary) and regent Mar – brother-in-law (A)
- 10 David Seton of Parbroath (comptroller) and **Glamis** (captain of the guard) – brother-in-law (A)

Tertiary relations⁸⁵

- 1 Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (justice clerk) and Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden (collector general)

⁸³ Links between one person and the members of his family by birth or marriage, including any second and subsequent marriages.

⁸⁴ Grandparents, uncles, brothers-in-law, nephews, parents-in-law, sons-in-law, daughters-in-law.

⁸⁵ Primary kin of secondary family members – grandparents, uncles, brothers-in-law, nephews, parents-in-law, sons-in-law, spouse of ex- or previous spouse, heirs of secondary family members; and other less even more less obvious connections between an officer and those to which he personally was linked through betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, adoption, and godparents.

- brother of daughter-in-law **(B)**
2. David Borthwick of Lochill (advocate) and John Lindsay of Menmure (keeper of the privy seal) – spouse of ex-spouse **(B)**
 3. David Borthwick of Lochill (advocate) and David Makgill of Cranstoun Riddell (advocate) – son-in-law heir **(B)**
 4. Colin Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll (justice general) and Glamis – husband of sister-in-law.
 5. Richard Cockburne of Clerkington (secretary) and John Matland of Thirlestane (secretary) – nephew-in-law **(A)**
 6. Robert Crichton of Ellioch (advocate) and John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (chancellor) – father of daughter-in-law **(B)**
 7. Alexander Home, 6th lord Home (captain of the guard) and **Glamis** (captain of the guard) – nephew-in-law (through Agnes Gray) and husband of sister-in-law (through Eupheme Douglas) **(A)**
 8. Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie (vice-chamberlain) and **Glamis** (captain of the guard) – nephew-in-law **(A)**
 9. William Murray of Tullibardine (comptroller) and John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose (treasurer) – son of brother-in-law **(B)**
 10. John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (chancellor), and William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie (treasurer) – father of daughter-in-law **(B)**
 11. John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (chancellor), and Robert Crichton of Ellioch (advocate) – father of son-in-law **(B)**
 12. Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre (keeper of privy seal) and John Skene of Curriehill (clerk register) – father of daughter-in-law **(B)**

Key (A) - Office connection occurred *after* family connection. (B) - Office connection occurred *before* family connection. Offices given in brackets are the most relevant ones to that connection.

Table 8. Primary, secondary, and tertiary family relations between officers that were formally named by parliament as official members of the privy council over the period

Past Policy

Policy should be distinguished from sets of beliefs and ideas: it represented the blueprint or intended course of action through which they were translated into practice. For the purposes of this study, the term 'policy' has been defined as the public acts of the Scottish parliament. The main advantages of taking this singular approach are that it provided a fair degree of objectivity and a means of comparison over time and space. The main disadvantages are that it excluded other expressed courses of action, unexpressed courses of action, and already existing policies. The definition ignores whether or not a policy was pursued or successful. Consequently, all policy in this sense is past policy. For the purposes of this chapter only, 'past' has been defined as the period from the beginning of the minority reign of Mary, queen of Scots, in 1542 to the end of the period being considered by this study, 1596. Drawing a line through historical time is always a convenience rather than a certainty. Boundaries such as reigns are like human boundaries on maps. Although they may only occasionally, or even sometimes never, affect the social and economic day-to-day lives of many people, their chief value lies in their political significance. The year 1542 was chosen as a starting point in order to include the generation that lived before that which was active during the period covered by this study. Public acts or policy were passed by 26

parliaments over the 54-year 'extended period', which incorporates four consecutive policy episodes: the minority and majority reigns of Mary (14 December 1542 to 19 August 1561, and 9 August 1561 to 24 July 1567), and the minority and the substantial part of the majority reign of James (24 July 1567 to 8 March 1578, and 8 March 1578 to 6 March 1596).⁹⁶ The policy that was enacted over the extended period is summarised and outlined in **Appendix 2.1 and 2.2** respectively.⁹⁷

The division between the public and private acts of the Scottish parliament was not clean cut. It was possible for public articles to become private acts, and vice versa. This was probably the result of the particular views of the sponsor, or possibly a clerical error in classification. Although the difference between the two types of measures can largely be detected in the wording, the real distinction was probably rooted in the fact that private acts attracted fees, which were paid to various officials. Broadly speaking, public acts dealt with wider problems and issues, and private acts concerned particular individuals or a specific locality or corporation. Parliamentary acts as a whole reflect the omniscience of the later sixteenth-century parliamentary statute, and provide a substantial insight into the people and problems of the period. The best-known acts may not necessarily have been the most important ones. The timing and implementation of acts concerning poverty and vagrancy, for example, may have been critical to the survival of a regime. Repeated acts, such as the 1552, 1563, 1581, and 1592 adultery acts,⁹⁸ did not necessarily mean that they were particularly important or generally ignored. As Goodare has noted, they probably provided an ongoing and optional statutory framework within which central and local government could operate.⁹⁹

The focus on public acts in this study does not mean that private acts were not important when it came to the parliamentary process. As can be seen in **Table 9**, private acts slightly outnumbered the public acts that were passed by parliament over the period: they accounted for 485 (55%) of the total of 860 acts. Private acts were more prevalent in the majority reigns of Mary and James than in their minority ones. This was probably partly due to the absence of ratifications in respect of revocations. During Mary's majority there were 26 (45%) private acts out of a total of 59 acts, while during her minority they only made up 6 (5%) out of a total of 129 acts. During James's minority, they only numbered 8 (10%) of the total of 84 acts. Public acts slightly outnumbered the private acts that were passed by parliament over the extended period: they accounted for 597 (55%) of a total of 1,132 acts. Private acts became more

⁹⁶ Where one parliament was continued or prorogued from session to another as in 1584, each session has been treated as a separate meeting.

⁹⁷ The classification of public and private acts, their numbering, and the short titles of public acts that appear in the chronological table in *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (HMSO, 1966) have been used to structure Appendix 2. The total number of acts that have been considered includes only two acts, the 1542 Passing of Signatures Act and the 1567 (James VI) Confession of Faith Act, that are not listed in the chronological tables in *APS*.

⁹⁸ *APS*, ii, 486 (1552 c.12), 539 (1563 c.10), iii, 213 (1581 c.7), 543 (1592 c.11).

⁹⁹ Goodare, 'Parliament and society'; Whyte, *Society and Economy*, 73.

prevalent during the second half of the sixteenth century, and the increasing use of private parliamentary legislation generally may have been the result of education: an increased awareness of, or interest in, the institution of parliament and in its history; the increasing influence of the legal profession; and greater opposition to violence as a means of ending conflict. Another reason may have been that, as royal authority grew in the local areas, the localities were increasingly drawn into national affairs.¹⁰⁰

<u>Reign</u>	<u>Public Acts</u>	<u>Private Acts</u>	<u>Total</u>
Minority of Mary	123	6	129
Majority of Mary	33	26	59
Minority of James	76	8	84
Majority of James	365	485	860
TOTAL	<u>597</u>	<u>525</u>	<u>1132</u>

Table 9. Number of public and private acts of the parliament during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI, 1542-1596.¹⁰¹

Private acts extended the usefulness of parliament to a wide range of people. They offered individuals and groups the best chance of protecting and advancing their interests by statute. An act of parliament generally was the most authoritative form of law, and the most resistant to appeal. Although a private act normally involved a fee, it could save the expense of any later litigation. As can be seen from **Tables 10 and 11**, acts concerning personal and local privilege were by far the most prevalent type of private legislation over the period. They accounted for 410 (85%) of a total of 485 private acts, and they became more prevalent over time. Only 23 (less than 5%) of the private acts involved women. Acts relating to estates were by far the most prevalent of the private acts concerning personal and local privilege. They made up 327 (80%) of the 410 'privilege acts', and dealt with new entitlements and re-affirmations to land and property. Re-affirmations were granted to those who previously had been convicted of treason or other less serious felony. Only one private act dealt with a change of surname, and none of them applied to foreigners or children born abroad to Scottish fathers. Only one or two related directly to Glamis and his family. Although private acts were essentially re-distributive, and they were not directly concerned with key governmental functions - defence, law and order, finance, and social, moral, and religious welfare.

¹⁰⁰ Whyte, *Society and Economy*, 121.

¹⁰¹ Figures relating to the acts are taken from *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (HMSO, 1966).

Parliament	Forfeiture	Restitution	Dispute	Privilege	Discharge	Total (Women)
1578	-	6	3	4	3	16 (1)
1579	4	2	6	27	2	41 (7)
1581	2	16	5	47	-	70 (4)
1584 (May)	4	8	-	10	-	22 (1)
1584 (August)	2	1	-	21	-	24 (-)
1585	-	4	-	47	-	51 (3)
1587	-	4	-	64	-	68 (3)
1592	1	-	-	115	-	116 (1)
1593	-	1	1	18	-	20 (2)
1594	-	-	-	57	-	57 (1)
TOTAL	13	42	15	410	5	485 (23)

Table 10. Number and type of private acts of parliament that were passed, 1578-1596.

Parliament	Burghs	Guilds/ Crafts	Bridges	Kirk	Colleges/ Hospitals	Estates
1578	1	-	-	-	1	2
1579	1	-	-	-	2	24
1581	9	1	-	-	1	36
1584 (May)	-	-	-	-	1	9
1584 (August)	-	2	-	-	1	18
1585	-	2	-	-	-	45
1587	9	1	4	1	2	47
1592	5	-	-	8	2	100
1593	7	-	-	-	1	10
1594	10	-	-	10	1	36
TOTAL	42	6	4	19	12	327

Table 11. Number and type of private acts of parliament concerning privilege that were passed, 1578-1596.

The Scottish parliament met on fourteen occasions during Mary's minority reign, and 123 public acts were passed on nine of these occasions (Table 12). The 1542 parliament, which immediately followed her accession, supported, among other things, the negotiations for peace and her marriage to Edward, approved the circulation of the bible in the vulgar tongue, reaffirmed the stringent laws against heresy, and reduced the forfeiture of Angus and other victims of James V, including John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis.¹⁰² Clerical opinion was strong enough to secure laws against heresy. Beaton's appointment as chancellor was confirmed in the 1543 parliament, which also revoked the agreement with England, renewed the friendship with France, passed fresh laws against heresy, and ratified a new court of

¹⁰² *APS*, ii: 409-25 (John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, 409).

session¹⁰³ The reversal in foreign policy was a major change. John Lyon was present at the 1545 parliament, which agreed to take up the king of France's offer to send a force to Scotland. Other public legislation supported this initiative, including a royal marriage act.¹⁰⁴ Two of the three public acts of the 1551 parliament dealt with the treaty with England,¹⁰⁵ and those of the 1552 assembly included, for the first time in Mary's minority reign, a wide range of economic and social measures, among which were the first public acts concerning bigamy and adultery.¹⁰⁶ Whereas the English occupation had promoted Protestantism, the French presence demoted it, but not too much.¹⁰⁷ Until the Protestant Edward VI died in 1553, there was always the possibility of an appeal to the English by him based on his Hamilton royal dynastic interests. The fact that he had support is evident in an act of the 1552 parliament that overturned a convention of estates decision of 1544 made in favour of Mary of Guise.¹⁰⁸ The support for her became strong enough for the 1554 parliament to ratify the transfer of the regency to her through three private acts.¹⁰⁹ The first parliament held under the new regent in 1555 was an attempt to restore order and stability to the kingdom through legislation. This was even more extensive than that of 1552.¹¹⁰ In contrast to the 1552 and 1555 public acts, those of the 1557 and 1558 parliaments were much more narrowly focused, and dealt with the royal marriage agreement with the French.¹¹¹

<u>Parliament</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Public Acts</u>
1542	Edinburgh	12
1543	Edinburgh	7
1545	Edinburgh	15
1551	Edinburgh	3
1552	Edinburgh	29
1555	Edinburgh	40
1557	Edinburgh	6
1558	Edinburgh	7
1560	Edinburgh	4
TOTAL	9	123

Table 12. Number of public acts passed by nine parliaments during the minority reign of Mary, queen of Scots, 1542-1561.

¹⁰³ *APS*, ii 427-44 (This parliament continued briefly in the following year by issuing one private act against John Carkettle and others, 444-5).

¹⁰⁴ *APS*, ii 454-65.

¹⁰⁵ *APS*, ii 482-3.

¹⁰⁶ *APS*, ii 483-90.

¹⁰⁷ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 79-80.

¹⁰⁸ *APS*, ii 489 (1552 c. 29).

¹⁰⁹ *APS*, ii 600-3 (app. 7-9).

¹¹⁰ *APS*, ii 492-500. The public legislation consisted of 41 acts, whereas that of 1552 totalled 30 acts.

¹¹¹ *APS*, ii 501-22.

The 1560 parliament has been portrayed as the most important one of the century.¹¹² Its four public acts abolished papal jurisdiction, forbade the celebration of mass, and ratified a confession of faith submitted by protestant clergy.¹¹³ The Protestant reformers' programme for the organisation and endowment of their church, education, and poor relief was not included in the legislation.¹¹⁴ The policy clearly showed that an act of parliament was the highest form of positive law in Scotland, and that parliamentary statutes were enacted by the crown-in-parliament. The 1560 public acts were pivotal because they marked the beginning of over 100 years of Protestant legislation, and the end of nearly two decades of pandering to Arran's Hamilton dynastic ambitions. The Scottish parliament met only three times during Mary's short six-year majority reign (Table 13).¹¹⁵ The 1563 parliament passed a wide range of measures, including a second public act dealing with adultery.¹¹⁶ The thrust of the overall policy was an attempt to retain order and stability within the kingdom, and a standstill on religion.¹¹⁷ The 1564 parliament passed only two public acts, which confirmed the queen's majority and dealt with church lands.¹¹⁸ The April 1567 parliament was responsible for only four. A marked feature of this parliament was that it passed 26 private acts, which were probably part of an attempt to retain order and stability.¹¹⁹ The previous two parliaments had passed none

<u>Parliament</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Public Acts</u>
1563	Edinburgh	27
1564	Edinburgh	2
1567 (April)	Edinburgh	4
TOTAL	3	33

Table 13. Number of public acts passed by three parliaments during the majority reign of Mary, queen of Scots, 1561-1567.

The Scottish parliament met on six occasions during James's 11-year minority reign, and public acts were passed on four of them in December 1567, August 1571, January 1573, and April 1573 (Table 14).¹²⁰ The queen's supporters held rival parliaments during the intermittent civil war in June 1571, August 1571 and 1572. The 1567 parliament was held under the regency of James Stewart, 1st earl

¹¹² Lee, *Maitland*, 120.

¹¹³ *APS*, ii, 525-35.

¹¹⁴ Rait, *Parliaments*, 48; Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 120.

¹¹⁵ Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 482. Goodare includes a 1566 parliament (Diurnal 89), which passed one act restoring

Huntly (Pittscottie, *Historie*, ii, 187), and was dissolved by Darnley after the murder of Rizzio before any other acts could be passed.

¹¹⁶ *APS*, ii, 535-44.

¹¹⁷ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 112.

¹¹⁸ *APS*, ii, 545.

¹¹⁹ *APS*, ii, 545-90.

¹²⁰ Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 485-7. Goodare includes three other king's parliaments - Oct. 1570, May 1571, and Feb 1572, and three rival queen's parliaments - June 1571, Aug. 1571, and Mar. 1572. None of these passed public legislation.

of Moray, and it was largely those who had brought about the change of monarch that attended it. Its public legislation included decrees confirming the new regime, and various acts in favour of the church, including one which banned Catholics from holding public office, and another that ratified the religious acts of 1560. Other acts dealt with the coinage, trade, burgh government, legal matters, the detention of the queen, incest, and marriage.¹²¹ The second regent, Mathew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, was killed during a raid on the August 1571 parliament, which ratified John Erskine, 1st earl of Mar as the next regent. The public legislation of this parliament also dealt with the murderers of Henry Stewart, lord Darnley, matters directly related to the civil war, a commission to treat with England, church issues, and burgh affairs. Its several private acts included one in favour of John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis's, temporary possession of Kinnaird castle.¹²² The two successive 1573 parliaments met within three months of each other. The first confirmed James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, as the fourth and final regent, and also passed some important religious legislation, and several other acts concerning the legal system, the recovery of the king's jewels and movables, the repeal of previous measures against several former supporters of Mary, and divorce for desertion.¹²³ The second was called after the pacification of Perth (1573) probably in the false hope of surrender by the remaining core of queen's supporters holding Edinburgh castle because its legislation was sparse.¹²⁴

<u>Parliament</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Public Acts</u>
1567 (December)	Edinburgh	41
1571	Edinburgh	14
1573 (January)	Edinburgh	14
1573 (April)	Edinburgh	7
TOTAL	4	76

Table 14. Number of public acts passed by four parliaments during the minority reign of James VI, 1567-1578.

The Scottish parliament met eleven times during the 18-year majority reign covered by this study, and public acts were passed on 10 of these occasions (Table 15).¹²⁵ The 1578 parliament was to be held in Edinburgh, but was transferred to Stirling and attended by Morton's supporters, Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll, John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, and others criticised the relocation to a castle, and many of them boycotted it. Those that were present ratified Morton's supremacy of the new regime, and

¹²¹ *APS*, iii, 3-45.

¹²² *APS*, iii, 58-64 (John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, c. 16, 62).

¹²³ *APS*, iii, 71-6.

¹²⁴ *APS*, iii, 81-3.

¹²⁵ A parliament met in Oct. 1583, but continued without passing any acts until Nov., when it issued a summons of treason, and continued once more until it was reconvened in May 1584.

arrangements for the custody of the king. The public legislation also imposed a £10,000 tax for the Tay Bridge, altered the coinage, dealt with Darnley's murderers, authorised various commissions, and bolstered the church, burgh government, agriculture, trade, and the legal system. The attendance at the 1579 parliament was more inclusive. The first private act forfeited the two heads of the Hamilton family, Lord John and Lord Claude Hamilton, both sons of the late regent Arran. Another private act made allowances for Lord John's wife Margaret Lyon, Glamis's sister. The public acts of the 1579 parliament covered an even wider range than those of the last one. These included measures in favour of the church, central and burgh government, the coinage, agriculture, trade, the legal system, the poor, and education

136

Parliament	Location	Public Acts
1578	Stirling	18
1579	Stirling	40
1581	Edinburgh	43
1584 (May)	Edinburgh	26
1584 (August)	Edinburgh	14
1585	Edinburgh	23
1587	Edinburgh	68
1592	Edinburgh	63
1593	Edinburgh	39
1594	Edinburgh	41
TOTAL	10	365

Table 15. Number of public acts passed by 10 parliaments during the majority reign of James VI, 1578-1596.

The public legislation of the 1581 parliament, which was held under the administration led by the king's cousin Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran, also covered a broad spectrum of policy, including a third act dealing with adultery. As with the 1578 parliament, one of the acts dealt with the king's protection. A private act approved of Arran's proceedings concerning the murder of Darnley that had been the cause of Morton's downfall.¹²⁷ The two 1584 parliaments were held within four months of each other during the supremacy of Arran, and passed a similar spread of public legislation to that of the previous two parliaments.¹²⁸ Part of the May 1584 policy would appear to have been the culmination of a concerted attempt, through the so-called 'Black Acts', to reaffirm Episcopal government of the church, and to assert the supremacy of the king, parliament, and privy council over all three estates, including the church. As a result, all ecclesiastical assemblies, including the general assembly, were not allowed to meet unless authorised by parliament or the king. The church also suffered

¹²⁶ APS, 121-87 (Margaret Lyon, c.3, 136).

¹²⁷ APS, iii, 193-288.

¹²⁸ APS, iii, 290-325 (May), 332-73 (Aug.).

financially. This oppressive policy was the main royalist backlash to recent attacks on Episcopacy by Andrew Melville and other more radical Presbyterian ministers, and other more general political developments and events.¹²⁹ The public and private legislation of both 1584 sessions penalised those that had taken part in the Ruthven Raid (1582), and one of the August private acts ratified the gift given to George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly, and Patrick Gray, master of Gray, of the living of Glamis's nephew Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, which Glamis had previously been responsible for.¹³⁰

The 1585 parliament was held under the administration of a coalition headed by Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, Glamis, and Maitland. It was the first parliament attended by Glamis. Although Arran's supremacy had ended, both the climate and the bulk of his administration survived, including Maitland, who, arguably, would appear to have been the architect of much of the controversial legislation of the previous year.¹³¹ This continuity is reflected in the breadth of the policy made under the new regime, which included numerous public acts in favour of public order, central government administration, the church, burghs, trade, and the legal system. The policy also reinstated various lords and others who, following an unsuccessful raid on Stirling (1584), had been in exile, along with Andrew Melville and other Presbyterian ministers in England, confirmed a treaty with England, ratified a new privy council, and left the chancellorship vacant.¹³² Four of the many private acts reinstated Lord Glamis, Glamis, John Lyon of Cossins, and the servants of Glamis.¹³³ The 1587 parliament was held only five months after the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, in England. Its public legislation comprised 136 very wide-ranging measures. These included a confirmation of the king's majority, an almost exhaustive general revocation of his property, the creation of a commission to raise a tax for the king's marriage, and measures in favour of the church, the defence of the realm, central and burgh government, agriculture, the coinage, trade, and the legal system. The two most conspicuous acts were those that annexed the temporal possessions of the church, and created shire representatives (mentioned above). A private act ratified Maitland as chancellor.¹³⁴

It is unlikely that Glamis attended the 1592 parliament, the public legislation of which was made up of a total of 181 measures, which was the highest number for any sixteenth-century Scottish parliament.¹³⁵ The first public act confirmed the forfeiture of Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell for his several attempts at capturing the king. The remaining policy included an extremely wide range of public

¹²⁹ Lynch, *New History*, 232-3.

¹³⁰ *APS*, iii, c.36, 372. Gray had protested against the disposition of such lands and possessions (c.7, 351).

¹³¹ See, Maitland, 55-6.

¹³² *APS*, iii, 373-422.

¹³³ *APS*, iii, c.39-42, 405-6.

¹³⁴ *APS*, iii, 427-521.

¹³⁵ Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 482. Goodare also includes a private and specific ratification to William Keith of Delny (NAS - PA7.1.45, *RMS*, v, 1625). On the basis of this, he suggests that there may have been others.

acts in favour of the king's marriage, the church, central and burgh government, agriculture, trade, the legal system, hospitals, the poor, parricide, and a fourth measure dealing with adultery.¹³⁶ One of the acts in favour of the church was the so-called 'Golden Act',¹³⁷ which authorised a Presbyterian system of church government.¹³⁸ A private act ratified Robert Melville of Murdocairney as treasurer in place of Glamis.¹³⁹ The 1593 parliament was held during Maitland and Glamis's temporary absence from office. Its legislation also included a broad range of public measures. Private acts were used to punish William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus, Huntly, and Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol, for their apparent support of a Spanish invasion. Huntly had been responsible also for the murder of the Protestant James Stewart, 2nd earl of Moray.¹⁴⁰ Among the broad range of public acts passed by the 1594 parliament were several that indicated that the king's relations with these three Catholic northern earls had greatly improved.¹⁴¹

The policy passed during the minority and majority reigns of Mary and James has been considered so far in relation to mainly political developments and events. However, this consideration will give a misleading assessment of the overall legislative background if no attention is given to economic and social matters. The economic and social public acts of parliament over the two reigns clearly reflect an emerging yet confused idea of national wealth and identity, and an increasing involvement of the government in the everyday life of the country, especially in the burghs. Economic policy was more of a series of unplanned reactions, especially in relation to price increases, and more concerned with demand than supply.¹⁴² In addition, it focused more on restricting exports of various goods (16 acts) than dealing with the import of them (one act). None of the acts were concerned with improving agriculture,¹⁴³ although four acts (1555, 1563, 1579, 1587) did regulate existing fisheries, particularly salmon, and two (1567, 1592) gave some encouragement to the developing mining industry. Many acts, such as the 1542, 1585 (2), and 1592 (2) measures dealing with signatures, and the 1587 and 1593 laws raising tax from burghs, reveal the government's perennial need to curb expenditure and raise money. Social policy was similarly unplanned. Unlike today, there was little economic or social forward planning. Social measures show, among other things, an increasing concern with ill-treated tenants; the growing number of genuine poor as opposed to totally separate rogues and vagabonds, which were essentially seen as an urban phenomenon; standardisation of the administration of the larger burghs; and

¹³⁶ *APS*, iii, 527-650.

¹³⁷ See *Maitland*, 248.

¹³⁸ Lynch, *New History*, 231. Despite this significant advance, ecclesiastical assemblies were still not allowed to meet without the consent of king or parliament.

¹³⁹ *APS*, iii, c 115, 601-2.

¹⁴⁰ *APS*, iv, 3-39.

¹⁴¹ *APS*, iv, 55-94.

¹⁴² Several acts show an inclination to blame the profiteering middlemen, or the consumption of expensive goods. These included the 1552, 1579, 1587, 1592, and 1594 measures against those who cornered supplies of scarce goods for profit or 'forestallers', and the 1552, 1581, and 1584 laws on sumptuary.

¹⁴³ White, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 145.

improvements to the legal system.¹⁴⁴ The extensive and continuous religious public legislation after 1560 also had an important social impact.

The types and functions of the 597 public acts that were passed over the extended period are summarised in Table 16. In very general terms, the type of policy that was enacted during the minority and majority reign of Mary, and the part-majority rule of James, tended to be more regulatory. This would very loosely suggest that the demand pattern in terms of political groups was more inclined to be fragmented, and that the cost of reaching a decision was more likely to be high. This would appear to have been especially so in 1555, 1563, and 1594. In contrast to the output of these three parliaments, the policy of the 1560 parliament was essentially redistributory. This would similarly indicate that, in this particular case, the costs of reaching a decision were high, and the political groups involved were integrated. The type of policy that was made during the minority reign of James tended to be more self-regulatory. This would very loosely suggest again that political groups were more likely to be fragmented, and that decision costs were more inclined to be low. This was so particularly in the case of the first two parliaments of the four held during his minority. The function of policy during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, and the minority reign of James, tended to be more directed towards welfare. This would appear to have been especially so in 1560, April 1567, and December 1567, when religious issues were very much at the fore. The function of policy during the part-majority reign of James tended to be more directed towards law and order. This would appear to have been especially so in the case of the May 1584 parliament, which was held during the supremacy of Arran.

The Scottish parliament had similar functions to the English parliament, and it is, perhaps, worth briefly comparing the nature of policy that was enacted by the two assemblies. The English parliament met in 1581, 1584-1585, 1586-1587, 1589, and 1593, which was just less than half the number for Scottish parliament over the same time. The English sessions were longer than their Scottish counterparts (Appendix 3.1). The 1581 public legislation included an act to raise money and other measures against the Catholic threat, which had become especially acute in 1580 with the beginnings of the Jesuit mission to England. It also included an act for fortifying the border with Scotland. The 1584-1585 parliament met in an atmosphere of crisis following the Throckmorton Plot (1583) and the assassination that summer of William of Orange, the main proponent in Europe of Protestantism next

¹⁴⁴ Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 129-30, 192; *APS*, iii, 139-42 - c.12 1579 Beggars and Poor Act, 576 - c.69 1592 Beggars and Poor Act. Examples of these were the 1585 Factors and Tenants Act, the 1572 and 1592 Beggars and Poor Acts, the 1555 Burgh Act, and the 1593 College of Justice Act. The Factors and Tenants Act was a response to the negative effects of leasing movement. The Beggars and Poor Acts were based on the English model, and used the parish as the basic unit for poor relief; *APS*, ii, 497 - c.24 1555 Burghs Act. The Burgh Act included many re-enactments of fifteenth-century laws on burgh government and trade, and led to craft riots in a number of towns; *APS*, iv, 67 - c.22 1593 College of Justice Act. The College of Justice Act promoted impartiality by increasing professionalism and decreasing the king's influence on appointments.

		Public Acts				
		Minority Mary (1542-61)	Majority Mary (1561-67)	Minority James (1567-78)	Majority James (1578-96)	Total
<u>Type</u>	Distributive	25 (20%)	6 (18%)	9 (12%)	51 (14%)	88
	Re-distributive	21 (17%)	6 (18%)	22 (29%)	112 (31%)	157
	Regulatory	52 (43%)	12 (37%)	21 (28%)	130 (35%)	227
	Self-regulatory	25 (20%)	9 (27%)	24 (31%)	72 (20%)	125
		123 (100%)	33 (100%)	76 (100%)	365 (100%)	597
<u>Function</u>	Defence	22 (18%)	3 (9%)	4 (5%)	2 (1%)	32
	Law and Order	29 (23%)	6 (18%)	16 (18%)	122 (34%)	173
	Finance	22 (18%)	9 (27%)	17 (26%)	104 (28%)	152
	Welfare	35 (29%)	13 (40%)	25 (33%)	96 (26%)	168
	Other	15 (12%)	2 (6%)	14 (18%)	41 (11%)	72
		123 (100%)	33 (100%)	76 (100%)	365 (100%)	597

Table 16. A summary of the type and function of the public acts that were passed during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI, 1542-1596.

to Elizabeth I. Its public legislation included an act for the queen's safety, which later provided the legal grounds for execution of Mary, and further measures against the Jesuits and for supply. The 1586-1587 assembly was specifically summoned to consider the position of Mary, following clear proof of her involvement in the Babington Conspiracy (1586). The 1589 session took place a year after the euphoria resulting from the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588), and its public legislation included a measure to raise money to deal with the continuing threat from Spain, which had started with the English expedition to the Netherlands in 1585. The 1593 public legislation also included a further step to improve supply in order to give support to Henry IV of France against the Catholic league and maintain operations in the Netherlands.¹¹⁵ In contrast to the Scottish parliament, the English parliament was even more important when it came to raising money. The English legislation was occasionally a forerunner for policy enacted in Scotland. Notable examples of this are the various Scottish acts that deal with beggars and the poor, Jesuits and seminary priests, and the development of new mining and metallurgical enterprises. Policy was a good international traveller, but in the case of Scotland, at least as far as its neighbour was concerned, the running would appear to be one way.

The type and function of the 61 public acts that were passed in five English parliaments that were held over the period are summarised in Table 17. In very general terms, the type of policy that was

¹¹⁵ *Statutes of the Realm*, eds. A. Luders and others, 11 vols. (London, 1810-28), iv, pp. xxxvi-sliv, 656-841; M. R. Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments, 1559-1601* (London, 1987).

enacted by the English parliament over the period was predominantly regulatory, and the function of English policy was primarily concerned with law and order and welfare, with the number of law and order acts being double those relating to welfare. As with Scotland at that time, the predominance of regulatory policy would very loosely suggest that the demand pattern in terms of pressure groups was more inclined to be fragmented, and the cost of reaching a decision was more likely to be high. As can be seen in the **Appendix 3.3**, this was especially so in the case of the 1584-5 parliament, which was held during the period leading up to the English expedition to the Netherlands. The above figures show that the output of the English assemblies differed from those of the Scottish ones not only in terms of quantity – number of meetings and number of acts, but also, but only marginally so, in respect of quality – type and function of policy. The number and range of the Scottish public acts suggest that James not only served a substantial apprenticeship in terms of institutions before moving to England in 1603, as mentioned above, but also with regard to policy. In sum, there was a fairly substantial inclination towards the family within the past policy over the extended period.

		<u>Public Acts</u>
<u>Type</u>	Distributive	2 (3%)
	Re-distributive	11 (18%)
	Regulatory	48 (79%)
	Self-regulatory	-
		<hr/> 61 (100%)
<u>Function</u>	Defence	1 (2%)
	Law and Order	38 (62%)
	Finance	2 (3%)
	Welfare	20 (33%)
	Other	-
		<hr/> 61 (100%)

Table 17. Type and function of the public acts that were passed by the English parliament, 1578-1596.

Conclusion

The substantial inclination towards the family within the ideological context, which was apparent in the religious and secular thinking of the time, developed in a multiple rather than a monolithic way, and, in the real world, diverse ideas and beliefs competed against each other. Ideas and beliefs about the family were clearly bounded by overriding ideologies, notably those that put religion before relatives and the state before dynasty, on the one hand, and simple pragmatism on the other. Family members, such as Glamis, had a considerable degree of ideological choice. They were active appropriators, adapters, and rejecters rather than just passive recipients of these often major individual, local, national, and international motivators, which, by their very nature, are not easy to measure. As the poetry of Richard Maitland of Lethington clearly indicates, ideas and beliefs about the family changed, even over such a short period of time as his active life span. The substantial inclination towards the family within the institutional context was evident in the structure and function of the Scottish parliament as a whole. The second estate (peers) and the first and fourth estates (prelates and lairds) had a strong hereditary and substantial quasi-hereditary character respectively, and there was a familial interest, at least, in some of the burghs. Dynastic ambition, family succession, and nepotism were significant factors in creating, maintaining, and buttressing any familial conduits within the formal and informal horizontal and vertical linkage within and between the administration as a whole. Parliamentary procedure favoured the crown's interests rather than those of the family, mainly through the discretionary powers of the king, the role of chancellor and clerk register, and the patronage system. But the patronage system did not necessarily promote integration and cohesiveness. The fairly substantial inclination towards with family within the past policy was evident in the several public acts dealt directly with royal marriages (1545, 1558, 1587, 1592), and the family, namely adultery (1552, 1563, 1581, 1592), bigamy (1552), incest (1567), marriage (1567), divorce for desertion (1581), and parricide (1592).¹⁶ The number and nature of these acts not only indicate the central importance of the Stewart family and the family generally as a social and legal entity, but also the inter-relationship between the ideology and policy, in particular, concerning the family. This is not to say that other public legislation, such as 1560 acts in favour of the reformed church, did not have an indirect influence on it.

¹⁶ *APS*, ii 476-1546 c.14 - royal marriage; ii 506-7-1558 c. 3-5, iii 417-1587 c.10 - king's marriage; iii 565-8-1592 c. 46-9 - king's marriage; ii 486-1551 c.11 - bigamy; ii 486-1551 c.12 - adultery; ii 539-1563 c.10 - adultery; iii 26-1567 c. 15 - incest; iii 26-1567 c. 16 - marriage; iii 81-1573 c.1 - divorce for desertion; iii 213-1581 c.7 - adultery; iii 543-1592 c.11 - adultery; iv 69-1594 c.30 - parricide

3. Glamis and Family Past

Great families of yesterday we show, And lords whose parents were the Lord knows who.

The purpose of this study is to find out whether or not the family was an important factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, and, if so, to what extent, using Glamis and his family predominantly as an example. In order to do this, this objective has been translated into two working propositions. The previous chapter has dealt with the first working proposition, and this and the next two chapters will examine the individual resources of political power that were available to Glamis in order to help to assess later, after considering the second proposition, the extent of the importance of the family in relation to them. Williams considered that ancestry and the past, as well previous experience of the court and administration, were significant factors in England. Because of this, he argued, it is necessary to explore the labyrinth of cousinage, and be nearly just as aware as Elizabeth herself was of who was related to whom. He also maintained that it is not only important to understand the position taken by a particular political leader in the previous reign, but also how his father had served in the reign before that.² These comments relate equally well to James VI and the Scottish court.

This chapter will examine the nature of this invisible wealth that Glamis inherited from his family, including John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis (1544-78), his chancellor brother. It will do this by exploring, firstly, how his family originally established itself as a political entity in late medieval Scotland, secondly, how it maintained and developed its political prosperity up until the succession of his brother, and, thirdly, how his brother contributed to this family legacy during James's minority rule (1567-78), and Mary, queen of Scot's, reign (1542-67) before that.

Family Origins

The origins of the Lyons of Glamis are a mystery. Some earlier writers have suggested that the family were originally from Rome, and that they came over to England from France with William the Conqueror, and from there to Scotland. The name is frequently mentioned in English records from the

¹ D. Defoe, *The True Born Englishman* (London, 1701), 1 line 374.

² Williams, *Queen's Men*, 37.

twelfth century onwards. This traditional account is first mentioned in, or may have been the result of, Lord Carse's genealogy of the family (Carse MS), which was written in the second half of the seventeenth century. He wrote:

*The Cheife of this family is ye E. of Knighorne his prede. Was one of ye ancient family de Lyon in france, wh continous ther in great honor at this day and derives its originess from ye noble race of ye Leones in Rome, he came from france to England with Wm. the Conqueror, and from thence to Scotland, wt K. Edgar sone to Malcome ye 3d about ye year 1098, from whom ye good fortune he had done agt Donald Bane ye usurper, he obtained certain Lands in ye Sherrefkome of Perth, wh thereafter was call from him by ye name of GlenLyon. This man was a great favort of ye King, I have seen a Charter granted to K. Edgar be ye Monks of Dunfermling in ye 7 year of his reigne (1104), and mongst ye witnessess next after David ye Kings brother and Gilmashael E. of fyfe is mentioned this de Lyon befor Phillipus Camerarius regis and oqrs of good quality - Joannes de Leone is witness in a Charter, granted be K. Wm. to Philippe de Setone of ye Lands of Seton and Winton i. Jon de Lyon (John Lyon of Forteviot) who lived in ye reigne of K. D. 2d. and got from that K. ye Barronies of fforteviot, and forgundeny, in perthshyre and ye Lands of Carteston and Drungowar, in ye Shyre of Aberdeen, propter fortem et fidelam operam, sibi et patri suo prestitam, and he is therein designed dilecto et fidei nostro Joanni Lyone militia which Carter is afterwards Confirmed be K.R. 2d at ye Castello Dunbarton, on ye pasover in ye 2d year of his reigne he maryed Lymon alias Lamond, great grandchild to ye famous James Baine who in ye reigne of K. Malcome 4th, aspired to ye Crowne,*³

Lord Carse was a successful lawyer as well as a notable genealogist,⁴ but, unfortunately, he did not mention where he had seen these charters, the witness list to the first of which Ross advised should stand the test of criticism. Writing at the beginning of the last century, Ross concluded that 'it is probably now a hopeless task to settle who the true eponymous of the race was', and noted that most of the family's ancient possessions – the Celtic thanages of Glamis, Tannadice, and Belhevie, lie around the Mounth, and that this great mountain chain was the stronghold of a Gaelic-speaking race. He argued that 'many of the offices held by the chiefs of the house in the fifteenth and sixteenth century could only have been filled by those conversant with the Gaelic language'.⁵ However, the vast majority of the family's territorial possessions in the late-medieval and early-modern period up to the end of the sixteenth century were on the English speaking side of the conjectured Highland line (Figure 8).⁶

The connections within the Lyon of Glamis family during its politically formative, or possibly re-formative, period in the second half of the fourteenth century are difficult to establish. The only

³ Carse MS, 34

⁴ Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse was raised to the bench as an ordinary lord of session, with the courtesy title of 'Lord Carse', and a lord of justiciary, in 1683, and produced two unpublished volumes – 'A Genealogy of the Principal Scottish Families', of which the quotation that follows is only part, and 'Armorial Bearings', that formed the foundation for Sir George Mackenzie's published work on these two subjects (NLS - MSS 979 (34.3.14) - Mackenzie's genealogy; Lyon Office - MS 24 - Mackenzie Arms - A note at the front states that this is a 'copy of Sir George Mackenzie's Arms or rather of a volume originally compiled by Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse, a Lord of Session', Strathmore MSS - box 257, bundle 11 - 'Genealogy of the famous and ancient surname of Lyon, c. 1665', corresponds with the Carse MS. Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1st Report, Appendix, 125; *Aberdeen Notes and Queries* (1913), vi, 44.

⁵ Ross, *Strathmore*, 2.

⁶ R. Nicholson, 'The Highlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', in P. McNeill and R. Nicholson (eds.), *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c.400-c.1600* (St. Andrews, 1975), 178.

certainty is that John Lyon of Forteviot was the father of John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, who had a son, John Lyon, 2nd of Glamis, and two nephews – Patrick Lyon and Michael Lyon, who were mentioned as the second and third heirs of entail to their uncle in 1379.⁷ The early heraldry of the family only confuses the matter. The first John Lyon of Glamis's arms were argent a lion azure a bend gules.⁸ The seal of his son, John Lyon, 2nd of Glamis, on the letters patent confirming his son, Patrick Lyon's, place as a hostage in England issued from Glamis in 1424 shows the following: couche, a lion rampant within a double tressure, debruised by a baton dexter raguly.⁹ Patrick simply bore a lion rampant within a double tressure, the bend or baton having been removed. The augmentation of the tressure is a mark of honour commemorating John Lyon, 1st of Glamis's, royal marriage, which made the bend or baton redundant as a mark of difference. Another possible reason for the removal could be that the Lyons of Glamis inherited the undifferenced arms of a more senior branch. The use of a bend or baton is important because it may indicate that the Lyons of Glamis, at least over two generations, were cadets of a more senior Lyon line. Unfortunately, it is only possible to speculate about such matters because the keys for many of these heraldic doors into Scotland's medieval and early modern past have since been lost.¹⁰ The early heraldry of the family is thrown into even more confusion because a non-contemporary writer suggests that John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, bore a completely different coat, namely three lions on a black shield.¹¹ However, these alternative arms – if they were authentic, were an isolated phenomenon, and, therefore, not endorsed by time.

According to Grant, it was not until the last quarter of the fourteenth century that John Lyon, 1st of Glamis (the son of John Lyon of Forteviot) acquired a sufficient number of baronies to be included in what Grant has called 'second division' of the late-medieval higher nobility. Grant argued that ambitious nobles, like John Lyon, could easily enter this rank, which consisted of 'greater barons' such as him. The territory held by greater barons around that time was not very impressive when compared with that held by the smaller first division. This consisted of 31 dukedoms, earldoms, and provincial lordships, which were held by 15 'magnates' from 10 different families, with the Stewarts, followed by Douglases and Dunbars, having the biggest share. Only three provincial lordships were held independently of dukedoms and earldoms. There were around 350 baronies, and John Lyon held more than most of his rank. He held five – Glamis and Tannadice, in Forfarshire, Forgundenny, in Perthshire, Kinghorne, in

⁷ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 7 – 30 Jan. 1380, Ross, *Strathmore*, 7.

⁸ *Dictionary of British Arms: Medieval Ordinary, Volume One*, eds. D. H. B. Cheshire and others (Society of Antiquaries, 1942), 218.

⁹ *Dictionary of British Arms (Berry Armorial)*, W. R. Macdonald, *Scottish Armorial Seals* (Edinburgh, 1904); J. H. Stevenson and M. Wood, *Scottish Heraldic Seals*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1940).

¹⁰ Letter to author from Lord Lyon King of Arms dated 22 Oct. 1999.

¹¹ *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility During the Reign of James the Sixth*, ed. C. Rodgers (Glasgow Club, 1873), 26. A survey of the Scottish nobility in 1577 by Alexander Hay (see also *CSP Scot.*, v. 263).

Fife, and Belhevie, in Aberdeenshire, whereas two or three appear to have been the norm. Families such as the Setons and Hays were more typical, and David Lindsay of Glenesk and James Douglas of Dalkeith were the only greater barons to acquire significantly substantial territories. David Lindsay was created earl of Crawford in 1398.¹² Grant argued that this pattern essentially remained the same until the mid-fifteenth century, when greater barons became lords of parliament. Most of these 'conversions' involved long established families, such as the Lyons of Glamis, whose prominence went back to the mid-fourteenth century. At least twelve of the converted families descended from barons in the reign of Robert I, and five (Hays, Keiths, Grahams, Setons, and Sommervilles) had ancestors of similar status as far back as the twelve century. The Lyons of Glamis were only recent 'ancient blood' (but ancient enough) in comparison to these five families, and most of those in Grant's first division of the higher nobility, which formed the central and most significant part of Scotland's ongoing political infrastructure.

But the inclusion of the Lyons of Glamis within Grant's second division of the higher nobility was not simply the result of a sudden leap to fame and power by John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, which he suggested. The inclusion was the result of John Lyon of Forteviot's (John Lyon, 1st of Glamis's father) links with a small group of Scottish crusading and other associated families that were made in the second half of the fourteenth century. When David II returned to Scotland in 1357, he gathered around him an influential and select group of knights and esquires who had attended him during his 11 years of captivity in England, and who had gained a reputation for chivalric and crusading enterprises. The end of the hostilities between the two countries presented the possibility of a new crusade to the Holy Land, an idea that was successfully promoted by Peter I of Cyprus. He met both the English and Scottish kings in 1363, and many from both countries joined the multi-national King Peter of Cyprus's Crusade (1365), which captured Alexandria. Norman Leslie, Walter Leslie, William Ramsay, and David Barclay were four of a large body of Scottish knights, esquires, and clerics who were granted a safe conduct to travel through England or across the sea with horsemen to take part.¹³ It is only after the 1365 crusade that John Lyon of Forteviot - already a knight, appears in Scottish records, and in them he is closely linked, either through land or marriage, to those four named Scottish crusaders. Further, it is only after that date, that John Lyon, his son John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, and James Lyon, canon of Aberdeen, appear to have enjoyed the same kind of favour and generosity from David II that the three survivors of those four did,¹⁴ albeit to a lesser

¹² A. Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 123-5.

¹³ *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londiniensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi (1291-1516)*, eds. D. Macpherson and others, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1814-1819), ii, 797a (Leslie - 25 Nov. 1463), 877b (Barclay and Ramsay - 5 Dec. 1463); M. A. P. Palmer, *David II, 1329-1371* (East Linton, 2004), 303. Penman asserted that Walter and Norman Leslie would certainly be among their number (Norman Leslie was killed at the gates of Alexandria).

¹⁴ S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1329-1406* (East Linton, 1997), 46.

extent. Other families, such as the Dunbars and the Lindsays, also had a reputation for their chivalric and crusading exploits.

John Lyon of Forteviot's name appears in several Scottish charters. As mentioned in the quotation from Lord Carse's genealogy above, John Lyon obtained from David II the baronies of Forteviot and Forgundenny, in Perthshire, and the lands of Courtiestown and Drumgowan, in Aberdeenshire, which was confirmed in a charter of 1372. In this document, he is described as 'Joanni Lyone militi', which distinguishes him from his son, who was not knighted before 1376. In addition, John Lyon of Forteviot acquired a charter from John Barclay, lord Tollybothneill *alias* Toilibody, of the lands of Tillinaet in the forest of Buy n, within the sheriffdom of Banff (which was undated), and the lands of Ballandreth, in the barony of Cullace, in Forfarshire, which was granted in Aberdeen in 1368.¹⁴ In two charters granted later in 1368 and 1370, John Lyon was granted the same lands of Ballandreth and Tillinaet respectively by John Hay, the new lord Toilibody.¹⁵ He also obtained from Walter Leslie, lord of Philforth, afterwards earl of Ross, in 1372 a confirmation of a 1367 charter granting John Lyon the lands in Monorgan, in Perthshire. The witnesses included Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Robert Ramsay, and James Lindsay.¹⁶ This grant was confirmed by Walter's nephew, Andrew Leslie, lord of Leslie, in an undated charter. It is in this charter that John is designated 'of Forteviot'. Two of the witnesses were David Barclay and Hugh Barclay of Kilmarone.¹⁸ Walter also gave John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, a remission in 1375 for certain services stipulated in a lost charter for lands in Monorgan, in the barony of Longforgund. Two witnesses were Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk and William Lindsay, who were described as Walter's brothers.¹⁹ The lands were adjacent to those held at that time by Agnes Ramsay, lady of a third part of Longforgund and widow of Sir Robert Ramsay. John Barclay of Casuy was one of her procurators.²⁰ Earlier, John Lyon of Forteviot had acquired the lands of Fordell, in the barony Fogundeny, from William, earl of Ross, in 1367. One of the witnesses was Walter Leslie.²¹ These various documents indicate, firstly, that it was John Lyon of Forteviot, rather than, as Grant suggested, his son, John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, who qualified his family for entry into Grant's second division of the higher nobility - the father had acquired two baronies in Perthshire, and the makings of another in

¹⁴ Carse MS, 35.

¹⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 3 - 28 May 1368, numbers 4, 5 - 10 April 1370; *An Account of the Familie of Innes, compiled by Duncans Forbes of Culloden, 1698*, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1864), 60.

¹⁶ Strathmore MSS - box 2, un-numbered; C. Leslie, *Historical Record of the Family of Leslie, 1067-1869*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1869), i, 25.

¹⁸ Strathmore MSS - box 2, un-numbered (also a duplicate); Carse MS, 35.

¹⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 3, nos. 54, 56 - 26 Dec 1375.

²⁰ Strathmore MSS - box 3, nos. 57, 61 - 24 June 1376.

²¹ NRAMS 1492, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, bundle 641 (titles of Fordell), number 1 - 10 July 1367.

Aberdeenshire, and, secondly, that John Lyon of Forteviot had significant connections with the four known Scottish 1365 crusaders, namely the two Leslie brothers, William Ramsay, and David Barclay.

Glamis first appeared on record as crown land in pre-feudal times. It was in the possession of the early Pictish kings as part of a larger territory that stretched along the central section of the vale of Strathmore. It was one of many thanages into which almost the whole kingdom was divided before Scotland became Norman in the late eleventh century. For sometime after the initial Norman influx, Scottish kings granted lands without losing the personal possession of their thanages. It was common, however, for these to be slimmed down, which is what happened to Glamis.²² However, Glamis remained a substantial property.²³ In the thirteenth century, according to a 1322 inquest, the teinds of the thanage of Glamis went to the priory of Restennet. This document is of particular interest because John Lyon and Hugh Lyon, sons of Lyon (Leonis), are mentioned as two of many 'worthy men' of Angus.²⁴ At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I granted the thanage of Glamis to John Comyn, 3rd earl of Buchan. After David II's return from captivity in England, his foster sister Marjorie Fleming, countess of Wigton, held Glamis in 1358, and John Ramsay and his wife Evota Fleming held the thanage of Tannadice in 1359. Following his marriage to Margaret Logie in 1364, David II granted both thanages to her son John Logie. Robert II bestowed them on his new son-in-law John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, in 1372.²⁵

The link between the Lyons and the Flemings through the thanage of Glamis was more than just a coincidence. Sir Alexander Lyon, who was probably John Lyon's brother and the father of John Lyon's two nephews (mentioned above), was a witness to a charter confirming land in the sheriffdom of Stirling granted by Andrew Murray of Ballynbruch to Janet Kirchaluch, together with Robert Danielstoun, the lord thereof, John Hamilton of Cadzow, Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, William Hamilton, Andrew Hamilton, Robert Lovel, and many others in 1392.²⁶ Alexander Lyon witnessed another charter to the Hamiltons in 1395.²⁷ The first witness was the eldest son of John Danielstoun, keeper of Dumbarton Castle, and his wife, the eldest daughter of Malcolm Fleming, 1st earl of Wigton, who was the previous keeper of that castle, and a steward of David II's household. John Danielstoun was

²² A Grant, 'Thanages and thanages, from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries', in A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community* (Edinburgh, 1993), 40-81 — William I (1165-1213) alienated Ogilvy and Kilmundie, and Newton of Glamis and the lands of Clova and Cossins appear as separate items in the Exchequer Rolls of 1357 and 1364 respectively.

²³ *ER*, i, 6-7, 49-50 — The thanages of Forfar and Glamis yielded 2½ nights hospitality each, which together were valued at 37½ cattle, 75 live pigs, over 8 tons of cheese, 291 chickens, about 30 tons of malt, about 10 tons of barley meal, about 8 tons of fodder and 960 eels.

²⁴ *RMS*, i, app. i, 29.

²⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 7; Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Strathmore Papers*, xiv, iii, 179; Grant, 'Thanages and thanages', 77 — The thanage of Glamis was granted to him in barony, and after that date it became the chief seat of the family, and was more commonly recognised as a feudal barony.

²⁶ *RMS*, i, 844.

²⁷ Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Hamilton* (London, 1887),

probably the brother of Janet Danielstoun, wife of Adam Mure of Rowallan, who was the brother-in-law of Robert II. Alexander Lyon possibly married, as her second husband, Evota Fleming, the third daughter of Malcolm Fleming, 1st earl of Wigton, and his wife Marjorie.

Another link is evident in a document written in 1416 that describes John Lyon, sometime chaplain to James I, as the cousin of William Fawside, who was a Scotsman presently in Bruges.²⁸ He was a son of William Fawside who married Marjorie Fleming, the second daughter of Malcolm Fleming, 1st earl of Wigton. A further link appears in an arrangement made about three years after John Lyon, 1st of Glamis died, in which David Fleming of Biggar replaced James Sandilands of Calder (who married John Lyon's widow) as his son's guardian.²⁹ David Fleming was a royal favourite and also a custodian and guardian of Robert III's son (James I).³⁰ These connections between the Lyons of Glamis and the Flemings are important because they help to explain how John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, acquired the thanages of Glamis and Tannadice, his two most important baronies, and, as will be discussed below, three of his senior administrative posts, including the office of lord chamberlain. There was a considerable familial involvement in these acquisitions. The acquirement of Tannadice demonstrates a significant link between the Lyons of Glamis and the family of the third Scottish knight mentioned above - the Ramsays. The connection between the Lyons of Glamis and the families of the four 1365 crusaders (the Leslies, Ramsays, and Barclays), the Flemings, and the Lindsays, also mentioned above, had important consequences for the early political prosperity of this particular Scottish Lyon family.

Political Prosperity

David II's select group of knights and esquires was at the heart of the dominant political community at his court. It included Robert Erskine, the brothers John Dunbar and George Dunbar, Walter Leslie and his Lindsay half-brothers, Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk and William Lindsay of the Byres, their nephew James Lindsay of Crawford, James Douglas of Dalkeith, and many lesser men, including John Lyon, 1st of Glamis.³¹ Although there seems to be an overwhelming negative opinion on his personal rule, David II does appear to have strengthened government administration in the 1360s.³² From 1365 to 1369 exchequer audits were made each year in his presence, and the office of secretary of Scotland was

²⁸ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in the P.R.O., London*, ed. J. Bain, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881-8), iv, 878.

²⁹ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, iv, 391 — This action safeguarded the five baronies that had been acquired by his father, some of which had come under the control of James Sandilands.

³⁰ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 278, 281.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

³² Patman, *David II*, 6-13.

introduced. It was during this time that John Lyon became a royal official. His first recorded official appointment was as one of several auditors (probably audit clerk) who examined the accounts of the chamberlain, Walter Fleming of Biggar, in 1369. He became secretary of Scotland a year later.³³ Before taking these appointments, he was possibly secretary to James Lindsay of Crawford. John Lyon and the others in the dominant political community faced the prospect of loss of influence and revenge when David II died in 1371. Although Robert Erskine and John Dunbar lost most of their titles and offices and others fled to England within two years of Robert II becoming king, some leaders of the select group managed to survive. The king was not crowned immediately, probably because of a challenge from an aspiring political community headed by the leaders of the Douglas family.³⁴

This threat was removed with the help of a political network supporting Walter Leslie and Alexander Lindsay of Glenesk, which was spawned by divisions and rivalry within the previously dominant political community. The potential strength of this additional backing for the Stewart dynasty probably persuaded the king to make a political deal with Walter Leslie and Glenesk and the others, which not only allowed them to preserve their influence at court, but also enhance it.³⁵ John Lyon must have been part of this critical network because he was appointed keeper of the privy seal at the start of the new reign in 1371.³⁶ From then onwards, he made spectacular and well documented personal gains through royal favour,³⁷ which was helped by his marriage to Jean Stewart, the king's daughter, in 1376.³⁸ and his subsequent appointment as chamberlain of Scotland in 1377.³⁹ Robert II granted him and his wife a letter of remission in 1378 for any secret marriage formerly made by them because they had since solemnised it in church and in the presence of the king.⁴⁰ The remission clearly indicates an irregularity with the marriage, which was not only an extremely important political asset during John Lyon's lifetime, but also for future generations, particularly those that immediately followed during the remaining part of the late-medieval period. During this time, the Lyons of Glamis were inextricably linked with the most senior of four noble family groupings: the Stewarts, Douglases and Randolphs (including their heirs the Dunbars) - the three leading families of Robert I's reign, and the Drummonds - the kinsmen of David

³³ *ER*, ii, 339, 350, 358.

³⁴ Boardman, *Early Stewart Kings*, 39.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁶ *ER*, ii, 350; *APS*, i, 547.

³⁷ Strathmore MSS - box 3, number 69 (custos of Edinburgh); NLS - Advocates Library, folio 36 (keeper of Edinburgh Castle); *ER*, ii, 428, 469, 497 (auditor), 583 (chamberlain), iii, 54 (keeper of Edinburgh Castle); *RMS*, i, 411, 549, 575, 641, 642, 679, 693, 699, 734, 738, 744, 781, 787.

³⁸ *RMS*, i, 575 - 27 June 1576. In this charter John is described as simply John Lyon; Strathmore MSS - box I, unnumbered - 4 Oct. 1576. In this document, the king granted the thanage of Tannadice 'to his dearest son and Johanna his wife, the king's beloved daughter'.

³⁹ *ER*, ii, 358.

⁴⁰ Strathmore MSS - box I, number 8 - The king's three legitimate sons: John Stewart, earl of Carrick (later Robert III), Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, and Alexander Stewart, lord of Badenoch, also signed the document; *Strathmore Papers*, xiv, iii, 180.

II through his second marriage to Margaret Logie (nec Drummond).¹¹ All this established a firm political foundation for their early modern successors.

James Lindsay of Crawford killed John Lyon in 1382.¹² The murder was one of the first indications of a growing rivalry between the aspiring political community promoting Carrick, which incorporated the political network that included Walter Leslie and Glenesk and was now headed by Crawford, and that supporting the Robert II, which included royal favourites, such as John, who had previously been associated with Walter Leslie and the Lindsays. John Lyon's death was possibly the result of Crawford's personal frustration with the king's government, especially its northern strategy in that year, which included an acceptance of Badenoch's seizure of the lordship of Ross. Crawford's loss of his northern justiciarship probably infuriated him most.¹³ John Lyon, as chamberlain, was involved in, and benefited from, such strategic decisions. Another possible reason for Crawford's despotic act was John Lyon's ingratitude to Crawford, who had seemingly recommended him to Robert II, protected him from disgrace after his seduction of the king's daughter, who subsequently became pregnant, and helped the couple to have their marriage officially recognised. John Lyon should have used his influence with the king to protect the Lindsay interests.¹⁴

This second possible reason was graphically put forward by Godscroft, who described John Lyon as 'ane young man induct with al the giftes of nature, of bodie and mynde, comlie of personage, of guid education, and amiable carriage; and therefor weil lyk it of be al'.¹⁵ He wrote:

*For these great benefits done be the Earle of Crafurde what vnthnkfulness he ether found in him, or imygint to haue found, is not particularlie set downe; but on some apprehension that way, finding his owne credit at the Kings hands diminishit, and John Lyons increassing; and thinking him to be cause of it, he estimet it so great a point of ingratitude, and took so high indignation thereat, that finding him accidentlie on a certain tyme in his way a little from Forfar, he sayls him cruellie; and fearing the Kings wreath, fled himself in exile; where he remayned certane zeirs, til at the Earle of Douglasses intercession*¹⁶

As will be discussed later, Godscroft was a close associate of Glamis, who may have been familiar with his family's early history, and was not on favourable terms with David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford.

¹¹ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 173—They had a particularly significant impact on Scotland's political history, not only on their own account (including the disappearance of their senior lines in the middle of fifteenth century), but also through their relationship with each other, with the crown, and the wider population as a whole.

¹² FR, iii, 657; W. Bower, *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum Supplementis ac Continuatione Walteri Boweri Insulae Sanctae Coloniae Abbatii*, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759), ii, 395.

¹³ Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, 79–81, 96.

¹⁴ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, iv, 318; Boardman, *Stewart Kings*, 79.

¹⁵ *Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scotiae*, ed. W. B. D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842), 194; C. McGladdery, *James II* (East Linton, 1990), 126–8. Although Godscroft did not mention his sources, he probably used a sixteenth century 'Extracta' that was originally compiled from several earlier chronicles, possibly by Alexander Myln, and later extended with various annotations and additions up to 1575, evidently by William Sinclair of Ross. It was James Lindsay of Crawford, rather than his nephew David Lindsay, 1st earl of Crawford, that did the dreadful deed, which is not clear in both works.

¹⁶ D. Home of Godscroft, *The History of the House of Douglas*, ed. D. Reid, 2 vols. (Scottish Text Society, 1966), 200–2.

The Douglas intercession in this part of Godscroft's lengthy and elaborate family tale may have been a sixteenth-century political convenience as well as a likely fourteenth-century political reality. Although James Lindsay of Crawford did leave the court in 1382 to escape punishment from the king, who, apparently, bore John Lyon's death 'with extraordinary Grief',⁴⁷ the aftermath of the murder was short lived. John Lyon's heirs were part of the Lindsay political network for the remaining part of the late-medieval period.⁴⁸ This was particularly evident when John Lyon, 2nd of Glamis, and many other nobles met with the captive James I at Durham in 1423 and 1424.⁴⁹ On both occasions, he was in a contingent headed by David Lindsay, the eldest son of Alexander Lindsay, 2nd earl of Crawford.⁵⁰

Around 1395, John Lyon, 2nd of Glamis, married Elizabeth Graham, the younger daughter of Eupheme Stewart, countess palatine of Strathearn, and her husband Patrick Graham, earl of Strathearn.⁵¹ She and her only sister Eupheme Graham were the great nieces and wards of Walter Stewart, earl of Atholl, the only legitimate surviving son of Robert II after 1420. Her sister married Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Douglas, in 1424. Atholl and Douglas were unhappy with Murdoch Stewart, 2nd duke of Albany's, rule, and began to work for the return of James I from captivity in England. Although John Lyon was knighted (like his father) around 1404, and took part in the battle of Harlaw (1411),⁵² it is perhaps not surprising that he was not particularly prominent in public affairs given the peculiar politics of that period. Eupheme Graham's marriage sealed a political bond at court between Atholl and Douglas, but the earlier one between John Lyon and Atholl's other niece and ward, Elizabeth Graham, had a more local significance. Atholl was keen for James I to return to Scotland in order to fulfil his own local ambition to dominate Perthshire. The governor of Scotland, Albany, was his main rival in that area. The main reason for the friction between them was the earldom of Strathearn, the richest property in the county. After the murder around 1415 of Eupheme Graham and Elizabeth Graham's father, Atholl became tutor to their only brother Malise Graham, and, through him, acquired control of the Strathearn property. After his return to Scotland in 1414, in order to gain support, the king strengthened Atholl's hold on the earldom by granting him the benefits, but not the title, of Strathearn.

Albany and Douglas did not like this arrangement. Albany lost ground to his rival Atholl, and Douglas was brother-in-law to Malise Graham, who had been disinherited. They both accepted the grant as a means of strengthening the king's position so that he could deal with Albany's rebellious son, Walter

⁴⁷ G. Crawford, *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland* (London, 1736), 301.

⁴⁸ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, v, 263.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, iv, 942.

⁵⁰ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 244-5.

⁵¹ The union probably required a papal dispensation because they were first cousins once removed, the common ancestor being Robert II.

⁵² *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, ed. J. Robertson, 4 vols. (Spalding Club, 1847-69), ii, 227.

G. Law, 'Communications and Replies', *Scottish Historical Review*, ii (1905), 479.

Stewart of Lennox. The gift of Strathearn to Atholl also incensed Malise Graham's uncles William Graham and Robert Graham, both close associates of Lennox. It also probably provoked Malise's other brother-in-law John Lyon, whose son Patrick Lyon may have been named after Malise Graham's murdered father. Lennox was arrested in 1424, as was his father Albany and his brother Alexander Stewart of Kinlevin in the following year. All three were executed, and these despotic acts changed the balance of power in Scotland. Although the king had established his authority, he relied on the continuation of the infrastructural power provided by the support of others including Atholl and the large political community that supported them. The main cost to the king of maintaining this support was Strathearn. Atholl was granted the title and full authority of earl of Strathearn for life in 1427, and freed him from any claims from Malise Graham, who was made earl of Menteith as a poor compensation. Shortly afterwards, Malise Graham was sent as a hostage to England and remained there for the next 25 years.⁵³ At the same time, John Lyon and Elizabeth Graham's son Patrick, Lyon, who was also a hostage, returned to Scotland in exchange for David Leslie, lord of Leslie.⁵⁴ This was possibly part of the price of paving the way at a political network level for the delivery of the formal tenure of the earldom of Strathearn to Atholl.

Patrick Lyon succeeded his father as the third lord of Glamis in 1435.⁵⁵ Earlier, he had taken his father's place as one of the many hostages that were surrendered to the English as surety for the freedom of James I.⁵⁶ The first list of hostages that was drawn up consisted of those who had the greatest influence and connections in Scotland, but the final roll was of men, including John Lyon, who had more of a financial rather than a political value. John Lyon's value for ransom purposes in December 1423 was 600 merks. Twenty one nobles were listed and their values ranged from 400 to 1500 merks, the average being around 750 marks.⁵⁷ Three months later, in a second list, John Lyon was replaced by his son and heir Patrick Lyon. His value was half that of his father, with the average value of the 23 nobles being roughly 600 marks.⁵⁸ The two lists are of interest because they not only confirm the Lyons of Glamis's place in Grant's notional 'second division' of the higher nobility, but also show that a family's wealth did not necessarily equate with its political value, at that time.

⁵³ M. Brown, *James I* (Edinburgh, 1994), 45-6, 85-6, 177.

⁵⁴ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 259, 260.

⁵⁵ *ER*, ix, 657.

⁵⁶ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, iv, 952, 960; *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 259a, 260a.

⁵⁷ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 242.

⁵⁸ *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, iv, 193-4 — It is possible that this John Lyon of Glamis, who was not described as a knight, was the son of Sir John Lyon, 2nd of Glamis. Patrick was not described as the eldest son, and it was usual for the eldest son to be named after the paternal grandfather, and the second son to be named after the maternal grandfather (C. Hamilton-Edwards, *In Search of Scottish Ancestry* (London, 1972), 71).

Not long after the death of James I in 1537, Archibald Douglas, 5th earl of Douglas and head of the 'Black Douglasses', the only remaining major family led grouping of that time, replaced the dowager queen, Joan Beaufort, as regent. His huge political network included Sir William Crichton and Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen. Patrick Lyon had married Lintrathen's second daughter Isabel Ogilvy, around 1427, soon after his return from captivity in England.⁵⁹ yet despite this strong family connection with the former treasurer of Scotland, he was not included in the new 1437 regime. His political prospects were not helped by the fact that it was his great uncle Robert Graham who killed James I in that year. When Douglas died of the plague in 1439, he left two sons, and the regency passed to Sir William Crichton, who feared the power of the Black Douglasses. He invited the two sons, William Douglas, 6th earl of Douglas, his younger brother David Douglas, and Malcolm Fleming of Biggar to dine with the young James II at Edinburgh Castle. At the end of the meal known as the 'Black Dinner' (1440), a black bull's head was put on the table at which point the two brothers were seized and beheaded. When the king eventually took personal control of the government in 1449, he was supported by the political community headed by Sir William Crichton and his cousin, James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, but opposed by an aspiring political community led by William Douglas, 8th earl of Douglas. After an unsuccessful attempt at reconciliation, the king invited Douglas in 1452 to dine with him at Stirling Castle, where Sir William Crichton stabbed him twice before he was felled with a pole axe, and his body thrown out of the window into the courtyard below.⁶⁰ Patrick Lyon was serving a usual two-year period as a master of the royal household at the time and was probably present.⁶¹

James II eventually overcame the political threat posed by the leaders of the Black Douglasses after his forces led by George Douglas, 4th earl of Angus - head of the 'Red Douglasses', defeated those led by the earl of Douglas at the battle of Arkinholm (1455). The king continued to maintain the mutual support provided at the political network level, by such families as the Lyons of Glamis, on whom he learnt to depend. Patrick Lyon's personal political prospects improved perceptively after the Black Dinner. The records of the register of the great seal give an insight into the level of Patrick Lyon's political involvement at the height of his career at court. Unfortunately only three charters are recorded for the years 1445 to 1447, and none for 1448, but 239 charters and other writs are noted from 9 December 1449 to 14 February 1452, and Patrick appears as a witness to 148 of these.⁶² He had become an established member of the dominant political community supporting Bishop Kennedy, Angus, and Sir William Crichton, and his family became even more closely associated with those of the first and third of

⁵⁹ Robb, *Coxsins and Wester Ogil*, 15.

⁶⁰ McGilcherry, *James II*, 23.

⁶¹ *RMS*, ii, 336.

⁶² *RMS*, i, 287-528; Robb, *Coxsins and Wester Ogil*, 13.

these three leading political figures. Patrick Lyon and Sir William Crichton were created lords of Parliament in 1445 (with the title of Lords Glamis and Crichton respectively).⁶³ More significantly, Patrick Lyon's eldest son Alexander Lyon, 2nd lord Glamis, married Crichton's second daughter, Agnes Crichton, around 1450.⁶⁴ and, after his death in 1459, Patrick Lyon's widow married the bishop's elder brother Gilbert Kennedy, 1st lord Kennedy.⁶⁵

During the course of the fifteenth century, several wealthy families had fallen foul of either James I or James II, and had their lands forfeited, and several earldoms and lordships reverted to the crown through natural causes. Probably for fiscal reasons, James II retained most of the lands and properties that came to the crown by either route. After the great Douglas forfeiture in 1455, the king held no less than nine provincial earldoms and eight provincial lordships.⁶⁶ Only five earldoms and lordships of the old type - Angus, lord of the Isles, Sutherland, Atholl, and Huntly, were extant in the 1460s, and although James II created five new provincial earldoms - Errol, Morton, Rothes, Argyll, and Marischal, all of these, like Crawford, were honorific dignities. The ongoing tendency to retain rather than redistribute territory by the crown had a significant and permanent effect on the restructured peerage in to which Patrick Lyon, 1st lord Glamis, had entered. From the middle of fifteenth century to the end of the period covered by this study, it contained only a small number of very large landowning families, such as that of George Gordon, 2nd earl of Huntly, which held 11 baronies, and the families of several earls had less power and influence at court and in the locality than those of their neighbouring lords of parliament.⁶⁷ Consequently, the Lyons of Glamis were less overshadowed by very large landowning families, and more typical of the Scottish higher nobility as a whole.

Unlike the leaders of his wife's family headed by Crichton, Alexander Lyon, 2nd lord Glamis, was probably not involved in the rebellion led by Alexander Stewart, 1st duke of Albany, and Archibald Douglas, 5th earl of Angus, when some of James III's favourites were hanged at Lauder Bridge (1482). He was on the committee of articles in the 1483 parliament after Albany and Angus had fled the country, and he was one of eight ambassadors a year later who received a safe conduct from Henry VII to visit France and Spain. His first crown appointment was as master of the royal hospital in 1451, when his father was master of James II's household. He succeeded his father as keeper of two principal royal castles - Kildrumny and Kindrocht, both in Aberdeenshire, in 1461.⁶⁸ These are the first two of only a few

⁶³ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ii, 542; *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ed. P. Chalmers and C. Innes, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1856), i, 98-104.

⁶⁴ *RMS*, ii, 318.

⁶⁵ *Carse MS*, 35.

⁶⁶ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 124.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 127; *Wormald, Court, Kirk, and Community*, 28.

⁶⁸ *ER*, vii, 86.

examples of father/son succession within the main family with regard to crown offices. It was the 1478 parliament that tried in vain to resolve the 'great break' between Alexander Lyon and Alexander Lindsay, master of Crawford. The master had attacked the abbot and convent of Coupar Angus, and it was probably a conflict over land that caused the rift between them.⁶⁹ The master's sister, Elizabeth Lindsay, married Alexander Lyon's nephew David Lyon, 1st of Cossins, and this union may have been part of the successful resolution of the rift.

John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis, was a lawyer, and in 1472, as John Lyon of Courteston, he acquired from the crown the hereditary office of coroner for Forfarshire and Kincardineshire.⁷⁰ In 1487, a year after his elder brother died and he succeeded to the title, he was unsuccessfully nominated by James III as a justiciar for south of the Forth.⁷¹ However, he was appointed by James IV as one of three justiciars for Angus, Highland and Lowland, in 1489,⁷² and, more significantly, one of two justiciars for the south of the Forth in 1495.⁷³ Like his father and great-grandfather, John Lyon was heavily involved in court politics, especially around the time of his 1489 promotion. After being received back into favour, Archibald Douglas, 5th earl of Angus, was supported by an aspiring political community, which fielded a sufficient force to capture the king's eldest son in 1488. They felt confident enough to proclaim him king in place of his father. John Lyon and various other nobles remained with James III, who was intent on raising support in the north to deal with the Angus rebellion. The king thought he could count on great northern lords, such as him, but John Lyon was one of several moderates who unsuccessfully tried to persuade him to settle for peace. He and three other nobles refused to follow the king and his counter-force south, where they were defeated and the king was killed at the battle of Sauchieburn (1488). John Lyon steered towards a neutral position in the rebellion. He was one of six nobles who were appointed to head a treason tribunal after the revolt, and helped to persuade the acrimonious parliament that followed to take a peaceful solution to the murder of James III by explaining, with the help of a copy of an agreement that the king had signed (and then promptly broke), the causes that led to 'the slaughters committed and done on the field of Striulin quhar our souerane lordis fader happint to be slane'.⁷⁴

For some, such as Andrew Gray, 2nd lord Gray, personal ambition would appear to have been an important aspect of the conflict. He was one of the main beneficiaries of the rebel victory in 1488, and his substantial political and material gains led to a readjustment of power in Angus with David Lindsay.

⁶⁹ *APS*, ii, 122.

⁷⁰ *RHS*, ii, 1085–14 Oct. 1472.

⁷¹ *APS*, ii, 182.

⁷² *APS*, ii, 208.

⁷³ *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, ed. R. Pitcairn, 4 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1833), i, 19.

⁷⁴ *APS*, ii, 210; N. Macdougall, 'The estates in eclipse? Politics and parliament in the reign of James IV', in K. M. Brown and R. J. Tanner (eds.), *Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1235–1560* (Edinburgh, 2004), 152; N. Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (East Linton, 1982), 247–51; N. Macdougall, *James II* (East Linton, 1997), 27–31; I. J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland* (Aberdeen, 1985), 178–81.

5th earl of Crawford, John Lyon, and Gray becoming the main magnates in the county. John Lindsay, master of Crawford, and Gray and were the other two justiciars for Angus, Highland and Lowland, appointed alongside John in 1489, mentioned above.⁷⁵ This Crawford/Glamis/Gray local political triumvirate was reinforced by marriage: John Lyon's eldest son John Lyon, 4th lord Glamis, married Elizabeth Gray, a daughter of Gray,⁷⁶ and, as also mentioned above, his second son David Lyon, 1st of Cossins, married Elizabeth Lindsay, a daughter of Crawford.⁷⁷ From what has been discussed earlier (Chapter 1), this Angus grouping was an important aspect of their power at court.

John Lyon, 6th lord Glamis,⁷⁸ married Janet Douglas, the second and youngest sister of Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, in 1520. John Lyon died two months before the young James V escaped from the control of Angus and other senior members of his Douglas family in 1528.⁷⁹ In public life, John Lyon supported the queen dowager Margaret Tudor against his brother-in-law from 1524 to 1528, when the political community supporting Angus dominated the court. John Lyon has been described as a very bold, stout and resolute man, who was named 'Clange-Causy' for his many quarrels,⁸⁰ some of which were probably with his Douglas in-laws. When James V took control of the government in 1528,⁸¹ Angus and most of the senior members of his family left Scotland. John Lyon's wife, Janet Douglas, however, remained and was subject to a great deal of political pressure. Among other things, she was accused of conspiracy in 1528, included in the general Douglas proscription of 1529;⁸² escheated for communicating with the rebels in 1531,⁸³ and charged with poisoning her late husband in 1532.⁸⁴

When the king returned from France in 1537, he feared a revival of public sympathy towards Angus and his Douglas family, and Janet Douglas was charged again with conspiracy, but this time on the evidence of her husband's kinsman, William Lyon, 1st of Comalegy. Comalegy had been appointed a commissioner of justiciary to try for heresy and witchcraft in 1536. According to Douglas biographers, a year later he fell in love with Janet Douglas, who rejected him. In revenge, he accused her, her son John, then a minor, and their servitor, John Lyon of Knockenny, of conspiring to kill James V by poison and

⁷⁵ *APS*, ii, 208.

⁷⁶ *Acts of the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaynts, 1466-94 (Acta Dominorum Auditorum)*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839), 150; *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes (Acta Dominorum Concilii), 1478-1503*, eds. T. Thomson and others (Edinburgh, 1839-1943), 208.

⁷⁷ Dundee Archive and Record Centre - Burgh Sasines, vol ii. The undated papal dispensation appears immediately before a sasine dated 15 September 1505. The union required a papal dispensation because it was made within the fourth degree of sanguity - they were second cousins once removed, the common ancestor being Patrick Graham, earl of Strathearn.

⁷⁸ George Lyon, 5th lord Glamis, was retoured heir to his father in 1500, and died five years later, a minor.

⁷⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 8, number 184.

⁸⁰ Ross, *Strathmore*, 25. The description is taken from 'The Scots Nobilitie' (fn. 2), but Ross does not give further details of the reference.

⁸¹ *APS*, ii, 325.

⁸² *APS*, ii, 328.

⁸³ *APS*, ii, 331; *RSS*, viii, 93.

⁸⁴ *Scots Peerage*, i, 189, 336 - After John Lyon's death, she married, in or before 1532, Sir Alexander Campbell of Skipnish, the second son of Archibald Campbell, 2nd earl of Argyll; NLS - MSS 1746 (Adam Abell), F.126v - Immediately after her death, Skipnish, who had also been taken into custody, killed himself while escaping down the rock of Edinburgh Castle, before he could hear the good news of his release (*RSS*, ii, 4778).

witchcraft. Although Comalegy later withdrew the allegation, the king would not listen. Janet Douglas and her young sons, John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, and George Lyon, were imprisoned, fined and forfeited, and she was burnt to death on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh on the same day that she was found guilty of attempting to poison the king, and communicating with her brothers, in 1538.⁸⁵ This despotic act, like the murder of John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, nearly 250 years earlier, attracted a great deal of public interest. It was done 'with great commiseration of the people in the regard of her noble blood, of her husband, being in the prime of her years, of a singular beauty, and suffering all, though a woman with a man like courage: all men concerning that it was not this fact (the poisoning of the king) but the hatred the king carried to her brothers'.⁸⁶

The act itself reinforces a widely held view that James V's style of government and relations with the nobility was characterised by his vindictive, irrational, greedy, and dominating behaviour. Wormald, for example, thought that this conduct lent support to the notions that the Scottish monarchy, like others in Europe, had triumphed, after a century of successive struggles, over leading rebellious family dynasties, such as the Stewarts and the Douglasses, and that this monarch had an exceptional antipathy towards high-born lay families in general. The king created no hereditary lords of parliament, and clerical lawyers dominated his privy council.⁸⁷ Cameron challenged this view.⁸⁸ Among other things, he argued that the extent of the tension between the king and nobility has been grossly exaggerated, and that the king did not act in a vindictive or irrational way towards the nobility. Of particular interest, he maintained that there is no need to explain the execution of Janet Douglas in terms of the king's sadistic nature. His alternative explanation was based on the reasons for her indictment, and the question of her guilt or innocence.⁸⁹ Her death was probably the result of a 'legitimate sentence' in respect of her treasonable communication with her brothers. According to him, the charge of poisoning was not proven and appeared to be spurious, and there was 'no obvious individual targeting her', with the possible exception of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes. Rothes, by that time, had acquired the Glamis ward and may have been intent on getting rid of Knockenny, who was curator to John Lyon, 7th Lord Glamis, in the hope of obtaining the Glamis held Errol ward. Cameron, however, contradicted himself later when,

⁸⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 15 - 17-18 July 1537. Contemporary extract from the books of High Court of Justiciary: *Criminal Trials*, i, 190-1, 199.

⁸⁶ *Criminal Trials*, i, 158, 191 (quote); *Calderwood*, i, 112-3.

⁸⁷ Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 10-12.

⁸⁸ J. Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528-1542* (East Linton, 1998).

⁸⁹ N. Macdougall, 'Forward', in Cameron, *James V*, vii-x.

among other things, he commented that 'on and off the king had been after her since almost the start of his personal rule', and he did not mention the more likely involvement of Comalegy.⁹⁰

Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis's (Glamis), father, John Lyon, 7th Lord Glamis,⁹¹ was made to witness the torture of his kinsman, Knockenny, who also been convicted and sentenced to death for treason along with the young Lord Glamis and George Lyon in an attempt to implicate the two brothers' mother.⁹² Given this, and that the fact that he also was placed on the rack and threatened with same treatment, it is hardly surprising that the 16-year old lord signed a confession that he was 'art and part of the tressonable concealing and nocht reuiling of the tressonabill conspiratioune and imaginatioun of the destructione of our souerane lordis nobill persone, ymaginat and conspirat be vniquhile Jonet, Lady Glammy his moder'.⁹³ As a result he was disinherited, and his lands and properties were annexed to the crown, but his and his brother's executions were postponed until they were of age.⁹⁴ The two brothers' sisters, Margaret Lyon and Elizabeth Lyon, came under the protection of the royal household.⁹⁵ As Cameron pointed out, the annexation of the Glamis ward, with its administration of the Errol ward, greatly increased the crown's presence in Angus.⁹⁶ Perhaps not so surprisingly, it was Comalegy who assessed the value of the young Lord Glamis's substantial Aberdeenshire properties for the crown.⁹⁷

After the king's death in 1542, the two brothers were released,⁹⁸ and the elder was restored to his titles and most of his estate.⁹⁹ The main exception to this restoration was the barony of Kinghorne, which was in the hands of William Kirkcaldy of Grange, who had continued in office as treasurer after the death of James V.¹⁰⁰ During the minority of Mary, queen of Scots, John Lyon was a member of the privy council, and sat in parliament, from 1543 to 1547.¹⁰¹ He first attached himself to his pro-English uncle, Angus, who had returned to Scotland from England after the royal death in 1542. There was an unrealised plan to arrest John Lyon together with other Anglophilic lords in Angus, and, arguably, he was cognisant and approving of the Protestant preaching of Friar John Roger in Glamis church in 1543-4.¹⁰²

⁹⁰ Cameron, *James I*, 169-8, 174 (quote), 175. Cameron states that James played an active role in Janet Douglas's trial, and that the magnates who sat in judgement may have had their own reasons for finding her guilty, which implies that the resulting sentence may not have been legitimate.

⁹¹ *DNB*, s.v. 347-8; *Criminal Trials*, i, 198; *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents that have Passes within the Country of Scotland since the Death of King James IV till the Year 1575*, ed. F. Thomson (Matland Club, 1833), 22.

⁹² D. Home of Godscroft, *History of the House and Race of Douglas and Angus* (1643), 26; *Calderswood*, i, 113.

⁹³ *APS*, ii, 422; *Criminal Trials*, i, 199.

⁹⁴ *APS*, ii, 361, 405.

⁹⁵ *NAS* - CS6 40 119, *T2*, vi, 349.

⁹⁶ Cameron, *James I*, 173.

⁹⁷ *FR*, xvii, 140 - These lands included the lands and baronies of Belhevie and Courtiestown, and the lands of Drumgowan, Colpnay, Wester Blairtoun, Pettens, Collieston, Ardendracht, Braytoun, and Auchleuchrie, in Aberdeenshire.

⁹⁸ Ross, *Strathmore*, 27 - George Lyon died a year later, probably from the hardships he had suffered in prison.

⁹⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 9, number 199 - 17 Mar. 1542; *APS*, ii, 409, 414, 415, 420, 422, 424, 425.

¹⁰⁰ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 15 - 12 Mar. 1543 - Official extract of act of parliament in which John Lyon, 7th Lord Glamis, agreed that the lands and barony of Kinghorne should remain in the hands of James Kirkcaldy of Grange and his son William.

¹⁰¹ *APS*, ii, 449, 594, 595, 468.

¹⁰² *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the Sixteenth Century (Hamilton Papers)*, ed. J. Bain, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1890-1892), i, 406-7 - 7 Feb. 1543 - Lisle to Suffolk, ii, 31-33 - 11 Sept. 1543 - Sadleir to Henry VIII.

The year 1543 was a turning point for both state and John Lyon, and the two were not unrelated. Cardinal David Beaton rose to power, and, after discovering the extent of Angus's allegiance to Henry VIII, John Lyon joined the pro-French party led by the queen dowager Mary of Guise and Beaton, who were opposed to England and the spread of Protestantism.¹⁰⁸ In the following year, Beaton, as commendator of Arbroath, sold to him the whole tields of the parish of Glamis, as a reward for his 'ready and faithful help and assistance in these dangerous times of the church'.¹⁰⁹ The cardinal had previously sold the tiends in 1525 to John Lyon's uncle, Alexander Lyon, chantor of Moray, who, like John Lyon, was a distant cousin of Beaton's mistress Marion Ogilvy,¹¹⁰ for the same amount.¹¹¹ Alexander Lyon resigned various lands in favour of her in 1537, and may have had issue by her.¹¹² They are the first known natural children in the family.

In 1544 too, John Lyon along with Patrick Gray, 4th lord Gray, and Norman Leslie, master of Rothies, supported Thomas Charteris of Kinfauns in his attempt to seize Perth. Thomas Charteris had been elected provost in place of Patrick Ruthven, 3rd lord Ruthven, who had been deprived of the provostship by Beaton.¹⁰⁸ John Lyon probably took part in the battle of Ancrum Moor (1545) in which the Scottish army led by Angus defeated the English. French pressure for an invasion of England provoked the 'customary opposition', which was led by Angus and several others, including Gray and John Lyon. Later in 1545, the English entered Scotland for a second time, and John Lyon served in the vanguard of the ill-equipped and poorly trained Scottish army that invaded the north of England, and fled before inferior numbers.¹⁰⁹ A group led by William Kirkcaldy of Grange killed Beaton in 1546, and the barony of Kinghorne returned to the family following his earlier forfeiture.¹¹⁰ John Lyon took part in the siege of Borthwick Castle (1547),¹¹¹ but he did not take part in the subsequent and much more critical battle of Pinkie (1547). The 26-year old ceased to take part in public life after that 'Black Saturday' on which over half of one of the largest armies in Scottish history was slaughtered by the English.¹¹² He and his immediate family spent the next 10 years in France, despite the fact that, in 1553, he managed to gain a

90-2. 5 Oct. 1543. Sadleir to Suffolk and Others, 161-3. 13 Nov. 1543. Sadleir to the Privy Council, 250-1. 15 Jan. 1544. Sir George Douglas to Suffolk, M. H. B. Sandersen, *Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494-1546* (Edinburgh, 1986), 81, 189, 207.

¹⁰⁸ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547*, eds. J. S. Brewer and others, 21 vols (London, 1862-1932), i, 1049; *Journal of Occurrences*, 29.

¹⁰⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 17.

¹¹⁰ *Scots Peerage*, i, 112-13, 115.

¹¹¹ *Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1855), ii, 713.

¹¹² Strathmore MSS - box 23, bundle 2, number 8. Instrument of resignation dated 1537 by Alexander Lyon, chanter of Moray, in favour of Marion Ogilvy his cousin of his lands of Lindertis and Murhouses following a tack by John Lyon, 6th lord Glamis, dated 20 Aug. 1525, box 25, bundle 2, number 1. In 1564, there was a dispute between John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, and Marion Ogilvy of Melgund, over these lands.

¹⁰⁸ *Journal of Occurrences*, 34, 40.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹¹⁰ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 18. 1 Sept. 1548.

¹¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, i, 44.

¹¹² *RPC*, i, 71. John Lyon's last recorded attendance at the privy council was on 3 May 1547, M. Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542-1551* (East Linton, 2000), 5, 233-7.

remission for not joining the Scottish host at Gladsmuir.¹¹³ He became sick and returned home 'to get his native air' around 1557.¹¹⁴ In that year, James Scrymgeour, who was then in France, made a complaint against John Lyon for unlawfully occupying, and drawing the rent for, Littleton, in Forfarshire, of which James Scrymgeour had been infeted in 1539.¹¹⁵ This land was one, if not the last, of the few remaining unconsolidated remnants of the forfeited 1538 family estate. In sum, the Lyons of Glamis managed to maintain themselves as a viable entity within the Scottish political infrastructure for 200 years from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, when Glamis's elder and only brother, John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, succeeded as head of the house of Glamis.

Glamis's Brother

Glamis's brother, John Lyon, 8th Lord Glamis, was born in 1544. He was probably brought up as a Catholic and educated in France, then under the dominance of Mary, queen of Scots, mother's family of Guise.¹¹⁶ When his father died at the age of 38 years in 1559,¹¹⁷ John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, was granted the ward and marriage of the 15-year old boy, and James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, and John Bellenden of Auchnoul, justice clerk, were his curators.¹¹⁸ This interesting choice may have been guided in part by religion. Atholl was a zealous Catholic, and openly opposed to the proposed religious reforms in the 1560 parliament.¹¹⁹ There is no record of Atholl's influence on his ward and his family, except, perhaps, the adoption of a demi-lady as John Lyon's armorial crest. This half-figure is generally regarded as a representation of Jean Stewart, a daughter of Robert II and wife of John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, but the 1566 Forman (or Workman) manuscript, which shows her as a naked woman with dishevelled hair, may be a clever and not so subtle allusion to the fate of Janet Douglas, John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis's, grandmother.¹²⁰

Morton, on the other hand, was inclined to Protestantism. At that time, he was head of the house of Douglas as a tutor to his nephew, Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus. Because of this, he had a

¹¹³ Strathmore MSS - writs, number 71 - 24 March 1553 - Composition for remission.

¹¹⁴ R. Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland*, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1764), vii, 283.

¹¹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, i, 412.

¹¹⁶ No record in Scottish university lists: P. J. Anderson (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860* (Spalding Club, 1893); P. J. Anderson (ed.), *Roll of Alumni in the Arts of University and King's College, Aberdeen, 1495-1860* (Aberdeen, 1900); J. M. Anderson (ed.), *Early Records of the University of St Andrews; the Graduate Roll 1413-1579 and Matriculation Roll 1473-1579* (Scottish Historical Society, 1926).

¹¹⁷ Strathmore MSS - writs, number 79 - 24 Nov. 1559 - Retour of terre lands to Janet Keith, relict of John Lyon.

¹¹⁸ Strathmore MSS - box 9, number 201 - 24 Sept. 1559; NAS - RID 5 22r.

¹¹⁹ Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, i, 141.

¹²⁰ Lyon Office - Forman MS - 9 Feb. 1566 - This was the scroll register of Sir Robert Forman, who was then the Lyon King of Arms, and bears the signature of James Workman, Marchmont Herald, 1663. Ross, *Cossins and Wester Ogdil*, 121.

strong interest in Angus. Perhaps it was threats to the family's ecclesiastical possessions, or divisions within the family, that prevented him from giving much support to the reformation.¹²¹ Morton was a signatory to the 'First Bond' of the Lords of the Congregation in 1557, but, according to Knox, he 'promised to be ours, but never did plainly join'.¹²² From 1557 to 1558, Morton bound various friends closer to him, among other things, by entering into a series of standard bonds of manrent with various important Angus lairds, one of whom was John Lyon of Cossins, who at that time was the most senior adult member of the family, Lord Glamis being a minor. Because the service in question was based on the gifts of non-entry, the bonds were limited until the entry of the heir to the earldom. These bonds give an insight into the need to secure loyalty within Angus immediately preceding the Reformation crisis, over and above that which could be expected from family connections, as in the case of Cossins. The religious loyalties at that time of John Bellenden of Auchnoul are not clear.

Morton was a cautioner for John Lyon's purchase of his own ward and marriage from Atholl in 1561,¹²³ which enabled John Lyon to marry Elizabeth Abernethy, the only daughter of William Abernethy, 5th lord Abernethy of Saltoun, and his wife Elizabeth Hay, probably the fourth daughter of John Hay, 2nd lord Hay of Yester.¹²⁴ Four years later, her uncle, John Abernethy of Balcors, married John Lyon's aunt, Elizabeth Lyon, as her fourth husband.¹²⁵ Mary, queen of Scots, returned to Scotland in 1561, and spent much of her time from 1562 to 1565 travelling around her kingdom. She presented a gold watch to John Lyon's (and Glamis's) only sister, Margaret Lyon, on her visit to Glamis during her first progress that took place from August to November 1562,¹²⁶ and it was possibly then that he gave the queen a Latin copy of Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528), which was a practical guide to contemporary conduct.¹²⁷ Whether or not it was a Catholic or Protestant household that received the queen at Glamis is not certain. In August 1560, according to Thomas Randolph, an English agent attached to Protestant nobles, the 16-year old approved of the treaty of Leith, and attended the Reformation Parliament, but John Lyon's name is not highlighted by Randolph as a pro-English supporter.¹²⁸ He was an Angus representative at the

¹²¹ Hardgatt, *Scotland Reformed*, 76-7.

¹²² J. Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, ed. W. C. Dickinson, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1949), i, 262.

¹²³ NAS, RDI 5 22r.

¹²⁴ *Scots Peerage*, iii, 567-8. Elizabeth Hay, second dau. of William Hay, 4th earl of Errol, was contracted to William Abernethy, 5th lord Abernethy of Saltoun, but it is suggested that this may well be a different Elizabeth. This is probably the case as the earl's daughter's mother was Christian Lyon, third dau. of John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis. Elizabeth Abernethy was the widow of William Meldrum of Fyvie.

¹²⁵ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 54, vii, 410; *RMS*, iv, 177.

¹²⁶ The queen also visited Elizabeth Abernethy's father's house at Rothiemay, in Banffshire, on that same progress to Inverness.

¹²⁷ P. Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's 'Cortegiano'* (Pennsylvania, 1995), app. 1. Mary, queen of Scots, had two copies in Italian and English, James VI one copy in Latin, and William Drummond of Hawthornden three copies in Italian, Spanish and English, G. F. Warner (ed.), *The Library of James VI, Miscellany I* (Scottish History Society, 1843), lii.

¹²⁸ *CSP Scot.*, i, 456-8. 8-10 Aug. 1560. Randolph to Cecil, *Spottiswood*, i, 326.

1563 general assembly of the Church of Scotland, which suggests that he was heavily involved in the new religion by that time.¹²⁹

John Lyon was present at an extended meeting of the privy council in December 1561, but does not appear in public records again until May 1565, when he attended a similar extended meeting which agreed to hold a parliament two months later, the month in which Mary married her second husband Henry Stewart, lord Darnley. John Lyon supported the marriage, and accompanied other local magnates in the army raised by the queen that countered her half-brother, James Stewart, earl of Moray's, rebellion, in the so-called 'Chaseabout Raid', in the following months of August and September.¹³⁰ Atholl had been appointed lieutenant in the north, and given authority to raise levies in Forfar and Kincardine, and he, together with George Gordon, 5th earl of Huntly, and David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford, were given command of the rearguard of the army. John Lyon duly served in that division.¹³¹ Neither side sought, or fought, a pitched battle.¹³² John Lyon voted against her divorce. Although he was in Edinburgh at the time, he was not implicated in Darnley's murder. He supported, and was present at, her third marriage to James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell, in May 1567,¹³³ but sided with the mainly Protestant 'Confederate Lords' who confronted the couple at Carberry Hill (1567), near Musselburgh, less than two months later.¹³⁴ Shortly after the queen surrendered to the rebel lords, a meeting of the assembly of the church was held in Edinburgh in August 1567, where it was agreed that letters should be sent to a number of nobles who 'did either assist the adverse (queen's) party, or then behaved themselves as neutrals'. Surprisingly, John Lyon's name appears on this list.¹³⁵ In December 1567, he was one of many who signed a privy council act against the queen.¹³⁶

As is well known, Bothwell fled, Mary was imprisoned and forced to abdicate in favour of her son, and Moray became regent. Mary escaped from Lochleven in May 1568, renounced her abdication, and challenged the authority of Moray and his council of regency. The leaders of the Hamilton family aided her escape, and various northern lords, including the earls of Huntly, Crawford, Errol, and Montrose, and the lords Ogilvy and Oliphant, rallied to her. John Lyon probably took part in the Battle of Langside (1568) which took place later that month, in which Moray defeated the queen's forces, which

¹²⁹ G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History*, ch. 10 — His kinsman, Mr Walter Lyon, represented Montrose.

¹³⁰ NAS — C111.1a, Strathmore MSS — box 9, number 201; NAS RD1 5 22r.

¹³¹ *RPC*, i, 362, 379, 380; *CSP Scot.*, ii, 278.

¹³² Lynch, *New History*, 213.

¹³³ BL — Sloane MS 3199, ff. 312r-3v; NAS — Leven and Melville Muniments, GD26 15.1 (sixteenth century copy), *Journal of Occurrences*, 111, Calderwood, ii, 352-4, Keith, *History*, ii, 563-5; Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 406. On 19 or 20 Apr. 1567, a bond of friendship (the 'Ainsley's Tavern band') was signed in Edinburgh by the archbishop of St Andrews, bishops of Aberdeen, Whithorn, Dunblane, Brechin, Ross, and Orkney, the earls of Huntly, Morton, Cassillis, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, and Rothes, and lords Boyd, Glamis, Herries, Ogilvy, Flemming, Oliphant, Hume and others, which said that they accepted Bothwell's innocence of Darnley's murder, as established at his trial, and promised to persuade the queen to humble herself to marry him.

¹³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, ii, 327 — 8 May 1567 — Kircaldy to Bedford, 393 — 1 Sept. 1567 — Randolph to Cecil.

¹³⁵ Spottiswood, ii, 63.

¹³⁶ *CSP Scot.*, ii, 398 — 4 Dec. 1567 — Act by the Regent and Council.

relied heavily on Hamilton military competence, and after which she fled to England.¹³⁷ The battle was won, but not the civil war, which continued in an earnest, but mostly sporadic and local fashion.¹³⁸

In July 1568, Huntly 'with 400 or 500 horse crossed the 'Month' to kill Morton the Chancellor, and Monteyth (William Graham, 5th earl of Menteith), the Master of Graham (John Graham), Lord Glamis *etc.*, who hardly escaped'. In February 1569, Atholl, Robert Douglas, 1st earl of Buchan, the masters of Marischal and Errol, four lords, including John Lyon and his father-in-law Saltoun, eleven lairds, and James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, complained to the privy council that, because of their continued support to the government, 'thair lands, rowmes and possessions wer and ar in utter perrell and dangeir and persewit with fyre, swerd, and all uther kind of hostilitie' by Huntly and his assistants and accomplices, and requested a remedy. The council responded by giving them, and every one of them, the power to 'convocat thamesselfs, thair kin friendis assistaris and partakaris in weirlyke maner' to defend themselves, pursue, and take action against Huntly and his supporters as long as the king and regent willed it.¹³⁹ Later that month, this decision was followed up locally through a bond, with John Lyon's signature heading the list of 32 others, including many of the most influential lairds in Angus.¹⁴⁰ This political network was strictly concerned with mutual defence, and most of the named persons supported the reformed church.¹⁴¹ It provided a secure base and sufficient resources for Moray to advance to Brechin in person within the week to forfeit his leading opponents in Angus - Crawford, Ogilvy, and Carnegie of Kinnaird, and order the seizure of their homes.¹⁴² The provost of Dundee took possession of Kinnaird castle, and handed it and its contents over to John Lyon, who was instructed to keep them to cover the expense of this and any future necessary action.¹⁴³

John Lyon was very closely associated with Moray during his regency (1567-70). He was a regular member of the privy council from the beginning of 1568, a commissioner for holding parliament in 1568,¹⁴⁴ and a member of the convention of estates in the following year.¹⁴⁵ Moray was assassinated by John Hamilton of Bothwellhauch in January 1570, and John Lyon was one of the eight pall-bearers at his funeral.¹⁴⁶ He continued to be a regular member of the privy council and conventions of the estates under the second regent, Mathew Stewart, 4th earl of Lennox, who was appointed in July 1570. He was present

¹³⁷ Lynch, *New History*, 217-22 - According to Lynch, Mary, queen of Scots, had been 'obliged to play a very Hamilton tune'. Some of her supporters made much of the 'lack of old blood of the nobility' in the new government, while some supporters of the new regime complained of the dissenters' unholy alliance of 'papists' and Protestants.

¹³⁸ *CSP Scot.*, ii, 516 - 4 Oct. 1568 - Offences by the Queen's Party.

¹³⁹ *RPS*, i, 646-7.

¹⁴⁰ Strathmore MSS - box 235, bundle 3, number 16; Bardgat, *Scotland Reformed*, 128.

¹⁴¹ Bardgat, *Scotland Reformed*, 129.

¹⁴² *RPS*, i, 645-6.

¹⁴³ *RPS*, i, 647-8, ii, 64; Strathmore MSS - box 235, bundle 3, number 16.

¹⁴⁴ *APS*, iii, 45.

¹⁴⁵ *CSP Scot.*, ii, 663-4 - 28 July 1569 - Convention at Perth.

¹⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, iii, 83-4 - 22 Feb. 1570 - Randolph to Cecil.

at his election.¹⁴⁷ and one of those who signed the proclamation. Because of this, Masson thought that he was one of his privy council, or one of the chiefs of it, throughout his regency.¹⁴⁸ Masson's assumption is reinforced by the fact that he was made an extraordinary lord of session two months after the election.¹⁴⁹ As Lynch has pointed out, the death of Moray changed the issues in the civil war; the government of the realm had become as important as the royal succession within it, and the new regent, the father of the murdered Darnley, was hardly likely to bring about peace and conciliation.¹⁵⁰

The war came to the fore once again in August 1570, when the aspiring political community headed by Huntly unsuccessfully tried to hold a rebel parliament at Linlithgow on 6 August, and Huntly himself came south as far as Brechin. Calderwood notes that he had placed a garrison of 160 paid soldiers in the town, probably under the leadership of Crawford, Ogilvy, and James Balfour of Pittendreich, and ordered its inhabitants to provide victuals for some thousands for 10 August. After an unsuccessful first expedition, Lennox sent Morton, who was accompanied by John Lyon and several other lords, with a task force of 800 horse to deal with the garrison. Morton's seizure of Brechin was the decisive campaign of the civil war in the east of Scotland.¹⁵¹ As far as this part of Scotland was concerned, the rebels were unable to overcome the dominant political networks centred on the lordship of Glamis and the earldom of Angus in Angus and that focused on the earldom of Marischal in the Mearns. Both coalitions continued to provide a successful political and military challenge to Crawford and Ogilvy, the two native magnates of Angus that were opposed to the Lennox regime. This was a serious set back to them because Angus and the Mearns were strategically pivotal shires: they provided an entry to Gordon territories to the north, and to Hamilton and Campbell lands to the west.¹⁵² Angus and the Mearns was similar to the eastern Scottish Borders in the sense that both provided a buffer zone in Scottish politics at various times.¹⁵³

Lennox was killed at Stirling in September 1571 during an attack on parliament, at which John Lyon was present, by a group of men led by Huntly and Lord Claud Hamilton.¹⁵⁴ John Lyon's loyalty to Lennox was underlined by the fact that he and 200 named others were forfeited by the rebel parliament that met immediately before Lennox's death.¹⁵⁵ The more conciliatory John Erskine, 6th earl of Mar, became the third regent without delay, and during his short and relatively uneventful rule, John Lyon

¹⁴⁷ *CSP Scot.*, iii, 266-7, 17 July 1570. Election of Regent.

¹⁴⁸ *RPC*, xiv, p. xvii.

¹⁴⁹ G. Bruntton and D. Haig, *An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice from its Institution in 1532* (Edinburgh, 1832).

¹⁵⁰ Lynch, *New History*, 220.

¹⁵¹ *CSP Scot.*, iii, 301, 7 Aug. 1570. Randolph to Sussex (enclosure).

¹⁵² Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 127-30; E. J. Cowan, 'The Angus Campbells: origins of the Campbell Ogilvy feud', *Scottish Studies*, xxv (1981), 25-38 — Cowan has clearly demonstrated the significance of the 'Campbell Corridor', which ran from east to west.

¹⁵³ Merriman, *Rough Wooings*, 137-56, 232-58.

¹⁵⁴ *Spotswood*, ii, 157.

¹⁵⁵ *Calderwood*, iii, 136; *CSP Scot.*, iii, 669-70, 28 Aug. 1571. Forfeitures in the Parliament of Scotland.

maintained his regular attendance at the privy council. He, Morton, and others were appointed to a commission to meet commissioners from England in Berwick later in 1571 in order to prevent Mary being returned to the throne.¹⁵⁶ and he was one of several northern nobles who were ordered to proceed against Adam Gordon of Auchindoun, who had invaded the Mearns in 1572.¹⁵⁷ During this campaign, he barely escaped capture by Auchindoun at Brechin, and it was reported that he did not behave well on the watch to the extent that 'people condemn his government'.¹⁵⁸ John Lyon wrote his testament during these troubled years.¹⁵⁹

Mar died in October 1572, and Morton, who had been chancellor for the last 10 years, was elected fourth regent in preference to Alexander Cunningham, 4th earl of Glencairn, at a well-attended meeting of the convention of estates in November 1572.¹⁶⁰ Earlier that month, it was proposed that John Lyon, Glencairn, Buchan, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, and three others – 'all good Protestants', should be appointed to guard the king.¹⁶¹ In the end, Gogar was entrusted with the task, but, should he have failed, four nobles – Glencairn, Buchan, George Keith, master of Marischal, and John Lyon, would take his place.¹⁶² John Lyon's nomination was an unequivocal commendation of his 'government'. By this time, the civil war was almost over. Two events largely contributed to its subsequent conclusion. These were when the main body of dissenters, headed by Hamilton and Huntly, agreed to acknowledge the king at the Pacification of Perth in February 1573, and the remaining hard core of Mary's supporters, led by William Kirkcaldy of Grange and William Maitland of Lethington, surrendered Edinburgh castle in May 1573. John Lyon was actively involved in both, but in two completely different capacities. As a politician, he, together with John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose, and Pittarrow were required to mediate in those disputes arising from the Perth settlements north of the Tay.¹⁶³ As a landowner, he was faced with the possibility of renouncing his possession of Kinghorne, Norther Pettudy, and Bawbardie in favour of Grange, as part of his personal conditions of surrender.¹⁶⁴ Morton, however, refused to negotiate, and took the castle by military means.

¹⁵⁶ *APS*, iii, 64, 69, 70; *CSP Scot.*, iii, 508 – 20 Mar. 1571 – Conference Between the Scottish and English Commissioners, iv, 686 Sept. 1571 – Instructions by Mar to James Cunningham; *Spottiswood*, ii, 163

¹⁵⁷ *RPC*, ii, 143; *CSP Scot.*, iv, 349 – 8 July 1572 – Drury to Burghley; *Spottiswood*, ii, 175

¹⁵⁸ *CSP Scot.*, iv, 350 – 8 July 1572 – Drury to Burghley, 461-2

¹⁵⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 23 – 30 June 1578; NAS – Commissariat of Edinburgh, CC 8 8 6 229 (25 June 1578). The testament itself was dated at Glamis 2 Oct. 1571

¹⁶⁰ *CSP Scot.*, iv, 433 – 15 Nov. 1572 – Convention for the Choice of Regent, 434 – 19 Nov. 1572 – Noblemen etc., at the Convention at Edinburgh – It was attended by 12 prelates, 20 peers, including John Lyon, and over 70 lairds.

¹⁶¹ *CSP Scot.*, iv, 431 – 6 Nov. 1572 – Henry Killigrew to Thomas Smith; *APS*, iii, 64

¹⁶² *CSP Scot.*, iv, 476-7 – Jan. 1573 – Occurrences in Scotland.

¹⁶³ *RPC*, ii, 193-200; *CSP Scot.*, iv, 494-98 – Feb. 1573 – Wants for Service in Scotland; *The Warrender Papers*, eds. A. I. Cameron and R. S. Rait, 2 vols. (Scottish History Society, 1931), i, 546-52 – In an earlier draft John Erskine of Dun, Alexander Irwin of Drum, and James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, were included as mediators.

¹⁶⁴ *Warrender Papers*, i, 124-5 (no. 18xvii) – c. Apr. 1573 – Demands of Grange.

The fall of Edinburgh castle in May 1573, at which John Lyon was present, marked the beginning of an ascendancy for Morton.¹⁶⁵ The death of Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll, who was a candidate for the regency after the murder of Lennox, and Morton's original chancellor, in the following September, marked the beginning of a parallel, but lesser, ascendancy for John Lyon, who replaced Argyll as chancellor. Both rises in power effectively ended in March 1578. For John Lyon, then just over half Morton's age, it was permanent. For Morton, it was a temporary set back. As discussed earlier, the Scottish parliament met on six occasions during James's 11-year minority reign, and public acts were passed on four of them - in December 1567, August 1571, January 1573, and April 1573. Morton was clearly aware of the importance of parliament, but strangely his government relied almost exclusively on the privy council, which on most occasions comprised of a handful of royal officials, notably Morton, John Lyon, Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline (secretary), Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, and lords Boyd (collector of thirds), and Ruthven (treasurer).¹⁶⁶ The lack of parliamentary public acts during the parallel ascendancy of Morton and his chancellor after 1573 suggests that they and their supporters were unable to gather sufficient agreement to operate at this policy-making level.

This is not to say that the parallel ascendancy was irresponsible or ineffective when it came to foreign and domestic affairs. Morton's government gave due deference to England, which, being the stronger party of the two adjoining states, called the diplomatic tune. This was particularly evident in the Borders where there were frequent justice ayres, innovations in the pledge system, extensive fining of wrongdoers, and deployments of small military detachments to assist the wardens. It was also successful in establishing a staple at Campveere, in the Netherlands. On the domestic front, it improved the condition of the exchequer, went some way in dealing with the poor, and reorganised the parishes and ministry. But the problem of the poor and the reformed kirk continued to remain insurmountable.¹⁶⁷

John Lyon has been especially associated with a concerted attempt to tackle the vexed question of the kirk's constitution. This connection is based largely on the fact that he was a member of two joint commissions on ecclesiastical polity in March 1575 and October 1576,¹⁶⁸ and, more particularly, that he sought advice from Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, a year later. The Geneva initiative was no doubt taken with Morton's permission, and may have been influenced by Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, who had been chaplain to the regent, was a member of the committee, and

¹⁶⁵ *CSP Scot.*, iv, 538. 4 Apr. 1573. Killigrew to Burghley.

¹⁶⁶ Hewitt, *Morton*, 35.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 205-7.

¹⁶⁸ *APS*, iii, 89; *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland (Booke of the Universall Kirk)*, ed. T. Thomson, 3 vols. (Kamatyne Club and Maifland Club, 1839-1845), i, 365; Spottiswoode, ii, 221; *CSP Scot.*, iv, 466-7. 16 Jan. 1573. David Lindsay to Henry Killigrew. John had also been a member of this earlier commission appointed by the regent, and the kirk.

above all, had met Beza a decade or so earlier.¹⁶⁹ Although the two committees left no formal record of their work, they experienced difficulties in arriving at satisfactory solutions to the various problems they faced. This is evident in the letter that John Lyon sent to Geneva. He wrote: 'adequate agreement has not yet been reached among us on matters of government and constitution on which men devout and right minded on all points of religion are sometimes found to differ'. The six questions that John put to Beza reveal the contentious issues. These included the role and status of bishops within the reformed church, its right to summon its own assemblies and the powers that they should have, the position of Catholics, and whether the crown should appropriate part of the kirk's patrimony for its own use.¹⁷⁰ Although the breadth of the six questions suggests the involvement of others, the depth and clarity of them clearly shows a singular and highly intelligent mind.¹⁷¹

Not surprisingly, Beza's reply was anti-Episcopal; it emphasised the separate authority of the kirk.¹⁷² The treatise caused a considerable reaction, not least from John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, and James Melville, who commented that it 'did mikle guid' when it arrived in Scotland.¹⁷³ Hadrian à Saravia, a defender of Anglican establishment like Whitgift, believed that John Lyon had sought from Beza not his advice, but his support, and indicates that he had seen a copy of the his letter as well as Beza's reply.¹⁷⁴ Donaldson thought that John Lyon's letter could be seen as 'a genuine attempt to find a working solution to the problem, plus further evidence of pressure put on the government by (Andrew) Melville to find such a solution'.¹⁷⁵ James Melville and Calderwood maintained that the governmental administration that Morton headed during this ascendancy was largely of an Anglican persuasion – by and large, it wanted the reformed church to conform to England and take over the old church's system of government with all its titles, dignities, and benefices.¹⁷⁶ How John Lyon's religious views fitted into this projection is now impossible to tell with any accuracy, but in very general terms they probably did. He was clearly intelligent enough to realise that Beza's replies had very serious implications for Scotland's civil as well as ecclesiastical constitution, and that expediency was probably the better course of action in the face of such notions as the divine right of parity of ministers and the unlawful privileges of bishops, not to mention kings.

¹⁶⁹ *DNB*, i, 112.

¹⁷⁰ J. Lyon, 'Lord Chancellor Glamis and Theodore Beza', ed. G. Donaldson, *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, viii (1951), 89-113 (quote 100).

¹⁷¹ *IBL*, - Additional MSS, 28, 571, ff. 110-11. This is the only existing copy of John Lyon's letter to Beza.

¹⁷² *IBL*, - J. Field, 'The judgement of a most reverend and learned man from beyond the seas, concerning a threefold order of bishops: with a declaration of certaine other waichtige points concerning the discipline and government of the church' (1580). This is an English copy of Beza's treatise 'De triplici Episcopatu'. No copies of the original Latin version of Beza's treatise are extant.

¹⁷³ J. Melville, *The Diary of Mr. James Melville, 1556-1601*, ed. G. R. Kinloch (Bannatyne Club, 1829), 55.

¹⁷⁴ Saravia, *De Ministrorum Gradibus* (1840), xxiii-xxiv, quoted in Lyon, 'Chancellor Glamis', 93.

¹⁷⁵ Lyon, 'Chancellor Glamis', 90-2.

¹⁷⁶ Melville, *Diary*, 45, 60; Calderwood, iii, 394.

Hewitt concluded that Morton's personal record as regent can only be described as a fairly even one. Although for much of the time he handled the nobility adroitly, his occasional despotism and more frequent venality, which Hewitt admitted is difficult to prove conclusively, revealed a lack of political acumen.¹⁷⁷ Pensions from England were much sought after, and John Lyon was thought suitable enough for a pension of £100 in June 1574. The amounts suggested varied from £500 to £30. Only Morton (£500), Atholl (£200), Argyll (£200), Gogar (£150), and John Cunningham of Drumquhasil (£150), who was 'able to persuade by credit and counsel, especially about the King and Argyll', exceeded the £100 proposed for John Lyon, who was on a par with Angus, Montrose, Glencairn, Ruthven, and Lindsay. Morton's recommendation for an annual payments described John Lyon as 'wise, wealthy, and of good credit, leading much the Council with the favour of the Regent'. Roughly half of the 23 recommendations took into account marriage partners.¹⁷⁸ The hierarchy of influence would appear to be more significant than the hierarchy of office, and it clearly took marital connections into account. Other rewards that John Lyon received included various escheats and gifts of ward and marriage, including that resulting from the death of Robert Crawford of Aulbar in 1574, and his brother-in-law Gilbert Kennedy, 4th earl of Cassillis, in 1576, and, interestingly, in 1577, the shared lease for 11 years of lead mines in Ayrshire and Galloway with Morton's natural son, James Douglas, commendator of Pluscarden.¹⁷⁹

The barony of Aulbar was purchased by John Lyon's younger brother, Glamis, in 1580, and became his principal seat. The 'gift' of ward and marriage of Cassillis, for which John paid an obligation of £10,000 to Morton,¹⁸⁰ caused problems for him because it by-passed Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, a paternal uncle. As one English observer noted, 'the whole surname depends on his father's brother, whom they have chosen and stirred up against Lord Glamis, so that Lord Glamis cannot now come to the country, without the aid of Lord Boyd, and for the better strengthening of Lord Glamis it is intended that (Lord John Hamilton, Commendator of) Arbroath shall marry the sister of Glamis (the widow of Cassillis)'. John Lyon also took the precaution of establishing a garrison in Maybole, in Ayrshire, and having Culzean outlawed.¹⁸¹ The same report also notes that the proposed marriage also led to trouble because John had 'fallen into some suspicion with those who stand against the Hamiltons'.¹⁸² Young

¹⁷⁷ Hewitt, *Morton*, 206-7 — In making this last supposition, he was particularly mindful of Pitcottie's comment that 'there were many writings cassin in upon the regent his greediness but ocht avowit' (R. Lindsay of Pitcottie, *Historie and Chronicles of Scotland*, ed. E. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols. (Scottish Text Society, 1899-1911), II, 313), which he contrasted with Spottiswood's observation that Morton was 'inclined to covetousness' (*Spottiswood*, II, 197). Hewitt thought that the latter probably summed up Morton's rapacious behaviour reasonably well.

¹⁷⁸ *CSP Scot.*, v, 1-2 June 1574. Pensions for Scottish Noblemen.

¹⁷⁹ *RSS*, VI, 2682, VII, 494, 775, 786-7, 897, 1271.

¹⁸⁰ *NAS*, PS1 47 131r.

¹⁸¹ Brown, 'House divided', 171.

¹⁸² *CSP Scot.*, v, 254-5.

concluded that this episode, coupled with a general loyalty to Morton and a traditional feud between the Lyons and the Lindsays (discussed below), would appear to be the chief factors in determining where John Lyon's political allegiance lay.¹⁸³ John Lyon would appear to be on close enough terms with Morton's family to take on the joint responsibility with Pluscarden for the mines.

In 1574, the English special ambassador Henry Killigrew speculated on who should take over if Morton 'were gone'. He continued:

*Some would have Atholl, because he is a Stewart, but the Protestants mislike him altogether. Some would have Glencairn, and those be the religious of the west country, but the man is too old, weak, and poor. Others would have Angus, but he is too young; others the bishop of Caithness, the King's great uncle, who is small credit. Some others would have Lord Gilammis, Lord Ruthven, and to the number of four to govern in the King's minority; but this is unlikely, and therefore, by all appearance, if God should take the Regent, the Hamiltons' blood and their friends would rule, or else give strokes for it. I mean the Duke, Huntly, Argyll, and their allies, who be great in this realm; and besides, the Lord Boyd, the Lord Herries, and the Lord Seton a great many Now, if there be any meaning to give pensions, men must be chosen out of all these that may be likeliest to serve to purpose*¹⁸⁴

Killigrew's speculation is of interest because it not only identifies the key political figures of the mid-1570s, including John Lyon, but also indicates that he alone or even in combination - unlike Lord John Hamilton and Lord Claud Hamilton, did not have sufficient individual resources of political power to take on the regency, even if he wanted to.

In the same year, Morton left Edinburgh accompanied by John Lyon and others to embark on what Killigrew called his 'northern Voyage' to administer the law, which he did by convening a justice ayre. Whilst they were in Aberdeen, he also dealt with another matter: the prolonged dispute with Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll, over queen Mary's jewels, which went back to the 1573 act of parliament, mentioned earlier, that authorised the regent to retrieve them. A settlement was concluded, but Argyll was only prepared to relinquish them on the assurance that John Lyon, as chancellor, would 'tak consideratioun of the chargeis and expensis' of his wife and children.¹⁸⁵ This suggests that John Lyon played an important part in resolving this difficult situation, and that there was a certain degree of empathy between these two nobles.

In February 1578, the English agent, Thomas Randolph, noted that 'the earls of Atholl and Argyll being lately reconciled have linked to them some personages of the house of Mar to favour their factions',¹⁸⁶ which political networks conjointly presented the first signs of a serious opposition to Morton. The leaders of this Catholic and more conservative newly formed aspiring political community

¹⁸³ Young, 'Political parties', 52.

¹⁸⁴ *CSP Scot.*, iv, 681. 23 June 1574. Killigrew to Walsingham.

¹⁸⁵ *APS*, iii, 84, 86; *RPC*, ii, 435.

¹⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, v, 274. 28 Feb 1578. Randolph and Bowes to Burghley and Walsingham.

persuaded the king to issue letters summoning a convention at Stirling to be held on 8 March, but 'the advertisement went only to those that were their own friends, and enemies of the regent'.¹⁸⁷ On learning of the convention, others joined this formal gathering, including John Lyon. Morton was in Edinburgh had sent him, Angus Ruthven, and John Maxwell, 4th lord Herries, to Stirling as his commissioners to the king, who ignored them, and took on the government in his own person.¹⁸⁸ According to Moysie, Morton was 'deprived by the mouthes of the moist part of the woireris'.¹⁸⁹ One of the mouths may or may not have been John Lyon's. Both Calderwood and Godscroft mention that he was involved in formally asking Morton at Dalkeith for his resignation.¹⁹⁰ This he gave on 10 March after hearing a proclamation in Edinburgh of the king's assumption of the government. Three days later John Lyon returned to Dalkeith with Ruthven and Herries to request the now ex-regent to relinquish Edinburgh castle, Holyrood palace, and the coin house, which he did. John Lyon and the other representatives of the new regime left for Stirling the following day.¹⁹¹

It has been suggested that Morton was upset by John Lyon's role in his downfall, but this was probably not the case as he still regarded him as a friend.¹⁹² This is evident in a letter Morton wrote to him at the time, and the compassion he showed on the next day when he heard that the 38-year old chancellor had been fatally shot through the head with a pistolet in a street brawl in Stirling between his party and that of David Lindsay, 10th earl of Crawford. Morton observed that it was 'an unhappy chance quhilk na doubt is to my greit greif'.¹⁹³ Spottiswood recorded that 'the death of the Chancellor was much lamented falling out in the time when the King and country stood in most need of his service. He had carried himself with much commendation in his place and acquired great authority, most careful was he to have peace conserved in both country and church'.¹⁹⁴ Scotstarvet stated that he was a 'good justiciar'.¹⁹⁵ Earlier an English observer had considered him to be 'of greatest revenue of any baron in Scotland', and 'very wise and discreet, wealthy, but of no party or favour'.¹⁹⁶ Calderwood summed him up as a 'learned, godlie, and wise man',¹⁹⁷ and James Melville thought that he was a 'gud learned nobleman'. He recorded that the general assembly met in April and passed a resolution of regret, and ordered a general fast 'to be

¹⁸⁷ Spottiswood, ii, 206.

¹⁸⁸ CSP Scot., v, 276-7. Mar. 1578. The Regent Morton's Offer to James VI, Moysie, *Memours*, 2; Spottiswood, ii, 206.

Spottiswood does not mention Herries; Calderwood, iii, 395. Calderwood omits Ruthven.

¹⁸⁹ Moysie, *Memours*, 2.

¹⁹⁰ Calderwood, iii, 395; Godscroft, *History*, 255.

¹⁹¹ CSP Scot., v, 276, 277. 13 Mar. 1578. Demission of the Regency. Answer of the Earl of Morton, 280-1. March 1578.

Discharge of the Earl of Morton, Moysie, *Memours*, 3-4.

¹⁹² Calderwood, iii, 396; Hesvitt, *Morton*, 50.

¹⁹³ CSP Scot., v, 283; NAS, Morton Papers, GD150/77/36, 38 (also printed in *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, ed. F. Thomson and others, 2 vols. (Dunmoyne Club, 1853), 101-2, 105).

¹⁹⁴ Spottiswood, ii, 283.

¹⁹⁵ J. Scot of Scotstarvet, *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen from 1550 to 1650* (Grampian Club, 1872), 39.

¹⁹⁶ CSP Scot., v, 253, 263. 1577. Nobility in Scotland.

¹⁹⁷ Calderwood, iii, 397.

zealousie kept throughout the land, and that Andrew Melville, then its moderator, wrote the bitter epigram:

*Sen lawlie lyes thow, noble Lyon fine,
What sall betide behind, to dogges and swine?*¹⁹⁸

Conclusion

The 'invisible wealth' that Glamis inherited from his ancestors and immediate past in respect of his chancellor brother was considerable in terms of ancient enough family origins and his family's subsequent political prosperity, including his elder brother's outstanding contribution, not to mention the 'visible wealth' (discussed later). Although the origins of the Lyons of Glamis as a social entity remain obscure, their origins as a political entity are becoming much clearer. John Lyon of Forteviot was the father of John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, and the Lyons of Glamis's entry into Grant's second division of noble families was not simply the result of a sudden leap to fame and power by John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, that has been suggested by Grant and others. It was more the result of his father's familial and tenurial links with a small group of Scottish crusading families, namely the Leslies, Barclays, and Ramsays, and other families, notably the Flemings, which were made in the second half of the fourteenth century. These links also help to explain how the younger John Lyon acquired the thanage of Glamis, the family's chief seat, and various senior administrative posts, including the office of chamberlain.

The family's continuing political prosperity in the direct male line was a considerable achievement for a Scottish noble family of their status. Grant found that, of the 40 leading greater baronial families of the early fifteenth century, such as theirs, no fewer than 28 survived the fifteenth century in the direct male line, and only 18 survived past the period being dealt with by this study. This survival record was far better than that of similar ranking families in the late-medieval English and French nobilities.¹⁹⁹ The Lyons of Glamis had no problems with producing not only direct male heirs, but perhaps more importantly, a sufficient succession politically viable marriages and heirs with ability, both of which, in two or three cases, were outstanding. But continuing political prosperity was not just a matter of viable marriages and occasionally children, it also depended on acquiring and retaining land. Although, as mentioned earlier, land was the most prevalent source of material wealth, a family's affluence did not necessarily fully equate with its political value. The Lyons of Glamis were extremely fortunate during the

¹⁹⁸ Melville, *Diary*, 60.

¹⁹⁹ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 128.

period from their emergence as a political entity in the second half of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the period because they were only subject to one temporary forfeiture (1538-42). They, like several other families of similar origins and status, such as the Boyds, Cathcarts, and Crichtons, were generally consistent in co-operating with the crown.

Many writers have emphasised the significance of Glamis's brother, John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis's, blood relationship to Morton. Although this family connection was an important factor in John Lyon's 25-year political career, especially during the last six years when Morton was regent, it was not the only, and certainly not the major factor, contributing to it. John Lyon had been consistently loyal to the three earlier regents, and gained considerable experience in government. Other personal qualities that stand out are his personal authority, intelligence, and religious beliefs. These were particularly evident in his dealings with Argyll over Mary's jewels in 1574, and his correspondence with Beza in 1576. But his personal qualities must have been overshadowed by those of Morton, who was an "immensely powerful and capable regent".²⁰⁰ John Lyon was chancellor to a regent, and a particularly capable regent at that. Morton's recommendations for English pensions in 1574 described his chancellor, John Lyon, very favourably, but the proposed distribution of sums suggests that the hierarchy of influence was more significant than the hierarchy of office. The two were not fully equated. The recommendations clearly took marital connections into account. The close relationship between John Lyon and Morton became somewhat loose in 1577, when his widowed sister married Lord John Hamilton, and, by the following year, it was sufficiently slack enough for John Lyon to represent the new regime and ask for his resignation. When John Lyon died a few days later, Glamis, as tutor to his nephew, not only acquired, his elder brother's long political shadow of unique and outstanding personal qualities, but also, on a broader family level, his competing commitments to the Douglas and Hamilton political networks, not to mention the problem of how to deal with Crawford.

²⁰⁰ Hewitt, *Morton*, 207; Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 146.

4. Glamis and Family Present

On the issue of kinship, we have scarcely begun to scratch the surface.¹

This chapter will examine Glamis's immediate and extended family relations over the period to try to establish their general nature and extent, and, more particularly, to assess in essence the individual resources of political power that were available to him over the period in terms of numbers and organisation and wealth. As discussed earlier, the Lyons of Glamis were members of the Scottish 'nobility'. Zmora thought that this critical term has been subject to a bewildering variety of interpretations, and argued that the complex nature of the different nobilities in Europe makes an overarching definition difficult.² Dewald made a first attempt at this.³ Brown described the Scottish nobility as 'a large, organic body, composed of interrelated lineages, expanding on one branch while contracting at another, its tentacle-like arms reaching out into every area of economic and cultural activity ... so deeply entrenched in the structures of power, so much part of the fabric of early modern Scotland that it is sometimes difficult to entangle it from the broader picture of Scottish history'.⁴ Goodare thought that the ambiguities in Brown's definition would not deter historians from 'continuing to use the term 'nobility' to mean the peerage, on the grounds that it was mainly peers who played leading roles in national politics'.⁵ This study adopts a wider view of the Scottish nobility similar to Brown's, but it also takes into account the idea of 'complete nobility', which has its more immediate roots in the Scottish system of heraldry. Nobility, in this sense, is not determined by title, knightly or administrative achievement, or even long lineage, but by 'proof of four descents' – two parents, four grandparents, and eight grandparents, each of whom must bear arms.⁶

Given this concept, Glamis was, like Noah, 'perfect in his generations'. His proof of four descents could be visually represented by the escutcheons of the earls of Marischal, Angus, Morton, and Huntly; the lords Glamis, Gray, and Drummond; and the Crichtons of Cranstoun-Riddel (**Figure 4**). These lineal family connections going back three generations not only differentiated him socially and politically within later sixteenth-century Scotland, but also in much of the civilised world beyond. They

¹ K. Wrightson, *English Society*, 50.

² H. Zmora, *Monarchy, Aristocracy, and the State in Europe, 1300-1800* (London, 2001), 1-2.

³ Dewald, *European Nobility*.

⁴ Brown, *Noble Society*, 271-2.

⁵ J. Goodare, 'Review of K. M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture, from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000)', *Scottish Historical Review*, lxxxi (2002), 269-70.

⁶ A. Nisbet, *Systems of Heraldry*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1816), ii, part 4, 143.

⁷ Genesis, vi, 9.

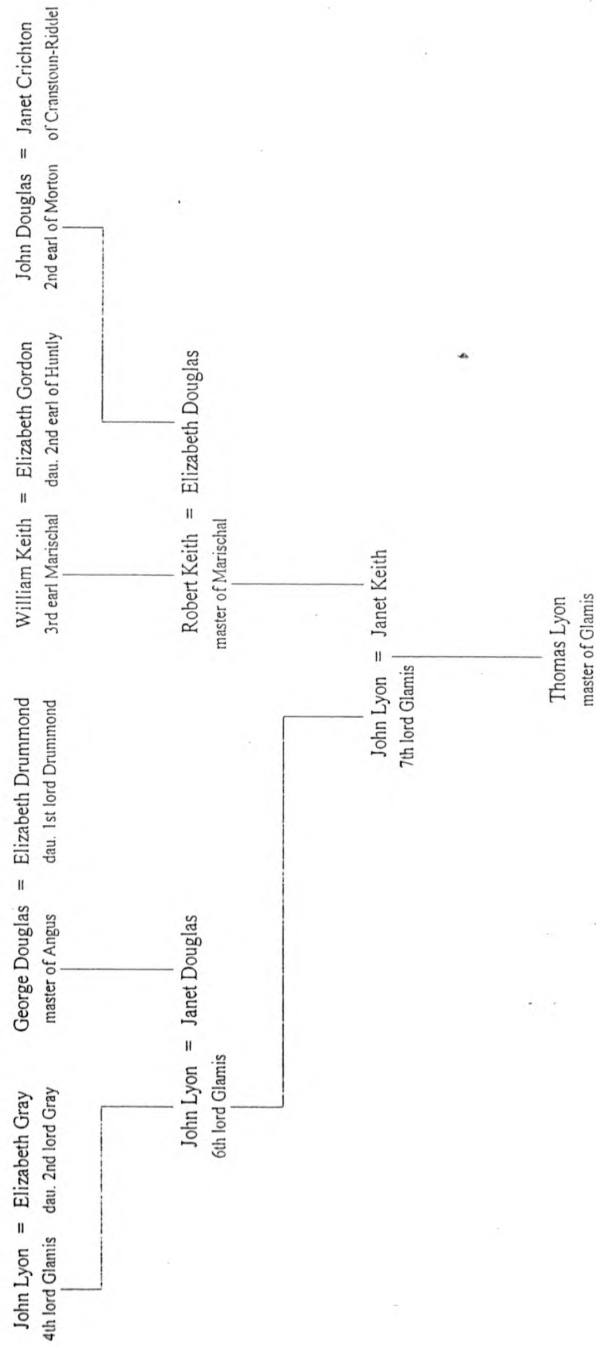


Figure 4- The 'proof of four descents' of Glamis.

also allied him through blood to a broad assortment of cousinage that was also part of his family inheritance. Marriage extended these ties even further. Over four generations, wedlock connected the family to the earls of Cassillis; Lord John Hamilton; the lords Abernethy, Forbes, and Spynie; and the Craigs of Balnely, Kers (*alias* Kirkcaldys) of Grange, Murrays of Tullibardine, and Tullochs of Montcoffer. Less obvious links of betrothal, ward and marriage, step-relations, adoption, and godparents widened these non-blood connections still further. Additions of this less obvious kind in Glamis's generation alone included the earls of Argyll and Atholl, the lords Home, and the Balfours of Burleigh, Bellendens of Auchnoul, Logans of Restalrig, Melvilles of Murdocairney, and Scrymgeours of Dudhope.

Contemporary writers and later historians have thrown little light on Glamis's immediate family relations during his early years, and even less on his extended family. The darkness is almost complete in the case of the members of the extended family who ranked below the level of tenant in rural areas, or lived in poverty in the burghs. In later sixteenth-century Scotland, families were generally bound together by the locality in which they lived,⁸ and, therefore, the geography of the family's landholding tended to determine which newcomers came into the family fold. Unfortunately, there is no accurate and comprehensive official data on landownership in Scotland until long after the sixteenth century. Unofficial registers and directories of the nobility and the baronage, such as J. B. Paul's *Scots Peerage* (Edinburgh, 1910-14) and R. Douglas's *The Baronage of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1798), which include some reference to landownership in the late-medieval and early modern period mainly at that level, were relatively recent developments. Known details of Glamis's extended family, the lands and properties, which he owned personally, or held as tutor to his nephew Lord Glamis, and two occasional political networks (1582, 1592) that gave him support, and are given in **Appendix 4.1-3**, and will be referred to and integrated into the discussion.

The Immediate Family

Glamis was the second son of John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, and born in 1545 (**Figure 5**). His godfathers were Michael Balfour of Burleigh and Robert Melville of Murdocairney, and he was probably baptised in the Catholic faith. For most of his early life, he did not see his father. As discussed earlier, John Lyon ceased to take part in public life around 1548, and spent most of his eleven remaining years in

⁸ Whyte, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 152. Whyte argued that a picture of a fluid society with easy upward movement is almost certainly overdrawn.

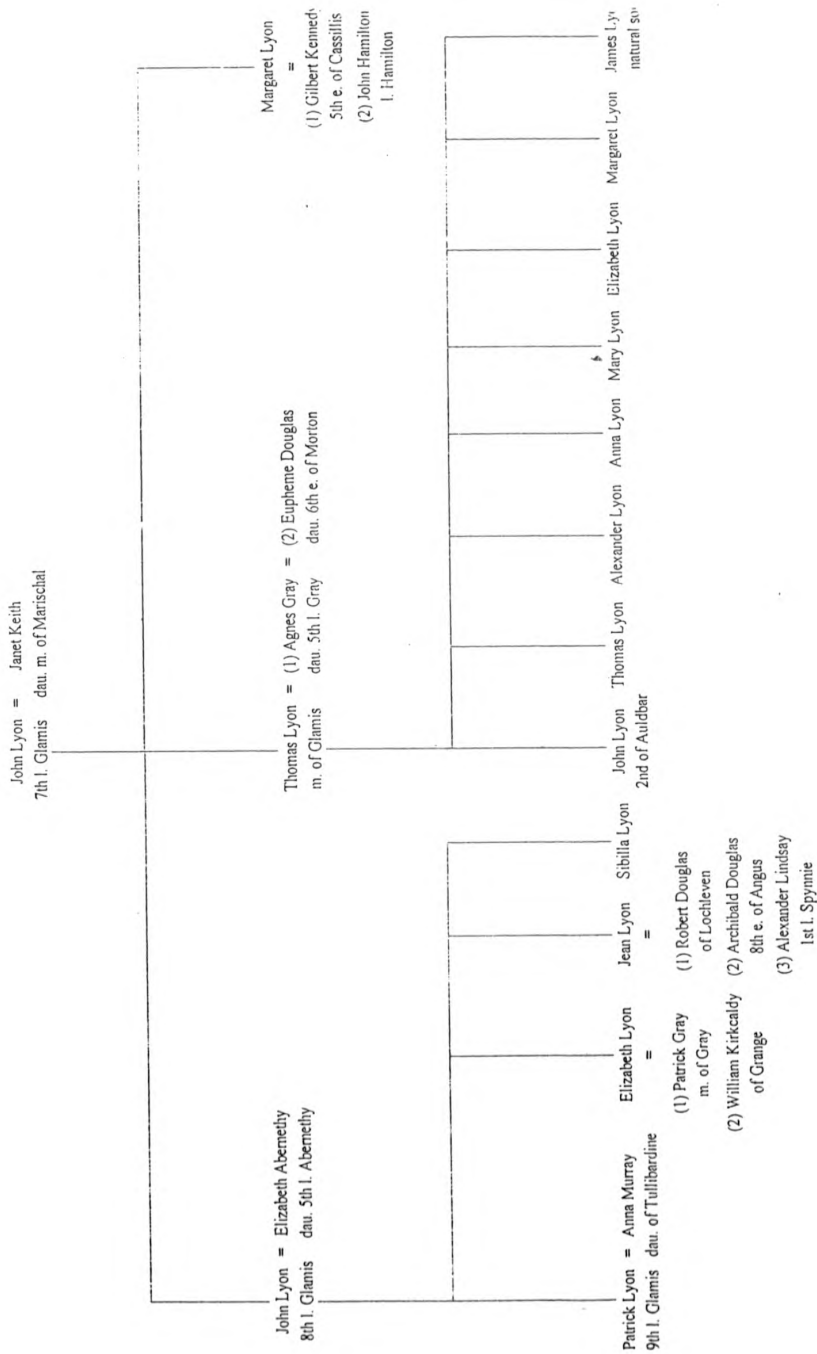


Figure 5. The immediate members of Glamis's family, 1545-1608.

France until he eventually became sick and returned home.¹⁰ Glamis's mother was Janet Kerth, the second daughter of Robert Kerth, master of Marischal, and his wife Elizabeth Douglas, the eldest daughter of John Douglas, 2nd earl of Morton. His father married her 'with greit triumphe' in 1543.¹⁰ The couple had three children. Glamis's elder brother John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, became chancellor of Scotland in 1573. His sister Margaret Lyon married firstly in 1566 Gilbert Kennedy, 4th earl of Cassilis, and secondly in 1577 Lord John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath. Glamis's father probably had other issue. Macfarlane mentions another daughter, who married James Ochterlony of that ilk (*alias* Kellie), in Forfarshire.¹¹ She, or possibly another daughter, was probably the Elizabeth Lyon, who married, as his second wife, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, the second son of John Erskine, 5th lord Erskine, who was regent of Scotland (1571-2), and Margaret Campbell, the eldest daughter of Archibald Campbell, 2nd earl of Argyll. Alexander Erskine married firstly Margaret Home, a daughter of George Home, 4th lord Home.¹² Alexander Erskine died before 1592, when the crown granted a charter to George Auchinleck of Balmanno and his future wife Jean Erskine, the sister of Thomas Erskine of Gogar (later 1st earl of Kellie, in Fife), 'both children of Elizabeth Lyon'.¹³

When Glamis's father died in 1559, John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, was granted the ward of his elder brother John Lyon, and his kinsman James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, and John Bellenden of Auchnoul were his curators.¹⁴ This arrangement, which was not without problems, probably also applied to Glamis.¹⁵ A year later, John Lyon purchased his own ward and marriage from Atholl, with Morton as cautioner, and married Elizabeth Abernethy, who was the widow of William Meldrum of Fyvie.¹⁶ She was the only daughter of William Abernethy, 5th lord Abernethy of Saltoun, and his wife Elizabeth Hay, probably the fourth daughter of John Hay, 2nd lord Hay of Yester.¹⁷ Glamis's eldest nieces, Elizabeth Lyon and Jean Lyon, were born in the early 1560s, and his youngest niece, Sibilla Lyon, was born in 1565. Glamis came of age in 1566, but nothing in the records marks this important occasion. Two years later, his brother granted him the chaplainry of St. John the Baptist at Baikie, in Forfarshire, which included the fortalice of Baikie.¹⁸ This was not necessarily his patrimony. At that time, people normally

¹⁰ Ross, *Strathmore*, 31.

¹¹ *Journal of Occurrences*, 26.

¹² Quoted in P. Lyon, *The Book of Record: A Diary Written by Patrick First Earl of Strathmore and Other Documents Relating to Glamis Castle, 1684-1689*, ed. A. H. Millar (Scottish History Society, 1890), 126. Alexander was married to Isobel Cunningham in 1547, when he was served heir to his father James; *RMS*, iv, 163.

¹³ *Scots Peerage*, v, 84.

¹⁴ *RMS*, vii, 207.

¹⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 9, number 201 - 28 Sept. 1559; NAS - RD1 5 22r.

¹⁶ NAS - CS8 1 85r-86v, 87r - 29 Nov. and 16 Dec. 1561 - Lady Glamis v. Earl of Atholl; *Scots Peerage*, i, 141.

¹⁷ NAS - RD1 5 22r - 27 Dec. 1561.

¹⁸ *Scots Peerage*, iii, 567-8. Elizabeth Hay, the second daughter of William Hay, 4th earl of Errol, was contracted to William Abernethy, 5th lord Abernethy of Saltoun, but it is suggested that this may well be a different Elizabeth. This is probably the case as the earls daughter's mother was Christian Lyon, the third daughter of John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis.

¹⁹ Strathmore MSS - writs, no. 95 - 10 Mar. 1568; *RMS*, vii, p. xiv.

held such benefices as gifts, pensions, or student bursaries.¹⁹ In that year, parliament ordered that chaplainries and prebendaries should go to schoolboys and students 'at the schools' for their support. Normally, these grants supported an education within Scotland. Although the general assembly discouraged sending boys overseas on the grounds of papist corruption, some did.²⁰ Glamis had obtained his master's degree abroad, but, by the time he received the chaplainry in 1566, his education was probably complete.²¹ The presentation of Glamis to the chapel by his brother may have reflected a religious as well as a material interest.

The Scottish Reformation was a diverse movement, and different regions responded to it differently in different ways. Bardgett has described how many of the nobility in Angus and the Mearns, who were at the heart of the Reformation crisis of 1559-60, became part of what Donaldson has described as 'Scotland's conservative north' in the 1580s.²² But this was not the case with regard to the higher nobility of Angus, and this part of the north, particularly the much more populous rural areas, was not so conservative when it came to the old religion. As one contemporary report put it:

*The inhabitants of the townes are for the most protestantes; noblemen, Erie of Crayford, Lord Gilammes, Lord Grave, Lord Ogleby, Lord Innermethie, papiste and vll devoted, all saving Lord Gilammis. In this shire are intertayned for the moste parte all the Jesuites lately come into Scotlande, beyng here borne.*²³

John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, was involved in the early reform movement only to the extent that the Dominican friar and reformer John Roger preached in the kirk at Glamis in 1543-4.²⁴ He did not necessarily subscribe to the new religion as Bardgett has presumed.²⁵ In 1543, as discussed earlier, John Lyon joined the pro-French group led by the queen dowager Mary of Guise and Beaton in their opposition to English and the spread of Protestantism.²⁶ It was only after the Reformation Parliament (1560) that the immediate family changed faith. From then on, Glamis, his brother, John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, his nephew, Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, and other senior members of the family held a responsible position not only as far as Protestantism in Angus was concerned, but also in other parts of the country in which they had an interest. During the civil war, for example, Glamis's brother, John Lyon,

¹⁹ D. Bardgett, 'Faith, families and factions, the Scottish Reformation in Angus and the Mearns' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1987), app. 1b.

²⁰ *RJA*, i, 202; *RSS*, vii, p. xiv. This volume contains 88 such gifts.

²¹ Zulager, 'Middle-rank administrators', app. v, (p. 220). Zulager notes that Glamis probably took his M.A. between 1567 and 1571, but found no evidence that he was a Scottish graduate. There is no record of him in Scottish university lists: Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen*; Anderson, *Roll of Alumni in the Arts of University and King's College, Aberdeen*; Anderson, *Early Records of the University of St Andrews*.

²² Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 4; G. Donaldson, *Scottish Church History* (Edinburgh, 1985), 201.

²³ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 667-7 Jan. 1589. The State of Scotland.

²⁴ Knox, *Works*, i, 63. John Roger was later found dead outside St Andrews Castle where he had been imprisoned.

²⁵ Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 32.

²⁶ *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII*, xviii, part i, 1049; *Diurnal of Occurrences*, 29.

8th lord Glamis, was asked to arbitrate on behalf of his brother-in-law Gilbert Kennedy, 4th earl of Cassillis, who, according to Donaldson, had shown more attachment to the mass than most.²⁷ But Knox noted that, after his marriage to John Lyon's sister, Margaret Lyon, in 1566, the previously Catholic Cassillis began to reforme his churches in Carrick, and promised to maintain the doctrine of the Evangell.²⁸

The grant of chaplainry of St. John the Baptist at Baikie was the first of a long series of acquisitions of lands and property that Glamis obtained during the remainder of his lifetime (Appendix 4.2). He received two charters of lands in 1571, but they came as gifts from the crown and not his brother. The documents do not specify the reason for these rewards, which were probably given for military services. The first was for the lands of Scroggerfield and the adjacent town and lands of Hayston, in Forfarshire, which the crown had forfeited from David Seton of Parbroath.²⁹ The second was for lands near Kinghorne in Fife, which the crown had forfeited from William Kirkcaldy of Grange, and John Kirkcaldy, and, before that, as discussed earlier, from John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, in 1538.³⁰ The second gift was the cause of a serious and ongoing quarrel between him and his brother that was never fully resolved.³¹ In 1574, Glamis received the gift of ward and nonentry of various lands in Forfarshire, which had belonged to the late John Scrymgeour of Dudhope.³² It was around that time that Glamis attended on the then seven year old James VI at Stirling Castle.³³ A year later, Glamis's nephew, Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, was born, and the 30-year old Glamis, having now acquired property and prospects, married Agnes Gray. She was the third daughter of Patrick Gray of Buttergask, and Marion Ogilvy, the second daughter of James Ogilvy, 4th lord Ogilvy of Airlie. Agnes Gray was the sister of Patrick Gray, 5th lord Gray, and well off. She had previously married firstly, as his second wife, Robert Logan of Restalrig, who died in 1561, and secondly, after 1565, as his second wife, Alexander Home, 5th lord Home, who died in 1575. As a result of the marriage, Glamis's kinsman Morton, as regent, committed Glamis and his wife to the keeping of the strategically-important Border stronghold of Home Castle, near Kelso, in Roxburghshire, which had been forfeited from her late husband in 1573. Although it physically dominated the whole of the Merse,³⁴ the kindred loyalties of the young Lord Home at that time, as Meikle

²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, iii, 347-9. 16 Sept. 1570. Randolph to Sussex, Donaldson, *Queen's Men*, 93.

²⁸ Knox, *Works*, ii, 533.

²⁹ *RAS*, iv, 1971.

³⁰ *RAS*, iv, 1972; Strathmore MSS - box 32, bundle 1. 28 Sept. 1571.

³¹ Strathmore MSS - box 31, bundle 4. 17 May 1619 - Inventory of writs, precepts and various confirmations to Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis.

³² *JRSS*, vi, 2423; *Inventory of Documents Relating to the Scrymgeour Family, 1611*, ed. J. M. Thomson (Scottish Record Society, 1912), 668.

³³ *ScotStarvet*, *Staggering State*, 55.

³⁴ *RPC*, iii, 50, 250.

has pointed out, was in disastrous decline.³⁵ In 1576, his brother granted him as patrimony the lands of Baldoukie, and he and his brother purchased the lands and manor of Balumbie, both in Forfarshire.³⁶

Glamis came out of the family shadows when his chancellor brother was killed in 1578.³⁷ The commissariot in Edinburgh confirmed him tutor to his three-year old nephew Patrick Lyon, and his brother's wife tutrix to the young Lord Glamis's three sisters Elizabeth Lyon, Jean Lyon, and Sibilla Lyon, with Morton acting as oversman.³⁸ As the acting head of the house of Glamis, Glamis took charge of the lands, properties, gifts, and wards of his late brother, including the tutorship of his nephew John Kennedy, 5th earl of Cassillis.³⁹ The tutorship was not without problems.⁴⁰ In that year, Glamis and Agnes Gray relinquished the keepership of Home Castle in favour of her son Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, and Glamis and James Lyon, 4th of Easter Ogil, were appointed curators to his niece Sibilla Lyon. Later in the year, the privy council ordered Glamis not to trouble his mother, Janet Keith, and his younger nieces, Jean Lyon and Sibilla Lyon, in the enjoyment and possessing of their land.⁴¹ He was trying to take them over. Glamis and Easter Ogil were relieved of their responsibility for Sibilla Lyon when she came of age in 1581, which was the year in which Glamis's mother died. In 1580, Glamis and Agnes Gray exchanged the lands and barony of Grougar, in Ayrshire, for various lands to the south of the loch of Rescobie, near Forfar, including the lands and manor of Dod, and obtained through the good offices of Patrick Lyon, burgess of Dundee, the lands and barony of Melgund (*alias* Aldbar), also in Forfarshire. From that point on, the records generally refer to Glamis either in terms of his position within the family as 'tutor of Glamis' or, more usually, 'master of Glamis', or his main properties as 'of Baldoukie' or, more commonly, 'of Auldbar'.⁴²

Glamis's family material fortunes fluctuated from 1581 to 1585 largely because of oscillations in his political relations, which are considered in more detail in the next chapter. He was escheated at the end of 1581, and again early in the following year during the build up to the raid of Ruthven (1582). After the collapse of Ruthven government in 1583, the privy council ordered Glamis and Agnes Gray to deliver

³⁵ M. M. Meikle, 'Lords and gentlemen: a study of the landed families of the eastern Anglo-Scottish Borders, c. 1540-1603' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1988), 454.

³⁶ *RHS*, iv, 2878.

³⁷ Strathmore MSS - box 10, number 222 - 28 Apr. 1578. The crown gave Patrick the gift of ward, relief, and non-entry of the all the lands and property belonging to his father John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis.

³⁸ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 23 - 30 June 1578 (at Forfar), box 14, bundle 5 - 13 Oct. 1578 (at Glamis). Glamis's acceptance James Lambie of Dunkenny, cautioner, also present at inquest held at Glamis; NAS - Commissariot of Edinburgh, CCR 8 6 229 - 25 June 1578. The testament was dated 2 Oct. 1571.

³⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 23; *Scots Peerage*, ii, 475 - The gifts of marriage and ward given to his maternal uncle John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, rather than to his paternal uncle Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, because it was thought at the time that Thomas had pretensions to the earldom; *See, Maitland*. Maitland was also in a position of authority over Cassillis in Jan. 1591.

⁴⁰ NAS - CSR 7 33r - 16 July 1579. Case of Master of Cassillis v. Master of Glamis in the court of session.

⁴¹ NAS - CSR 3 83v, 86v, 86r, 101v; *RPC*, iii, 249-50.

⁴² *RHS*, iv, 3008, 3009.

the fortalices of Glamis, Baikie, Aldbar, and Dod.⁴³ Agnes Gray managed Glamis's affairs during his subsequent absence from Scotland.⁴⁴ As can be seen in **Appendix 4.2**, among other things, Glamis resigned as chaplain of Baikie in August 1583,⁴⁵ and granted the lands of Woodhead and Easter Fonah, in Forfarshire, in favour of Mr John Sharp, advocate.⁴⁶ Such transactions (at this and later critical times) indicate the need for both money and skilled lawyers. At the height of his disfavour, which was marked by the abortive raid of Stirling (1584), the privy council forfeited Glamis and Agnes Gray, and ordered them to surrender their two main strongholds of Glamis and Aldbar.⁴⁷ Agnes Gray's nephew, Patrick Gray, master of Gray, who married Glamis's niece Elizabeth Lyon in 1575,⁴⁸ was appointed bailie and chamberlain of the lands owned by Glamis's nephew and held by Glamis as tutor.⁴⁹ Gray also received the gift of various lands in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh and Berwickshire held by Agnes Gray in liferent.⁵⁰ William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem, was granted the gift of Glamis's goods, as well as his various lands and property, which were united into a new barony of Aldbar.⁵¹ These were extensive, and were listed as the lands of South Melgund, Blibberhull, and Balnacake, near Aldbar; the adjacent lands of Dod, Easter Fonah, and Woodend; the lands and towns of Meikle and Little Coull; and the lands and town of Kincrokat, also near Aldbar, which was held of John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar. Some of these lands or their rents, such as the lands of Woodhead and Easter Fonah mentioned above, had been alienated under reversion. In 1585, Elizabeth Lyon divorced Gray because of his adultery,⁵² and, after the banished lords had returned to Scotland, the crown restored Glamis and Agnes Gray to their goods, lands, and property.⁵³

After his restoration in 1585, Glamis could not only look forward to enjoying his lands and property, but also to the rewards of high office. The crown appointed him captain of the guard, an extraordinary lord of session (with the title of 'Lord Auldbar'), and treasurer of Scotland, the latter

⁴³ *RMS*, v. 598 – Crown confirmation, Aug. 1583. Gilbert Gray of Melhill was the second son of Patrick Gray, 5th lord Gray; *RPC*, iii. 595.

⁴⁴ *NAS* - Calendar of Deeds, xvii. 23-24 Oct. 1583 – Contract to James Ogilvy, 8th lord Ogilvy, by Agnes Gray, and commissioner to Glamis, 'now absent from Scotland'.

⁴⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 15, bundle 1 (s2) – 25 Aug. 1583.

⁴⁶ *RNS*, vii. 2109; *RMS*, v. 611.

⁴⁷ *RPC*, iii. 662-3.

⁴⁸ Strathmore MSS - box 235, bundle 3 – 18 May 1575 – Copy of marriage contract Elizabeth Lyon and Patrick Gray, master of Gray.

⁴⁹ *NAS* PS1 51 14v-14r, 37v-37r; *RNS*, vii. 2242, 2273 – John Ogilvy, apparent of Powrie, was appointed bailie and chamberlain of the lands that were held of the abbey of Arbroath.

⁵⁰ *NAS* - PS1 51 38v-38r; *RNS*, viii. 2342 – These incorporated lands of Dunglas, Birkinnowis, two mills of Dunglas, the lands of Thorton and Thorton Loch, Thorton and Thortonodod, Aikingawis and 'tua fischeboitis' of Thorton and West Fenton, in the constabulary of Haddington in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and the lands of Auld Cammes and mill thereof, Wyndclawis, the town of Auld Cammes, the Piperdene and Reidelouchis, in Berwickshire.

⁵¹ *RNS*, vii. 2441.

⁵² *NAS* - Calendar of Deeds, xxiii. 395 – 31 May 1585 – Obligation by Patrick Gray, master of Gray, to Elizabeth Lyon.

⁵³ *APS*, iii. 296, 306, 308, 332, 334, 336, 344, 351, 372 – These May 1584 entries relate to Glamis's forfeiture, 383, 486 – These 1585 entries relate to his restoration.

attracting a pension of £1,000 per year.⁵⁴ In 1587, his widowed niece Jean Lyon married secondly, as his third wife, the ailing Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, who died the following year.⁵⁵ It was around this time that her elder sister Elizabeth Lyon married secondly in 1587 William Kirkcaldy (previously Ker) of Grange, the second son of Thomas Ker of Fernihirst. Around this time too, Glamis's first wife, Agnes Gray, died. She left two daughters by Glamis – Anna Lyon and Mary Lyon, and at least three other children by her earlier marriages.⁵⁶ Glamis married secondly in October 1587 Eupheme Douglas, which marked another critical turning point in both his family and political relations.⁵⁷ She was a sister of Jean Lyon's first husband Robert Douglas, younger of Lochleven, whom Jean Lyon had married in 1583.⁵⁸ Eupheme Douglas and her six sisters were known collectively as the 'seven pearls of Lochleven' because of their beauty.⁵⁹ Perhaps this time Glamis married for love rather than money, but there is no evidence for this. Robert Douglas and Eupheme Douglas were two of the 12 children of William Douglas of Lochleven, who became the fifth earl of Morton in 1588, and Agnes Leslie, the sixth daughter of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes.

The rewards of high office over and above his fees and annual pension from the treasurership were not slow in coming. In May 1586, Glamis and John Maitland of Thirlstane received the wardship and marriage of the two-year old Hugh Montgomery, 5th earl of Eglinton, which potentially was worth about £10,000 sterling.⁶⁰ In the following year, after the appointment of Maitland as chancellor, Glamis received two crown charters of lands in Forfarshire that were part of the temporality of the Abbey of Arbroath. The first was for the lands of Tulloes and Craichie, which Glamis held in feu mainly of David Gardyne of Leys and David Gardyne, younger of Leys, but also of Andrew Guthrie, in Idvies, and Alexander Guthrie of Craichie Mill.⁶¹ The second was for the nearby lands of Corston, which Glamis held of the king.⁶² Further, he and Eupheme Douglas received a crown charter of new of the adjacent lands of Murelethrandwood and Dod, and, in addition, the gifts of the lands of Kingsmuir, near Forfar, and the patronage of the parish kirk of Rescobie. The king incorporated these lands into a free barony of Dod, with the fortalice and manor of Dod being the main dwelling. This grant was not only in recognition of

⁵⁴ *RHC*, iv, 33; Brunton and Haig, *Senators of the College of Justice*, 203; NAS - PS1 25 50.130.

⁵⁵ NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xxv, 174 – 29 July 1587 – Contract of marriage Jean Lyon and Angus; *Border Papers*, i, 524 – Angus asked the church the Sunday following 18 July 1587.

⁵⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, 38. There was at least one child by her first marriage – Robert Logan of Restalrig and Eastcastle, and Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, and Isobel Home, who married James Home of Eccles, the second son of James Home of Cowdenknowes, by her second.

⁵⁷ NAS - PS1 56 91r-92v – Marriage contract Glamis and Eupheme Douglas.

⁵⁸ *Scots Peerage*, vi, 375 – contract 19 Mar. 1583.

⁵⁹ NAS - PS1 56 91r-92r; *RMS*, v, 1409; *Scots Peerage*, vii, 200; W. MacFarlane, *Genealogical Collections Concerning Families in Scotland*, ed. J. Clark, 2 vols. (Scottish History Society, 1900), ii, 300, iv, 26; G. Crawford, *The Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland* (London, 1736), 393; E. M. Graham, *The Oliphants of Gask* (London, 1910), 73.

⁶⁰ NAS - PS1 25 53, 164; *CSP Scot.*, viii, 364-5.

⁶¹ *RMS*, v, 1344.

⁶² *RMS*, v, 1345.

his good service like the previous one, but also of his prudence in his personal affairs and support of the church.⁶³ He also received the monks' portions of the abbey of Arbroath.⁶⁴

It was in the late 1580s that Glamis and Eupheme Douglas began to enlarge and improve Aldbar Castle. The new structure symbolized Glamis's new family relations following his second marriage. It was not only a very strong social statement, but also a political one, which must have cost a considerable amount of money (Figure 6). Unfortunately, the castle, with its Victorian Gothic additions, was completely demolished after a fire in 1964. From the few drawings and photographs that remain, it was clearly a good example of Scottish baronial architecture.⁶⁵ It stood on a gently sloping site backing on to a then un-bridged narrow gorge called the Den of Aldbar. Its imposing dimensions and site would appear to be typical of a successful second son of a successful senior noble house. Good examples of such buildings at that time are Innerpefferay Castle, in Perthshire (James Drummond of Innerpefferay), Kinneil House, in West Lothian (Captain James Stewart, sometime earl of Arran), and Kellie Castle, in Fife (Thomas Erskine of Gogar).

The tall red sandstone L-plan Aldbar Castle had four storeys, cellars, and a garret within the two main pitched roofs, with a taller high flat-roofed parapeted stair-tower in the re-entrant angle. Slender corner or angle turrets embellished the eastern or entrance and northern elevations, each with three windows, which were more visible to visitors and not facing the gorge. There was a large stepped chimneybreast at the north-western corner, and a rounded projection with a gun loop facing the main approach from the east.⁶⁶ The modifications may have included a chapel.⁶⁷ A large and handsome heraldic stone panel, showing the impaled arms of Lyon and Douglas together with Glamis and Eupheme Douglas's initials, connected the two turrets above the main door on the high stair tower.⁶⁸ The arms of Lyon do not seem to be differenced for Glamis, although they may have been altered by colour or tincture. His crest possibly was, This would appear to have been a demi-lady within the garland of bay leaves proper holding dexter a key or, sinister a Scottish thistle proper, instead of just dexter, a Scottish

⁶³ *RMS*, v. 1409.

⁶⁴ *NLS - PS1.56.83v.83r*; Strathmore MSS - box 235, bundle 3 - 1 Nov 1587.

⁶⁵ Angus Archives, Montrose - Photographic collection (Aldbar Castle); *NAS - GD1, Miscellaneous (176 - Aldbar Castle)*; *NLS - Ch. 12774-818E*; MSS 15437; National Monuments Record of Scotland - AN 88 (Photographs of Aldbar Castle).

⁶⁶ M. Salter, *The Castles of Crampian and Angus* (Malvern, 1995), 107.

⁶⁷ This room was later described as the "oval room". It was on the ground floor in the south wing, and had a gallery above the entrance that faces south-east. A new chapel was built in the grounds as part of the Victorian additions, and this may have replaced a similar facility within the main building.

⁶⁸ Trauer, *Fortified House*, iv. 96-8; D. M. Peter, *The Baronage of Angus and Mearns* (Edinburgh, 1841), 20, 80 - The undifferenced arms of Lyon together with his and his second wife's initials ornamented the tower.



Figure 6. The north elevation of the later sixteenth-century Aldbar Castle (with part of the nineteenth-century additions).⁵¹

⁵¹ N. Tranter, *The Fortified House in Scotland*, 5 vols. (Edinburgh, 1986), iv. 97 – The building would have been harled in the sixteenth century.

thistle proper.⁷⁰ The key denotes his position as treasurer. Whereas the supporters of the head of the family were dexter, a unicorn argent, sinister, a lion gules (1565-7) or azure (1600), Glamis's would appear to be dexter, a lion (tincture unknown), sinister, a naked woman proper possibly holding something affronté.⁷¹ The significance of this Eve-like figure has not been determined, but it may have been a reference to his grandmother and Eupheme Douglas's kinswoman, Janet Douglas, who, as mentioned earlier, had been burnt to death in Edinburgh after being wrongly convicted of conspiring to kill James V more than half a century before.

Although not of the same scale, there are strong similarities between the improvements that were made to the main building at Aldbar Castle towards the end of the sixteenth century and those that were done to the main building at Glamis Castle at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷² From the photographs of the elevations and brickwork of Aldbar,⁷³ it is evident that Glamis and Eupheme Douglas not only extended the floor-plan of the main building at Aldbar Castle, but also raised its elevation. In addition, they introduced the dominating stair-tower, the ornamental turrets, and other decorative detail, including the heraldic panel, as well as the gun loop, windows, and a new straight staircase. Among other things, the improvements that Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, and his wife, Anna Murray, made to the main building at Glamis Castle included the addition of two new floors, a new staircase and stair-tower in the re-entrant angle, and similar ornamental detail to that added to Aldbar, including turrets, windows, and heraldic panels. Both sets of improvements marked a transition from a medieval castle to a substantial house in a baronial style that is contemporary with what Slater has recently called the pre-eminent 'Aberdeen group'.⁷⁴ Slater has argued that it is reasonable to suppose that Patrick Lyon employed the same masons that were at work in Aberdeen.⁷⁵ It is likely that Glamis and his wife pre-empted his nephew and his wife by using them more than 20 years earlier.

Glamis's loss of the captaincy of the guard in 1588 to the king's new favourite, Alexander Lindsay, a younger brother of David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford, reflected his new political relations following his second marriage. Glamis's niece Jean Lyon married Alexander Lindsay, as her third husband before 14 June 1589.⁷⁶ Jean was very familiar to the king, who wrote to Alexander Lindsay from Denmark, saying 'Sandie, we are going on here in the auld way, and very merry. I'll not forget you when

⁷⁰ J. Burke (ed.), *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, 4 vols. (London, 1838), iv, 592 – This crest was used by the 'Lyons of Auldbar' at the beginning of the eighteenth century, who wrongly claimed to be descended from Glamis, but would have been very familiar with the Aldbar Castle.

⁷¹ Ross, *Cossins and Wester Ogil*, 121-2 – Andrew Ross does not consider Glamis's coat of arms in his final chapter that deals with the heraldry of the Lyon of Glamis and their cadets as a whole.

⁷² Tranter, *Fortified House*, iv, 96-8.

⁷³ National Monuments Record of Scotland - AN 88 (Photographs of Aldbar Castle).

⁷⁴ H. Slade, *Glamis Castle* (London, 2000), 29.

⁷⁵ Slade, *Glamis Castle*, 28-32.

⁷⁶ Ross, *Strathmore*, 43.

I come home. You shall be a lord. But mind Jean Lyon, for her auld tout will mak you a new horn.⁷⁷ In the following year, the king made him first lord Spynie almost immediately after his return,⁷⁸ and knighted Glamis with others at the coronation of Queen Anne.⁷⁹ Glamis's political problems came to a head in 1591, when he lost his remaining major crown offices as an extra-ordinary lord of session and treasurer. His political fortunes did not recover until late in 1592, the year in which his eldest son John Lyon, younger of Auldbar, was born. The king reinstated Glamis to both offices, and in the following year, promoted him to an ordinary lord of session.⁸⁰ In 1594, Glamis and Eupheme Douglas received a crown charter of new for good service of the lands and barony of Dod, with the addition of the gift of the patronage of the parish church of Nether Airlie, in Forfarshire, near Baikie, which formed part of the temporality of the abbey of Coupar.⁸¹ Glamis, Maitland, and George Keith, 6th earl Marischal, were described as curators to Colm Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll, in 1595.⁸² In that year, Glamis's 20-year old nephew Patrick Lyon married at Linlithgow Anna Murray, the eldest daughter of John Murray of Tullibardine and Catherine Drummond, the fourth daughter of David Drummond, 2nd lord Drummond.⁸³ Anna had been, or was, a mistress of the king, and he and the queen attended the wedding.⁸⁴ The marriage did not initiate a lasting rift between Glamis and his nephew as Brown has claimed (as will be discussed). The hostility between them was already there.⁸⁵

The year 1596 was a watershed for Glamis in terms of both family and political relations. From a family point of view, his nephew Patrick Lyon became of age and Glamis was no longer the acting head of the house of Glamis. In addition, his great nephew John Lyon was born, and Glamis formally ceased to be 'Master of Glamis'. One of Patrick Lyon's first acts on attaining his majority was to settle accounts with his uncle. He drew up a contract whereby Glamis agreed to renounce the whole of his rights to his nephew's estates in exchange for a heritable title to the lands and barony of Tannadice, including the wadsets on it.⁸⁶ From this long document, it would appear that Glamis took as much as he could from his late brother's estate, which he held during Patrick Lyon's minority. His apparent gains included two wadsets made over Longforgund, in Perthshire, and Belhevic, in Aberdeenshire, granted by his brother,

⁷⁷ *Miscellany*, ed. J. Maidment (Abbotsford Club, 1837), 213; A. W. C. Lindsay, *The Lives of the Lindsays, or a Memoir of the House of Crawford and Balcarres*, 3 vols. (London, 1849), i, 323.

⁷⁸ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 172; *Scots Peerage*, viii, 96-7. Article discusses the actual date.

⁷⁹ Crawford, *Officers of the Crown*, 392.

⁸⁰ NAS, PS1 64 200r. Dec. 1592 (treasurer); Brunton and Harg, *Senators of the College of Justice*, 205; *APS*, iv, 3, 5, 27, 31, 65, 76, 501.

⁸¹ *RMS*, vi, 92.

⁸² *RHC*, v, 736.

⁸³ *Scots Peerage*, i, 469.

⁸⁴ Strathmore MSS - box 1, number 27 - contract of marriage, June 1595; *Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland (Border Papers)*, ed. J. Bain, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1894-6), ii, 31, 34; *CSP Scot.*, xi, 595, 597, 599, 601.

⁸⁵ Brown, *Noble Society*, 124.

⁸⁶ Strathmore MSS - box 10, numbers 225-6, box 11 numbers 227-231 - Thomas agreed to renounce the whole of his rights in exchange for a heritable title to the barony of Tannadice, including the wadsets on it, *RMS*, vi, 709 - Crown confirmation of the grant of the lands and barony of Tannadice (May 1598).

John Lyon, in security for his daughters' (Elizabeth Lyon, Jean Lyon, and Sibilla Lyon) portions; various other wadsets granted by John Lyon to cover debts he contracted or inherited; and 19-year tacks that John Lyon had sold to the tenants of Belhevie. In addition, Glamis had acquired £10,000 from the regent Morton's successor that was due to John Lyon in connection with the gifts of ward and marriage of Cassillis. Glamis later regretted the exchange, and, among other actions, pursued unsuccessful litigations in 1605 and 1606.⁸⁷

From a political point of view, the Octavians reorganised the royal finances (for a brief period at least), and Glamis lost his position as treasurer. Although the crown eventually compensated him for loss of office, he appears to have been continually in debt from that year on.⁸⁸ The king also replaced him as a lord of session in 1599, partly because of his debts, and partly because of his continual absence from court.⁸⁹ Glamis's complete loss of formal status at court in 1599 contrasted with the more favourable informal standing of his wife, who an English observer regarded a year earlier as the greatest favourite of the queen.⁹⁰ Parliament made matters even worse for Glamis in 1600, when it reclaimed his monks' portions of the abbacy of Arbroath, which he had received in 1587.⁹¹ In 1606, the year in which his nephew, Patrick Lyon, became first 'Earl of Kinghorne', and 'Lord Lyon and Glamis', the privy council ordered the captain of the guard to apprehend Glamis for not paying a civil debt.⁹² Glamis died in 1608. He left two daughters, Anna Lyon and Mary Lyon, from his first marriage to Agnes Gray; three sons, John Lyon, Thomas Lyon, and Alexander Lyon,⁹³ and two daughters, Elizabeth Lyon and Margaret Lyon, from his second marriage to Eupheme Douglas; and a natural son, James Lyon.⁹⁴ His eldest son, John Lyon of Auldbar, inherited what remained of the family estate.⁹⁵

Over time, Glamis appears to have deliberately concentrated his territorial holdings in central Forfarshire within a triangle roughly marked by the towns and lands of Coull, Aulbar, and Tulloes and slotted between the adjacent royal burghs of Forfar and Brechin, in Forfarshire. The 'focal lands' held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets within Forfarshire over the period are shown in Figure 7. As mentioned above, it is difficult to give an accurate estimate of the lands and properties owned by Glamis

⁸⁷ NAS - CS8 R 89r, 92r - July 1599 - Lord Glamis v. Master of Glamis; Strathmore MSS - box 11, number 243 - 30 Jan. 1610. Letters of homing in respect of two decreets of the privy council dated 31 July 1605 and 11 June 1606, box 198, bundle 3 - 14 Aug. 1600 - homing at the instigation of Lord Glamis against Glamis re. contract 13 Nov. 1596, box 198, bundle 3 - 29 Dec. 1599 - inhibition at the instigation of Lord Glamis against Glamis (also NAS - RD, Office Hay, 13 Nov. 1596).

⁸⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xii, 136-7 - 29 Jan. 1596 - George Nicholson to Howes.

⁸⁹ T. Hamilton, *State Papers, and Miscellaneous Correspondence of Thomas, earl of Melros (Hamilton Papers)*, ed. J. Maidment, 2 vols. (Abbotsford Club), i, 1.

⁹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, xiii, 194.

⁹¹ *APS*, iv, 247-8 - c.54 (1600) - This was a private act.

⁹² *RPS*, viii, 46.

⁹³ Strathmore MSS - box 40, bundle 1, numbers 21, 26 - 4 Feb. 1607 - Charter and sasine granted by Glamis to Thomas Lyon, his son, lands of Little Coull, Baldoukie, Little Balgillo (now occupied by David Lyon), and town lands of Tamadice. Alexander d. young.

⁹⁴ Strathmore MSS - box 33, bundle 2, numbers 13, 22 - Witness James Lyon, natural son, both 1602.

⁹⁵ Strathmore MSS - box 11, numbers 228 - 10 May 1609; 240-1 - 13 July-20 Aug. 1609.

and those held by Glamis for his nephew, Patrick Lyon, during his minority. Many places do not appear on maps, and some have disappeared on the ground, including the property of Aldbar itself. Generally speaking, the quantity of land owned, the basis on which it was held, and its exchange value was rarely static or straightforward. Even Glamis, for example, with his first-hand experience of his nephew's estate, seriously underestimated the value of Tannadice, when he acquired those lands in exchange from Patrick Lyon in 1596. **Appendix 4.2** gives an overall estimate of the lands and properties owned by Glamis and those held by him on behalf of Patrick. The latter is based on the 1538 accounts of the forfeited lands and baronies once belonging to John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis.⁹⁶ The pattern of landholding of the main family in the sheriffdoms of Forfar, Fife, Aberdeen, and Perth did not change substantially from 1542 to 1578. The returns to chancery on Patrick Lyon's death in 1617, less the lands and properties he acquired during his majority, support this statement.

Essentially, Patrick Lyon's lands and property in Forfarshire consisted of the lands and barony of Glamis, with the patronage of the kirk of Glamis, valued at £20 old extent (O.E.), a fixed valuation based on an annual rent; the lands and barony of Tannadice, valued at £20 O.E.; and the lands of Cossans, valued at £2 rent. His other lands were the Isle of Inchkeith, and the patronage of the kirk of Easter Kinghorne, in Fife, valued at less than 6s. 8d. O.E.; the adjacent lands and baronies of Longforgund and Inchtute, in Perthshire, valued at £2 15s. 0d.; the lands and barony of Belhevie, valued at £50 O.E.; the adjacent lands of Courtiestown and Drumgowan, valued £13 16s. 8d. O.E.; and the lands of Kingscat, near Belhevie, with the patronage of the parish church of Belhevie, valued at £4 14s. 4d. rent, in Aberdeenshire.⁹⁷ The overall value of his lordship and attachments was just over £100 O.E., with more than 60% of this coming from parts beyond Forfarshire. Surprisingly, more than half his lands lay north of the river Dee. His land holdings were not large when compared with the returns of one or two of his contemporary landowners in Forfarshire. For example, David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford, held more than four times as many lands within the same sheriffdoms as Patrick Lyon, with twice as many as him in their home shire of Forfar.⁹⁸ His uncle by marriage, Lord John Hamilton, was even better off. He owned lands and property in thirteen sheriffdoms, and, as with Crawford, held double the amount of lands in Forfarshire compared to Patrick Lyon.⁹⁹ The focal lands held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets beyond Forfarshire over the period are shown in **Figure 8**.

⁹⁶ T.1, xvii, 134-54.

⁹⁷ *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornam (Retours)*, ed. T. Thomson, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811-16), i. Aberdeen, 150, Forfar, 98, 99 (Includes and Perth and Fife), ii. Perth, 248, 255. The values given are those of the 'auld extent', and, where they are given in marks, they have been converted, for comparative purposes, into pounds (Scots).

⁹⁸ *Retours*, i. Aberdeen, 116, Fife, 196, Forfar, 63, ii. Perth, 189.

⁹⁹ *Retours*, i. Forfar, 154.

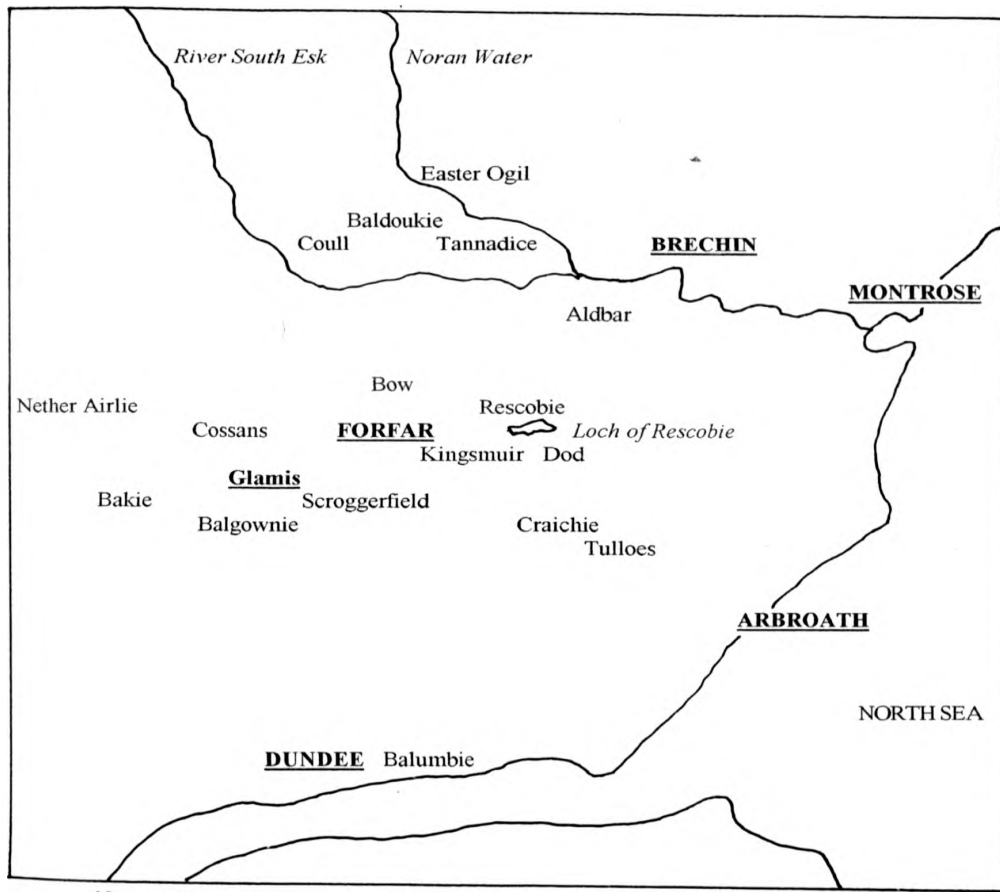


Figure 7. Focal lands held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets within Forfarshire, 1578-

1596.

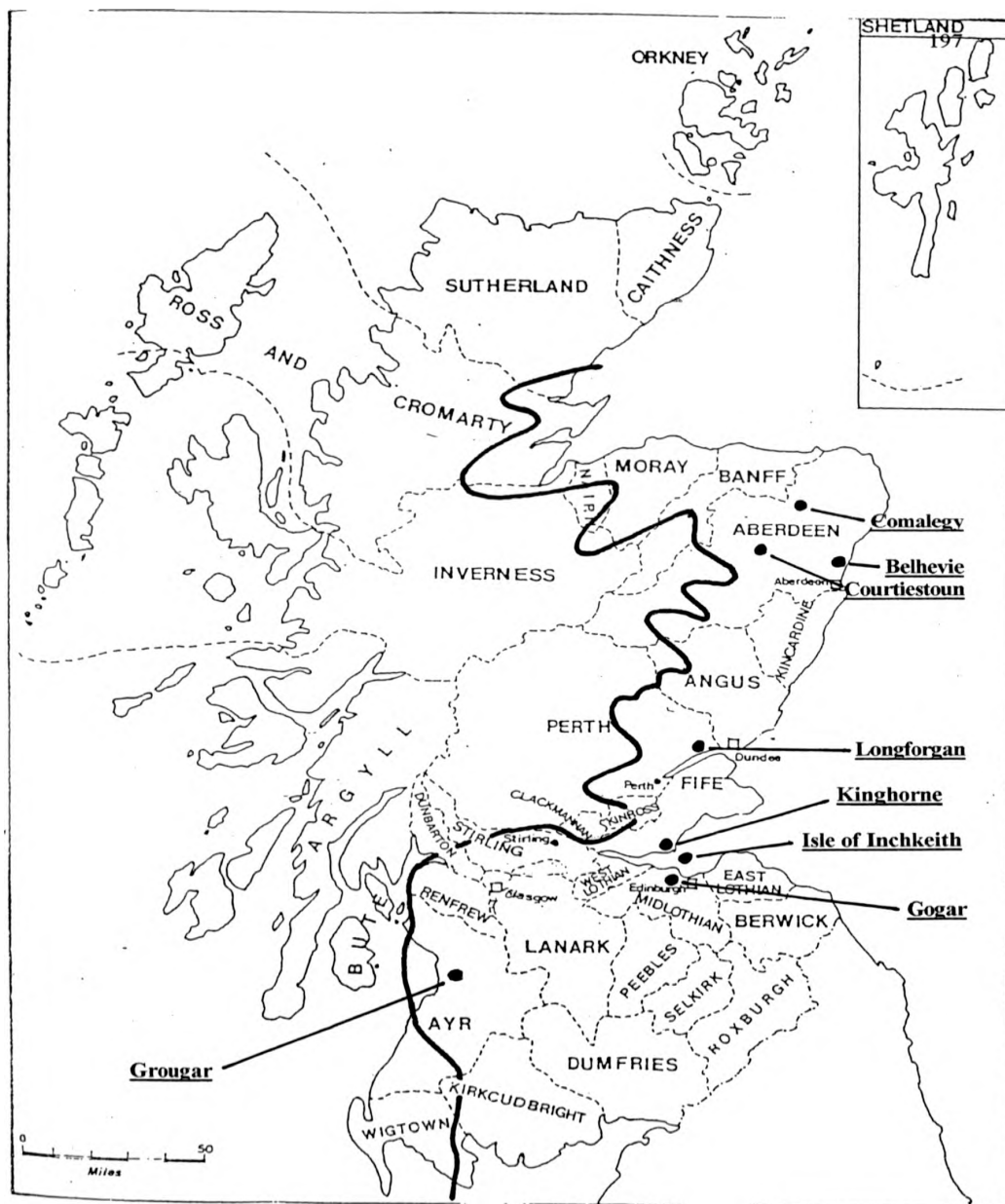


Figure 8. Focal lands held by the Lyons of Glamis and their cadets outwith Forfarshire, 1578-1596.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholson, 'Highlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', 178.

Glamis acquired, and disposed of, various lands and properties within the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen, Ayr, Edinburgh, Fife, Forfar, and Perth over a period of more than 40 years. Although his territorial gains were slow in coming at the beginning of his adult life, their gross value at the end was substantial. According to the returns to chancery on his death in 1608, the lands and barony of Melgund (*alias* Aldbar) were valued at £6 O.E., the lands and barony of Tannadice at £20 O.E., and the lands of Stannoehy at £13 6s. 8d. rent.¹⁰¹ They were worth approximately 25% of those he had held as tutor for his nephew, Patrick Lyon. On the face of it, his holdings compared extremely well against those of next biggest male landowner within the family, John Lyon, 3rd of Cossins, who only had an annual rent of approximately £15 (40 merks) of the lands of Haltoun of Tulloes, in Forfarshire.¹⁰² Below the surface, especially towards the end of his life, debt very much lessened their actual value. After inheriting of what remained of his father's lands and properties, John Lyon, 2nd of Auldbar, like him, was continually in debt, but this may have been of his father's doing.¹⁰³ Creditors also took two actions out against his mother, Eupheme Douglas.¹⁰⁴ In 1622, she successfully petitioned the king who, after she had allied her son John Lyon to the king's cause, was pleased to carry out his promise to take care of his estate, which was by then under many legal restrictions. Glamis and Robert Ker, 2nd earl of Lothian, had acted as cautioners in 'huge sums' of money for John Ker of Littledean's debt, and were still waiting to have the next place in that benefit.¹⁰⁵ Two years later, Littledean committed suicide, and some thought that this was because of the money he owed.¹⁰⁶ After his death, his escheat and liferent was granted to Eupheme Douglas.¹⁰⁷ Glamis and his successor's downfall with regard to their lands and properties would appear to have been because of Glamis's trust in, and serious misjudgement of, Littledean.

¹⁰¹ *Returns*, i. Forfar, 64.

¹⁰² *Returns*, i. Forfar, 81.

¹⁰³ *RPC*, ix, 404, 429, x, 39, 70, 386, xi 51 — There were complaints against John for debt by George Keith, 5th earl Marischal, and Morton, mainly for a payment of approximately £4,500 (7,000 merks) made by them to William Haliburton, brother to Mr Thomas Haliburton in 1612, by Mr George Haliburton, advocate in 1613, and by Mr James Lawrie, advocate, in 1617. There were also complaints against John and his mother Eupheme Douglas by Alexander Dick, writer, and his spouse in 1613, he, his brother Thomas and their brother-in-law Sir James Stewart of Eday and Tulloes by Henry Rae, a tailor and merchant burgher in Edinburgh, and his spouse in 1615.

¹⁰⁴ *RPC*, ix, 343, x, 212 — The first was by John Lyon for oppression, and the second by Thomas Paterson, probably a bonnet maker in Edinburgh, for debt.

¹⁰⁵ Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie*, ed. H. Paton, 2 vols. (London, 1904-30), i, rpt. 15, app. pt. 1 (Mar.), 111-12 — 28 May 1622 — James VI to Earl of March — Financial benefits for lady Lyon now that she has allied her son according to James's wish.

¹⁰⁶ *Scots Peerage*, v, 459, *Calderwood*, vii, 595.

¹⁰⁷ NAS — Papers of the Erskine Family, Earls of Mar and Kellie, GD124 28 5 1622 — Royal letter to the Earl of Mar — Treasurer, to grant escheat and liferent of the late Sir John Carr of Littledean to Lady Lyon (also HMC, *Mar and Kellie*, i, 111-12).

The Extended Family

Some Scottish families were more important than others. As discussed earlier, it was John Lyon of Forteviot who initially established the Lyons of Glamis as members of the Scottish higher nobility and he and his descendants maintained their family's high noble status up to (and beyond) the end of the sixteenth century. The relatively good record of longevity in the direct male line of families such as his, when compared with those of other European states, was probably due to the fact that Scotland was not as heavily involved in wars and, therefore, people lived longer, especially men. One important consequence of this was that, after 1450, there was a large core of noble families in Scotland that produced not only heirs, but also younger sons, who established lasting cadet branches of their own.¹⁰⁸ It was after this date that the two known main cadet branches of the family emerged – the Lyons of Easter Ogil and the Lyons of Cossins, and that the Lyons of Glamis as a whole began to expand beyond the more confined world of the lords of Glamis and lairds of Easter Ogil and Cossins and their immediate kin (**Appendix 4.1**). The most senior cadets of the family were named in a charter of 1567 by which John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, resigned all his lands and properties in favour of a series of heirs, namely John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, his brother Thomas Lyon of Auldbar (Glamis), John Lyon of Cossins, James Lyon of Easter Ogil, and John Lyon of Comalegy, a cadet of Easter Ogil (**Figure 9**).¹⁰⁹

The Lyons of Easter Ogil derived their descent from William Lyon of Pettens, near Belhelvie, in Aberdeenshire. He was the third son of Patrick Lyon, 1st lord Glamis. The lands of Easter Ogil are situated in the Glen of Ogil on the east bank of the Noran water in Forfarshire (**Figure 7**). William Lyon obtained a charter for them in 1494 from his brother Alexander Lyon, 2nd lord Glamis. Alexander Lyon's nephew John Lyon, 4th lord Glamis, disagreed with William Lyon's possession of them, but William Lyon's right to the lands was confirmed in 1498 by the lords of council and session. This was a critical decision for this branch of the family. A year after the lands and properties of John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, had been forfeited and annexed to the crown in 1538, William Lyon's eldest son, William Lyon, 2nd of Easter Ogil, received a charter for Easter Ogil from James V as a reward for good service. This charter also gave him, his heirs and assignees, the lands of Pettens, which William Lyon had also previously held

¹⁰⁸ Grant, *Independence and Nationhood*, 128.

¹⁰⁹ Strathmore MSS - box 9 number 208, box 10, numbers 209-10; *RMS*, iv, 1792. A deed of tailzie or entail became increasingly common in the sixteenth century to avoid lands and property reverting to the crown where there were no heirs.

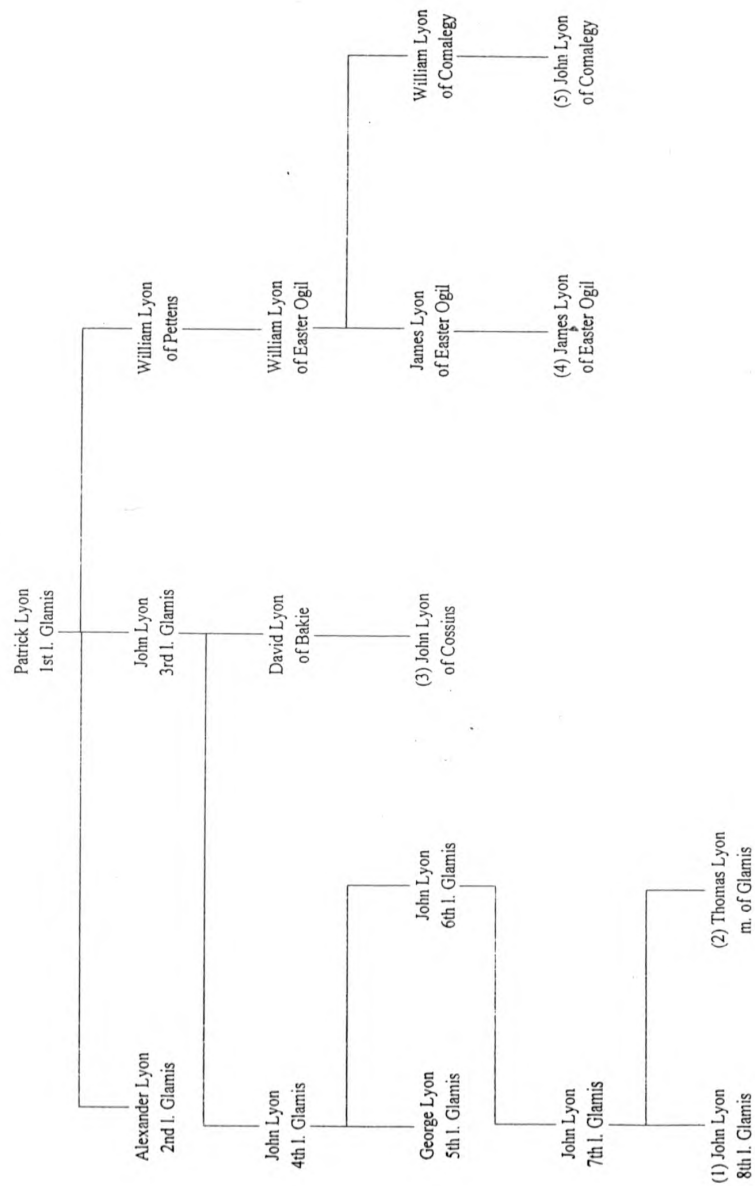


Figure 9. The series of heirs of John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, 1567.

(2) Thomas Lyon
m. of Glamis

of John Lyon.¹¹⁰ The main cadet families of the Lyons of Easter Ogil were the Lyons of Arniefoul, the Lyons of Balgillo, and the Lyons of Comalegy. The cadet families of the Lyons of Ogil tended to be socially and economically dependent, as servitors or tenants, on the Lyons of Glamis, and they were distributed geographically in or around these three locations. The Lyons of Comalegy, in Aberdeenshire, had an interest in Belhevic.

The Lyons of Cossins were descended from David Lyon of Baikie, in Forfarshire. He was the second son of John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis. The lands of Cossans were situated on the north side of the parish of Glamis (**Figure 7**), and David Lyon purchased them from Thomas Cossins of Cossins in three portions in 1500, 1501, and 1511. David Lyon's son, John Lyon, 2nd of Cossins, sold them to John Lyon, 6th lord Glamis, in 1524, but the son and his successors continued to be styled 'of Cossins', holding the lands under wadset. Around the beginning of the sixteenth century, David Lyon married Elizabeth Lindsay, the eldest daughter and one of two heirs-portioners of David Lindsay, 5th earl of Crawford and 1st duke of Montrose, and Elizabeth Hamilton, the fourth daughter of James Hamilton, 1st lord Hamilton.¹¹¹ The claims of the children of the duke's two daughters - the Blairs of Blamyre and the Lyons of Cossins, were a continuing source of trouble to the future earls of Crawford. One of these concerned the lands of Bow, near Cossans, in Forfarshire (discussed later).¹¹² Most of the cadet families of the Lyons of Cossins were located in areas in the north and west of the parish of Glamis in an arc that stretched from Cossans, through the adjacent lands of Balgownie and Hatton of Eassie, to Easter and Wester Rochelhill.¹¹³ The main exception to this was the Lyons of Westhill, in Glamis, who had particularly strong ties with Dundee. Several cadets of Cossins were also servitors to the Lyons of Glamis, including the successive lairds of Cossins and Patrick Lyon, 3rd of Westhill, who was a burges and baillie of Dundee.

Given their status, longevity in the direct male line, and the greater ratio of sons to daughters, it is surprising that the Lyons of Glamis did not have a larger extended family like, for example, the Crichtons, the Drummonds, and the Homes. But, as can be seen in **Appendix 4.1**, the family in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century was unusual because the majority of its known members were not primarily tied to land. Several belonged to the church whilst others were merchants in Edinburgh. As a result, the former were unlikely to have had children, and any families of the latter have not 'survived' in the records. As can be seen in **Table 18**, from 1400 to 1600, eight of the 10 heads of the Lyons of Glamis

¹¹⁰ *RANS* iii 1929. Presumably, the good service was for betraying John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, and his mother Janet Douglas (see **Appendix 4.1**).

¹¹¹ *Scots Peerage*, iii 23-4.

¹¹² *NAS - Acts and Decrets*, cxxviii 458.

¹¹³ For much of the sixteenth century, various officials or servitors to the main family regularly held certain of their lands, such as Arniefoul and Rochelhill (near Glamis), Balgillo (near Farnadree), and Belhevic (near Aberdeen).

(80%) had 31 children, nearly two thirds of who (19) were male. The number of heads' marriages with issue (20%) is slightly high than the figure (13%) given by Brown for his sample of peers marriages (1560-1637).¹¹⁴ David Lyon of Baky, William Lyon of Holmys, and George Lyon, the three youngest of the four sons of John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis, were killed at the battle of Flodden (1513), as were two of their brothers-in-law. Even though Scotland was not so heavily involved in wars, violence certainly took its toll on the direct male line of the Lyons of Glamis. Although war and despotism, as discussed earlier, were responsible for the death (at various ages) of 6 of the 19 male children, three of those six managed to have male children. There is no record of death by illness, which was probably a significant factor too.

As can be also seen in **Table 18**, the eldest sons of the main line married above their status (John Lyon, 3rd lord Glamis, and John Lyon, 6th lord Glamis, were second sons), whilst their siblings tended to marry below it. This is in sharp contrast to Brown's findings. His sample of peers' marriages revealed that roughly 45% of peers' wives were of lower status.¹¹⁵ All the heads of the Lyon family married once only, which has also probably contributed to the dearth of cadet families. None of the wives were heiresses or co-heiresses. This is also in sharp contrast to Brown's findings. His sample revealed that only 57% peers married once, and that nearly 8% were heiresses or co-heiresses.¹¹⁶ Where a Lyon daughter married more than once, this was inclined to be to someone of a lesser status than her. Only two or three sons of the main line are known to have had natural children – Alexander Lyon, chanter of Moray, the youngest son of John Lyon, 4th lord Glamis, Glamis, and John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis. The records suggest that it is unlikely that these natural children created a cadet family that lasted beyond their own generation.

One likely early convert to the new religion in the extended family was Patrick Lyon, 1st of Westhill. He and other inhabitants of Dundee were charged with assisting the English and burning churches and monasteries, but the burgh court in Dundee cleared them of these offences in 1553.¹¹⁷ He was a cadet of Lyons of Cossins, who, broadly speaking, probably converted to Protestantism at the same time as the heads of the house of Glamis (discussed above). At least one and several cadets of the Lyons of Easter Ogil did not conform to the new religion. Although James Lyon, 4th of Easter Ogil, was a Protestant, his eldest son, James Lyon, 5th of Easter Ogil, and one of his younger sons, Thomas Lyon, attended the Catholic Scots College at Douai, in Belgium, in 1588 and 1589 respectively.¹¹⁸ Thomas Lyon

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Noble Society*, 159.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 132-4.

¹¹⁷ Burgh charters quoted in J. M. Beatts, *The Municipal History of the Royal Burgh of Dundee* (Dundee, 1873), 326.

¹¹⁸ NLS - MS 17129.

Head of family	Spouse's family	Status	Children	Spouse's family	Status
John, 1 st of Glamis	Stewart	+	John (k)	-	
John, 2 nd of Glamis	Graham	+	Patrick	(head)	
			David	Strachan	-
			Michael	none	
Patrick, 1 st lord Glamis	Ogilvy	+	Alexander	(head)	
			John	(head)	
			William	Scrymgeour	-
			Elizabeth	Stowan	-
			Patrick	none	
Alexander, 2 nd lord Glamis	Crichton	+	none	-	
John, 3 rd lord Glamis	Scrymgeour	-	John	(head)	
			David (k)	Lindsay	+
			William (k)	None	
			George (k)	None	
			Violetta	Fraser	+/-
			Janet	Hay	-
			Christian	Hay	+
			Agnes	Forbes	+/-
				Ross	-
			Margaret	Fraser	+/-
				Rhynd	-
				Guthrie	-
			Mariota	Ochterlony	-
John, 4 th lord Glamis	Gray	+/-	Elizabeth	Forbes	-
			George	(head)	
			John	(head)	
			Alexander	none	
George, 5 th lord Glamis	Keith	+	none	-	
John, 6 th lord Glamis	Douglas	+	John	(head)	
			George (k)	none	
			Margaret	none	
			Elizabeth	Forbes	+/-
				Craig	-
				Lulloch	-
				Abernethy	+/-
John, 7 th lord Glamis	Keith	+	John (k)	(head)	
			Thomas	Gray	+/-
				Douglas	+/-
			Margaret	Kennedy	+
				Hamilton	+
John 8 th lord Glamis	Abernethy	+/-	Patrick	Murray	+/-

(k) - killed by war or despotism

Table 18 - The wives and children of the Lyons of Glamis and their status, and their connection by marriage to other families, c. 1400-1600.

was a Jesuit¹¹⁹ Michael Lyon, probably the younger James Lyon's brother, was a Catholic nuncio and a baillie for Andrew Hay, 8th earl of Errol, in his barony of Errol, in Perthshire, in 1576.¹²⁰ Marjorie Urquhart, who was the wife of Alexander Lyon, burgess of Aberdeen, the second son of William Lyon, 1st of Comalegy and a cadet of Easter Ogil, had in 1575 'sic pyk on her conscience that scho culd nocht

¹¹⁹ Ogil MS. 2 - He was described as a 'vagrant friar', a common term for a Jesuit priest. For example, J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments*, 2 vols. (London, 1953-7), i. 348-9. He quotes Sir Walter Milday, the English chancellor of the exchequer, as saying that Pope had recently 'sent hither a sort of hypocrites, naming themselves Jesuits, a rabble of vagrant friars newly sprung up and coming through the world to trouble the Church of God, whose principal errand is, by creeping into the houses and familiarities of men of behaviour and reputation, not only to corrupt the realm with false doctrine, but also, under that pretence to stir sedition'.

¹²⁰ *RAS*, iv. 2580.

be full of this present religion now in Scotland'.¹²¹ This suggests that at least some individuals were able to retain openly the old faith in some areas at this time.

The Catholic convert Walter Lindsay of Balgavie asserted in his account of the state of Catholicism in Scotland in 1594 that the continuation of old faith in Scotland was influenced by the fact that the 'Scotch, especially the nobles, are accustomed to act in concert so that every one sides with his family'.¹²² The extended family of the Lyons of Glamis did not act in concert with the head of the house with regard to the new religion. Sanderson was probably correct in her contentions that the attachment to, and the level of suppression of, Catholicism varied according to the political situation, and that the attachment was strongest where 'the head of a powerful family was able to protect his lesser kinsmen and to give shelter to priests and Jesuits'. She maintained that the Gordons, Kennedys, Setons, and Maxwells protected these purveyors of Catholicism in the same way that the Cunninghams, Douglases, Erskines, and Campbells had sheltered the early Protestant reformers.¹²³ However, the religious inclinations of the post Reformation extended family of the Lyons of Glamis would suggest that it would be a mistake to generalise too firmly on these matters. Not all members of the extended family fitted into the Protestant family mould implied by Brown, mentioned earlier.¹²⁴

A number of cadet families of the Lyons of Glamis relied on the burghs for a living. By the end of the sixteenth century, several of these had established themselves in Aberdeen and, more especially, Dundee. Town records show that seven Lyons were recorded as burgesses of Dundee before 1600 (Table 19). Some merchant burges families had considerable power and status. In later sixteenth-century Dundee, these included the Wedderburns and six or seven other families, who were allied to them by marriage and mutual interest, such as that of Patrick Lyon, bailie of Dundee, mentioned earlier. Aberdeen's ruling group at that time was even smaller, and the burgh was unusual because, from the early sixteenth-century onwards, a large number of lawyers, such as William Lyon, 1st of Comalegy, and his son Alexander Lyon, were burgesses of that city. The legal profession in the later sixteenth century was largely a non-clerical urban phenomenon recruited mainly from lairdly families and legal family dynasties, such as the minor one founded by William Lyon.¹²⁵ This particular one petered out in the early eighteenth century, its most prominent member being Sir Patrick Lyon of Carse (1637-1694), a senator of the college of justice with the title of 'Lord Carse'.

¹²¹ Aberdeen City Archives - Records of St Nicholas Kirk, Aberdeen, iii, 22 Mar. 1575.

¹²² *Narratives of Scottish Catholics Under Mary Stuart and James VI*, ed. J. Forbes-Leith (Edinburgh, 1885), 354.

¹²³ M. H. B. Sanderson, 'Catholic recusancy in Scotland in the sixteenth century', *Innes Review*, xxi (1970), 87, 95.

¹²⁴ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 225. Brown described how Glamis became the 'head of the rich, Protestant family'. Given the nature of his subject matter and his definition of the nobility (discussed earlier), presumably his definition of the family is a broad one.

¹²⁵ Donaldson, 'Legal profession', 9-12.

Merchant burgesses as a whole were better off than most groups in Scottish society except the very wealthy landowners, to whom they were often a source of money. Patrick Lyon, 3rd of Westhill and bailie of Dundee, was wealthy enough to purchase the lands and barony of Aldbar in 1580, and sell them on to Glamis, no doubt by pre-arrangement and on good terms, on the following day.¹²⁶ Wealthy merchant burgesses, such as Patrick Lyon, were usually landowners themselves, and marriage and time fused the boundaries between landowners and merchant further. Whereas in the larger burghs merchant burgesses might have a secondary interest in land, in the smaller burghs a merchant burgess, such as William Lyon of Nether Balgillo in Brechin, would probably be primarily a farmer (**Appendix 4.1**). The increasing presence of members of the extended family in the burghs enhanced the family's influence within them at a time when the burghs were becoming progressively more politically and economically important, especially to the crown.

<u>Year of Entry</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Basis of Entry</u>
1544	Patrick Lyon	<i>Gratis</i>
1556	George Lyon of Balgay	<i>Gratis</i>
1573	John Lyon	Baker (<i>Pistor</i>), <i>Gratis</i>
1576	Patrick Lyon	-
1576	Thomas	Dyer (<i>Tinctor</i>)
1589	James Lyon	Sailor (<i>Nauta</i>), paid £10
1596	William Lyon	Tailor (<i>Vestarius</i>)

Table 19. Known sixteenth-century Lyon burgesses of Dundee

As the sixteenth century progressed, the cadets of the Lyons of Easter Ogil and the Lyons of Cossins were linked by marriage to many other families in their locality, including those of the lesser nobility listed below. The families of all of these lairds, with the exception of that of the Campbells of Murthlie, were long established in the vale of Strathmore, especially in Forfarshire.¹²⁷ Wormald argued that such families of the lesser nobility tended to form smaller kin groups than those of peers, and the later settled reign of James V and the unsettled minorities of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI gave scope for some of them to better themselves politically and socially.¹²⁸ This was certainly the case with the Erskines of Dun whose betterment was due largely to Sir Thomas Erskine, of Brechin and his nephew,

¹²⁶ *RHS*, iv, 3008, 3009

¹²⁷ E. J. Cowan, 'The Angus Campbells, origins of the Campbell Ogilvy feud', *Scottish Studies*, xiv (1981), 32 — Various cadet branches of the Campbells, including the Campbells of Murthlie, came into the area largely in the second half of the sixteenth century. Their presence created what Cowan has called a 'Campbell corridor', which extended from Dundee in the east through the Angus Glens to their heartlands in the west.

¹²⁸ Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community*, 33

John Erskine, 5th of Dun, the reformer.¹²⁹ In examining the origins of Protestantism in Angus and the Mearns, Bardgett found that 'the pattern of kin groups and landholding was labyrinthine' in the area.¹³⁰ The pattern of kin groups is only partly evident in two documents that served as two of his examples. The first, a licence obtained by John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, in 1577 to remain away from a raid summoned for Dumfries, includes several Lyons and 37 Forfarshire and 2 Perthshire lairds. The roll of names partly overlaps with the list of signatures in the second, an explicitly military bond of 1569 by which John and 31 others promised to maintain the king's authority. Only about a third (13) of the names recur. These are Auchinleck of Auchinleck, Durham of Grange, Fotheringham of Powrie, Gardyne of Gardyne, Guthrie of Guthrie, Lambie of Dunkenny, Lauder of Omachie, Maule of Panmure, Ogilvy of Ogilvy, Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Scrymgeour of Glasswell, Strachan of Brighton, and Symmer of Balzeordie.¹³¹ Most of these names were not linked by marriage to the extended Lyon family, as listed below.

Bonds of manrent, maintenance, and friendship increasingly replaced the more traditional obligations between lords and men. Few of these have survived at Glamis. Wormald found only one in which John Lyon, 6th Lord Glamis, entered a standard manrent agreement with William Wood of Bonnyton, and his friends and servants in 1520. Another also concerns John Lyon, who, in the same year, made a similar arrangement with John Lyon, 2nd of Cossins.¹³² As discussed earlier, Cossins later entered a similar bond with James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, in 1558.¹³³ The known bonds of marriage rather

Annand of Pearsie
Campbell of Murthie
Crichton of Strathurd
Drummond of Balloch
Erskine of Brechin *
Erskine of Dun *
Falconer of Halkerton *
Fenton of Ogil *
Fullerton of Crago
Fullerton of Wester Denoon
Gardyne of Gardyne
Gardyne of Leys
Gray of Dunminald *

Guthrie of Guthrie *
Guthrie of Kinblethmont
Halliburton of Pitcur
Lambie of Dunkenny
Lindsay of Blairfeddon *
Nevay of Nevay
Ogilvy of Inverquharly
Scrymgeour of Dudhope *
Ratray of Craighall
Thornton of Thornton
Tyrie of Drumkilboe *
Wallace of Ogilston
Wishart of Pittarro

* - Lyons of Easter Ogil

¹²⁹ V. Jacob, *The Lairds of Dun* (London, 1981), 48-126.

¹³⁰ Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, ch. 4. The chapter gives a detailed account of the main hostilities and major groupings of lairdly families in Angus during the reigns of James V and Mary I, and the minority reign of James VI, 4 (quotation).

¹³¹ Strathmore MSS - box 235, bundle 3 - 8 Oct. 1577 and 23 Feb. 1569; Bardgett, *Scotland Reformed*, 128-9, 139-40.

¹³² Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 277-8 (Bonnyton); Strathmore MSS - box 8, number 179 (Cossins).

¹³³ NLS - MS 25 9 9, nos. 1-3, 5-7, 9 (Cossins)-11, and 14 - James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, as guardian of his nephew Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, to protect his interest during the Reformation crisis, exchanged dues of non-entries for standard form bonds of manrent. A series of these are in the NLS: Fotheringham of Powrie, and Graham of Finty (Dec. 1557); Tyrie of Drumkilboe, Lovell, apparent of Ballumbie, and Ocherlony of Kelly (Feb. 1558); Lyon of Cossins, Wood of Bonnyton, and Ogilvy of Inverquharly (July 1558); and Maule, apparent of Panmure (Nov. 1558).

than the few surviving bonds of manrent, maintenance, and friendship help to provide some indication of those that were likely to be included in political networks centred on the Lyons of Glamis formed on occasion over the period.

Two documents that list the supporters of Glamis in 1582 and 1592 provide reasonably, yet varyingly, comprehensive examples of these networks (**Appendix 4.3**).¹⁴⁴ The 1582 document concerns a remission for the servants and 'friends, tenants and assiteris' of Glamis who were involved primarily in the slaughter of two Lindsay men in 1581 (discussed later). This list is the more extensive of the two, and includes 240 names. The nature of the document is 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down'. The social status of most of those involved is below the level of laird. Only 16 have a territorial description to their surname. This may have been because the compiler of the list was local and knew the people involved. For example, David Lyon, in Balgillo, John Lyon, in Rochelhill, and Robert Lyon, in Scroggerfield are described in the 1592 document as 'of those places'. The 16 lairds included James Lyon of Easter Ogil and John Lyon of Cossins. Altogether 17 Lyons (7%) are listed, including Patrick Lyon, in Dundee, and Michael Lyon, in Glamis, who, like Easter Ogil, was a Catholic. Only eight (less than 1%) came from outside the local shire. These included Alexander Lyon, in Houpishill, in Aberdeenshire. The 1592 document concerns an obligation, supported by Glamis, that John Ogilvy of Inverquharity and 67 other persons shall not harm the community and inhabitants of Forfar.¹⁴⁵ In this top-down list, 47 (roughly 70%) of those named on it are local lairds. They include such prominent local figures as George Haliburton of Pitcur, John Scrymgeour of Glasswell, and Inverquharity, as well as David Lyon of Balgillo, John Lyon of Rochelhill, and Robert Lyon of Scroggerfield.

Only 6 of the 13 recurring names in the 1569 bond and the 1577 licence reappear in the 1582 and 1592 documents - Lambie of Dunkenny (1592), Lauder of Omachie (1582), Maule of Panmure (1592), Ogilvy of Ogilvy (1592), Scrymgeour of Dudhope (1582), and Scrymgeour of Glasswell (1592), just 2 in 1582, and 4 in 1592. The four documents show that politics of Angus were shaped by both external and internal influences that created somewhat erratic alliances, and that the status of lairds cannot easily be identified. They ranged from 'bonnet lairds' such as David Lyon of Balgillo, John Lyon of Rochelhill, and Robert Lyon of Scroggerfield to lairds of much greater wealth such as John Lyon of Cossins and, more especially James Lyon of Easter Ogil. This finding corresponds with that of Meikle, who, as discussed earlier, studied the lairds and gentlemen of the eastern Anglo-Scottish borders. As she

¹⁴⁴ *RSS*, viii, 695; *RPC*, iv, 603, 604.

¹⁴⁵ *RPC*, iv, 603, 604 — The 67 persons included John Lyon of Cossins, elder, John Lyon, fiar thereof, John Lyon of Rochelhill, James Lyon of Easter Ogil, Robert Lyon of Scroggerfield, David Lyon of Balgillo, William Lyon of Nether Balgillo, Patrick Lyon, burgess of Dundee, Michael Lyon, in Glamis, Thomas Lyon, in Kerriemuir.

concluded, more research needs to be done on levels of such stratification based on land within Scottish localities.¹³⁶ But as the various individuals listed in the 1569, 1577, 1582, and 1592 documents demonstrate, their level of primary land holding did not necessarily correspond with political and social status. The Haliburtons of Pitcur were a prominent family in Dundee,¹³⁷ and all the bonnet lairds mentioned above were servitors, who moved between the locality and the court.

The 1582 and 1592 lists suggest that over the period (1578-96) the individual resources of political power in terms of numbers and organisation that were available to Glamis were considerable: that members of the Lyon family were very much in the minority and all were Glamis's distant kinsmen; that most of the overall membership came from Glamis's more immediate locality; and that this membership could cut across any religious or urban divide. These considerable resources that were available to the Lyons of Glamis would appear to be untypical for a noble house of their noble status. Mar only had 80 horsemen at the Raid of Ruthven.¹³⁸ Of the 37 lords of parliament listed in the two contemporary estimates of the nobility made in 1577 and 1583 that are summarised in **Appendix 3.5**, only the heads of the houses of Home, Oliphant, and Glamis are described as having great power. Twenty (including Mar) of the 27 dukes and earls did not merit that high rating.

Conclusion

From the time Glamis was born in 1545 to the time of his death in 1608, his noble descent was a valuable asset to him at home and abroad. Among other things, it automatically accredited him at court, and qualified him to be contracted into an illustrious marriage. The value of this asset increased considerably while he was acting head of the family. In accepting this responsibility, he acquired substantial resources of power in terms of numbers and organisation and wealth, which helped him to maintain and promote the honour or reputation of the house of the Lyons of Glamis, as well as his own personal social and political position. Despite quarrels with his brother, his nephew and other members of his immediate family, he managed to maintain strong ties with the various cadets of the family, especially the two most senior ones John Lyon, 3rd of Cossins, and James Lyon, 4th of Easter Ogil. His two marriages, firstly to Agnes Gray in 1575, and secondly to Eupheme Douglas in 1587, were distinct yet different landmarks in his family relations. Compared to the heads of other noble houses, such as those of

¹³⁶ Meikle, 'Landed families', 454.

¹³⁷ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 32.

¹³⁸ Moysie, *Memoires*, 37-8.

Crawford, Douglas, or Hamilton, Glamis was not the leader of a large extended family. The two main cadet branches only emerged around 100 years before the beginning of the period. By that time, the extended family had moved beyond the relatively closed world of the lords of Glamis, the lairds of Easter Ogil and Cossins, and their immediate kin to the local burghs, especially the larger ones of Aberdeen and, more particularly, Dundee. Despite having a relatively small extended family, the individual resources of political power in terms of organisation and numbers that were available to Glamis were considerable, and could cut across any religious or urban divide.

Whereas the numbers and organisation that were available Glamis were untypical for a noble house such as his, the wealth that he owned personally, or held as tutor of his nephew Lord Glamis, was more in line with that of the majority of peers. Over time, Glamis deliberately concentrated his own territorial holdings within a triangle in central Forfarshire roughly marked by the towns and lands of Coull, Aldbar, and Tulloes, and slotted between the royal burghs of Forfar and Brechin. This consolidation of permanent and temporary holdings not only helped in uniting those that joined the family fold and occasional political networks centred on his family, but enabling him to manage this second considerable individual resource of political power. Organisation and numbers and wealth were not unrelated. Several members of the peerage had exceptionally large landholdings, two of whom - Crawford and Glamis's brother-in-law, Lord John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath, held extensive lands and properties in Forfarshire. Lack of exceptional wealth was probably the main reason why the Lords Glamis had relatively little economic and political interest in the local major burghs. Glamis's own territorial gains and losses were spread over a period of more than 40 years, and their eventual gross value rose to approximately 25% of those he held for his nephew. Towards the end of his life, his personal holdings were far larger than any of those held by other male landowners within the family, but debt considerably reduced their net value.

Land and property had a very potent non-material value, and Glamis fully exploited this when he and his second wife rebuilt Aldbar Castle. The end result was a very powerful social and political statement, which clearly befitted a successful second son of a successful noble house. The increasing presence of individual members of the Lyon of Glamis family in the burghs not only extended the family's 'locality', but also increased the range of political networks outside the family to which they could subscribe. The findings with regard to the political networks that were available to Glamis supported the fourth theoretical platform constructed earlier, which proposed that such coalitions or pressure groups were normally extensive, fluid, and diverse, and can be placed along a continuum that ranged from almost closed and close communities through to open and loose issue groups. The

individuals named in the coalitions mentioned in the 1569, 1577, 1582, and 1592 documents strongly indicate that such groups supporting the heads of the house of Lyon over the period could be very numerous, multi-level, and ever-changing. Members subscribed for a particular purpose. The 1582 list is particularly extensive, and, in contrast to that, the earlier coalitions suggest a particularly close local community. Only a few names recurred over the 23-year span. The fluid nature of these groups contradicts the perceptions of some contemporary early modern and late medieval historians, such as Young and Grant, who, as discussed earlier, have taken a more static view of sixteenth-century Scottish political parties' and fourteenth-century noble 'affinities', respectively.

5. Glamis and Politics

*Life is a horizontal fall.*¹

This chapter will examine Glamis's political relations during three political episodes centred on the raid of Ruthven (1582), the unsuccessful first raid of Stirling (1584), and the exile of Glamis and other banished lords in England from 1584 to 1585. None of these successive episodes have been covered in any detail in the literature. They occurred immediately before the decade in which Glamis was continually at the centre of court politics following the successful second raid on Stirling in 1585. The purpose of this chapter is to try to establish the general nature of Glamis's political relations, and more particularly, to assess in essence the individual resources of political power that were available to him over the period in terms of personal qualities, ideology, and violence. Glamis was not only late in starting a family, but also in entering court politics. His brother John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, was appointed chancellor in 1573, when Glamis was 28-years old, and, up until then, his name is notably absent from major public records except for two crown charters granted in 1571, mentioned earlier. Two years later, he was one of the many 'gudefellows' who favoured 'God and the King and the Queen's Majesty of England', waited for a favourable wind at Queensferry, and 'dreamis of Spanzeartis and Vallonis'.² These good fellows were part of a Scottish regiment of 1,000 men, made up of 10 companies, and led by Alan Cathcart, 4th lord Cathcart, which was on its way to join the campaign of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, in the Netherlands.³

The mid-1570s were probably a turning point in Glamis's slowly emerging presence in politics. In 1575, as mentioned earlier, Morton gave Glamis and his new wife, Agnes Gray, the keepership of Home Castle.⁴ Glamis's embryonic political relations were still focused on the Borders early in 1577 because he and James Home of Cowdenknowes were sureties for James Burnfield of Pitulishewch, and he acted in the same capacity on his own account for various other Border men.⁵ Later that year, the 12-year old James VI began to be attended at Stirling Castle by men under the charge of Alexander Erskine of Gogar, who, as discussed previously, had at some time married Elizabeth Lyon.

¹ J. Cocteau, *Opium: The Diary of an Addict*, ed. E. Boyd (London, 1933).

² *CSP Scot.*, iv, 601. 1 Aug. 1573. Capt. Cockburn to Henry Killigrew.

³ H. Dunthorpe, 'Scots in the wars of the Low Countries, 1572-1648', in G. G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton, 1996), 104-21; A. Murdoch, 'Mercenaries in Europe', in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. M. Lynch (Oxford, 2001), 418-19. From 1573 to 1579, 3,100 Scots mercenaries were levied for service in the Low Countries to assist in the fight against Catholic Spain. Shortly after this period, a permanent Anglo-Scottish Dutch brigade was formed.

⁴ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 462-3.

⁵ *RPS*, ii, 610, 728.

These men included Glamis.⁶ This important change in his political orientation away from the Borders towards the court is also evident in the following year when the Catholic and conservative group led by Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll, John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, and others, persuaded the king to take control of the government. Glamis and his elder brother, Lord Glamis, were among those who persuaded their kinsman, Morton, to surrender the regency.⁸ Glamis's political position changed radically on 17 March 1578, the day on which Morton passed out of Edinburgh to Dalkeith accompanied by 500 horsemen, mostly Mersemen (possibly including Glamis), when Lord Glamis was killed in a street scuffle in Schoolhouse Wynd, in Stirling, between his party and that of David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford.⁹

The Raid of Ruthven

The death of his elder brother did not have an immediate impact on Glamis's political career at court. He was not actively involved in the Argyll-Atholl administration (March 1578-June 1578), Morton's resumed supremacy (June 1578-December 1580), or the newly formed administration headed by Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox, and James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran (January 1580-August 1582). Glamis must have been present when Morton's forces confronted those led by Argyll and Atholl in August 1578, because it was his servant, James Johnstone, who 'broke a lance' and mortally wounded William Tait, a supporter of Walter Ker of Cessford. Johnstone's success was 'taken by those of Morton's side for a presage of victory'.¹⁰ Glamis was not present at the convention of estates held in August 1579, which agreed that his sister Margaret Lyon, countess of Cassillis, who had recently married to the Lord John Hamilton, should not lose her rights acquired through her former husband because of the general proscription of the 'Hamiltons'.¹¹ From 1578 to 1582, Glamis appears to have been more concerned with

⁶ Scotstarvet, *Staggering State*, 55.

⁷ Godscroft, *History*, 341. Other leaders included David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford, as well as Morton's friends Glamis (John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis), Ruthven (William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie) and Lindsay (Patrick Lindsay, 6th lord Lindsay of the Byres); and 'his most cherished, Pitcairne, (Abbott of Dunfermline), Secretary (Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline), and Tullibardine, Controller (William Murray of Tullibardine)'.
⁸ *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, eds. T. Thomson and others, 2 vols. (Dunatymne Club, 1853), i, 100 - witnesses to the ratification of Morton's discharge, 113 - Glamis also witnessed Morton's rendering of Edinburgh Castle.

⁹ *CSJ Scot.*, v, 277 - 16 Mar. 1578 - Morton to James VI, 280-1 - Mar. 1578 - Discharge of the Earl of Morton, 281-282 - 18 Mar. 1578 - Instructions by James VI to the Earl of Rothes, etc., to be Declared to the Earl of Morton, 282 - 18 Mar. 1578 - Secret Instructions to the Earl of Rothes, etc., by James VI, 282 - 19 Mar. 1578 - James VI to Morton, 282 - Mar. 1578 - Denunciation of the Regency; Moysie, *Memoires*, 2; *Calderwood*, iii, 397. The two lords attended the king at Stirling that day, and they and their followers met going in opposite directions. They apparently made way for each other, and ordered their followers to do the same, but the tail ends of the two retinues came to blows.

¹⁰ Moysie, *Memoires*, 15; *Spotiswood*, ii, 228-9.

¹¹ *RHC*, iii, xx - This was just one of an extraordinary series of orders concerning the government's prosecution and proscription of the leading members of the Hamilton family at that time, which, in total, illustrated 'the importance in that old society of any widely ramified family name and connection', iii, 203-4, *Spotiswood*, ii, 265.

his locality than the court: coming to terms with the day-to-day responsibility for his immediate family, and, from time-to-time, what to do about the killing of his brother.¹²

Glamis may have returned to the Low Countries in 1580 because it was reported then that a foreign officer named 'Captain Lyon' was in charge of 150 horse in the company of the Prince of Orange.¹³ In the following year, the Lennox-Arran administration sent him on a mission to France with Alexander Livingstone, master of Livingstone, with a present of horses for Henry III. They travelled with some Frenchmen returning there. There were probably several good reasons why Glamis went abroad that summer only two months after Crawford's return to Scotland. Two of these may have been a professional attachment to horses and an ability to speak French, but the English ambassador noted only one - to avert any hostility between him and the earl.¹⁴

The expected hostility came after Glamis's return from the continent at the end of the 1581, when he and 230 local men 'bodin with jakis, speiris, steilbonnetis, lang gunnis' wounded David Lindsay of Edzell's younger brother, Robert Lindsay of Balhall, whom the Lyons of Glamis had kept in prison and captivity with five others for the past seven years, and the slaughter of John Millar, servant of Edzell, and James Young in Dilforth.¹⁵ Balhall was possibly the uncle of Agnes Lindsay, the wife of William Fullerton, one of Crawford's two servants implicated in the murder of Glamis's brother.¹⁶ The privy council charged Glamis and his large number of supporters to appear in Edinburgh, but they did not turn up. It then escheated them, and fined Glamis £20,000 in the following year.¹⁷ As discussed earlier, Glamis's supporters were mainly local men, including a small number of his kinsmen. The wounding and the slaughter of the two Lindsay men by Glamis and his supporters in 1581 was an immediate reaction to an event that happened two days earlier, when Edzell, Balhall, David Lindsay of Balquhadly, Alexander Lindsay of Keithock, and 18 others killed John Campbell of Lundie, and mutilated John Lyon, by wounding him in the knee, presumably when Balhall and the others escaped. They had been captured by John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, in 1574. A year earlier, Balhall had obtained from Catherine Campbell, countess of Crawford, lands in the barony of Balhall, which were adjacent to the barony of Tannadice,

¹² NAS, CSR 3 (Minute Book), 81, 86-88, 92-3, 95-6, 97, 100-2, 105, 107. From 18 July 1578 to 24 Nov. 1580 there were at least 25 appearances in the court of session involving the Glamis or his mother in the court of session, including actions between themselves and others, which ranged from John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar, to their tenants.

¹³ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, eds J. Stevenson and others, 22 vols. (London 1863-1936), vol. 1579-80, no. 287. 8 May 1580. 'A summary of the number of the men of war in the service of the General sates, being placed abroad in those Low Countries or Provinces'. Glamis may have returned to the Low Countries and been the 'Captain Lyon' who a foreign officer in charge of 150 horse in the company of the Prince of Orange.

¹⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 52. Sept. 1581. (unnamed) to (unnamed).

¹⁵ *RSS*, viii, 965.

¹⁶ *RMS*, iv, 737, 1847; *Scots Peerage*, i, 512. Agnes Lindsay was the youngest dau. of Walter Lindsay of Balgavie.

¹⁷ *RSS*, viii, 556; *CSP Scot.*, vi, 477.

across the river Noran, to the south west that was held by John Lyon.¹⁸ A dispute over land may have been the original cause of the wounding and slaughter of the Lindsay men.

Contrary to what Cowan has written, there is no evidence to suggest that Lundie "lost his life as a by-product of the Lindsay-Glamis feud when John Lyon's private disagreements with the Earl of Crawford led him to seek Campbell backing".¹⁹ Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the mutilated John Lyon was John Lyon of Cossins, which he assumed.²⁰ On receiving respite for the 1581 offences in April 1583, Glamis defended his action on the grounds that it had been his duty as head of his house to the "remenant kin and freindis of a greit novmer of gentilmen and uthers slaine be David, Erll of Craufurd, and uthers his kin and friendis" because of the king's "owersicht and delay usit justice".²¹

The wounding and slaughter of the Lindsay men not only clearly demonstrates that Glamis was head of the house of Glamis in theory *and* practice by the end of 1581, but also that the feud between Glamis and Crawford was not as simple as some have described. For example, one early Victorian historian imaginatively wrote:

*The atrocity of Glamis' death excited the minds of most well-minded men, but, above the rest, Thomas Lyon was a most eager young gallant to revenge his uncle's (sic) death, who strove to make fire and sword avenge his and his family's injuries, making many devastations into the Lindsays' country; nor less bitter were the endeavours by the adverse party. These depopulations, arriving at court, caused the King, by the authority of his council, to dismiss delegates which might declare a cessation from further acts of hostility; so long as (until) the matter might be decided by law. In conclusion, Crawford, being apprehended, was cast into prison for the death of Glamis, yet, by the earnest and ardent desires of the nobility, not long after was safely dismissed. As he returned through Angus, the inhabitants congratulated his freedom; this was like a new fuel to inflame Glamis's tutor into so vehement anger as that Crawford all his life was glad to stand in a soldier's posture.*²²

Contemporary popular perceptions probably took a similar subjective course

Brown has argued that "the Lyons' and 'the Lindsays' had a long history of recurrent feud, and that the shooting of Lord Glamis on the streets of Stirling in 1578 might have had a political motive because Crawford was "already inclining to the Argyll-Atholl faction, and it was Atholl who benefited most from (Lord) Glamis's death, succeeding to the vacant chancellorship".²³ It is important to stress that not all the Lyons and the Lindsays were committed to the current feud. James Lindsay, a son of David Lindsay in Tannadice, for example, was one of Glamis's men that were given remission for the wounding

¹⁸ *RHS*, iv, 2399; *RSS*, vii, 118.

¹⁹ Cowan, "Angus Campbells", 33. Among other things, it is very unlikely that John Lyon was John Lyon of Cossins as Cowan infers.

²⁰ It was possibly John Lyon, chamberlain of Glamis, a cadet of Easter Ogl - see app 4.

²¹ *RHS*, iii, 563.

²² R. Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1858-1861), i, 118.

²³ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 125.

and slaughter of the Lindsay men in 1581.²⁴ As discussed earlier, it is true that James Lindsay of Crawford killed John Lyon of Glamis, chamberlain of Scotland, possibly on the Moss of Balhall, in Forfarshire, in 1382, and that the 1478 parliament tried in vain to resolve the 'great break' between Alexander Lyon, 2nd lord Glamis, and Alexander Lindsay, master of Crawford. But there are no indications of any conflict between the two families afterwards. This finding ties in with Grant's belief that such violence 'generally had little aftermath at all'.²⁵ In short, these two isolated events do not constitute a long history of recurrent feud.

Morton thought that the shooting of Glamis's brother was an accident,²⁶ and, as Moysie recalled, there was already an enmity between Crawford and John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, in 1578, which was at least exacerbated, if not caused by, the capture of Balhall and others in 1574, and the claims of the Lyons of Cossins on Crawford's assets, mentioned earlier.²⁷ After the chancellor's death, John Lyon, younger of Cossins, was the other leading protagonist along with Glamis on the Lyon side of the dispute. In a letter to friend written a few months after the killing, Crawford described how he was in fear of being murdered in his bed by Cossins, who was in Stirling awaiting Glamis's order and 'up to no good'. Crawford, however, appeared to be more upset by Cossins' ingratitude for what Crawford 'inheritance' Cossins had:

*in that respect the maist parte of his lewing that presently he hes to leiff vpon he haldis off vs in wedset wnder redemptiōne, quhilk we as yit wald nathur redeme our selff nor yit mak na vther assigney thairto, albeit that syndry tymes we haiff fund the small dewety that he acht to pay veirly to vs we culd neuir obtene thankfull payment thairoff, quhilk hes movit us to persew him be ordour of law, and hes obtent lettres of horning on him for the sam caus, quhilk lettres with the execwtiōnis thairoff we will request you mest effectuisly to ressaue, and present them to the king his maestie, quhen ye find the said John Lyon within the castell and that ye will report to the kingis (grace) his disobeysance, altho he be presently at his (grace)s horn, and to besek his (grace) that ordour may be fund thairintill.*²⁸

In the end, Crawford did put Cossins to the horn, and had his goods escheated in favour of John Lambie of Dunkenny in 1581 for not fulfilling the contract.²⁹ Later, in 1590, there was a successful legal action by James Lindsay of Pitroddie on behalf of his elder brother, Crawford, to revert the lands in question, the lands of Bow.³⁰ These were bounded in the east by the lands of the Lindsays of Blairfyfeddon and Auchnudy, and in the southeast by Cossin's own lands of Quilkoc, which his family had originally

²⁴ *RSS*, viii, 965.

²⁵ A. Grant, 'Crown and nobility in late medieval Britain', in R. A. Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286-1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), 34. Grant argued that such violence 'generally had little aftermath at all'.

²⁶ *CSP Scot.*, v, 283; *NAS* - Morton Papers, GD150/77/36, 38 (also printed in *Registrum Honoris de Morton*, 101-2, 105).

²⁷ Ross, *Cossins and Wester Ogil*, 35.

²⁸ Papers from the charter chest at Dun', *Miscellany II*, ed. J. Stuart (Spalding Club, 1849), 62. Cairney 13 Aug. 1579 - Crawford to Robert Erskine of Dun (also quoted in V. Jacob, *The Lairds of Dun* (London, 1931), 134-5).

²⁹ *NAS* - PS1 48/23; 'Papers from the charter chest at Dun', 62.

³⁰ *NAS* - Acts and Decrets, cxxviii, 458.

acquired from David Lindsay, 8th earl of Crawford. Blairyfeddon, Auchmudy, and Cossins were quite capable of firing the shot that took the life of John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, in 1578 because, among other things, all three took an active part in the raid of Ruthven four years later.

Calderwood recorded a discord in Perth between William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie, and Lennox in the middle of July 1582. It had apparently started with a disagreement between them over the appointment of the colonelship of Teviotdale, and became much more serious when the duke accused Gowrie, as treasurer, and John Murray of Tullibardine, as comptroller, of misusing the king's patrimony. The Perth dispute involved several others, including George Keith, 5th earl Marischal, and Glamis, who both walked away from it and departed 'off the toum malcontents'. The duke was determined that unless James Cunningham, 6th earl of Glecarne, Robert Boyd, 5th lord Boyd, Thomas Kennedy of Bargany, John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar, Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth, David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh, William Douglas of Lochleven, Patrick Lindsay, 6th lord Lindsay (of the Byres), Glamis, and Robert Pitcairne, commendator of Dunfermline, who were suspected of favouring the 'Douglases', were 'putt out of the way', and the ministers James Lawson, David Lindsay, Andrew Hay, Thomas Smeton, Andrew Polwart, and Andrew Melville were warded beyond the Spey, there 'was no suretie for him (Gowrie) and his'.³¹ One month later, Glamis was one of the more prominent participants in the raid of Ruthven, which took place just a few miles to the west of his thirteenth-century castle at Baikie, in Forfarshire.³²

The raid took place on 22 August 1582, after the king had returned from hunting in Atholl. Whereas Calderwood records that the nobles and others came to the king at Perth and either took or invited him to Ruthven Castle, Moysie and Melville state that they took the king at Ruthven Castle. According to Calderwood, some reported that Glamis, Lindsay, Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul, and James Haliburton, provost of Dundee, were not there at the beginning of the enterprise, but, being written for, came afterwards. Calderwood lists the leading and more prominent members of the group as Mar, Gowrie, Glamis, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, William Colville of Cleische, Robert Coville of Easter Wemyss, Auchnoul, Boyd, Lindsay, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, William Erskine, commendator of Paisley, James Balfour, commendator of Pittenweem, and James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee.³³ Calderwood's list may be misleading because it suggests that Glamis was one of the three leading nobles involved. He was not a member of the subsequent Ruthven government. The order of listing may have been the result of Glamis's status. Calderwood's understanding of the legendary 'better that bairns weep,

³¹ Calderwood, iii, 632, 637; Moysie, *Memoires*, 38; Halhill, *Memoirs*, 146.

³² Baikie Castle is adjacent to the Perthshire border.

³³ Calderwood, iii, 637, 645, 646.

than bearded men' confrontation with the young king, or the author's need to give continuity to his history, which was written more than 40 years after the raid.

An anonymous contemporary account of the raid of Ruthven reported that those that stood with Lennox were the George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly, John Maxwell, 1st earl of Morton, his kinsman John Maxwell, 4th lord Herries (of Terregles), Crawford, George Seton, 5th lord Seton, Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, the laird of 'Hidernore', Sir James Balfour, and Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle. The nobles that were with the king at Perth on 31 August 1582, the day before his removal to Stirling, were Argyll, Mar, Atholl, John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose, Andrew Leslie, 5th earl of Rothes, Gowrie, Laurence Oliphant, 4th lord Oliphant, Lindsay, Boyd, Glamis, David Wemyss of Wemyss, the laird of 'Savie', and Tullibardine. Those who were indifferent - not leaning to either side, were George Sinclair, 5th earl of Caithness, Robert Stewart, 1st earl of March, and Marischal.³⁴ The 25 remissions given under the privy seal from 22 August 1583 to 10 November 1584 throw a more focused light on those below the level of peer who took part in the actual raid itself. As can be seen in **Table 20**, these name 30 nobles, six of whom were listed with a total of 35 servants. Glamis together with members of his family and servants made up more than 25% (16) of the total of 60 remittees. The remissions suggest that Glamis took a more active part in the actual raid itself than the others.

A close examination of family ties reveals that they were a perceptible organising feature among the leaders and more prominent members of the Ruthven government headed by Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, Gowrie, and Mar. Glamis, for example, had connections with two out of the three leading figures - Angus and Mar, as well as several others, including Auchnoul, Argyll, William Douglas of Lochleven, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, Home, Cowdenknowes, and Cambuskenneth. However, only those with Home, and, possibly, Mar, were of a secondary nature; none were of a primary or tertiary kind. David Hume of Godscroft remarked, as far as Angus was concerned, 'Gowrie and Glamis were come of his home, Oliphant was of his alliance having married Margaret Douglas daughter to William of Lochleven and Mar was his brother in law'.³⁵ Furthermore, his brother George was not just related to Angus, but, through his marriage, to the 'Mar camp'. Family ties involving less prominent figures were also evident in the remissions that were issued to Glamis's servants, mentioned above. Four of the 13 (30%) named were distant relations (David Lyon, William Lyon, Robert Lyon, and John Lyon), and three (roughly 25%) were probably similarly related to his wife (Thomas Gray, George Gray, and James Gray).

³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 157 - Sept. 1582 - Lords, etc. who stand with the Duke of Lennox.

³⁵ Godscroft, *History*, 366, 368.

<u>Date of Remission</u>	<u>Nobles</u>	<u>Servants</u>
22 August 1583	Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul	5
13 September 1583	James Colville of Easter Wemyss	-
18 September 1583	Robert Douglas of Drumgarland	-
21 September 1583	William Erskine, commendator of Paisley	7
3 October 1583	John Livingstone of Dumpace	-
24 October 1583	Archibald Bruce of Powfoulis and his brother Ninian Bruce (also included as a servitor to David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh)	-
	James Edmonstone of Newton (servitor at the time to Mar)	-
	James Seton of Fullibody, his brother Robert Seton, John Seton, portioner of Garcunock, his sons Alexander Seton and Andrew Seton, and Henry Fairburn, in Gordon	-
23 November 1583	David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh	6
26 November 1583	Henry Ogilvie, son of John Ogilvy of Ballinshoe	-
29 November 1583	William Schaw of Knockhill	-
	Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven	-
	Mathew Colville, brother of Robert Colville of Cleische	-
	Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth	3
	George Auchinleck of Balmanno	1
	Patrick Drummond of Monzie	-
16 December 1583	Glamis	13*
23 December 1583	Robert Colville of Cleische	-
26 December 1583	James Lyon of Easter Ogl	-
	Andrew Gray of Dunnynald	-
	John Lyon of Cossins (younger)	-
27 December 1583	William Douglas of Lochleven	-
2 January 1584	John Ogilvy of Ballinshoe	-
	John Ogilvy of Inverquharity and his son Mr James Ogilvy	-
10 November 1584	Thomas Wischart, brother of John Wischart of Wischart	-
TOTAL	25	35

* David Lyon, William Lyon, Robert Lyon, John Ker, John Young, Andrew Rollock, David Falconer, Thomas Gray, George Gray, James Gray, John Lyon, Mr Andrew Clerk, and Alexander Kesane

Table 20 Remissions given under the privy seal from 22 August 1583 to 10 November 1584 for taking part in the raid of Ruthven (1582)⁴⁰

While some of the leading and more prominent figures had particular personal grievances against the Lennox-Arran administration, particularly Gowrie, to whom the crown owed a considerable amount of money, many appeared to have had serious general concerns about its political and religious intentions.⁴¹ This is particularly evident, for example, in a band that was drawn up at the time of the raid, and, more explicitly, a supplication that they gave to the king at the end of August 1582. The latter argued that, over the last two years, they had suffered 'suche false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions' as a result of the Lennox-Arran administration. Further, that if such intolerable wrongs only touched them rather than the whole commonwealth as well as ministers of the true religion and

⁴⁰ *RSS*, viii, nos. 1463, 1502, 1512, 1517, 1527, 1537-9, 1595, 1606, 1613-17, 1620, 1660, 1680, 1688-1690, 1694, 1712, 1713.

⁴¹ 2543. These entries give the various remissions; *RFC*, iii, 599, 602, 608. The king reiterated his promise on 18 Sept. 1583, and 24 and 31 Oct. 1583 to pardon all concerned in the Raid of Ruthven.

⁴² Halibill, *Memoirs*, 143.

especially, those 'noblemen, barons, burgesses, and communitie' who had served the king worthily in his youth, then they would have carried the wrongs patiently.³⁸ The supplication was a somewhat belated appeal to, or subsequent justification aimed at, diverse political groups and popular opinion. As Lynch has pointed out, the Ruthven raiders were 'an odd coalition of committed radical Protestants, dissidents with a chequered past and even some ex-Marians'.³⁹

The Ruthven government (August 1582-July 1583) received the approval of a convention of estates held in October at Holyroodhouse, but it was qualified.⁴⁰ According to Calderwood, the estates 'refused to descend, in speciall, to the grounds and motives . . . and, therefore, would rather condemne nor ratifie the printed declaratioun of the caus of their interprise'.⁴¹ In contrast, the enterprise and the new regime received unanimous support from the kirk. The general assembly, which met in Edinburgh in the same month, approved of them whole-heartedly: they were an 'action of the reformation'.⁴² Although the provost, barlies, and council of Edinburgh decided to go along with the new regime because Lennox had banished one of their ministers, the burghs generally refused to 'countenance that action in any sort, conceiving, as it fell out, that how soon the King attained his liberty, he would censure and condemn the fact as treasonable'.⁴³ A new relationship developed between the new pro-English regime and the English court. Elizabeth renewed her correspondence with James VI, and Robert Bowes, with his colleague George Carey, 2nd lord Hundson, arrived in Edinburgh, as resident and special ambassadors respectively, soon after the raid had been completed. William Davison followed later, replacing Hundson, and the new government sent two ambassadors to the English court in April 1583.⁴⁴ The Ruthven government tried hard to restore Scotland more firmly to an English alliance, and gained much moral, but little material, support from the English court. Whereas the French gave money, the English contribution was largely limited to words.⁴⁵

Although some evidence, such as the legendary 'better that bairns weep, than bearded men' confrontation with the young king, the fact that it took place near the Lyon foralice of Barkie, the list of remissions, and some contemporary reports clearly mark Glamis as being close to the Angus-Gowrie-Mar

³⁸ Calderwood, iii, 637-40; Halhill, *Memoirs*, 143-5.

³⁹ Lynch, *New History*, 232.

⁴⁰ *APS*, iii, 326. The convention was held on 17 Oct. 1582 at Holyroodhouse and attended by the earls of March, Errol, Bothwell, Marischal, Mar, Rothes, Glencairn, Eglinton, Gowrie, and Morton, the lords Landsay, Home, Ogilvy, Herries, Boyd, Cathcart, and Sinclair, the bishops of St. Andrews, Orkney, and Dunkeld; the commendators of Dunfermline, Newbattle, Culross, Inchaffray, Paisley, Dryburgh, Cambuskenneth, Coldingham, and Pittenweem; the masters of Glamis, Forbes, and Oliphant, three officers – the comptroller, clerk register, and justice clerk; and 'burgh commissioners'. Moysie, *Memoires*, 40. According to Moysie, William Hay, 5th lord Hay of Yester, and Robert Kerth, commendator of Deer, were also present.

⁴¹ *RPC*, iii, 518-19; Calderwood, iii, 689; Halhill, *Memoirs*, 97.

⁴² Calderwood, iii, 677.

⁴³ Quoted in C. Bingham, *The Making of a King: The early Years of James VI and I* (London, 1968), 175.

⁴⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 153-4, 30 Aug. 1582, 187, 18 Oct. 1582, 189-90, 23 Oct. 1582, 251, 18 Jan. 1583 – all Elizabeth to James VI; Calderwood, iii, 714. Mr John Colville and Colonel William Stewart of Caverston had separate audiences with Elizabeth in May 1583.

⁴⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 184-5. Sept. Money sent to Scotland by the Queen of England – £1,000 was sent to Bowes to be employed as directed by the queen and signified by Walsingham, part of this sundry sum was to be used to support the king's guard.

leadership, other record sources suggest that his political relations were somewhat ambiguous.⁴⁶ In February 1583, the French ambassador in Scotland, de la Mothe Fenelon, reported to Mary, queen of Scots, that he had received assurances of loyalty a number of nobles, including Glamis and Crawford.⁴⁷ Just over two weeks later, Thomas Randolph received intelligence that one of the late Lennox's few main confederates was Glamis.⁴⁸ In the following May, William Fowler wrote to Bowes saying that the king had entered into conference with Glamis with a view to the king escaping to Glamis Castle. Glamis pointed out to the king that he was less able to entertain him there now than he was 15 years before - having recently been fined £20,000, mentioned above. The reported dialogue continues as follows:

'Maister, ar yow not yet contented and sufficientlie revenged? If yow had not turned that night to Ruthven those things that were then devised would never taken effect. Weill, maister, I will forgive yow, and if yow will conforme your self to my request your losses shalbe faithfullie repayed yow heirafter'. 'Sir', said he, 'what is your will? Command me in any thing, your majesty shall be obeyed. Yea, wer it in the killing of the best that ar about your Majesty'. The King answered, 'Maister, I meane not so, but because I think it standis not with my honour to be guided by uther mens wills, I would thinges were changed, which yow only may performe iff yow follow my devyse. None miste viseth yow, therfor I will come to the Glamiss whair yow may have such power for that effect that I will remane your prisoner, so that yow debar these from me who heth me at their devotion'.⁴⁹

Fowler concluded that Glamis agreed, and would proceed 'if good counsel prevent it not'.⁵⁰ But Halhill notes that there were sundry noblemen and others in whom the king also trusted and regretted his mishandling.⁵¹ Fowler was keen that the king should not know of his letter to Bowes. He was not only afraid of being suspected, and the subject of the king's hatred, but also Glamis's displeasure, who 'was addebted to Foulers mother more than £4,000 for the chancellor his brother'.⁵² He may also have been concerned about its accuracy, because, in the same month, Glamis was one of several who supported Angus, Mar, and Gowrie in urging the king to request Elizabeth's bounty.⁵³

A slightly different account of the alleged deceit was written in June 1583, only a month before the collapse of the Ruthven regime. Francis Walsingham, the English secretary of state, reported to Bowes that it was rumoured that the king was not pleased with Glamis 'for certain murders by him' - probably the 1581 wounding and slaughter of the Lindsay men, and that Glamis sought some favours

⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 157 - Sept. 1582 - Lords, etc. who stand with the Duke of Lennox (see above).

⁴⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 311 - 27 Feb. 1583 - Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon to Mary - Monsieur de la Mothe Fenelon reported that he had received assurances of loyalty from Bothwell, and well replied to by earls Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, Eglinton, Gilencarm, Marischal, Arden, Morton, an Errol (Ara.); lords Livingstone, Herries, Home, Newbattle, Mondes (sic); master of Glamis, and above all lord Seton and his wife, and well disposed communications from the justice clerk (Lewis Bellenden of Auchinoull) and advocate (David Makgill of Cranston-Ridell).

⁴⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 330 - 14 Mar. 1583 (unknown) to Thomas Randolph - Duke of Lennox's main confederates were reported to be the earl of Huntly, and the lords Home, Seton, Ogilvy, Glamis, and Eglinton.

⁴⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 477-8 - May 1583 - Fowler to Walsingham.

⁵⁰ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 478 - May 1583 - Fowler to Walsingham.

⁵¹ Halhill, *Memours*, 147.

⁵² *CSP Scot.*, vi, 478 - May 1583 - Fowler to Walsingham.

⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 478 - 8 May 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham.

from the king. Walsingham wrote that Glamis would invite to his house (presumably Glamis Castle) Angus, Mar. Gowrie, and others who were responsible for removing Lennox and the other 'ill-affected' away from the king, and then have them apprehended and committed. Walsingham took the sensible precaution of asking Bowes to investigate the truth of this information.⁵⁴ Scotstarvet suggested that the king approached Glamis because he was 'the one individual for who the king entertained a personal regard, having been a companion of his boyhood days at Stirling Castle'.⁵⁵

According to Godscroft, the Ruthven government was doomed because of a disagreement between the treasurer (Gowrie) and the secretary (Dunfermline), and ended with the king's escape to St Andrews.⁵⁶ In April 1583, Bowes noted that Gowrie had taken offence against certain persons (presumably including Dunfermline) who he thought wanted to remove him from office, and that his deputy Murdocairney had advised Gowrie to surrender his treasureship to the king, who, contrary to Gowrie's expectations, accepted his resignation, which decision the king caused to be enacted and recorded by the privy council.⁵⁷ According to Murdocairney's biographer, 'Gowrie had therefore yielded the office a year before, and retained only the name of treasurer, the duties being performed by Sir Robert Melville'.⁵⁸ This act is not among the surviving privy council records, and there is no evidence to suggest that Gowrie was a 'nominal' treasurer. As will be discussed later, a similar accusation has also been levelled at Glamis. In April 1583, Gowrie had probably taken offence against certain persons because the privy council ordered him and Murdocairney to work in consultation with six others, including Dunfermline.⁵⁹ The king's escape was achieved in June 1583 with the principal aid of the captain of his guard, Colonel William Stewart, and not Glamis or others, including Murdocairney.⁶⁰

The Ruthven government was not doomed because of Gowrie's disagreement with Dunfermline alone, but because of a whole complex and changing set of circumstances that prevented it from making policy. It was not able to convene a parliament after taking control, which was the usual custom and practice after such a revolutionary event.⁶¹ Although its leading members had a sufficiently close relationship and adequate numbers and organisation to succeed, they did not share the same basic values and beliefs, and the balance of power did not offer any significant advantage to the king. The close

⁵⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 497. 12 June 1583. Walsingham to Bowes.

⁵⁵ Scotstarvet, *Staggering State*, 55.

⁵⁶ Godscroft, *History*, 377.

⁵⁷ R. Bowes, *The Correspondence of Robert Bowes, Esq., of Aske*, ed. J. Stevenson (Surtess Society, 1842), 416-17. 23 Apr. 1583. Bowes to (unknown).

⁵⁸ W. C. B. Fraser, *The Melvilles, Earls of Melville, and the Leslies, Earls of Leven*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1890), i, 104.

⁵⁹ *RPC*, iii, 564-5.

⁶⁰ Calderwood, iii, 715-16, iv, 448. Halhill, *Memoirs*, 152. Halhill suggests that his elder brother Murdocairney had a considerable share in the escape. The king had visited Murdocairney shortly before that event, and Murdocairney was made a privy council after it.

⁶¹ *APS*, iii, 326. A declaration in favour of the Ruthven raiders was made in a convocation of estates held on 19 Oct. 1582, and was afterwards deleted. *RPC*, iii, 518-9.

relationship, and numbers and organisation were evident in the noticeable number of family ties, such as those of Glamis and Angus, within the regime as a whole. Glamis's alleged ambiguous political loyalties were, to a large extent, a reflection of the diverse political and religious values held by the regime at the time. The fact that the king was not happy with the new government meant that he was not prepared to deal with the leaders wholeheartedly on the basis of a mutual exchange of individual resources of political power. The somewhat shaky administration managed to achieve and maintain its increasingly faltering dominant position only by an unwholesome combination of despotic power and infrastructural power. Family status and other personal qualities and the number and organisation of his supporters, above all, must have enabled Glamis to be close to the Ruthven leadership, and his substantial participation in the raid of Ruthven itself, in particular, enabled him not only to establish and strengthen these political connections, but also gain a deeper insight into the politics at court.

The Raid of Stirling

On 29 June 1583, two days after the king's escape to St Andrews, Bowes wrote to Walsingham and informed him that Glamis was prepared to come to court, but 'the king has stayed him'.⁶² Earlier, Glamis had been charged to enter into ward in Dumbarton Castle within three days.⁶³ Bowes wrote to Walsingham again a month later and advised him of several rumours that were circulating in Scotland. One of these was that Angus, Bothwell, Mar, Lindsay, Boyd as well as various ministers, barons, and others were joined together in a general band, that they had approached Elizabeth for assistance, and that she had sent Hunsdon to Berwick for that purpose. Another was that Marischal, Glamis, John Forbes, master of Forbes, and John Leslie of Balquhan (the 'laird of Buchan') had formed another 'side'. Bowes suspected that some at court were using these rumours to their own ends.⁶⁴ In addition, he reported that the king had caused blanks to be drawn up to be subscribed to by Arran and Mar, and between Crawford and Glamis, to settle their differences, and letters to be sent to Glamis to know what to do. Apparently, Glamis had wanted to answer these personally, but the king would not permit this. Bowes doubted the success of these initiatives.⁶⁵ On 5 August 1583, he wrote to Walsingham to notify him that Glamis had

⁶² *Calderwood*, iii, 715-16; *CSP Scot.*, vi, 520-9, June 1583. Bowes to Walsingham (quote).

⁶³ *Calderwood*, iii, 724.

⁶⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 562-31 July 1583. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁶⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 566-31 July 1583. Bowes to Walsingham.

escaped warding with the help of 'a friend' (possibly Argyll), and wondered how Glamis would be dealt with. Glamis had obtained a licence to depart from the realm at his pleasure, but he was 'so greatly pressed to agree with Crawford that he can only refuse at his peril'.⁶⁶

On 5 August 1583 too, Arran 'came to Falkland that night to the King, and was weill accepted, and within few dayes beganne to look braid'.⁶⁷ Arran took full advantage of the counter-revolution, and effectively soon began a second lease of power.⁶⁸ Murdocairney and Marland were two of the privy councillors in the Arran supremacy (July 1583-July 1585). Both these state officers had been disqualified during Morton's regency, and restored to favour during the earlier Lennox-Arran administration. Crawford was also a leading supporter.⁶⁹ Perhaps the most unexpected Arran ally was Gowrie, who had obtained a remission for his part in the Ruthven enterprise.⁷⁰ The king ordered Glamis and the other Ruthven figures, some of whom were in ward or under a cloud awaiting further censure, to continue to remain away from court, and by the end of the month the new political groupings were beginning to take a more visible form.⁷¹ Whereas initially the king showed little animosity towards the Ruthven rebels, and was prepared to pardon them completely, by the middle of August 1583 his attitude towards them had changed, but not to an extreme.⁷² On 22 August 1583, Bowes wrote to Walsingham to say that it was rumoured 'that Crawford would have (Lord John Hamilton's abbey of) Arbroath for himself, and that the Duke's (Lennox) children should be recompensed with the abbacy of Paisley, now in the hands of Mar, and also take revenge against the Master of Glamis. This the King likes not well'.⁷³ Three days later, Bowes wrote again to advise Walsingham that Mar was not to return until Glamis had left Scotland, which Glamis intended to do soon for his safety.⁷⁴ By the end of the month, Walsingham was informed from the same source that charges had been given out for the 'warding of the Master of Glamis in Dumbarton, and of the Lairds of Lochleven (William Douglas of Lochleven) and Monro (Montroy ?), but the Master of Glamis is already embarked on the King's licence'.⁷⁵

Bowes was wrong: Glamis was still in Scotland. Bowes wrote to Walsingham's deputy, Robert Beale, on 3 September 1583 to say that for

⁶⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 575 - 5 Aug. 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham.

⁶⁷ *Calderwood*, iii, 722.

⁶⁸ *RPC*, iii, 590n.

⁶⁹ *Calderwood*, iv, 197.

⁷⁰ *Calderwood*, iii, 715-16.

⁷¹ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 524 - 3 July 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham.

⁷² *Hallidell Memoirs*, 152-154.

⁷³ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 590 - 22 Aug. 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham.

⁷⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 592 - 25 Aug. 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham.

⁷⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 595 - 29 Aug. 1583 - Bowes to Walsingham. *RPC*, iii, 595 - 'The 'absent' Glamis (and others) had also been ordered to deliver the houses and fortalices of Glamis, Bunkie, Aldbar, and Dod

the full execution of the reconciliation betwixt the Earls of Mar and Arran, and all their friends, order was taken that the said earls and sundry of their chief friends should meet at Castle Campbell on Thursday last. The Master of Glamis came to Stirling before the meeting, and had some conference with Mar: whereupon Arran, without any cause, conceived some distrust that Mar and Glamis intended to surprise him by the way, therefore he did not keep his appointment

It was only after this further attempt at reconciliation that Glamis withdrew, and embarked for Ireland at Dumbarton.⁷⁶ On 10 September 1583, Bowes wrote again to Beale to note that it was understood in court that Glamis had returned to Scotland having been driven back by contrary winds.⁷⁷ The exile of Glamis and others was still an extremely important issue just over a week later. The intensity of it was mainly due to the government's intention to hold a parliament, probably, later that month. As Bowes reported to Walsingham, the forthcoming assembly was to be prorogued, 'excepte that these counsellours shall see Marre, Boyde, Glames and others departed out of the realme, and that they shalbe able to carie their matters by pluralitie of votes'.⁷⁸ Three weeks later, and only two weeks before the holding of parliament, the pressure on Glamis to leave the country had eased. On 11 October 1583, Bowes wrote to Walsingham to advise him that 'the Master Glammys gif he tak gud counsel and behaiff hym self wislye towards his majestie he will get favour'.⁷⁹ But Glamis and the others did not behave themselves wisely, at least as far as Arran was concerned, and, probably, as a direct consequence, the parliament that began on 24 October 1583 was continued twice and reconvened in May 1584.⁸⁰ It was only after the 1583 parliament was prorogued that the bulk of the remissions, including one for Glamis and his servants, given under the privy seal from 22 August 1583 to 10 November 1584 for taking part in the raid of Ruthven were issued (Table 20).⁸¹ Given the controversial nature of some of the business of the May 1584 parliament (discussed earlier), it is perhaps not surprising that Glamis and the others did not seek the king's favour. On 7 December 1583, Glamis attended a convention of estates.⁸²

On 29 December 1583, Bowes wrote to Walsingham and advised him that Argyll had tried to reconcile Crawford and Glamis, and sought the king's permission for Glamis's return to court for this purpose. Crawford was agreeable to this, but Arran put a stop to it. He was annoyed that Argyll and Crawford should deal in this matter without his knowledge. Arran's annoyance was just one indicator that

⁷⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 597—3 Sept. 1583—Bowes to Mr Robert Beale.

⁷⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 590—10 Sept. 1583—Bowes to Mr Robert Beale.

⁷⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 616—19 Sept. 1583—Bowes to Walsingham.

⁷⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 634—11 Oct. 1583—Bowes to Walsingham.

⁸⁰ *APS*, iii, 289, Goodaire, 'Parliament and society', 491—The 1583 parliament did not pass any acts, and, unfortunately, the attendance is not known.

⁸¹ *RSS*, viii, nos. 1463, 1502, 1512, 1517, 1527, 1537-9, 1595, 1606, 1613-17, 1620, 1660, 1680, 1688-1690, 1694, 1712, 1713,

2543—These entries give the various remissions; *RPC*, iii, 599, 602, 608—The king reiterated his promise on 18 Sept. 1583, and 24 and 31 Oct. 1583 to pardon all concerned in the Raid of Ruthven.

⁸² *RSS*, viii, 1660—The precept of remission also included Glamis's domestic servants. These were listed as David Lyon, William Lyon, Robert Lyon, John Ker, John Young, Andrew Rollok, David Falconer, Thomas Gray, George Gray, James Gray, John Lyon, Mr Andrew Clerk and Alexander Kesane; *APS*, iii, 326.

his central position at court was beginning to crumble. As Bowes commented, 'by this and other like quarrels some dryness has sprung betwixt Arran and Argyll and Crawford, and it is seen that no little discord and malice presently reign in Court, and such strange form of government that most wise men think that this (Arran's) estate cannot long endure'.⁸³ About two weeks later, Bowes wrote to Walsingham to say that the 'King is pleased that Glamis shall be licenced to return to Scotland to be reconciled with Crawford, and Glamis is called to be at home very shortly and it is pretended that the King will extend his clemency to all parties who have shown obedience, and thereon he will travail to unite his nobility in concord and if this course proceeds in deed, then some hidden mystery and strange effects will soon after appear'.⁸⁴

The king's course did not proceed. On 20 January 1584, Bowes wrote to Walsingham to advise him that Mar and Glamis were together at Knockfergus, in Northern Ireland, that they had lately sent for Gowrie, and that their servants were presently in Scotland.⁸⁵ The short time scale and lack of servants suggests that the move was sudden. Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh had accompanied Mar and Glamis to Ulster.⁸⁶ According to a letter from Bowes to Walsingham at the end of the month, the late 'convention' was sudden and of small number too. Among other things, it charged Mar and Glamis to pass and remain out of England, Ireland, and Scotland, notwithstanding any former licence granted to them.⁸⁷ On 13 February 1583, Bowes wrote to Walsingham to inform him that it was 'ordained in the cabinet' that Mar and Glamis should be charged to depart from Carrickfergus (Cragfergus) and the three forbidden realms. Angus M'Donnel (or O'Neill) was charged to take the king's letters to that part of Ireland, but refused to assist fully 'for they are well beloved there'. As a result, the king was advised to, and probably did, write to Elizabeth asking her not to receive or allow them to remain in Ireland or elsewhere in her dominions.⁸⁸

The reason why Mar and Glamis were 'well beloved' in Ireland in the early months of 1583 is not clear. They may have acted as intermediaries between Argyll and Captain Nicholas Dawtrely. The ailing Argyll had been heavily involved in the Ruthven enterprise, and taken a further political risk by trying to mediate between Glamis and Crawford. Dawson has recently argued that the link between Argyll and Ireland was particularly strong, but from time to time he was prepared to break this tie to

⁸³ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 686. 29 Dec. 1583. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁸⁴ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 6-7. 7 Jan. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 14. 20 Jan. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁸⁶ *Spottiswood*, ii, 308.

⁸⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 18. 31 Jan. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham; *RPC*, iii, 625-6. This convention was a meeting of the privy council that was held on 31 Jan. 1584.

⁸⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 27. 13 Feb. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham. There is no record of this cabinet in the privy council records. It was probably a meeting of the core members of the privy council; *Calderwood*, iv, 23-4. Calderwood described Angus M'Donnel as Angus O'Neill.

promote Protestant and English interests.⁸⁹ Dawtrey was in charge of the strategically important town of Carrickfergus, and was one of several English garrison commanders who were trying to come to terms with the Irish rebels and Scots mercenaries, and expel the Macdonalds from the Antrim coast. At that time, the English government had good reason to connect the incursions of Scots with a projected invasion of Ireland planned by Spain and the Vatican.⁹⁰ Dawtrey caused much bad feeling in the Scottish court by killing some of Arran's men who were sending munitions into Ireland from the Isle of Arran, and by lending a ship to Mar and Glamis to convey them from Carrickfergus to Scotland to organise their rebellion against Arran in 1584.⁹¹ Arran was still in office when John Perrot, the newly appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, sent Dawtrey as a kind of ambassador extraordinary to Scotland. Dawtrey thought it was a needless journey because he had already persuaded Angus Macdonald not to assist the Scoto-Irish chieftain Sorley Boy MacDonnell, and had, through the earl of Mar, contrived to have Argyll promise to stay any Irish expedition from the Isles.⁹² Mar and Glamis could have been well beloved for any one or more of these or other matters. Glamis himself was but one small strand in a huge international tangle of rumours and events that concerned, among other things, the Catholic league, the intrigue between Henry, 3rd duke of Guise, and Mary, queen of Scots, and the Reformation and Counter Reformation, which were inextricably bound up with national real and imagined plots for the transporting of Islemen and Highlanders to support various groups of Irish rebels.⁹³

In February 1584, as Calderwood recalled, Mar and Glamis were not well beloved by Elizabeth, especially Glamis. James Smollet had informed her 'hardlie of the Master of Glames, to witt, that he had beene in speciall favour with the Duke of Lennox; that he had confessed, in a letter to the Duke of Guise, his ingratitude, and the wrong done to him; whereupon the queene, upon the sinistrous informatioun of this deceitfull and leeing informer, willed the king to beware of the Master of Glames, as of a perellous man'.⁹⁴ An escape to England at that time by Glamis was not an option. Towards the end of February 1584, Bowes informed Walsingham that the king had been advised that Mar and Glamis had departed to Rochelle, and that on arrival in France they would declare themselves to be banished for religion. The advice was wrong again. Most people believed correctly that they were still in Ireland. Arran was annoyed that Mar and Glamis had not left the British Isles, and the king, like Arran, was grieved

⁸⁹ Dawson, *Politics of Religion*, G. A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces in Ireland, 1565-1603* (Dublin, 1937), 126, 160 - For example, he was willing to cease negotiations for supplying Scots mercenaries to the Sean O'Neill in 1566 on condition that Elizabeth undertook to preserve the reformed religion in Scotland, and he was willing to break off his Irish connections, and forego the yearly pension paid to him by 'the O'Neills' in Ulster, in her interest.

⁹⁰ Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces*, 126-7.

⁹¹ N. Dawtrey, *The Falstaff Saga, being the Life and Opinion of Captain Nicholas Dawtrey, sometime Seneschal of Claneboye and Warden of the Palace of Carrickfergus immortalised by Shakespeare as Sir John Falstaff* (London, 1927), 12, 23.

⁹² Dawtrey, *Falstaff Saga*, 166; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, eds. H. C. Hamilton and others, 21 vols. (London, 1860-1912), iii, 110.

⁹³ Dawson, *Politics of Religion*.

⁹⁴ Calderwood, iv, 24.

because Argyll had tried to mediate between Glamis and Crawford. The king reprimanded Argyll, and had his blanks destroyed.⁹⁵ The close political relation between Glamis and Argyll may have been partly the result of the close family relations mentioned earlier.

Bowes wrote to Walsingham on 15 March 1584 to notify him that king and council had been informed that 'one or two gentlemen came of late secretly and muffled into Glasgow, whereupon they think that Mar and Glamis were there', and that Lords John and Claud Hamilton, Angus, Mar, and others were planning 'some sudden enterprise' against them that month.⁹⁶ Five days later, Bowes wrote again to tell Walsingham that the parties were proceeding in earnest, that the actual day was not yet agreed, and that they were still looking for support from England. Mar and Glamis had 'solicited and won many friends on several coasts', and they were all set to return.⁹⁷ By the end of the month, the speed of the enterprise was in question. Calderwood recorded that the 'courtours are affrayed, or seeme to be affrayed, to mak the king affrayed, and to suspect some interprise'.⁹⁸ The personal qualities of the king could be formidable. Nevertheless, this fear was overcome. According to Bowes, the king had been informed that Mar and Glamis had returned from Ireland, and that they intended to join with other lords and hastily attempt some scheme. With this intelligence only partly confirmed, the king and privy council put various protective measures into place, and, consequently, the enterprise was 'likely to proceed with speed or otherwise to receive great hindrance'.⁹⁹ Whereas some considered that 'these dark clouds will dissolve', others thought that 'a violent storm will be had within five days'. Among other measures, the king and privy council ordered the 'servants and dependers' of Angus, Mar, and Glamis to depart from the town (Edinburgh) within three hours; Glamis's wife, Agnes Gray, to leave Edinburgh and her house to be searched for letters and suspects; and Glamis, his wife, and his step-son Robert Logan of Restalrig to surrender Fast Castle, in Berwickshire, which was another Home stronghold second only to Home Castle.¹⁰⁰

A close examination of the records of the privy council meetings held from the end of March to the beginning of April 1584 is instructive. They corroborate Bowes's observations, and clearly reflect the king and privy council's concern about the movements and intentions of Glamis and the other rebel lords

⁹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 34. 24 Feb. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁹⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 39-40. 15 Mar. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

⁹⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 42. 20 Mar. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham. They asked their friends to encourage others in their constancy and readiness, and to let Angus know of their doings with the two Hamilton brothers, whose presence they felt was greatly required. Gowrie, in particular, showed a 'great forwardness' by saying that if his neighbours joined him, then 'there shall be a Gideon in Israel' before the French and the Spaniards can be landed in Scotland. Bowes, who had an obvious interest in this matter, thought that it was 'embraced by many, who cry out for the immediate execution, thinking that the delay breeds peril'.

⁹⁸ *Calderwood*, iv, 23.

⁹⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 52-3. 29 Mar. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

¹⁰⁰ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 55-6. 5 Apr. 1584. Bowes to Walsingham. *RDC*, iii, 644, 649; *Calderwood*, iv, 20. A proclamation was made on 29 Mar. 1584 in Edinburgh charging all those who were allied to Angus, Mar and Glamis, to leave the capital within six hours under pain of treason, and not to come within 10 miles of the king.

Subsequent entries show that these had become very clear to the privy council by 18 April 1584, just one day before Glamis, the other lords, and 'not above 300 men' took Stirling Castle and other strategic places within and about the burgh. Glamis may have been responsible for bringing in the necessary supplies.¹⁰¹ He and the other rebels held on, and waited for reinforcements. Angus, who had hung on for news of Mar and Glamis, had crossed the Spey and was moving south of Brechin. Others had gathered at Perth, and taken Gowrie into their confidence. Gowrie himself was arrested at Dundee on 15 April 1584.¹⁰² Bothwell raised 500 men, but was charged to return to 'his owne house, to Kelso (Flors)'.¹⁰³ Lords John and Claude Hamilton waited on the English side of the Borders ready to assist. In the meantime, Glamis and the others holding Stirling issued a proclamation that denounced the recent tyranny and corruptions in the state and oppression of the kirk, both of which it attributed to 'that godlesse atheist, bloodie Haman, and seditious Cataline, James Stuart, called Erle of Arran' and 'that wicked woman, his purchased wife'.¹⁰⁴ The proclamation, dated 22 April 1583, reflects a strong belief in God and a particular view of the state. Gilfillan has suggested that one can see the ideology of Angus's servitor Godscroft (discussed earlier) within it, which, if that was the case, was done well in advance of the raid of Stirling.¹⁰⁵ The 1584 declaration was very similar to the 1582 supplication mentioned earlier, which was put out 'with special command and licence to be printed' soon after the Ruthven regime had been established, and said to have been written by Colville.¹⁰⁶ As with the supplication, the declaration was a deliberate and well-crafted appeal to diverse political groups and popular opinion.

Lack of immediate reinforcement, the arrest of Gowrie, and the host that the king and Arran had gathered against them, among other things, persuaded Glamis and the others to withdraw from Stirling on 25 April 1584. They left a small garrison of 28 soldiers in the castle, one of whom was one of Glamis's servitors, William Lyon of Nether Balgillo *alias* 'Hollybonnets'.¹⁰⁷ After a disagreement between them, these remaining defenders gave up the castle two days later on the first summoning.¹⁰⁸ Retribution soon followed. In one report, the 'earl of Gowrie, Archibald Douglas, kinsman to the Earl of Angus, and one lion gentleman and kinsman of the Master of Glamis' were executed.¹⁰⁹ In another, it was confirmed that 'execution is done at Stirling on two Douglasses, one Lyon, and one Forbes, late servants

¹⁰¹ *RPC*, iii, 657; *Calderwood*, iv, 31-2; Moysie, *Memoires*, 48. Moysie mentions that Mar, Lord Hamilton, David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh, and certain friends of Angus took the castle on the 19 Apr. 1584, and that Angus and Glamis and others followed and furnished the castle, which, before, had been 'cull victuallin'.

¹⁰² *Calderwood*, iv, 24-5.

¹⁰³ *Calderwood*, iv, 25.

¹⁰⁴ *Calderwood*, iv, 27-31.

¹⁰⁵ *Calderwood*, iv, 27-31; Gilfillan, F. N., 'David Hume of Godscroft: his life and work' (Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1994), 9-10.

¹⁰⁶ *Calderwood*, iii, 651-73. Calderwood reproduced the printed declaration together with a reply of self-defence by Lennox, and the regime's response; *DNB*, xi, 877.

¹⁰⁷ *Oppl MS.*, 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Calderwood*, iv, 34.

¹⁰⁹ *Borders Papers*, i, 224. He is probably the Lion gentleman, kinsman of the master of Glamis, who together with the earl of Gowrie, and Archibald Douglas, kinsman of the earl of Angus, were (wrongfully) said to have been executed in 1584.

to Angus, Mar, and Glamis'.¹¹⁰ In a third, the list had changed for 'Lyon, kinsman to Glamis, was on the scaffold, and yet saved, in whose place the under-canoncer of the castle of Stirling was put down'.¹¹¹ Surprisingly, Crawford had stepped in to save Glamis's kinsman apparently having said: 'Hang who liked (*sic*). Hollie-bonnets should not hang'. Hollybonnets grandmother was a daughter of the house of Crawford.¹¹² It would be nice to think that even such a distant family connection still had such a high political value, but a more realistic reason Crawford's good deed, perhaps, was to 'qualify the fear he has against him for the slaughter of Glamis's brother'.¹¹³

The rebels' strategy for the raid of Stirling is, perhaps, not as certain as first appears. As with the raid of Ruthven, Calderwood's interpretation suggests that the description of both events may even be misnomers in the sense that the plans for changing the existing regime depended primarily upon reason rather than force. He maintained that a small party of nobles and others may have 'invited' the king to Ruthven, and, in the case of Stirling, a similar number not exceeding 200 men, 'according to the ancient lawes of Scotland, used when young kings are misgoverned by evil counsel, intended to conveene at Stirling, meaning nothing, but with all humilitie to have presented a supplication to his Majestie thinking it could not be offensive to his Majestie to present their humble supplication in the manner forsaid'.¹¹⁴ Although Calderwood had an obvious Presbyterian interest in the interpretation of these events, he does introduce, at least, a little doubt about the objective of both raids, especially the second. Having said this, the raid of Stirling in April 1584 was in many ways similar to Mar's forcible seizure of Stirling Castle six years earlier, in April 1578.¹¹⁵

With the advantage of hindsight, Colville lamented that 'gif thai had only conveint thair awin frendis, thai had bein sufficient party to haif recontrit the King and all his companie bot thai thoct it to muche without concurrence of other nobill men for thame alone to tak so gret ane work in hand'.¹¹⁶ In another letter, he told Walsingham that the failure of the raid was due to Gowrie's careless security and, later, after his arrest, the uncertainty as to 'quho had promisit to him, and for yat cause'.¹¹⁷ Glamis took a slightly different view. With the advantage of being present, he thought that they had failed because the 'friends of the lords', who were concerned in the raid, were not sufficiently dealt with and bound by 'express consent, intelligence and bond', and the capture of Gowrie. The friends of Gowrie did not stick to the plan, and, consequently, there were not enough numbers to present themselves in the field if

¹¹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 102 – Apr. 1584 – Declaration of innocence of Angus, Mar, and others.

¹¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 107 – 3 May 1584 – Examination of the death of the Earl of Gowrie.

¹¹² Ogd MS., 6.

¹¹³ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 121 – 10 May 1584 – Walsingham to Davison.

¹¹⁴ *Calderwood*, iv, 150.

¹¹⁵ *CSP Scot.*, v, 287 – 28 Apr. 1578 – Bowes to Walsingham.

¹¹⁶ J. Colville, *The Original letters of John Colville, 1582-1563*, ed. D. Lang (Dunantyne Club, 1858), 52.

¹¹⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 125-6 – 12 May 1584 – Colville to Walsingham.

necessary. Glamis believed that if they had been able to take the field with 1,000 men in time, they would have prevailed without difficulty.¹¹⁸

If Glamis's analysis was correct, then the raid of Stirling failed because, although its leaders had a sufficiently close relationship, the potential to provide adequate numbers, and shared the same basic values and beliefs, they did not have the necessary organisation, and the prior arrangements did not offer a clear advantage to some of their supporters. The organisation was deficient because of the need to communicate over long distances, and too many people were aware of what was happening. At the time of the raid, Angus was south of Brechin, others were gathered at Perth, and Lords John and Claude Hamilton were waiting by the Borders. Gowrie was captured four days before the raid itself, which gave further warning to the Arran regime, and deprived the rebel force of his supporters. The fact that the 'friends of the lords' were not sufficiently dealt with and bound by 'express consent, intelligence and bond' suggests that the basis for a mutual exchange of the individual resources of political power had not been satisfactorily completed for many. Whereas, family status and other personal qualities and the number and organisation of his supporters, above all, brought him close to the leaders of the Ruthven enterprise, Glamis's subsequent involvement with them, especially Mar, enabled him to enhance those political relations, and the failure of raid of Stirling taught him an important lesson in how to work through them in a more effective and efficient political way.

Exile in England

Two days after their departure from Stirling, while their proclamation was still being circulated around the kingdom, Glamis, Angus, Mar, and others made their way to Kelso, where Bothwell 'came furth, and conferred secreetlie with them'.¹¹⁹ Godscroft named the others as 'the abbots of Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, George Douglas of Parkhead, James Douglas of Torthorald and his brother Sir George Douglas, his sons, Sir Alexander Home of Manderston, the lairds of Carmichael, Carnock (Patrick Drummond, apparent of Carnock), and Balwhane (John Leslie of Balquhan) with divers other gentlemen of good sort. There were also divers of the principals of the ministerie turned out after

¹¹⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii 95–29 Apr 1584. Howesto Walsingham.

¹¹⁹ *Calderwood*, iv 33.

them by the persecution of Captain James Stewart (Arran)¹²⁰ Walsingham and Calderwood understood that the dissidents as a whole included:

1. *Without* – Angus, Mar. the two lords Hamilton, **Glamis**, David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh, William Erskine, commendator of Paisley, John Leslie of Balquhan, John Carmichael, younger of Carmichael, Patrick Drummond, younger of Carnock, James Douglas and George Douglas, (both sons of) George Douglas of Parkhead (a natural half brother of Morton), and ministers Andrew Melville, James Carmichael, John Davidson, and Patrick Galloway (also included in 5 below)
2. *Licensed to remain abroad, in effect banished* – Boyd, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, David Wemyss of Wemyss, William Colville of Cleish, Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden, John Seton of Barnes, his brother, James Douglas and Archibald Douglas, two of the four base sons of regent Morton, Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth, and James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee.
3. *Distressed within realm, some captive* – Lindsay, George Douglas, bishop of Moray, Hew Kennedy, master of Cassillis, James Home of Cowdenknowes, George Home of Wedderburn, Magister William Leslie, and others (etc)
4. *Some newly summoned* – Glamis's sister **Margaret Lyon, countess Cassillis**, and Annabelle Murray, dowager countess of Mar, and sundry others.
5. *Some have withdrawn for fear of apprehension* – Drummond, Cathcart, Laurence Oliphant, master of Oliphant, John Forbes, master of Forbes, James Lindsay, master of Lindsay, James Leslie, master of Rothes, James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray, Thomas Boyd, master of Boyd, James Hamilton of Bothwellhauch, and ministers Andrew Hay, Andrew Pollart, Patrick Galloway, and John Clapton.¹²¹

The summons mentioned in, and the forfeitures of, the August 1584 parliament extended this list further. The 31 individuals forfeited were:

Angus, Mar, Agnes Drummond, countess of Mar, **Glamis**, **Margaret Lyon, countess of Cassillis**, Dorothy Stewart, countess of Gowrie, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, Paisley, Magister James Erskine (brother to Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie), Balquhan, George Douglas of Parkhead, James Douglas, George Douglas (his sons), James Douglas of Todholes, John Douglas of Gaspen, William Douglas (son and heir to William Douglas of Bonkle), Patrick Drummond, apparent of Carnock, John Carmichael, younger of Carmichael, Hew Carmichael (his son and apparent heir), **John Lyon of Cossins (younger)**, **James Lyon of Easter Ogil**, Hew Nesbit of Rashill, Patrick Home of Argathie, John Leslie of Largie, Robert Hamilton of the Corse, James Hamilton of Bothwellhauch, Magister John Colville, chantor of Glasgow, Patrick Whitelaw of Newgrange, John Arbuthnott, apparent of Lentusk, and James Murray of Pardowies (brother of William Murray of Tullibardine)¹²²

In addition, 20 were mentioned as being summoned. These were:

Annabelle Murray, dowager countess of Mar, **Agnes Gray**, Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie, Magister William Lelsie (brother of Balquhan), William Douglas of Bonkle, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, Lawrence Oliphant, master of Oliphant, John Forbes, master of Forbes, William Carmichael of Rantrecorse, John Leslie of Auchorties, James Hamilton of the Hags, William Cunningham (natural second son of John Cunningham of Drumquhassil), Michael Elphinstone, William Elphinstone (brothers to Robert Elphinstone, 3rd lord

¹²⁰ Godscroft, *History*, 166

¹²¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 128. May 1584. Nobility and others of Scotland; *Calderwood*, iv, 72. The two lists are not identical. For example, the report to Walsingham includes George Douglas of Parkhead, whereas Calderwood lists his two sons. Calderwood's additions are given in italics. He does not itemise those newly summoned, which suggests that his is the earlier account.

¹²² *APS*, iii, 344.

Elphinstone). **William Lyon of (Nether) Balgillo**. John Livingstone, younger of **Dumpace**. Uthrid MacDowall of Garthland. Uthrid MacDowall, younger of Garthland. John Ross of Craigie. James Marshall of Petcarnis, and Margaret Scott (spouse to Patrick Drummond, apparent of Carnock)¹²³

Family ties were a noticeable and organising feature among the leaders and more prominent members of the dissident group as a whole. In the case of Glamis, for example, he was related to Angus, the two lords Hamilton, the Erskines (Mar. David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh, William Erskine, commendator of Paisley, and Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth), the Douglases (George Douglas, bishop of Moray, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, George Douglas of Parkhead, Archibald Douglas, George Douglas, James Douglas, and James Douglas (natural son of Morton)), Hew Kennedy, master of Cassillis, John Forbes, master of Forbes, James Scrymgeour, constable of Dundee, and Margaret Lyon, countess Cassillis (wife of Lord John Hamilton). Several of these connections were of a primary, secondary or tertiary nature: Margaret Lyon (primary); Lord John Hamilton, Hew Kennedy, master of Cassillis, and (secondary); Lord Claud Hamilton and, possibly, Mar (tertiary) through Elizabeth Lyon mentioned above. Glamis along with Angus, Mar, Dryburgh, Paisley, Carmichael, Carnock, and 40 supporters took refuge in Wark, in Northumberland, on 27 April 1584.¹²⁴ Only seven of the names of this group are listed in the various remissions for 35 persons that were given for taking part in the raid of Ruthven, discussed above (**Table 20**).¹²⁵ These are Glamis, Cambuskenneth, Dryburgh, Paisley, Robert Douglas, fiar of Lochleven, John Lyon, younger of Cossins, and James Lyon of Easter Ogil. All are related to each by blood or marriage (the Erskines through Elizabeth Lyon), and these connections as far as Cossins and Easter Ogil are concerned were strengthened by their senior cadet status within the Lyon family. Whereas the majority of those known to have taken part in the raid of Ruthven came from north of the Forth, those associated with the abortive raid of Stirling represented a greater cross-section of Scottish society, and there was a greater involvement of women.¹²⁶

By the end of April 1584, Glamis had arrived in Berwick to join with Angus and Mar.¹²⁷ Whereas the centripetal force of the raid of Stirling threw the 39-year old Glamis into the very centre of national politics alongside Angus and Mar, a corresponding centrifugal force had taken him and various members of his family to the very edge of their local material resources. On 8 May 1584, Bowes informed Walsingham that the king and the privy council were determined to pursue all the parties

¹²³ *APS*, iii, 316.

¹²⁴ *Border Papers*, i, 218 (Wark).

¹²⁵ *RSS*, viii, 1463, 1502, 1512, 1517, 1527, 1537-8, 1539, 1595, 1606, 1613-7, 1620, 1660 (Glamis), 1680, 1688 (Lyon of Easter Ogil), 1689, 1690 (Lyon of Cossins), 1694, 1712-3, 2543.

¹²⁶ Six of the 78 people named above were women (Agnes Drummond, countess of Mar, Annabel Murray, dowager countess of Mar, Margaret Lyon, countess of Cassillis, Agnes Gray, Dorothy Stewart, countess of Gowrie, and Margaret Scott, spouse to Patrick Drummond, apparent of Carnock).

¹²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 95, 29 Apr. 1584 - Angus and Mar to Walsingham.

involved in the abortive raid with all expedition and violence, beginning in the north and 'first to go against the friends of Glamis'.¹²⁸ Two days later, the privy council ordered Glamis and his wife, Agnes Gray, to hand over Glamis and Aldbar Castles, and his sister Margaret Lyon, countess of Cassillis, to relinquish the strongholds of Cassillis and Dumure, in Ayrshire and Stirlingshire respectively. On 12 May 1584, it charged all persons, servants, dependants, and tenants of Glamis to quit Edinburgh and Leith and not to come within 12 miles of the king, and those who were resident within the same distance from the king not to give them assistance.¹²⁹ Ten days later, the May 1584 parliament passed several measures that, as with other rebels, confiscated Glamis and Agnes Gray's possessions, and revoked all previous grants to them, until the courts could try Glamis for taking part in the raid of Stirling.¹³⁰

The backlash from the raid affected all sections of Scottish society. As Bowes noted on 8 May 1584, 'many ministers, barons and burgesses of the chiefest boroughs in Scotland look daily to be charged and severely dealt withal, and many noblemen and others were holden deeply suspect, the fear spreads so generally through the whole realm that thereby many seek best means to avoid the present fury begun in blood (the execution of Gowrie and the others), and looked to proceed in more extreme manner'.¹³¹ The backlash from the raid was also affected some sections of the English court. On 6 May 1584, just two days after the execution of Gowrie, Bowes notified Walsingham that he had advised Angus, Mar. and Glamis to inform Elizabeth of their arrival in England, explain the reasons for their actions, and to solicit her support. They had already done this, but promised to send further particulars, which were to be drawn up and presented by Colville, who they expected to have been with them by then. He not having come, they proposed to let Glamis do this 'trusting that he shall well satisfy her highness and do the best offices for them'. The main body of exiles were preparing to move from Berwick to Newcastle on 11 May 1584.¹³² On 6 May 1584, Angus, Mar. and Glamis sent a letter to Walsingham, drawn up by Glamis, seeking permission for 'ane maist sufficient persoun amongis ws to present her majeste our declaration' and asking him in the meantime to 'gywe ws speedy advertisment of her majesties guid will and plesur'.¹³³ Bowes sent a covering note to Walsingham supporting the suitability of Glamis as messenger, and emphasising the importance of the proposed mission.

¹²⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 118-19. 8 May 1584. Bowes to Walsingham.

¹²⁹ *RPC*, iii, 662-5, 664-5.

¹³⁰ *APS*, iii, 294-5, 296, 306.

¹³¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 118-19. 8 May 1584. Bowes to Walsingham, 121. 9 May 1584. Davison to Walsingham. Davison reported that they have yet only entered into the blood of Gowrie and the servants of Angus and Mar, Crawford being the mean to save a kinsman and other servants of the Master of Glamis to qualify the fear he has against him for the slaughter of Lord Glamis his brother.

¹³² *CSP Scot.*, vii, 114-17. 6 May 1584. Bowes to Walsingham (x 2); *Border Papers*, i, 224.

¹³³ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 116. 6 May 1584. Angus, Mar. and Glamis to Walsingham.

On 10 May 1584, Colville advised Walsingham that he had met with 'two gentlemen' from Scotland loyal to both Elizabeth and the banished lords at Widdrington, in Northumberland.¹³⁴ From correspondence written later in the year, it is evident that the two gentlemen were Lords Claud Hamilton and John Hamilton.¹³⁵ Colville recounted that whereas Claud Hamilton was quick to favour Elizabeth, the younger brother took three days to respond, saying that he would only seek his brother-in-law's (Glamis) opinion.¹³⁶ On Walsingham's instruction, Colville and Glamis were asked to return to Widdrington to persuade the two brothers to remain constant, and not to receive any offer from Scotland without their knowledge. Colville told Walsingham that the banished lords' situation was not so desperate as was generally believed, and that they had recommended that both he and Glamis should be sent to the English court to explain and present their cause.¹³⁷ On 11 May 1584, the English special ambassador William Davison reported to Walsingham that Glamis had come to him that very day from the lords to let him know in what strait their friends at home stood, what the king had done to try to take control of Edinburgh Castle from its constable, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, and that Angus and Mar and others were leaving for Newcastle the next day.¹³⁸

Glamis was determined to stay a few more days in Berwick in order to 'hear and entertain the better intelligence from and with his friends at home'. His previous experience at Home Castle must have made him very familiar with both sides of the national boundary. Glamis promised to keep Davison informed from time to time, and made a plea for material help from England because the banished lords thought that 'a great part of the ill success of the last enterprise grew from some small ill measure they received from the English court'. Davison concluded that he 'longs to hear what her majesty shall resolve in his service (probably Gogar and his friends at home)'.¹³⁹ On this occasion, Glamis blamed lack of material support or wealth rather than poor numbers and organisation for the failure of their cause at Stirling. Lack of money was becoming an increasingly serious problem to their cause in England. As Walsingham remarked, 'the poor earl of Angus and earl of Mar receive here little comfort otherwise than from Sir Phillip Sidney'. Angus had formed a firm friendship with Sidney during his previous exile in England.¹⁴⁰ It is clear from the correspondence between the banished lords and the English court that

¹³⁴ Melville, *Diary*, 119. Melville was entertained at Berwick by Lady Widdrington, the wife of Sir Harry Widdrington, governor of the town.

¹³⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 389. 1 Nov. 1584. Lord Claud Hamilton to Mr. Henry Anderson.

¹³⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 403. 8 Nov. 1584. Colville to Walsingham.

¹³⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 125-6. 12 May 1584. Colville to Walsingham.

¹³⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 123-5. 11 May 1584. Davison to Walsingham. Arran was the captain or keeper of Edinburgh Castle, and the Archibald Douglas, as constable, would report to him; *Calderwood*, iii, 396. Archibald Douglas was the brother of John Douglas of Tilliculdie.

¹³⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 123-5. 11 May 1584. Davison to Walsingham.

¹⁴⁰ *Letters and Papers Illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the Sixteenth Century (Hamilton Papers)*, ed. J. Bam, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1890-1892), ii, 523. R. Howell, *Sir Phillip Sidney the Shepherd Knight* (London, 1968), 188. M. Wallace, *The Life of Sir Phillip Sidney* (Cambridge, 1965), 321.

Glamis was acting as an agent of Walsingham, and that his doings in this respect were tied in with those of Colville. Gilfillan has argued that there were two distinct sets of 'invisible' political relations between England and Scotland during this period. One was centred on Walsingham, Colville, and the exiled lords, and the other was focused on Hundson, Arran, and Elizabeth.¹⁴¹ Although Angus, in particular, was very familiar with the English court, and he and the other exiles had the support of Walsingham, Elizabeth was another matter.

Elizabeth did not collaborate with the raiders of Ruthven and Stirling, and had given them little support since. This was particularly evident in the correspondence between Walsingham and Davison dated 15 May 1584. She had been acquainted with contents of the letter of 11 May 1584, and had asked Walsingham to let Glamis know that there was no hope of relieving the constable of Edinburgh Castle except by mediation, 'wherein she will omit nothing that shall be found expedient to bring the same to good effect'.¹⁴² But the concerns of Glamis and the others ranged much wider than the single and extremely important issue of Gogar's control of the castle.¹⁴³ This is very apparent in the letter they wrote to Elizabeth on 14 May 1584 giving further particulars of the reason for their actions, and to solicit her support once again.¹⁴⁴ Five days later, the day the May 1584 parliament began, Glamis drafted a letter that was sent to Walsingham on behalf of Angus, Mar, and himself to say that Coville had been sent to London to present their cause to Elizabeth in person, and reiterating their allegiance to England. They made the point that 'gif we had bein as familiar with La Mot (de la Mothe Fénelon) and Mainville (de Meneville) as we wes with Mr Robert Bowes and Mr Davesone we had nocht bein persecutit this day'.¹⁴⁵ They were certainly not on familiar terms with that quarter. This is reflected in a letter to Mary, queen of Scots, written less than a month earlier, describing Angus, Mar, and Glamis as 'malcontents' and attributing the design of the raid of Stirling to Protestant ministers. The anonymous writer prayed that the king would respond against them in arms.¹⁴⁶ This time, the blame for their current predicament was deftly laid on a different ideology (their belief in England rather than Protestantism or a particular view of the state) rather than lack of wealth or poor numbers and organisation.

¹⁴¹ Gilfillan, 'Godscroft', 11. Gilfillan argued that it is possible to detect these two distinct threads, although at one point, when Walsingham was ambassador in Scotland, they both merged. A. Haynes, *Invisible Power* (London, 1992) - Walsingham had been a special ambassador to Scotland during the summer of 1583, and Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hundson, had been taken on in a similar role in the Autumn of the previous year.

¹⁴² *CSP Scot.*, vii, 130 - 15 May 1584 - Walsingham to Davison.

¹⁴³ The control of Edinburgh Castle had been a critical issue in the recent civil war when William Kirkcaldy of Grange held it for the Marianists by from 1571 to 1573. It was eventually taken with the help of English artillery.

¹⁴⁴ Calderwood, iv, 47-9.

¹⁴⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 141 - 19 May 1584 - Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Walsingham.

¹⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 93 - 26 Apr 1584 - (unknown) to Mary.

Glamis left Berwick on 18 May 1584, and four days later wrote to Davison from Newcastle to keep him up to date, thank him for the friendship the banished lords had received from him, and express concern about the wisdom of sending to London Colville, who Glamis argued was not sufficiently familiar with their cause.¹⁴⁷ Angus, Mar. and he were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with Colville. Godscroft recalled that he did not seem to be achieving anything, and that there was an inevitable suspicion about someone who had left the ministry to become a spy.¹⁴⁸ On 23 May 1584, Davison advised Walsingham that he had not yet heard from Glamis, which had made him doubt whether the banished lords had sent him to London.¹⁴⁹ They had not. On 29 May 1584, Glamis wrote again to Davison from Newcastle to say that he understood that the recent parliament in Edinburgh 'hes down mekle in declaring yer intention towart ye piece in religoun and commoun weill off both yir realms, quairoff we thank God'. He was keen for Davison to go to Scotland so that he could see for himself 'gryt abuis in Curt tending to ye wraik off religoun and hurt of his majesties persoun togydder with ye disquieting of ye piece of both yir nationis, and ane gryter desyr in ye haill cuntrey both in the nobilitie and broches (town dwellers) to sie yer materes amendit nor I can writ'. Glamis told him - 'as my Lords Mar and Angus willes me to writ on yer credite', how he could keep secretly in touch with him through John Reid, who was a 'near cousin' of Mar, describing in detail how to use invisible ink. Glamis intended to stay in Newcastle for two or three days to receive news from Colville before moving up to Berwick or other parts of the Borders to 'gett trustey deling with our friendis at home'.¹⁵⁰ Glamis's views about the state of Scotland, his familiarity with invisible ink, and his keenness for intelligence are instructive. On 10 June 1584, soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, Davison wrote to Walsingham to tell him what he had seen for himself at the Scottish court, and described the various overtures that had been made to several of the banished lords, including Glamis, who had received 'many large offers'.¹⁵¹ Perhaps not so surprisingly, only one week later, Elizabeth wrote to Angus, Mar. and Glamis at Newcastle recognising their innocence and duty, and promising to use all means of mediation to secure their safety and favour 'as appertains to men of your quality and desert towards us'.¹⁵²

Godscroft noted in a draft manuscript to his book that Elizabeth wanted the exiles to go from Berwick to Newcastle in order 'to secure and content the courtiers of Scotland by taking that thorn out of their foot'. In his book, he noted that they were removed for the same reason but 'from the borders where

¹⁴⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 143-4. 22 May 1584 - Glamis to Davison.

¹⁴⁸ Godscroft, *History*, 393-4.

¹⁴⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 150-3. 23 May 1584 - Davison to Walsingham.

¹⁵⁰ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 143-4. 29 May 1584 - Glamis to Davison.

¹⁵¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 184. 10 June 1584 - Davison to Walsingham - His general view was that both the king and court were guided and governed by the appetite of his mother, and that the conjunction of mother and son was dangerous for the 'Queen of England's person and state, perilous to her friends, and most hurtful to the common cause of religion'.

¹⁵² *CSP Scot.*, vii, 190-1. 17 June 1584 - Elizabeth to Angus, Mar. and Glamis.

they lay (as it was given out) in wayte for some opportunity to trouble the country with factions and divisions'. According to the manuscript, Angus and the other lords were 'lodged together in a goodly fayre house of a merchants in the town called Master Bridges'. Godscroft described a conversation they had there 'in an afternoon talking merrilie together in a withdrawing chamber . . . amongst other things they had some speech of pedigrees'.¹⁵³ As discussed earlier, Godscroft envisaged Scotland, including Highlands and Borders, as a cultural and historic whole, which was inherently integrated through a complex synthesis of kin, Calvinism, and classical politics. In his book, he emphasised the kindness of Angus in inviting the exiled ministers, including James Melville, to leave Berwick and join him and the other lords at Newcastle, and mentions that 'for a long time they were wholly maintained by them'. Although many of these ministers had lent support to the Ruthven government, they made it very clear that they had not participated in the raid of Stirling.¹⁵⁴ James Melville established a strict Calvinistic regime for the exiled lords at Newcastle, which was also administered to them there later by John Davidson and Patrick Galloway.¹⁵⁵ Despite 'nocht knowing thir cause weil and disposition of ther hart', Melville described the exiled lords as the 'Godlie and Noble men of Scotland' who were in England for 'the guid cause of God's kirk, thair King and country'. Angus, perhaps for obvious reasons, was singled out as being 'gud, godly, wyse and stout'.¹⁵⁶

On 17 August 1584, three days before the start of the August 1584 parliament, Hundson reported to Davison that Arran had charged Angus, Mar, and Glamis with an active involvement in Ireland earlier that year.¹⁵⁷ This accusation was the result of an examination by the privy council on 31 July and 4 August 1594 of George Drummond of Blair, who had been in conversation with his fellow captive Robert Douglas, provost of Glencluden. The latter had mentioned that Glamis was prepared to settle his differences with Crawford through Lindsay. Crawford was said to have disliked Arran and his government and was, in effect, 'wonne to their partie' in a plot to take Edinburgh and kill Arran.¹⁵⁸ Two days later, Hundson wrote to Walsingham to say that if the king did not know of great numbers of Scotsmen being sent to Ireland, then Argyll or Lauchlan Mackintosh of Dunachton must have been party to it. He thought that Mackintosh was the more likely of the two because he had done the like before, but not in such numbers. Argyll was less a likely suspect because he would not do anything that would offend the king. Angus, Mar, and Glamis wrote to Hundson protesting their innocence. Glamis wrote at more

¹⁵³ Gillilan, 'Godscroft', 143-4 (manuscript version - NAS - TD 87.86)

¹⁵⁴ Melville, *Diary*, 95; Godscroft, *History*, 393.

¹⁵⁵ Melville, *Diary*, 121-7. Angus, in particular, was on very good terms with Melville, who stayed at Newcastle until Nov. 1584. He was replaced as minister by Patrick Galloway; G. Donaldson, 'Scottish Presbyterian exiles in England, 1584-1588', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xiv (1962), 76.

¹⁵⁶ Melville, *Diary*, 121.

¹⁵⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 279-80 - 17 Aug. 1584 - Hundson to Davison.

¹⁵⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 169-70 - May 1584 - Address by Mr James Lowson to the Provost and Bailies of Edinburgh.

length than the other two, adding that he would not put himself in Crawford's hands by becoming so involved, and as 'for the conspirators within the Castle (of Edinburgh), his acquaintance with them was so little that that he never had any dealing with them'.¹⁵⁹ On 8 August 1584, Gogar delivered Edinburgh Castle to Arran and fled.¹⁶⁰ On the same day, Hundson wrote to Arran, and, three weeks later, sent a letter to Walsingham to say he could not find anything incriminating in Blair's confession.¹⁶¹ Later in the year, another report confirmed this view, but only on the grounds that Blair's deposition was full of 'leazings', especially with regard to Glamis, and Blair was only one witness and had never joined the banished lords' cause.¹⁶²

On 20 August 1584, the day the August 1584 parliament began, Angus, Mar. and Glamis wrote to Robert Dudley, 1st earl of Leicester, from Newcastle asking him to trust in Colville's account of their desperate situation, which 'surelie the ingyne of man colde not have invented a greater destructione for us and our saide cause, except wee had loste our lives'. They were keen that Colville followed Leicester's advice precisely because he was the 'chiefe wordlie comforte and assurance we have next her majestie'. They also wrote to Colville the same day giving him precise instructions concerning their grievances and their petition to Elizabeth. They wanted her support in lifting communication restrictions, restoring their livings, their remaining at Holy Island, and proroguing the current parliament or, at least, preventing it from passing any act that was prejudicial or hurtful to their interests.¹⁶³ Their last request was too late. As mentioned above and earlier, the reconvened parliament, among other things, forfeited those who were convicted (or to be convicted) of the raid of Stirling, and ratified gifts to George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly, and Patrick Gray, master of Gray, of the living of Glamis's nephew, Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, which Glamis had previously held as his tutor.

Towards the end of the year, the exiled lords' position in the north of England was becoming uncomfortable and less assured. On 13 November 1584, Colville drafted a letter for Lord John Hamilton, Angus, Mar. and Glamis, which was sent to Walsingham, complaining that Davison was misrepresenting their cause in Edinburgh, and that their part of the Borders was 'almost stoppit to ws in suche sort that our friendis at home thinkis ws ether deid or imprisonit'. There were other difficulties that could not be put in writing. They craved his usual favour as this time 'nixt hir majeste your honour is our only vardy comfort'. On the same day, Angus wrote independently in a different tone to William Cecil, 1st lord Burghley, expressing loyalty and thanking him for often finding himself 'honourably and courteously

¹⁵⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 284-5, 19 Aug. 1584. Hundson to Walsingham.

¹⁶⁰ *Calderwood*, iv, 170-3.

¹⁶¹ *Calderwood*, iv, 188; *CSP Scot.*, vii, 304-5, 29 Aug. 1584. Hundson to Walsingham.

¹⁶² *CSP Scot.*, vii, 352, Oct. 1584. Reply to Arran's answer.

¹⁶³ *Calderwood*, iv, 192-4.

used.¹⁶¹ Worldly comfort was short in coming to the banished lords from the English court during the winter of 1584-5. By the end of 1584, Elizabeth had decided to move them from Newcastle to Oxford or Cambridge in order to give mediation a better chance of success.¹⁶⁵ According to Calderwood, they were asked to consider Cambridge.¹⁶⁶ On 10 January 1585, Walsingham informed Colville that Elizabeth was determined to relieve their distress, but not so fully as they wished. She explained to them personally through Walsingham that mediation rather than violence was the better course of action, and that it was 'meet to make some trial – not without very great hope of very good success – before she has recourse to hard and doubtful remedies'.¹⁶⁷ On the following day, Colville wrote to Walsingham to give him the reaction of the lords to Elizabeth's small comfort and their proposed removal. Despite being forewarned earlier, they were 'so amazed as wes incredibill', and Mar 'cannot yet be comforted'. Mar and Glamis sent for their wives because they thought that 'it shall be no small displeasure to their ladies if they remove before they be made acquainted with their meaning'. Colville thought that other more urgent causes seemed to move them, which he did not wish to know about.¹⁶⁸

On 13 January 1585, Angus, Mar, and Glamis wrote to Walsingham to thank him for his continual pains to them and their cause, and to suggest that their removal be delayed in order that they might receive more financial help from England or find some other means to save their desolate friends from creditors and imprisonment. They asked Walsingham to thank the mayor of Newcastle for his courtesy to them.¹⁶⁹ They also wrote to Elizabeth on the same day on the same matter and to say, in addition, that their friends in Scotland might object to the removal without their first being informed, and that one month earlier they 'were credibilly informed that ane monthe ago our unfrendis in Scotland and sum passing by this way spak in derision that that suld put ws lyk childring to the scoolis at Oxford'.¹⁷⁰ Eleven days later Walsingham wrote to assure Glamis of the queen's good meaning, and requested him to 'use his credit and best persuasions to move the lords to take good part' in her strategy.¹⁷¹ At the end of January 1585, Angus, Mar, and Glamis wrote separate letters to Walsingham and Bowes to say that they intended to leave Newcastle by the 10 February 1585, and to confirm their obedience to Elizabeth.¹⁷² They left Newcastle on that date and travelled to Norwich, stopping to write from Stamford, in

¹⁶¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 408. 13 Nov. 1584. Angus to Burghley.

¹⁶⁵ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 158-60. Nov. 1585. Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling. Master of Gray's Account. The mediation was centred on Gray's mission to London to promote a defence league between the two states. By the end of 1584, both the king and Arran believed the mission had been a complete success, and, at one point, in order to reinforce this 'delusion' the English administration wanted the banished lords to leave Newcastle and move south.

¹⁶⁶ *Calderwood*, iv, 245-6.

¹⁶⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 532. 10 Jan. 1584. Walsingham to Colville.

¹⁶⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 532-3. 11 Jan. 1585. Colville to Walsingham.

¹⁶⁹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 534. 13 Jan. 1585. Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Walsingham.

¹⁷⁰ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 685-6. 13 Jan. 1585. Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Elizabeth.

¹⁷¹ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 543. 24 Jan. 1585. Walsingham to Glamis.

¹⁷² *CSP Scot.*, vii, 545. 30 Jan. 1585 (x 2). Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Walsingham, and Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Bowes.

Lincolnshire, Huntingdon, in Cambridgeshire, and Cambridge on their way.¹⁷³ An English minister, Miles Moss, administered to them at Norwich, and recalled happy memories of their piety.¹⁷⁴

About the end of January or early February 1585, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan revealed three plots, corroborated by a signed deposition by James Edmonstone of Duntreath (later a shire commissioner to parliament). In the last and most viable plot, eight men - two servants each of Lord John Hamilton, Angus, Mar. and Glamis, would attempt to kill the king. The accusations were taken seriously. John Cunningham of Drumquhasil and Malcolm Douglas of Mains were executed in Edinburgh on 9 February 1585 on the charge.¹⁷⁵ On 23 February 1585, Angus, Mar. and Glamis wrote to Walsingham from Huntingdon to express their concern about serious charges concerning three of their servants - Andrew Rollock and John Ker of Greenhead (both servants of Glamis), and Thomas Home (a servant of Mar), and assured him that there were no evil intentions towards the king. Walsingham replied on 5 March 1585 to say that he did not doubt that they would clear themselves, and the trial could be useful to the banished lords cause in confirming their innocence.¹⁷⁶ They arrived in Norwich on 28 February 1585, and replied from there on 10 March 1585 to say that they agreed to be tried, that they had sent (two of) their servants to London, and that they hoped the matter would not be passed over, as was the case with Blair.¹⁷⁷

The trial began in London on the following day, when Greenhead and Thomas Hume purged themselves of the crime that was put before them by the Scottish justice-clerk, Auchnoull. On 1 April 1585, Angus, Mar. and Glamis, went to London, and, within eight days, Auchnoull charged them in the presence of the English chancellor (Thomas Bromley), treasurer (Burghley), and Hunsdon, of being the authors of the three plots. Calderwood commented that although 'they cleared themselves worthily, the Maister of Glames taking the speech in hand', the queen's decision on their innocence was deferred and they remained in fast at Westminster.¹⁷⁸ Spottiswood noted that 'the master of Glamis, answering for the rest, made their innocency in that particular to be clearly seen, which was heard no less willingly by the judges than delivered by the speaker'.¹⁷⁹ Godscroft was probably correct when he stated that the whole approach and examination was a charade that had to be gone through to satisfy the Arran regime.¹⁸⁰ Auchnoull left London to return home on 10 May 1585. Two days later, Sir Phillip Sidney was sent by the queen to visit Angus, Mar. and Glamis, who were still attended by Andrew Melville and other

¹⁷³ Calderwood, iv, 359; *Warrender Papers*, i, 176-7.

¹⁷⁴ M. Mosse, *Scotland's Welcome: A Sermon* (London, 1603), 64-5.

¹⁷⁵ *RHC*, iii, 722; Calderwood, iv, 347-8, 352-66; Moysie, *Memoires*, 52.

¹⁷⁶ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 569 - 5 Mar. - Walsingham to Angus, Mar. and Glamis.

¹⁷⁷ *CSP Scot.*, vii, 588 - 10 Mar. 1585 - Angus, Mar. and Glamis to Walsingham; Calderwood, iv, 359.

¹⁷⁸ Calderwood, iv, 352, 352-359 - These seven pages record Glamis's answer to Auchnoull.

¹⁷⁹ Spottiswood, ii, 324-5.

¹⁸⁰ Calderwood, iv, 348; Godscroft, *History*, 400.

ministers. in their lodgings in Westminster. to give them comfort. and to assure them of her good affection Godscroft advised them on their petitions that were to be presented to her at Westminster Palace the following week. One of them was appointed to confer with Walsingham on the same matter.¹⁸¹ Godscroft also advised them on the roles they had to adopt. and how to petition the queen.¹⁸²

The exiled lords were not only mindful of the English and Scottish courts. but also the French court as represented by its various ambassadors and agents. such as de la Mothe Fenelon and de Meneville mentioned above. and what remained of the household of Mary. queen of Scots. in England. On 1 July 1585. Monsieur Fontenay wrote to Mary's secretary. Claude de la Boisseliere Nau. who had been on missions to Scotland in 1579 and 1581. Fontenay was particularly anxious about Glamis's presence in England. He wrote:

*So long as Glamis remains there. the cruelty wherewith he has always treated me ought to have been only too evident a token to you of his malice and ill-will towards you. his extreme spite against you. as I have been again warned since my return. and that he seeks surreptitiously all possible means to seduce Gray. and to develop the plot which he makes with Hundson to remove you from her majesty. it is earnestly desired to have some other of their country in her service. He knows well that you wished to make use of him to combat him. and that the occasion of the office wherewith you have caused me to be honoured is to throw dust in his eyes. Now do not doubt that he will do his utmost to be avenged. witness for myself personally the favours that he has done me personally with Guise. in whose service. notwithstanding all that you have written to me. I did not wish (xxx). I am quite resolved not to pledge myself in any wise. as well in respect of (xxx). who has entire ascendancy over him as for the great appearance that there is of the ruin of his house. I content myself with the past. and refuse to return to it again ...*¹⁸³

During their stay in England. the leaders of the banished lords had regular contact with Patrick Gray. master of Gray (Gray). who was Glamis's nephew-in-law until May 1585.¹⁸⁴ Gray. like Angus. was a friend of Sir Philip Sidney. Although Mary. queen of Scots. had commissioned Gray to represent her interests at the court of her son. he betrayed her to both the king and Arran. Elizabeth first received him in August 1584. and. although she doubted 'greatly of his good meaning'. she approved his proposal to remove Arran from power through the return of the banished lords.¹⁸⁵ On 5 August 1585. Angus. Mar. and Glamis wrote to Walsingham from London concerning 'the matter'. but having just heard of Arran's commitment in to custody. to say that they proposed to delay writing to Elizabeth. and ask his advice on

¹⁸¹ Calderwood. iv. 366. Melville. *Diary*. 148-9. Other ministers included James Melville. Patrick Galloway. and Walter Balcanquhal.

¹⁸² D. Calderwood. 'Extracts from Calderwood's larger MS history. December MDLXXXIV'. in *Miscellany I*. ed. D. Lang (Wodrow Society. 1844). 425.

¹⁸³ *CSP Scot.*. viii. 1. 1 July 1585. Monsieur Fontenay to Monsieur Nau.

¹⁸⁴ *NAS - Calendar of Deeds*. xxiii. 395. 31 May 1585 - Obligation by Patrick Gray. master of Gray to Elizabeth Lyon. Melville. *Diary*. 221-2.

¹⁸⁵ *CSP Scot.*. vi. 484. 2 June 1581. Answers to Mary. Elizabeth first received him in Aug. 1584. although she doubted 'greatly of his good meaning'.

how to do this.¹⁸⁶ They were told not to proceed to the Borders as that would 'prejudyce then help the cause', but it was very apparent that they were ready to do so.¹⁸⁷ In the following September, Walsingham informed the English special ambassador in Scotland, Edward Wotton, that they would be 'let slip' at the proper time to take Arran and 'seize the person of the king'.¹⁸⁸ At the end of that month, Glamis was allowed to go the Borders to consult with his friends, his visit to be kept secret.¹⁸⁹ In the middle of the next month, Angus, Mar, and Glamis, with about 40 others (roughly the same number of supporters who had come south with them) crossed the border into Scotland. By the end of that month, they were in Jedburgh.¹⁹⁰

This time the leading and more prominent members of the dissident group as a whole had a sufficiently close relationship, adequate numbers and organisation, shared basic values and beliefs, and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, an approach that recognised the need for a balance of power, all of which would enable them to succeed. Most of them had been living together in exile for 14 months, and they had taken great trouble to communicate effectively with both the English court and their families and friends at home. Glamis was especially adept at this. The closeness and the depth of the organisation and numbers were evident in the family ties that existed between Glamis and the others in Walsingham and Calderwood's lists of those that were out of favour with the Arran government. The aspiring political community as a whole consisted of a highly complex set of political relations that eventually had the potential to attract sufficient support to form policy. The shared basic values and beliefs were clearly expressed in the exiled lords' manifesto, which was a clear attempt to influence various political groups and popular opinion from the beginning. The publishing of the manifesto showed that Glamis and the other lords had become much more aware of the need to connect politically with others in order to succeed. As far as Glamis's political relations were concerned, he managed to maintain his position at the very centre the community as a whole, despite the fact that he and his family were thrown to the very edge of their material resources.

¹⁸⁶ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 56. 5 Aug. 1585. Angus, Mar, and Glamis to Walsingham, 673-5. 13 Aug. 1585. Walsingham to Wotton.

¹⁸⁷ *Hamilton Papers*, ii, 669. 7 Aug. 1585. Walsingham to Wotton.

¹⁸⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 680; *Hamilton Papers*, ii, 697.

¹⁸⁹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii, 702. 28 Sept. 1578. Walsingham to Wotton.

¹⁹⁰ *Border Papers*, i, 379. 25 Oct. 1585. Sir John Forster, warden of the marches, informed Walsingham that he had received a letter from Bothwell, Angus, Home, Glamis, and Cessford asking him to 'stave my marches from making any invasions ... because they take the whole force of the Borders with them', 382 (Jedburgh).

Conclusion

Glamis's political relations were not straightforward, and continued to evolve over time. They were inextricably bound up with those of others, and necessarily depended on the individual political resources of political power available to him, such as those relating to numbers and organisation and wealth already considered. The raid of Ruthven proved to be a significant political threshold for Glamis. It enabled him to step near to very heart of the somewhat shaky and short-lived Ruthven government, which managed to achieve and maintain its increasingly faltering dominant position only by an unwholesome combination of despotic power and infrastructural power. The events leading up to the raid of Stirling, and the exile in England, isolated Glamis from his family and friends at home, and he and his colleagues made strenuous efforts to maintain their organisation and numbers, especially in Scotland. This was particularly evident, for example, in the religious regime set up by James Melville in England, and, more especially, the various letters that passed between them and others and the English diplomatic representatives. But whereas the abortive raid of Stirling and exile in England took Glamis to the very centre of national politics alongside Angus and Mar, the same events carried him and various members of his family to the very edge of their local material resources.

The three political episodes throw considerable light on the resources of political power that were available to Glamis in terms of personal qualities, ideology, and violence. There can be no doubt that Glamis had a friendly and forceful, if not charismatic, personality. For fourteen months he maintained a close and intimate association with the other exiles in England, he was well beloved in Ireland, and he and Mar won many friends on several coasts. It was he whom the exiled lords chose to present their case to Elizabeth and the English court, and Walsingham requested to use his credit and best persuasions to move his companions in England. Glamis had an exceptional ability to reason, communicate, and persuade. He was also a man of strong principle and a profound sense of justice. This was particularly evident in the feud with Crawford, which began while his brother was head of the family. Glamis stoutly maintained his family's dispute with the earl, and subscribed to an ongoing series of assurances. It would have been easy for him in the difficult times to accept a convenient reconciliation. It was only after the king and the inadequate justice system failed him that he resorted to other means. Reason and the law came before his Machiavellian or violent tendencies. Rumours of assurances to Mary, queen of Scots, confederation with Lennox, letters to the Duke of Guise, and plots against the king promoted an unwarranted image of political intrigue and deceit. His association with Walsingham and use

of invisible ink, for example, no doubt reinforced this damaging image that was used against him at times. Calderwood made a particular point of defending him. Glamis was a man of deep and immeasurable political intrigue, but not unfathomable political deceit.

Glamis's political motives are particularly difficult to assess. As Young has pointed out, for example, several traceable motives may exist, but there is always the possibility that the one that really mattered had left no trace. As discussed earlier, various contemporary estimates of peers suggest that Glamis was consistent in his pro-English and Protestant ideological stance over the period. The firmness of this assessment is seriously undermined by the fact that Glamis was one of those who helped persuade Morton to resign the regency, and the rumours of assurances to Mary, queen of Scots, confederation with Lennox, and letters to the Duke of Guise mentioned above. These rumours were not only rebuffed by Calderwood, but also ignored by Elizabeth and the predominantly Protestant English court. They were also the reason for Fontenay's anxiety about Glamis's presence in England. Glamis himself spelt out his particular ideological position in his passionate plea to Davison to see for himself in Scotland the wreck of religion, king, and whole country: nobles and broches. His standpoint largely corresponds with Godscroft's ideal conception of Scotland as being inherently integrated through a complex synthesis of family, Calvinism and classical politics, but not quite. Glamis's belief in ancient and noble family is reflected in the traditional style of the rebuilt Aldbar Castle, and his participation in the chivalric practice of breaking lances, discussed earlier. Whereas Angus and Mar were committed Calvinists – they invited James Melville to Newcastle, who established a Calvinistic regime – Glamis was of an Episcopalian persuasion. He was not typical of the other leaders of the exiled lords in this respect. This is particularly evident in his letter to Davison in which he approved of the 1584 Black Acts, which reaffirmed Episcopal government and asserted the supremacy of the king, parliament, and council over the church and the three estates. His support for an Episcopalian church had the potential to strengthen any political ties he had with England and the Scottish king, and weaken those he had with Angus and Mar. He clearly saw society in terms of two distinct classes – the nobility to which he belonged, and the non-nobility or broches.

Violence was normally a last resource. As discussed earlier, there was an incremental continuum ranging from reason to violence when it came to both legitimate and illegitimate political action. Glamis took part in Cathcart's expedition to Flanders, held the keepership of Home Castle, and supported Morton's forces that successfully confronted those led by Argyll and Atholl. He had a considerable experience of legitimate violence. He also had a considerable experience of illegitimate violence, both in the locality and at Stirling. His capacity for violence was exceptional. This is

particularly evident in his reported reply to the king in which he offered to kill the best about his majesty, and the fact that the king regarded him on the same level of ability as the captain of the royal guard, Colonel William Stewart, when the king was looking for a principal means of escape from the Ruthven regime. James Johnstone and John Lyon, younger of Cossins, were two notably violent people who served Glamis. It is noticeable that it was Glamis or his servitors' latent ability to carry out violent acts that put fear into Crawford, not the other way round, and that it was Glamis's friends who were the first targets for reprisals when the raid of Stirling collapsed. Given his exceptional capacity for violence, it is surprising to find that Glamis may not have been at the forefront of the raid of Ruthven or the raid of Stirling. On both occasions, there were reports of him arriving late. In the case of Stirling, he was probably responsible for bringing in the victuals. Glamis and Marischal walked away from the earlier dispute between Lennox and Gowrie at Perth. Glamis took a strategic view when reviewing the failure at Stirling. It seems very likely that Glamis's use of violence was highly measured, considered within a broad strategic context, and informed by a great deal of experience.

6. The 1585 Parliament

*Parliament itself would not exist in its present form had not people defied the law.*¹

The primary purpose of this study is to find out whether or not the family was an important factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, and, if so, to what extent, using Glamis and his family predominantly as an example. In order to do this, this objective has been translated into two working propositions. The previous chapters have dealt with the first working proposition, and examined the individual resources of political power that were available to Glamis in order to help to assess later the importance of the family in relation to them. The main concern of this and the next two chapters is to deal with the second working proposition. This hypothesized that if the family was an important organising factor in the later sixteenth-century Scottish parliamentary process (which was central to the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process as a whole), then there will be substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political actors and their families, or significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations, within the politics (politics, polity, and policy) involved in that process. If, on the other hand, the family was not important in this sense, then there will be no such relations or consequences within that process. It will do this through the use of case studies, and the 1585, 1587, and 1592 Scottish parliamentary processes as a whole general have been chosen for this purpose. As discussed earlier, these were the most notable parliaments that were held during the decade in which Glamis was continually at the centre of court politics following the successful second raid on Stirling in 1585. Only the 1592 parliament has been covered in any detail in the literature, and the chapter dealing with it in this study complements that work.² The three parliaments were held under contrasting regimes. In addition, each chapter or case study will also look at the more detailed politics, polity, and policy in relation to a single enactment or set of the enactments concerning both England and the kirk as part of the secondary concern with the unusual application of current political theory to the early modern period. Both policy areas continued to be of major importance over the period, and Glamis was generally consistent in his positive support for the two subjects involved.

¹ House of Commons paper, Session 1979-80, no. 462 - 2 Apr. 1980. Quoted from evidence given by Arthur Scargill.

² A. R. MacDonald, "The parliament of 1592: a crisis averted?" in K. M. Brown and A. J. Mann (eds.), *The History of the Scottish Parliament 2: Parliament and Politics in Scotland, 1567-1707* (to be published). I am very grateful to Dr. MacDonald for kindly giving me a copy of this work.

The Parliamentary Process

Unlike the plague, the banished lords had to negotiate their entry into the castle of Stirling. At 8.00 pm on Tuesday 3 November 1585, after the town was won by the rebels, the king sent John Maitland of Thirlestane and Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul out from the castle to negotiate a settlement.³ According to Patrick Gray, master of Gray (Gray), they were sent them twice with different proposals. The first was that they could have their livings if they left. They answered that they preferred the king's favour to their livings. The second consisted of three demands: the safety of the king's own person, no innovation, and assurance of lives he named. The banished lords agreed the first two, but, in turn, demanded their enemies and the forts and strengths of the land.⁴ There was much discussion about the king's last two requirements, and it took a day to deal with them.⁵ On Wednesday, four of the leading banished lords – Lord John Hamilton, Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus, John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar, and Glamis, were admitted to the king's presence.⁶

Earlier that day, John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose, David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford, Andrew Leslie, 5th earl of Rothes, Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol, George Keith, 5th earl Marischal, James Cunningham, 6th earl of Glencairn, James Stewart, 1st lord Doune, Colonel William Stewart, Robert Melville of Murdocairney, William Stewart of Monkton (James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran's, brother), and many others were delivered to banished lords.⁷ Later that day, they declared Arran a traitor in the king's name, and then altered the king's guard. The king granted pacifications and remissions to the 'victors', forgave all their faults, and acknowledged that what they had done was for the king's service.⁸ He also transferred the keeperships of the strongholds of Dumbarton, Edinburgh, Stirling, and Tantallon to Lord John Hamilton, James Home of Cowdenknowes, Mar, and Angus respectively.⁹ On Saturday, the four leaders were admitted to the privy council, and Glamis was appointed captain of the king's guard and 'hath chiefe chardge of the Kinges person'. It was also thought that he and Crawford might come to an

³ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 150–5 Nov. 1585. Lord Scrope to Walsingham. The king offered to speak with any two among Hamilton, Bothwell, Home, and Maxwell. He refused to talk to Angus, Mar, and Glamis.

⁴ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158–60. Nov. 1585. Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling. Master of Gray's account; Lee, *Maitland*, 75. Maitland and Bellenden acted as intermediaries; *RPC*, iv, 32n. Master of Gray and Bellenden acted as chief mediators.

⁵ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 156–23 Nov. 1585. William Knollys to Walsingham. According to Knollys, the banished lords fell upon their knees and 'submitted to the King the causes which forced them to run this extraordinary course, whereupon the King forgave all things that were past, and promised to receive them into his favour again'; *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158–60. Nov. 1585. Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling. This is not to ignore the fact that there was a shortage of victuals for the 18,000 horsemen and footmen outwith the town wall, and the garrison and citizens within it, or, indeed, that neither the town nor the king's forces at least equal to those of the rebels would not fight.

⁶ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 150–5 Nov. 1585. Lord Scrope to Walsingham.

⁷ *RPC*, iv, 30–1.

⁸ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158–60. Nov. 1585. Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling.

agreement.⁹ A change of leadership had taken place, and, as was usual custom and practice after such a revolutionary event, a parliament soon followed, which ran for 10 days from 1 December 1585.¹⁰

It would be misleading to suggest that the politics leading up to the public enactments or policy of the 1585 parliament was simply a matter of this revolution. The political process was highly complex in terms of external and internal causes of change, as is evident with matters concerning the kirk and England. Part of the policy of the May 1584 parliament included a concerted effort to reaffirm an Episcopal government in the Scottish church, and assert the supremacy of the king, parliament, and privy council over all estates, including that representing the church. The so-called 'Black Acts' would appear to have been the main royalist backlash to the attack by Andrew Melville and other more radical ministers on Episcopacy and earlier political events. Relations with England and the repeal of the Black Acts continued to be dominant and ongoing political issues.¹¹ The murder of Sir Francis Russel in a fray on the Anglo-Scottish border at the end of July 1585 temporarily suspended the formal negotiations for a league with England. The official protest made by the English special ambassador, Edward Wotton, had helpful 'unofficial' consequences – it was one of several levers to remove Arran and restore the banished lords, but it also had unhelpful consequences, including the stirring of popular opinion on both sides of the border. Relations between the two countries had already been soured by, among other things, ambivalent attitudes to the single-minded manoeuvring of Mary, queen of Scots, the illegal passage of goods, piracy, and an unfair balance of trade; and changing relations with other states in Europe, especially France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Mary was in continual communication with France, and English intervention in the Netherlands had led to open war with Spain.

On 4 December 1585, the king made a speech in parliament in which he commented on how many changes had been made since the beginning of his reign, and how miraculously God had preserved him and his estate up to the present time. He was minded to restore Glamis and the other noblemen, who 'were lately distressed having by their peaceable behaviour declared their good affection for him, though their adversaries had reported to him otherwise than they merited, to their livings, offices and honours and all that belonged to them', as if they had never been forfeited.¹² Unlike the Ruthven insurrection of 1582, co-operation rather than co-operation unwholesomely mixed with a little despotism provided the means of power for the new government, and both the king and the banished lords kept a large measure of control. Essentially, the administration worked successfully through, rather than on behalf of, the king and his

⁹ *RHC*, iv, 33; *Border Papers*, i, 388 (quote), 189.

¹⁰ *APS*, iii, 373.

¹¹ Donaldson, *James V*, *James VII*, 180-3; Lynch, *New History*, 231; Macdonald, *James VI*, 173.

¹² *CSP Scot.*, viii, 161-2. 8 Dec. 1585. Henry Woddrington to Walsingham.

immediate circle. Halhill, for example, recalled that 'the moderate behaviour of the lords conquered daily more and more favour from his Majesty. They pressed him in nothing but in humble intercession of such as formerly had his ear'.¹³ From the king's point of view, the governing coalition of discordant Protestant and Catholic elements, the vacant chancellorship, as well as several other factors can only have encouraged his newly acquired 'independence'.

For the purposes of this study, the new government has been called the 'Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition', but the actual identity of the leading key actors and the extent of their involvement in it remain unclear. Looking at the privy council records, Masson concluded that it 'might hardly be wrong' to call the coalition the 'Angus administration' or the 'Angus-Glamis administration'.¹⁴ As discussed earlier, Angus refused the chancellorship in 1585 because 'it required skill in the lawes, and more learning than hee had'.¹⁵ Godscroft recorded that, of the restored lords, Angus allowed the public affairs of the kingdom to be dealt with by Glamis 'to whom the rest of their society were most inclined, for the opinion they had of his wisdom, greater experience and age'.¹⁶ Looking at the literature generally, it might hardly be wrong to call it the 'Glamis-Maitland administration', or *vice versa*. Among other things, the two were connected to each other by marriage: Glamis's sister, Margaret Lyon, was married to Lord John Hamilton, who became Maitland's nephew by marriage in 1583.¹⁷

Glamis's letter to Francis Walsingham dated 20 December 1585, only a few days after the 1585 parliament, is instructive. He apologised for his delay in writing, which was caused 'by his earnest care to end the civil dissentions which have disturbed the peace of the King'. The king was determined to restore peace, ignore 'all deeds committed in any common and general action since his coronation', and be well disposed to the amity with England. Glamis thought it was a good idea to advise Walsingham of the king's disposition so that it could be brought to good effect. He also emphasised the need to support those who were formerly employed in the matter (presumably Gray and others) 'as their credit with his majesty was not great enough to perform so important a work'. Glamis also reported that the king 'hearkens most in matters of State to the Secretary (Maitland), the Justice Clerk (Auchnoul) and some others, but most of all the Secretary, whom he (Glamis) will handle carefully'.¹⁸ The letter not only provides further evidence of his support for, and his political relationship with, England, but also indicates the primacy of his military role within the coalition, and the secondary relationship he had with

¹³ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 188.

¹⁴ *RPC*, iv, p. xiv.

¹⁵ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 385-6.

¹⁶ Godscroft, *History*, 429.

¹⁷ *Scotts Peerage*, vii, 542-3.

¹⁸ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 172. 20 Dec. 1585. The Master of Glamis to Walsingham.

the king at that particular time. However, this subsidiary position does not mean to say that, either formally or informally, Glamis was not at the very centre of power.

Glamis had the respect of Angus and the banished lords, and he felt able to handle Maitland, Auchnoul, and others. Only four months earlier, Wotton realised that Maitland and Auchnoul 'are not men to carry out great influence with the nobility'.¹⁹ They, on their own, did not have the individual resources of political power to initiate and form a policy community. Although they had been instrumental in the overthrow of Arran, they had not been too enthusiastic for the return of Glamis and the other banished lords.²⁰ The king also had certain reservations. The English warden of the west marches, Henry le Scrope, 9th baron Scrope of Bolton, recorded that on 5 November 1585, when the king sent out Maitland and Auchnoul to negotiate with the banished lords, they were told that the king would speak with any two of Lord John Hamilton, Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell, Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, and John Maxwell, 8th lord Maxwell, but utterly refused to speak with Angus, Mar, and Glamis.²¹ Just over two weeks later, the English special ambassador, William Knollys, noted that the only men with whom the king took counsel now were Maitland, Gray, and Auchnoul. Glamis was 'likewise in great favour, and being Captain of the Guard the King uses his advice on many things. If the lords desire anything of the king, they use one of these as an instrument, and do nothing themselves'.²² On 23 November 1585, Glamis's name was placed first, and immediately before Maitland, on the last full sederunt for the privy council that was written before the opening of 1585 parliament. By that time, Glamis had not only built up an intimate working relationship with the other leaders of the banished lords, but also the king. Just over one month after the closing of parliament, Roger Ashton noted that the 'chief rulers here are the Secretary and the Master of Glamis'. By the beginning of the following month, Ashton reported that Gray was 'not so great a courtier as he was', and that Maitland and Glamis were still the 'chief guiders'.²³

Perhaps the real winner of the second raid of Stirling was the plague: it forced the king and the leaders of the new regime to hold the 1585 parliament at Linlithgow.²⁴ According to Sir Henry Woddrington, on 4 December 1585 the king accompanied by such a number of nobility 'as has not been seen since James V's days' passed to the great hall in the palace of Linlithgow, where the parliament was fenced, the lords of the articles chosen, and all other solemnities used according to the custom of

¹⁹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 70-1, 19 Aug. 1585. Edward Wotton to Walsingham.

²⁰ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 84-30 Aug. 1585, 88-9, 1 Sept. 1585, both Edward Wotton to Walsingham, *Hamilton Papers*, ii, 688-9.

²¹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 150, 5 Nov. 1585. Lord Scrope to Walsingham.

²² *CSP Scot.*, viii, 156, 23 Nov. 1585. William Knollys to Walsingham.

²³ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 215-16, 4 Feb. 1586. Roger Ashton to Walsingham.

²⁴ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158-60, Nov. 1585. Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling. Because the plague was ravaging around Stirling, it was determined to remove the king. *RSC*, iv, 33-41. The privy council was also held at Linlithgow from 11 Nov. 1585 to the beginning of Jan. 1586.

parliament. On that first full day of parliament, the Honours of Scotland were duly displayed. Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox (rather than Angus) bore the crown, George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly, carried the sceptre, and John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl, held the sword²⁵. The total of 17 peers who appeared on the only full extant sederunt that was made on the second day, however, was not the exceptional number that Woddryngton reported. Even including Herries, whose appears on the committee of articles and not the full sederunt, this is the lowest figure recorded on the surviving sederunts for the parliaments that were held over the period. The average was 22 peers. Thirteen prelates and 20 burgesses were also listed on the 1585 sederunt. Even if all 50 or so attendees were regarded as nobles, this overall number is also the lowest figure recorded on the surviving sederunts for the parliaments that were held over the period. The average was 65 members. Even allowing for the likely attendance of one or two officers (as discussed earlier) who were not named in the separate estates, the overall attendance at the 1585 parliament was unusually low. Many supporters of the old regime would not have been present.

What was also unusual about the polity of the 1585 parliament was the large number of people that was appointed by the privy council as commissioners for holding parliament (Table 21). The reason for this was probably the disparate nature of the ruling coalition as a whole. There were 12 on this committee, whereas the average over the period was just under eight. Twenty-four members – eight from each estate, were elected to the committee of the articles, which was the usual number. Only three – Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld, Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, and Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross, were members of both bodies. Seven of the 24 members of the committee of the articles were (elected) privy councillors, and five of the seven were prelates. Four were senators of the college of justice. Only three – Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews, Peter Rollock, and Huntly, had served on the 1584 committee of the articles. Nearly half (14) of the members became privy councillors.

The prelates on the committee of the articles were an odd mixture of establishment figures. Only Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, who was one of only four bishops who accepted the Scottish reformation, had a limited yet meaningful connection with the kirk. Patrick Adamson had been excommunicated, and Peter Rollock was an advocate and bishop in title only. The five commendators were simply lay holders of monastic properties. Four of them – Gray, Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle, James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray, and Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden, were members of the administration. Gray, who was master of the wardrobe, had acquired his place on the committee in his new capacity as commendator of Dunfermline. Four of the prelates – Adam

²⁵ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 161-2. 8 Dec. 1585. Woddryngton to Walsingham, Moysie, *Memoires*, 55. On the second day, the sceptre was held by Angus, and Bothwell bore the sword.

Bothwell, Gray, Newbattle, and Culross were senators of the college of justice. In practice, the eight prelates on the committee of articles were more closely tied to the administration or the law than the kirk. According to three different English estimates that were written in 1585, the peers on the committee of the articles reflected the broad underpinning of the new Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition. Huntly, George Seton, 5th lord Seton, and William Maxwell, 5th lord Herries, were of a pro-French and Catholic persuasion.²⁶ Typically, the burgh representatives on both the commission for holding parliament and the committee of articles came from the wealthiest burghs. Edinburgh took two places on each body. As discussed earlier, three or four officers probably also had places on the committee of articles. Two officers – Auchnoul and Murdocarney, were commissioners for holding parliament. To what extent the

Commission for Holding Parliament

Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld
Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney
 John Maxwell, 8th earl of Maxwell*
Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross
 Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul
Robert Melville of Murdocarney
 Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
Nicholas Edward, burges of Edinburgh
Michael Gilbert, burges of Edinburgh
 James Drummond, burges of Perth
 John Muschet, burges of Stirling
David Lindsay, burges of Coupar

Key

italics – primary-tertiary family relation to Glamis
bold – member of both groups
 * elected as a privy councillor
 ° senator of the college of justice
 (84) – member of 1584 committee of articles

Committee of Articles

Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews * (84)
 Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld (84)
 Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney * °
 Patrick Gray, commendator of Dunfermline * °
 Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle °
 James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray
 Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden *
 Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross * °

George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly * (84)
 John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl
 Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol °
 Laurence Oliphant, 4th lord Oliphant
 George Seton, 5th lord Seton
 Henry Sinclair, 5th lord Sinclair
 William Maxwell, 5th lord Herries *
 Alan Cathcart, 4th lord Cathcart

Nicholas Edward, burges of Edinburgh
 Michael Gilbert, burges of Edinburgh²⁷
 Alexander Wedderburn, burges of Dundee
 Anthony Bruce, burges of Stirling
 Alexander Rutherford, burges of Aberdeen
 Robert Rowat, burges of Glasgow²⁸
 James Cockburn, burges of Haddington
 David Lindsay, burges of Coupar

Table 21. Commissioners for holding parliament and lords of the articles in 1585.³¹

²⁶ *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility During the Minority of James Sixth*, ed. C. Rogers (Grampian Club, 1873), 43-5.

²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 161. 8 Dec. 1585. Henry Woddryngton to Walsingham. Woddryngton lists the prelates as the archbishops of St Andrew, the bishops of Brechin, Dunkeld, Orkney, and Glasgow, and the abbots of Dunfermline, Culross, and Newbattle.

²⁸ *NAS - Register of Deeds*, xxiii, 242.

²⁹ M. Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (London, 1991), app. viii, 330. Michael Gilbert was a queen's man, and goldsmith (d. 1590).

³⁰ Robert Rowat signed a band of true religion in 1585.

³¹ *APS*, iii, 373-4, app. 3.

king worked with the non-official and official members of the committee of the articles has not been established. Glamis had a family relation with just one of the 30 people formally named as commissioners for holding parliament and/or lords of the articles, and this was only at a tertiary level. It was with his deputy at the treasury, Robert Melville of Murdocairney. Murdocairney had none, and Maitland only one. This was with John Maxwell, 8th earl of Maxwell, and this too was only at a tertiary level.³²

The driving force behind the new government was reflected in the composition of the new privy council (**Appendix 3.12**). Although Arran's supremacy had effectively ended after he was wrongly blamed and warded for the slaughter of Sir Francis Russel at the end of July 1585, the privy council as he had left it continued in office during the following three months. Maitland and Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet were present on the 14 recorded full sederunts of that body over that period. The others listed in order of number of entries in the sederunts were Montrose (13); Auchnoul and Murdocairney (12); Gray (11); James Stewart, 1st lord Doune, and David Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh (13); Colonel William Stewart, now commendator of Pittenweem (8); Andrew Wood of Largo (4); Rothies, Crawford, Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre, and James Meldrum of Seggie (2); and Seton and Cufross (1). The king was present on only four occasions. On 4 November 1585, Lord John Hamilton, Angus, Mar., and Glamis were admitted to the existing privy council. As discussed earlier, Angus showed a reluctance to take on the chancellorship, a posture that his biographer, Godscroft, thought 'visibly weakened' Glamis and the other banished lords' position.³³ The names of Angus and Glamis appear for the first time on the next and only two sederunts in the privy council register before the meeting of the 1585 parliament, which elected new members. This new body consisted of 26 nominated people, including the king. Glamis replaced Montrose as treasurer, and Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, took over from Doune as collector-general. The other official members – Auchnoul (justice-clerk), Blantyre (privy seal), Easter Kennet (clerk-register), Largo (comptroller), Maitland (secretary), Murdocairney (treasurer-depute), and Newbattle (master of requests) were continued from the previous privy council.³⁴ In all, there were 9 officers, 10 peers, 7 prelates, and 1 laird - Cowdenknowes.

A study of the full sederunts which were made during the brief period before and two months after the 1585 parliament gives an indication of who were the most active members of the privy council at that time. **Appendix 3.12** shows the persons named on the 10 full successive sederunts that have survived from immediately after the 1585 parliament from November 1585 to January 1586, and the number of

³² *Scots Peerage*, viii, 542. John Maxwell, 8th earl of Maxwell, used to hold the ward and marriage of Maitland's wife, Janet Fleming.

³³ Godscroft, *History*, 429.

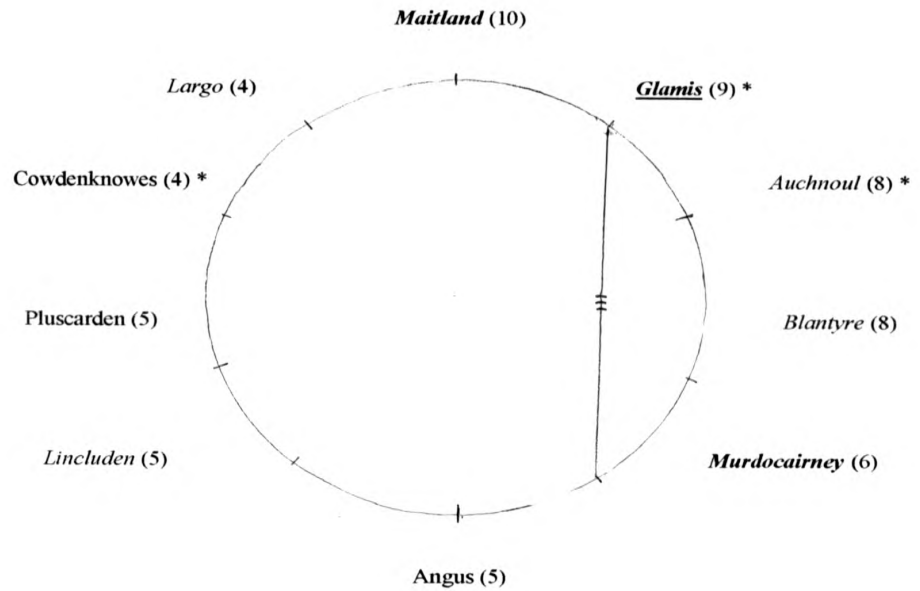
³⁴ Newbattle was not recorded as being present on the 14 sederunts prior to the 4 Nov. 1585 mentioned above.

times they appeared on the surviving 14 full sederunts for the previous three months immediately preceding it. The names of Maitland and Auchnoul appear on all or most of the lists that were made from August 1585 to January 1586. Although Easter Kennet and Gray were listed on all or most of the sederunts before the 1585 parliament they appear much less frequently on the sederunts after it. The opposite is true for Blantyre. The most frequently named persons on the 10 sederunts that were written from November 1585 to January 1586 – those who were listed four or more times, were Maitland (10), Glamis (9), Auchnoul and Blantyre (8), Murdocairney (6), Angus, Lincluden, and Pluscarden (5), Cowdenknows and Largo (4) Maitland and Glamis were recorded as being present 10 times and nine times respectively. The reason why Glamis's name appears one less than that of Maitland is because he and the other three leading exiled or banished lords were only admitted to the privy council three days after its meeting held on 4 November 1578. The king was recorded as being present on the first three of the 10 sederunts. Lord Claud Hamilton, Marischal, Robert Keith, commendator of Deer, and Herries, who were nominated privy councillors, were not listed at all.

Those who were listed four or more times in the 10 sederunts, excluding the king, made up around 40% of the total membership of the privy council. As can be seen in **Figure 10**, only three of this sample - Angus, Pluscarden, and Cowdenknowes were not officers of state. Eight - Glamis, Auchnoul, Blantyre, Murdocairney, Angus, Lincluden, Pluscarden, and Cowdenknowes had been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven or the subsequent Ruthven government. In a very loose sense, the Ruthven political community had come back to power. The figure also shows that the known relations between Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney's families and those of the other leading privy councillors in this sample (**Appendix 3.13** gives details of their families.)³⁵ The figure shows that the individual relations between the three families and those of the others were sparse. In Glamis and Murdocairney's case there was only one (which was mutual), and Maitland's none. None of the linkages involved primary connections. Only three of the 10 leading privy councillors (30%) are known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven.

Seventy-four acts were passed during the 1585 parliament, but only 23 of these were of a public nature, such as the College of Justice Act, the Prohibited Exports Act, and the Signatures Act (**Appendix 2.1-2**). As discussed earlier, the large number of private acts was not untypical of the parliaments that took place over James's majority reign as a whole. Many of the private acts formally

³⁵ Maitland, and Murdocairney were the only persons who were present in this and similar group for 1587, and 1592, and, because of this, they have been included for comparative purposes in this and subsequent analysis of family relations.



Key:

- |— - Primary relationship
- ||— - Secondary relationship
- |||— - Tertiary relationship

The figure in brackets indicates number of full sederunts that include that person.

* - Known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven (1582).

Figure 10. Known inter-relationships between Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney's family and their known relations between those of other leading privy councillors around the time of the 1585 parliament.

restored the banished lords and their adherents. Four of these were in favour of Glamis, Lord Glamis, John Lyon of Cossins, and the servants of Mar and Glamis.³⁶ In very general terms, the type of public acts or policy that was enacted in 1585 tended to be more regulatory. Almost half (11) of the 23 public acts were of this nature. The number of regulatory measures passed in relation to other types of public legislation was the highest for any parliament held during the James's majority reign up to 1596. Taking this part regnal period as a whole, regulatory acts accounted for just over a third (130) out of the total (365) acts. The public legislation covered a wide range of government functions. Just one of the 23 public acts – the Treaty with England Act, dealt with defence, and as many as nine were concerned with law and order. Only one of the 23 public acts was directly concerned with Anglo-Scottish relations – the Treaty with England Act, and three with the kirk – the Benefices Act, the Church Lands Act, and Ministers and Schoolmasters Act.³⁷

In very general terms, the predominance of regulatory measures enacted by the 1585 parliament very loosely suggests that the policy communities that were responsible for them were fragmented, and that the political cost of reaching a final decision on them for the individuals and groups involved was high. This was evident, for example, in the disparate nature of the peers who sat on the committee of articles, who reflected the broad underpinning of the new and, consequently, precarious Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition, and the number and extent of the pacifications, remissions, and protestations recorded in the private legislation. Apart from dealing with Arran and his colleagues, pacifications and remissions, and the reallocation of several offices, including the captaincy of the king's guard and the keeperships of the major royal strongholds, the coalition had no immediate plans for innovation. Given the high political cost of the public legislation that was enacted, it could not afford to risk any further change, not least with regard to England and, more particularly, the kirk, even if it wanted to.

England and the Kirk

The 1585 Treaty with England Act finally ratified the proposed league with England.³⁸ It is likely that there were at least five key political figures involved in the policy community supporting the treaty – the king, Angus, Glamis, Maitland, and Gray. Three days before the opening of parliament, the

³⁶ *APS*, iii, 383, 405-6 - c.21, 39-42 (1585). These were private acts.

³⁷ *NAS* - PA2 13, 38r-39r - c.18 1585 Treaty with England Act (*APS*, iii, 380-1), 36v - c.5 1585 Benefices Act (*APS*, iii, 376), 38v-38r - c.15 1585 Church Lands Act (*APS*, iii, 380), 49v-49r - c.24 1585 Ministers and Schoolmasters Act (*APS*, iii, 395-6).

³⁸ *NAS* - PA2 13, 38r-39r; *APS*, iii, 380-1.

king wrote to Elizabeth urging a speedy conclusion of the league.³⁹ Although the treaty was essentially a Protestant alliance of mutual defence and did not involve money, a formal and separate annual subsidy to be paid to the king was agreed in parallel with it. Angus had spent a long time in England, and, like Glamis, and had much to thank the English for. This loyalty to England was particularly evident in Thomas Randolph's reports to Walsingham three months after the 1585 parliament, which describes how Lord John Hamilton, Angus, and Mar came to him 'to affirm debt to her majesty', and were followed three days later by Glamis, who told him that:

*'I made myself a stranger to you, because upon the King's acceptance of me into his gracious favour I made him a promise that I would have no dealing with any man of any nation in any cause of estate without his majesty's privy and knowledge, which I have hitherto observed as well towards England as France and all others. And whereas I wrote to Walsingham since my return, I will confess to you that it was with the King's knowledge, he himself being privy to what I wrote. Further', he said, 'his majesty's pleasure is now that I shall visit you and be homely to you, therefore I say there is no man in England better welcome than yourself. Touching the league, you have your desire, and I am glad thereof, and rather than it should go back, seeing it chiefly tends to the maintenance of true religion and the weal of both realms, I had rather die in the defence thereof in the fields than live without it'. This was to be for the first time, praying me to remember his duty where he was most bound. Yet we parted not so, but entered into many purposes touching their home-coming, the unsecrecy of some, the division among themselves, and the unkindness of some others. But we ended with a hope that all should be well, wherein he would employ himself to the uttermost. I have heard much, and many tales of this man since my coming, but if he hold on the course for religion and maintenance of the league, as he has sworn to me he will, I will account him as one of the best.'*⁴⁰

A further three months later, Randolph reiterated his view of Glamis 'whom I cannot but write well of, for I have found him well affected to this cause'.⁴¹ Randolph's reports not only reinforce the idea that Glamis was pro-English, but also that he was a person of principle.

Maitland had been very supportive of the league, but the English were not completely supportive of him. The English treasurer, William Cecil, 1st baron Burghley, for example, thought that he was 'devoted to the king's mother and to France'.⁴² Maitland's alleged loyalty elsewhere was also played upon by others two or three months before and after the 1585 parliament, including Glamis's stepson and nephew by marriage, Robert Logan of Restalrig, and once nephew-in-law Gray,⁴³ who had been the chief negotiator for the league in England. Four days after the restoration of the banished lords, he had written

³⁹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 157-8. 28 Nov. 1585. James VI to Elizabeth.

⁴⁰ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 245. 14 Mar. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham, 251. 17 Mar. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

⁴¹ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 364. 10 June 1586. Randolph to (unknown).

⁴² R. Dudley, *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, during his Government of the Low Countries*, ed. J. Bruce (Camden Society, 1844), 52-3.

⁴³ Dudley, *Correspondence*, 52-3; *CSP Scot.*, viii, 237-9. 2 Mar. 1585. Thomas Milles to Walsingham.

to Walsingham advising a quick completion of it⁴⁴ Glamis and Maitland were no doubt members of the committee of articles, but, unlike Gray, in an *ex officio* capacity.

Although the king and other leading actors such as Angus, Glamis, Maitland, and Gray were openly inclined towards friendship with England, that inclination had to be worked on. Earlier in May 1585, Elizabeth had sent Wotton to the Scottish court to promote the 'league offensive and defensive in the cause of religion'. She was primarily concerned about the 'holy league', which the 'pope, the Spanish king and the Guises and others had made to root out extirpate the reformed religion'. Elizabeth understood herself to be the principal, and set about making a counter-league with the other reformed princes in Europe. She also sent special ambassadors to treat with the king of Denmark, and the Protestant princes in Germany, at the same time as Wotton's embassy. James was so sympathetic to Elizabeth's scheme that he called a convention of estates at the end of July 1585 at St Andrews, and, after he 'having in a long and pithy speech express the dangers to religion with the necessity that the reformed princes unite themselves strongly together', a single act was passed with 'great consent' supporting it. Patrick Adamson, Peter Rollock, Culross, John Kinnear, commendator of Balmerino, Dryburgh, Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, Patrick Leslie, commendator of Lindores, Blantyre, and Pittenweem subscribed to it on behalf of the spiritual estate. Arran, Robert Stewart, 1st earl of March, Atholl, Montrose, Marischal, Rothes, Laurence Oliphant, 4th lord Oliphant, Gray, Henry Sinclair, 5th lord Sinclair, Doune, and John Fleming, 6th lord Fleming signed for the nobility. The commissioners of the burghs, and all the officers of state including Maitland, also added their names. Calderwood noted that 'the master of Gray, who, though he did profess himself a Roman catholic, would in nothing that the king affected be thought refractory.'⁴⁵

Three prelates - Patrick Adamson, Peter Rollock, and Culross, three nobles - Atholl, Oliphant, and Sinclair, and probably several of the commissioners for the burghs and officers, were later members of the committee of articles for the 1585 parliament. They lent weight to the passing of the 1585 Treaty with England Act. Spottiswood's account of the political process leading up to the formal ratification of the proposed league would suggest that it had the general support of the reformed church. Gray's name stood out among the nobles' signatures to the July act because he was a Catholic. It was highly likely that policy networks or issue groups led by, or including, nobles supporting improved Anglo-Scottish relations were of a Protestant persuasion. This is evident to a large extent in the following anonymous, summary estimate of the disposition of Scottish nobles towards England that was made at the end of

⁴⁴ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 151. 6 Nov. 1585. The Master of Gray to Walsingham

⁴⁵ *Calderwood*, iv, 327.

October 1585: 'soundly affected – Arbroath, Angus, Mar and Marischal, affected – Bothwell and Atholl, neutral – Morton, Glencairn and Rothcs, well affected – Home, Cessford, Glamis, the Carrs (Kers), the Homes; and enemies – Montrose, Huntly and Crawford'.⁴⁶ Interestingly, none of those affected (or unaffected), including Glamis, had any family relations involving the English. Indeed, as the biographies of official privy councillors named by parliament over the period given in **Appendix 3.13** clearly show, such connections did not develop until after the union of the crowns in 1603. From the 1585 summary, it would appear that Glamis was more favourably disposed towards England than Angus and Mar.

The disposition of policy networks or issue groups led by, or including, burgh commissioners is much more difficult to assess. A convention of royal burghs was held at Linlithgow from 1 to 10 December 1585. Six of the eight burgh representatives on the articles attended that assembly, the minutes of which deal exclusively with administrative and local matters.⁴⁷ The illegal passage of goods into, and adverse trade with, England, English piracy, and the predominance of trade with the Low Countries and Scandinavia, as well as religious considerations, were probably major considerations in persuading most, if not all, of the burgh commissioners, especially those on the committee of articles who came from the larger towns, to vote in favour of stronger ties between the neighbouring two countries. Although James Melville reported that the people's affection was towards the banished lords and ministers on their return in November 1585, popular opinion generally was probably focused on a broad range of issues and influenced by such diverse factors as the persisting problem of the plague, nationalist sentiment, the plight of their previous monarch, perceived threats of Catholic infiltration, the border incident involving Sir Francis Russel, and the imminent arrival of a French ambassador, Seigneur Gofferson, the first formal French visit for almost 20 years.⁴⁸

The ecclesiastical policy of the 1585 parliament – the Benefices Act, Church Lands Act, and Ministers and Schoolmasters Act, was redistributory, but only on a very minor scale.⁴⁹ As already mentioned, apart from the containing of Arran and his senior colleagues, the pacifications and remissions, and the reallocation of the king's guard and one or two strongholds, the 1585 coalition government had no immediate plans for innovation. According to Gray, this was part of the deal that had been struck between the king and the banished lords a month before the parliament met – the day before they were finally admitted into the king's presence on 3 November 1585.⁵⁰ This was certainly the case when it came to matters of central importance to the kirk. The two major political problems that faced the new

⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 137 – 30 Oct. 1585 – Disposition of Scottish nobles towards England.

⁴⁷ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland*, eds J. D. Marwick and F. Hunter, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1866-90), i, 200-6.

⁴⁸ Melville, *Diary*, 149; Moysie, *Memoires*, 56. The French ambassador arrived in Leith on the 13 Jan. 1586; *Loc. Matland*, 87.

⁴⁹ *NAS - PA2 13*, 36v (*APS*, iii, 376), 38v-8r (*APS*, iii, 380), 49v-49r (*APS*, iii, 395-6).

⁵⁰ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158-60 – Nov. 1585 – Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling – Master of Gray's account.

government in November 1585 were to establish a stable and peaceable relationship with England and the kirk. Whereas the Treaty with England Act did much to solve the first difficulty, the three ecclesiastical acts hardly touched the second. This had its roots firmly embedded in the aftermath of the Scottish Reformation, not least the Concord of Leith (1572), the 1573 oath affecting holders of benefices, and the growing controversy over the *Second Book of Discipline* (1578). The main substance of it was that Andrew Melville and some of the more radical Presbyterians sought to establish a theocracy, but this had been seriously set back by the 1584 Black Acts 1584, which asserted the king's control of the general assembly, confirmed the position of the bishops within the church, and denounced the Presbyterian movement.⁵¹

It is likely that there were at least three key people involved in the policy community surrounding the three 1585 ecclesiastical acts – the king, Glamis, and Maitland, who were keen to maintain the *status quo*. Although Angus had given financial support to, and benefited spiritually from, the small group of exiled ministers in England, he, along with Maitland, had unsuccessfully opposed the return of the mostly extreme ministers who had fled south during the previous regime. Halhill recalled that whereas the king was in favour of restoring the ministers to their former privileges and freedom, the privy council was of 'different opinions'. Until Halhill's apparent intervention, the majority thought that it would be better to delay the return of the ministers for a while, especially those privy councillors who had continued in office after the return of the banished lords, and had previously taken a contrary position to them, particularly Maitland.⁵² If Halhill's recollections are accurate then he, in his advisory role to the king and the privy council, was also a key person in the policy community that promoted the three acts. Although Gray was a Catholic, he, like others of that religious persuasion, were no doubt more sympathetic to bishops than presbyteries.

The kirk as a whole gained little immediate satisfaction from Arran's overthrow other than the three minor redistributive acts and the restoration of the ecclesiastical exiles – a concession that probably partly offset the new administration's backing of Episcopacy and Patrick Adamson, who was not only its most senior symbolic representative but also its main theological advocate. According to Gray, some of the more radical members of the kirk had high expectations of the Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition. They hoped to 'recover their synod against bishops, and so to restore the discipline of the church, if not better, at least as it was before Arran government'.⁵³ Calderwood relates how James Melville came to the November 1585 general assembly full of optimism, but found a number of 'heavie-hearted brethren' out

⁵¹ Macdonald, 'James VI', 173.

⁵² Halhill, *Memoirs*, 189. These differences are not evident in the *RPC*.

⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 158-60. Nov. 1585. 'Surprise of the King of Scots at Stirling'. Master of Gray's account.

of hope because the king had set himself against the ministry, especially those who had been with the banished lords.⁵⁴ The lords were admonished to remember their duty and promises, and they answered that 'they behoved first to be sattled in their owne places, and then they sould worke wonders'. According to Calderwood, Angus was willing, but could get no concurrence, and 'the Maister of Glamis, upon whose witt they depended, said it was not expedient to *throw* it out of the king, so addicted to the government of Bishops, anie reformatioun of the Kirk for the present, but to procure it by time with his full consent and liking'.⁵⁵ Given this comment, it is likely that many in the kirk were not aware of his Episcopal leaning.

Although Adam Bothwell was the only prelate on the committee of articles who had any meaningful connection with the kirk, he was regarded as an object of suspicion by the general assembly as a whole, and many more radical members of the kirk in particular.⁵⁶ Relations between these members and other groups within the established kirk were made worse by a bitter invective in front of the king and parliament by 75-year old John Craig, John Knox's associate and by then a moderate among those inclined towards Presbyterianism, against the recently exiled clergy and others, and advocating a doctrine of passive obedience to the civil powers. As a result, 'there was scene the seed of a fearefull schisme'.⁵⁷ The attitude of the church to the new government, and it to the church in respect of the three acts was complicated by a whole range of such internal divisions creating both potential and actual policy networks and issue groups.

As far as many of those with strong Calvinist views were concerned, the banished lords had not by any means worked wonders. Godscroft described how, after Angus had returned to Scotland in November 1585, people had begun to complain that 'howsoever you pretend the publicke (interest), yet your intention was fixed onely on your own particular, because you have done nothing for church and country and hath settled (but) your own particular'.⁵⁸ Glamis and several other banished lords were not of that particular persuasion. The nobility as a whole in parliament, and on the committee of articles, were of an even wider range of religious opinion. They were less susceptible to the influence of preachers, and sincere adherence, as displayed to a considerable extent by Angus especially, was the exception rather than the rule. After Angus's death in 1588, James Melville found that he knew no other noble that 'I

⁵⁴ The assembly was due to meet a few days before the 1585 parliament on the 23 Nov. 1585 was relocated to from Dunfermline, which was closed on the king's instructions, to Luthgow because of the plague. There is no reference to it in *Booke of the Universall Kirk*.

⁵⁵ Calderwood, iv, 449.

⁵⁶ Donaldson, *Reformed by Bishops*, 41-5; R. Keith, *An Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1824), 522-9.

⁵⁷ Calderwood, iv, 449; Melville, *Diary*, 153.

⁵⁸ Godscroft, *History*, 412.

could communicate my mind with anent public affairs. let be to have a dealing with in Action'.⁵⁹ In sum, the new church wanted the property of the old one, and both the first and the second estate stood in their way.

As discussed above, many peers were either neutral or Catholics, such as Robert Stewart, 1st earl of Orkney, or John Fleming, 6th lord Fleming, respectively (Appendix 3.5), and the attractions of the continent and the Counter Reformation increasingly persuaded many young Scottish noblemen to convert to their religion.⁶⁰ Bowes was very much aware of this later when he tried to get Robert Crichton, 8th lord Crichton (of Sanquhar), to pass through England on his way to the continent in so that 'this nobleman, being younge and of the religion, shalbe drawn to some course of life and for her majesties service and benefit of the West Borders', and, on Walsingham's advice, encourage John Kennedy, 5th earl of Cassillis, John Ruthven, 3rd earl of Gowrie, and John Graham, 6th earl of Menteith, and to spend their 'young years' rather in England than other foreign countries to the intent their good affections might be better framed and devoted to our sovereign and realm'.⁶¹

The main internal religious division within the second estate would appear to be along Protestant-Catholic lines rather than any differences between those who were (or professed to be) of the true religion like Glamis. This fundamental religious split is reflected to a large extent in a discourse of the houses of Hamilton and Lennox at the time of the 1585 parliament. Those peers loyal to the former included Morton, Angus, Mar, William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie, Glencarn, Patrick Lindsay, 6th lord Lindsay, Glamis, Oliphant, Alan Cathcart, 4th lord Cathcart, and William Forbes, 7th lord Forbes, while among those senior nobles siding with the latter were Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, Hugh Montgomery, 4th earl of Eglinton, Seton, Maxwell, William Livingston, 6th lord Livingstone, and Herries.⁶² As mentioned above, the Catholic peers Huntly, Seton, and Herries were members of the committee of articles, and were more likely to take a strong conservative stance on issues concerning the established church. Herries along with the officers and Angus and Mar were not named on the sederunt for the parliament as a whole.

Whereas the second estate incorporated a wide range of ecclesiastical opinion, the third estate, like the first, generally took a Protestant perspective. This was evident in the facts that St Andrews, Brechin, and Glasgow were Episcopal burghs, that burghs normally sent commissioners to the general assembly as well as parliament, and that many chaplains were inducted and controlled by the town

⁵⁹ Melville, *Diary*, 315.

⁶⁰ Brown, 'Price of friendship', 141; G. Donaldson, 'Foundations of Anglo-Scottish union', in S. T. Bindoff and others (eds.), *Elizabethan Government and Society* (London, 1961), 148-51.

⁶¹ *CSP Scot.*, xi, 177-15 Sept. 1593. Bowes to Burghley.

⁶² *CSP Scot.*, viii, 172-4. Dec. 1585. 'A discourse of the houses of Hamilton and Lennox.'

council when it was the patron.⁶³ It is not possible to determine the religious (or other) views of the individual burgh commissioners, except for the three: Robert Rowat (Glasgow) signed a band of true religion in 1585;⁶⁴ David Brunton (Lanark) was an elder in the reformed church;⁶⁵ and John Maxwell (Lauder), who was the fourth son of Herries and a participant in the recent second raid on Stirling, was a Catholic.⁶⁶ There was probably little internal division among the estate as whole, despite any religious differences within it, because of the strict guidelines laid down by the convention of royal burghs. Although members of the third estate had familial connections and land holdings outwith the burghs, as in the case of the Lyon burgesses discussed earlier, their principal livelihood and, therefore, prime political interest was firmly rooted in the more diverse urban economy. Of all the estates, the third was, perhaps, the most congruent with popular opinion within its constituent political sphere as a whole.

In general terms, the Treaty with England Act was self-regulatory, which would loosely suggest that the policy community supporting it was integrated, and that the political cost of reaching a decision for those involved was low. This was apparent, for instance, in the similar single act of the earlier July convention held at St Andrews that was passed with 'great consent' supporting it, and Randolph's report to Walsingham three months that mentioned the debt to 'her majesty' that several of the those involved, including Glamis, had readily acknowledged to him. In general terms too, the Benefices Act, Church Lands Act, and Ministers and Schoolmasters Act, were redistributory, but only on a minor scale. This type of policy would also loosely suggest that the policy community promoting them was integrated, and the political cost of reaching a decision on them was high. Two respective empirical illustrations of this were the apparent willingness of many more radical members of the reformed church to maintain the *status quo* on the understanding put forward by Glamis that that 'it was not expedient to thraw the out of the king, so addicted to the government of Bishops, anie reformation of the Kirk for the present, but to procure it by time with his full consent and liking', and the poor relations between the more radical ministers and other groups within the established kirk, which was made worse by John Craig's bitter invective in front of the king and parliament. Whereas the Treaty with England Act did much to solve the problem of the government's relations with England, the three ecclesiastical acts hardly touched the difficulty of its relations with the kirk.

⁶³ Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community*, 96. White, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 240.

⁶⁴ Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*, ii, 600-1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 81.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 480.

Conclusion

Family relations of any substance between Glamis and his family and other leading political figures and their families were evident in the politics, but, surprisingly, sparse in the polity, and non-existent in the policy, of the 1585 parliament. For example, with regard to politics, when the king sent out Maitland and Auchinoul to negotiate with the banished lords, they were told that the king would speak with any two of Lord John Hamilton, Bothwell, Home, and Maxwell, but utterly refused to speak with Angus, Mar, and Glamis.⁶⁷ Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six named leaders all of which were of a secondary nature: Hamilton was a brother-in-law, Home was his step-son, and Mar was possibly a brother-in-law through Elizabeth Lyon, who was probably a natural child of his father. There were no proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations. Surprisingly, with regard to polity, Glamis had a family relation with just one of the 30 people formally named as commissioners for holding parliament and/or lords of the articles, and that this was only at a tertiary level. This was with his treasurer depute, Murdocairney. Murdocairney, himself, had none, and Maitland only one. This was with John Maxwell, 8th earl of Maxwell, and this too was only at a tertiary level. More especially, Glamis had just one family relation in the sample of 10 leading privy councillors, which was also with his deputy.

The politics surrounding the Treaty with England Act and the Benefices Act, Church Lands Act, and Ministers and Schoolmasters support the fifth theoretical platform constructed earlier, which proposed that extent to which a later-sixteenth century Scottish leading politician, such as Glamis, had the ability to act autonomously at any one time on such issues largely depended on the types of policy networks involved, and the structures of dependency within them. From what has been discussed, the pro-English policy was more likely to attract a policy community, and therefore act autonomously, because policy-making in this area was generally more elitist and closed. The state was highly dependent on those who held the military and economic resources – the major landowning families, such as Glamis's, and the controlling family oligarchies of the larger royal burghs, for its enactment and implementation. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical policy was less likely to attract a policy community because policy-making in this area was generally more inclusive. Although the state was dependent on professional theologians and clerics for its enactment and implementation, there was a greater chance of issue group participation largely because of the several, disparate, and often still-evolving religious ideologies that were present, as

⁶⁷ *CSP Scotl.*, vii, 150. 5 Nov. 1585. Lord Scrope to Walsingham.

discussed earlier. These findings in relation to these two policy areas, England and the kirk, do not readily tie in with the views of the contemporary historians considered earlier, particularly those such as Young and Goodare, who have promoted more boxed-in 'factions' and a 'new authoritarianism' respectively.

7. 1587 Parliament

The Parliament of 1587 was the most important Parliament held in Scotland during the reign of James VI, if we accept that of 1560, perhaps the most important of the century.¹

The 1587 parliament was held only five months after the execution of Mary, queen of Scots, in England. It was formally opened in Edinburgh on Saturday 8 July, but the election of the committee of articles did not take place until the following Wednesday. There was a further delay when a disagreement arose about who should bear the Honours of Scotland, and who should have the first vote. According to Calderwood, Bothwell and Crawford were among those in dispute, but these two nobles did not go as far as Fleming and Home, who challenged each other to combat. It was not until the next day, that Lennox, Angus, and Huntly bore the crown, sceptre, and sword of state respectively. The king was away in Falkland between Friday 15 and Wednesday 20 July, and parliament continued its rather lengthy session until Friday 29 July.² Given this unusual initial confusion and interim absence, it is very surprising to find, as mentioned earlier, that the final enactments were so comprehensive, and that two of them were of such direct major consequence. Its legislation comprised 136 very wide-ranging public and private measures, which dealt with the king's majority and marriage, church affairs, the defence of the realm, central and burgh government, agriculture, the coinage, trade, and the legal system. The two most directly consequential acts were the Barons in Parliament Act (more commonly known as the 'County Franchise Act'),³ which has already been discussed, and the Annexation Act, which was passed to recover the temporalities of ecclesiastical benefices for the crown, and is considered in some detail below.⁴

The Parliamentary Process

By the end of the 1585 parliament, Glamis had not only built up an intimate working relationship at court with the other leaders of the banished lords, but also the king and Maitland. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, looking at the literature generally, it might hardly be wrong to call it the 'Glamis-Maitland administration', or *vice versa* rather than the 'Angus-Glamis-Maitland coalition'. As Ashton

¹ See *Maitland*, 120.

² *Calderwood*, iv, 640.

³ *APS*, iii, 509-10 (c. 120).

⁴ *NAS - PA2 13 81r-86v; APS*, iii, 431-7.

reported to Walsingham in a letter dated 17 January 1586, 'the chief rulers here are the Secretary and the Master of Glamis clear no mischief between the king and these noblemen'. But in the same report, he warned of 'imminent danger in Scotland, if matters are not wisely handled'. The warning bells as far as he was concerned were Morton's celebration of the mass, the arrival of a French resident ambassador in Scotland (the first in almost 20 years), and Arran's confident communication with Huntly and Crawford - 'known papists'. He advised that these external threats to the new regime required two successive solutions - an English ambassador of credit in Scotland, and 'her majesty to take upon her the protection of the king and these noblemen', including Glamis.⁵

Only six weeks later, in March 1586, Thomas Mills wrote to Walsingham, and, in contrast to Ashton, he drew the English secretary's attention to internal threats to the new regime. This time Glamis was a problem rather than a solution, as follows:

Gray told of bad dealing of the Secretary and Glamis against Gray - the Secretary by Robert Melville's means not so great a friend to the amity inwardly as he would pretend - the secretary has won to him Lord Claud, Cowdenknowes, Glamis, Inchuden and Bothwell and as some others believe Mar, Lord Hamilton, Angus and some others hold fast with the Master. Of all men the Master of Glamis deserves the name of traitor, for he has revealed all he ever knew both to the secretary and the King, accusing the master of Gray to his face in the presence of the King, even to the last £300 he received at his (Mills) hands, which the Master being charged with by the King confessed to have received, but as from Mr. Archibald. All these things the secretary has fished out of Glamis to disgrace the master with. It is much that the Master says of him, and the opinion of the French ambassador has of him.⁶

Matland and Glamis had told the king about Gray's double-dealings with the banished lords in 1585, and also accused him of illegally possessing some of the king's jewels. According to Mills, Glamis had made Gray's political position at court even worse by telling the king of money he had received from England. Glamis's political motives may have run alongside more personal ones arising from the acrimonious divorce between Gray and his niece Elizabeth Lyon in the previous year, which came about because of Gray's adultery. There had been 'manifest disceyne' between them in the previous month, and probably earlier.⁷ This enmity was evident locally in a bond of friendship in which Gray agreed never to assist any family, Lindsay, Ogilvy, Lyon, or others against the house of Foulis.⁸

Walsingham took heed of both reports. On 28 January 1586, Thomas Randolph was appointed

⁵ CSP Scot., viii, 187-8. 17 Jan. 1586. Ashton to Walsingham, *Border Papers*, i, 217-18 (Morton).

⁶ CSP Scot., viii, 237-9. 2 Mar. 1586. Thomas Mills to Walsingham.

Border Papers, i, 414.

⁸ Gray of Kinfauns Private Muniments, vol. II, no. 9 (quoted in Wormald, *Lords and Men*, 394).

special ambassador to Scotland to finalise the proposed treaty between England and Scotland,⁹ and Randolph, who based himself at Berwick and employed Mills as a secretary, took a particular interest in Glamis. This is evident in three reports that he made to Walsingham in March. In the first, he simply stated that Glamis, presumably in his capacity as captain of the guard, met him at the gates of Holyrood palace, and Glamis and Auchnoul (justice clerk) accompanied him when he entered into the king's presence. He made a point of noting that Auchnoul was 'well affected', and that Auchnoul had told him of the enmity between Maitland and Gray. Glamis is not mentioned on either count.¹⁰ In the second, he showed a little more interest in Glamis. He relates how Colonel William Stewart (Pittenweem) sought to be restored to the captaincy of the guard, and that Glamis had been approached by some of the Colonel's friends. More particularly, he recounts how several noblemen - Lord Hamilton, Angus, and Mar, had affirmed their debt to Elizabeth, and how Glamis 'neither speaks to nor visits me'. Randolph did not 'know whether he has been reproved by some for his ungrateful disclosure of the dealings between your honour (Walsingham) and others and himself'.¹¹ This last statement reinforces the point made earlier that Glamis had been acting as an agent of Walsingham, and that his doings in this respect were tied in with those of Colville.

In the third report, it is very evident that Randolph succeeded in getting, what he thought was, the measure of the man. The relevant section of it is particularly instructive, and, therefore, worth quoting in full:

⁹ BL - Cotton, Calig. C.viii, ff. 282-4.

¹⁰ CSP Scot., viii, 240-2 - 2 Mar. 1586 - Randolph to Walsingham.

¹¹ CSP Scot., viii, 245 - 14 Mar. 1586 - Randolph to Walsingham.

On Tuesday last, the Lord Treasurer, viz. the Master of Glamis, came to me to my lodging and told me he well perceived by my gloomy looks that I had either conceived or heard somewhat of him that displeased me. I told him for my own part there was nothing that might make me offended with him, and trusted that there was no cause in my mistress's behalf, for whom a small cause should offend me. He said, 'I made myself a stranger to you, because upon the King's acceptance of me into his gracious favour I made him a promise that I would have no dealing with any man of any nation in any cause of estate without his majesty's privy and knowledge, which I have hitherto observed as well towards England as France and all others. And whereas I wrote to Walsingham since my return, I will confess to you that it was with the King's knowledge, he himself being privy to what I wrote. Further', he said, 'his majesty's pleasure is now that I shall visit you and be homely to you, therefore I say there is no man in England better welcome than yourself. Touching the league, you have your desire, and I am glad thereof, and rather than it should go back, seeing it chiefly tends to the maintenance of true religion and the weal of both realms, I had rather die in the defence thereof in the fields than live without it'. This was to be for the first time, praying me to remember his duty where he was most bound. Yet we parted not so, but entered into many purposes touching their home-coming, the unsecrecy of some, the division among themselves, and the unkindness of some others. But we ended with a hope that all should be well, wherein he would employ himself to the uttermost. I have heard much, and many tales of this man since my coming, but if he hold on the course for religion and maintenance of the league, as he has sworn to me he will, I will account him as one of the best.¹²

This subjective pen portrait of Glamis strongly reinforces the idea that he was a man of personal integrity – he was steadfastly committed to the king, Protestantism, and England, and a political realist. It also loosely suggests perhaps that, unlike his brother and Maitland, Glamis was, at heart, a soldier rather than a court politician – he would rather “die in the fields” than live without the league. He was obviously capable of giving a good impression of himself. But Randolph was no fool. He was a highly experienced, intelligent, and articulate ambassador, who had been present at the very beginnings of the current Anglo-Scottish alliance, and had the support of the Lords of the Congregation. Such an analysis by such a man lends some weight to the various estimates of the Scottish nobility referred to earlier.

If getting the measure of the man was difficult for contemporaries, such as Randolph, it has been even more so for subsequent historians, not least with regard to Glamis's role as treasurer. The organisation of crown finance was a particularly important factor in determining his political relations at court. According to Lee and Young, the treasurer depute, Murdocairney, ran the treasury rather than his ‘nominal superior’ Glamis.¹³ This is despite Lee's earlier assertion that

¹² *CSP Scot.*, viii, 251. 17 Mar. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

¹³ Lee, *Maitland*, 233 (quotation); Young, ‘Political parties’, 295.

Matland was handicapped by the fact that neither he and his friend Melville of Murdocairney had very much understanding of financial matters. Both were honest and self-sacrificing in their financial administration, but they were not particularly imaginative. Their main aim was to make old system work more efficiently, and where they did try a new departure, as in the case of the annexation of the benefices, they miscalculated the benefits that would accrue.¹³

The assertion that Murdocairney ran the treasury was probably based on the facts that he rather than Glamis signed the treasurer's account during Glamis's term of office, and that Murdocairney alone was owed substantial sums of money when Glamis and he were replaced at the treasury by the Octavians in 1596. Normally, the treasurer signed the accounts.

Murdocairney was appointed to the treasury in 1582, under Gowrie, to the newly created position of treasurer depute, which was combined with that of treasurer clerk. The duties of both offices were essentially the same, except that the treasurer depute, like the treasurer, was an officer of state, and was expected to have sufficient personal resources to provide credit for the crown when it was short of funds. In 1584, when Montrose replaced Gowrie as treasurer, Murdocairney's duties were described as having 'to compone and have the resaving and debursing of compositions and casualties in the treasury'.¹⁴ These duties were not very different from those of Glamis's immediate predecessor Montrose, who was appointed as 'Greit Treasurere, ressaver and intronettour with all and sundrie his hienes casualties'.¹⁵ But Montrose's brief job description omits the essential part of his work. This involved more than just opening and closing public registers and the treasurer's own purse. It required an administrative talent that exercised open rather than closed thinking, as well as the ability to persuade.

The reason why Glamis did not sign the treasurer's accounts cannot be explained, but he did lend substantial amounts of money to the crown, as is evident in 1587, when he was ordered not to pay out more than £20,000 a year, or no supersedere would be granted to protect him from his creditors.¹⁷ As can be seen in Table 22, Glamis's name or office appears on the sederunts of the privy council more often than those of his deputy Murdocairney during the full years in which Glamis was treasurer. Glamis and Murdocairney attended just over half (56% and 53% respectively) of the meetings for which sederunts have survived. Glamis spent sometime in England immediately before his appointment to the treasury, and the English administration had passed a number of financial measures that James's administration later enacted in Scotland. Unfortunately, given the nature of the record sources, it is impossible to attribute the initiation of any of these to any one individual. On balance, it is more

¹³ Lee, *Matland*, 131-2.

¹⁴ *RSS*, viii, 2068.

¹⁵ *RSS*, viii, 2069.

¹⁷ Goodare, *State and Society*, 125.

reasonable to assume that Glamis was an active rather than a passive treasurer. This assumption is supported even more by events described below. He was paid too much money to be otherwise.

	1586	1587	1588	1589	1590	1593	1594	1595	Total
Sederunts	36	35	27	32	34	22	22	33	241
Glamis	22	11	14	20	19	14	11	24	135 (56%)
Murdocairney	21	11	18	17	20	13	17	11	128 (53%)

Table 22. The occurrence of the names of Glamis and Robert Melville of Murdocairney on the known sederunts of the privy council, 1586-1590 and 1593-1595

In April 1586, Randolph reported that a supporter of Arran intended to kill Angus, Gray, Glamis, and Maitland, and that this threat brought them closer together: 'no time will they be absent from court at once – each shall be at readiness with their friends, upon first warning, living so near at hand as they do – appointed continual spies among their unfriends'.¹⁸ In that month, Maitland and Glamis received the valuable wardship and marriage of the two-year old Hugh Montgomery, 5th earl of Eglinton, and, in the following month, Maitland was promoted to the office of vice-chancellor and made keeper of the great seal for life.¹⁹ It was around this time that Arran was reported to be in Ireland.²⁰ In June 1586, Archibald Douglas informed Walsingham that Maitland was

*the cause of the ill that is passed in that land these five years ... his credit at this time stands only upon the favour of her majesty, and upon the strength of that part of the nobility that was banished. The bond which he believes holds them safe is the Master of Glamis, who is as yet the only trusty man between him and the said nobility. His (Maitland's) credit with the King may be diminished when it shall be her majesty's pleasure to deal with the King for that effect. I have so dealt with the Master of Glamis that he will be contented to be rid of him.*²¹

Archibald Douglas was strongly opposed to Arran, but did not return to Scotland immediately after Arran's overthrow because of his 'steady and unremitting hostility to Maitland'.²²

Randolph's primary concern was that the league should go forward, and it was his opinion that this depended on the life of the king, which Glamis, as captain of the guard, was primarily responsible

¹⁸ CSP Scot., viii 328. 22 Apr. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

¹⁹ RJC, I. viii; NAS - P553-164.

²⁰ CSP Scot., viii 364. 7 May 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

²¹ CSP Scot., viii 424-5. 9 June 1586. Mr Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

²² *Ibid.*, Maitland, 87.

for, and the alliance between Glamis and Maitland. Glamis was a very significant part of this equation. According to Lee, Maitland was beginning to raise important objections to the league.²³ But Glamis, like Maitland, had mixed political credit at this time. Randolph wrote to an anonymous person in June 1586 that Glamis was a person "whom I cannot but write well of, for I have found him well affected to this cause, and pray that he may so taken and accounted of until there be some just cause to the contrary. I write it rather for he has heard that there are some even at court who conceive hardly of him".²⁴ One of those was probably Maitland. Archibald Douglas informed Walsingham that "the Master of Glamis is made to believe him and geve it out to the noblemen that wer banisshit that ther is no seurtly for them if the King shuld change, bot that which doeth most remayne in the Secretarye his person which I feir wilbe found verry weak if they shall stande in neyde of it".²⁵ If Glamis was significant part in Randolph's equation, so were his former banished lord colleagues.

Archibald Douglas was mindful that Glamis, at this stage, was, in need of Walsingham's support. In a letter to Walsingham written in July 1586, he warned, "Off one thing I must put you in remembrance, that you ar lyk to losse the Master of Glamis for lack of wrytting onto him. I was ever of that opinion that it was necessary to keep all men in gud expectation".²⁶ Randolph reiterated this point to Walsingham in the following month when he wrote, "Glamis and the secretary are not to be mistrusted, for though there are faults to be remedied in both, they are true, and Mr Archibald is of like mind with him".²⁷ Lee has argued that, by signing the league in June 1586, James became "in effect the head of the English faction in Scotland", and this may explain why Glamis and his former banished lord colleagues received less support from the English court.²⁸ The king had simply superseded them.

Glamis and his Anglophile confederates were receiving less support within the Scottish court. This is evident in a report on the state of Scotland written partly in Randolph's hand, endorsed by him, and dated November 1586. The timing of the document was significant because, one month earlier, Mary had been convicted of complicity in the Babington Conspiracy (1586). Angus and Mar were thought to be "scarcely soundly affected". This was based primarily on the presumption that the reconciliation after their return from England was violent, and therefore to be suspected. According to the report, Angus suffered "a great dishonour" in the way in which he was restored, and the king allowed a feud to develop between Mar and Bothwell. It added that there "appears to be a dryness between the king and those lords". Furthermore, it said:

²³ Lee, *Maitland*, 90.

²⁴ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 464. 10 June 1586. Randolph to (unknown).

²⁵ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 447. 17 June 1586. Mr Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

²⁶ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 569. 20 July 1586. Mr Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 590. 5 Aug. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

²⁸ Lee, *Maitland*, 96.

they seem to be of no authority save with their own followers – they are supposed to have dealt very slightly in their late action, and not to have performed their promise for the sound reforming of religion and things about the King. This is the common talk of the better sort, and the adverse part seem for the same cause not only to hate them, but to impute this their gentle dealing to lack of courage and wisdom. Diverse of the noblemen that took part with them are now in quarrel with them, as Earl Bothwell with the earl of Mar, and Maxwell with the earl of Angus, about the title of Morton, which was evicted from him by the Earl of Angus since his restoration.

According to the report, the leading pro-English nobles were Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Lords (Claud and John) Hamilton, Glamis 'in pretence', and Gray. Of particular note, it described how Glamis 'pretends well, but is familiar with the neutral part, namely, with the Secretary. The appearance of his friendship bears no life to it, but a sadness and dryness which may argue some doubtful meaning'.²⁹

The political relation between Glamis and Maitland was made worse early in 1587, when the reaction in Scotland to the execution of Mary in February weakened further the political influence of Glamis and his Anglophile friends. Glamis married secondly Eupheme Douglas,³⁰ and his niece Jean Lyon married secondly the ailing Angus. Maitland had to look to others to supplement this loss of political support. Lee wrote that these Lyon/Douglas marriages were to 'cause endless trouble for Maitland', and 'cost him his only really dependable supporter in the politically active upper aristocracy', because Maitland 'regarded the Douglasses as the enemy of his house'.³¹ However, the relationship was already 'sad and dry', as mentioned above; Glamis was already well connected to leaders of the house of Douglas, as discussed earlier, and Maitland's main enmity in the Douglas direction was clearly with Archibald Douglas.³² In addition, Maitland had worked alongside Angus in government, and the latter was not the only noble who was at odds with Maitland.³³ However, the main point about relation between Glamis and Maitland was that Glamis was now secondary to Maitland. This is made very plain in a report by Archibald Douglas to Walsingham in which he recalled that Gray, by his letters, confirmed that 'the Secretary doeth presently govern all matters in Scotland'.³⁴

The political relations between Glamis and the other restored lords, and between Glamis and Maitland during the 18-month period between the 1585 and 1587 parliaments is reflected to a certain extent in the 66 full surviving sederunts of the privy council that cover that period. Lords John and Claud Hamilton are recorded as being present only on seven and nine occasions respectively. Gray's name occurs only 11 times before he was exiled from Scotland in May 1587. In contrast, Glamis, Angus, Mar,

²⁹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 167-9. Nov. 1586. State of Scotland.

³⁰ *NAS - RS1*, 56, 91r-92r. Contract of Marriage.

³¹ *Lee, Maitland*, 118-19.

³² *Lee, Maitland*, 65, 87, 88, 92. *DNB*, s. 280.

³³ *Lee, Maitland*, 118.

³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 324. 1 Mar. 1587. Mr Archibald Douglas to Walsingham.

and Maitland were far more regular in their attendance. Surprisingly, Angus attended more times (36) than Glamis (32) or Mar (20). The bulk of Glamis's attendance (29) occurs before February 1587. But this fall in attendance after that date may have been due to the change in his family relations, mentioned above. He might have simply decided to give more attention to his family, and less to the politics of the court. He had the able services of a deputy. His political relations with Crawford over the period appear to have been relatively calm.³⁵ Maitland did not miss a single privy council meeting.

The king was present on seven occasions, as well as the three conventions of estates that were held in September and December 1586, and May 1587. Surprisingly, Glamis's name does not appear on the sederunt for the September assembly. It was attended by five officers, including Murdocairney, and the first consideration was a taxation of £15,000 to raise an armed force for the Borders.³⁶ It is also noticeable that he had been absent from privy council for the last four months. According to an anonymous report to Walsingham, Glamis had been sent on a mission to France.³⁷ This assignment may have been given to him because of personal qualities, such as his ability to speak French, look after himself militarily, or enter into intrigue, or simply to get him out of the way. He was present at the December meeting, which passed just a single act in favour of a voluntary subsidy to cover costs resulting from 'the present condition of the Queen, his Highness's dearest mother'.³⁸ He also attended the May convention, which stopped all free grants out of the casualty for the 'better economy and management' of the treasury, and renewed the December order concerning the subsidy.³⁹ Calderwood described how the occasion of the May convention was used in an attempt to reconcile various nobles who were at feud with each other, including Glamis and Crawford. To this end, and no doubt to mollify opinion through public show, they, like other fractious noble pairs, walked 'hand in hand' to and from the palace of Holyrood in order to attend a 'banquet of reconciliation' at the Market cross in Edinburgh.⁴⁰ Spottiswood adds that they 'sealed their concord by drinking healths to one another'.⁴¹ In the following month, a further attempt at reconciliation between the two was made when they 'soupt together' in Maitland's house.⁴² These reconciliation stratagems in their particular case probably paid off because it was around that time that Crawford's name began to appear regularly on the sederunts of the privy council.

³⁵ Crawford's name does not appear on the sederunts until after the departure of Gray in 1585, and he was a regular attender of the privy council in the last month leading up to the 1587 parliament.

³⁶ *APS*, iii, 424-6.

³⁷ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 59. Sept 1586 (unknown) to Walsingham: rumoured Arran to have gone to France to prepare for king's mission to that country. yet his stay is very likely in respect of certain tumults presently likely to be raised against the king there, procured by us and to be executed by Angus, Mar, Lord Hamilton, and Glamis, yet here, but shortly to depart thither, and others of the same faction there. certain have already gone hence thither of late to insinuate and prepare the enterprise, etc.

³⁸ *RSS*, iv, 129-30.

³⁹ *RSS*, iv, 185-6.

⁴⁰ *Calderwood*, iv, 613-14. The inverted commas are not quotation marks.

⁴¹ *Spottiswood*, ii, 374.

⁴² *Moysie, Memoires*, 71.

The polity of the 1587 parliament was unusual because it had a higher than average attendance despite the delays, disputes, royal disappearance, and long duration, mentioned above. The only extant full sederunt, which was written on the second day, lists 69 persons - 5 bishops, 13 commendators, 8 earls, 12 lords, and 31 burgesses. But the overall attendance figure was likely to have been a little higher. No officers were listed as such, and four members of the committee of articles - Patrick Leslie, commendator of Lindores, Newbattle, Seton, and Herries, are not mentioned on the second day attendance list.⁴³ As discussed earlier, one or two officers not listed under the headings of the various estates were likely to have been present, including Glamis.

What was also unusual about the polity of the 1587 parliament, especially in contrast to its 1585 predecessor, was the small number of people appointed by the privy council as commissioners for holding parliament (Table 23). There were only five on this committee, whereas the average over the period was just under eight. What was curious too, even more so, was the fact that the composition of this committee changed on the third day. Only Culross and Easter Kennet remained on it. Instead of representing the three estates, the new committee consisted of four prelates and one officer, and it is very noticeable that these men were very experienced in parliamentary procedure, administration, and the law. All five had been members of the 1585 committee of articles. Newbattle had been master of requests working mainly in the king's household since 1578, and Easter Kennet had been clerk register since 1580 (and remained in post until 1594), and, before that, director of chancery since 1567, operating largely outside the king's household. Pluscarden, Culross, Newbattle were lords of session, and Peter Rollock was very familiar with ecclesiastical courts. The most likely reason for this change was the serious disagreement about who should bear the Honours of Scotland, and who should have the first vote, mentioned above. Either some may have been unhappy about the composition of the original committee, or, more likely, in view of its balanced and relatively inexperienced nature, it was unable to deal with the disputes, or both. This change in the composition of the committee for holding parliament indicates the critical importance of this parliamentary body in terms of its overall control. Its members were not just nominal or symbolic figures. All five new members became lords of the articles, which, as discussed below, was another extraordinary feature of the 1587 parliament. Glamis had no family relations with the 31 people formally named as commissioners for holding parliament and/or lords of the articles. Having said this, his niece Jean Lyon did wed Angus only a few days after the close of this parliament.⁴⁴ Matland and Murdocairney also had none.

⁴³ The same applied to Herries for 1585.

⁴⁴ *Border Papers*, i, 524. Angus asked the church the Sunday following 18 July 1587.

Commission for Holding Parliament

A. First Day

George Keith, 5th earl Marischal
 Robert Keith, commendator of Deer
 Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross
 William Little, provost of Edinburgh
 Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet

B. Third Day

Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld (85)
Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscaden
 (85) * °
Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross
 (85) °
Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle (85) °
 Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet (85)

Key

italics – primary-tertiary family relation to Glamis
bold – member of both groups
 * privy councillor
 ° senator of the college of justice
 (85) - member of 1585 committee of articles

Committee of Articles⁴⁵

Patrick Adamson, archbishop of St Andrews * (85)
 Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld (85)
 Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney (85) * °
 Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin
 Robert Keith, commendator of Deer *
 Patrick Leslie, commendator of Lindores
 Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross (85) * °
 Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle (85) * °
 Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscaden (85) * °
 James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray (85)

Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus *
 George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly * (85)
 David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford
 George Keith, 5th earl Marischal *
 John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar *
 Robert Boyd, 5th lord Boyd °
 George Seton, 5th lord Seton (85)
 William Maxwell, 5th lord Herries (85) *
 James Stewart, 1st lord Doune °
 James Ogilvy, 5th lord Ogilvy

John Arnot of Birswick, burgess of Edinburgh
 Alexander Oistean, burgess of Edinburgh
 William Fleming, burgess of Perth
 Patrick Lyon, burgess of Dundee
 Robert Forester of Boquhan, burgess of Stirling
 Alexander Rutherford, burgess of Aberdeen (85)
 James Learmonth of Dairsie, burgess of St Andrews
 David Crawford, burgess of Ayr
 Hew Campbell of Loudoun, burgess of Irvine
 Robert (Lichtoun), burgess of Montrose

Table 23. Commissioners for holding parliament and lords of the articles in 1587⁴⁶

There were 10 representatives from each estate on the committee of articles, which was the highest known number per estate over the period. Eleven of the 30 members were (elected) privy councillors, six of whom were prelates. Six were senators of the college of justice. Whereas only three out of the 24 members of the committee of articles elected in 1585 had served on the previous 1584 committee, 11 out of the 30 had served on the 1585 committee. Seven of the 11 were prelates. As with the 1585 parliament, the prelates on the 1587 committee of the articles were an odd mixture of establishment figures. Only Adam Bothwell had a significant connection with the kirk. Patrick Adamson had been

⁴⁵ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 161. 8 Dec. 1585. Henry Woddryngton to Walsingham. Woddryngton lists the prelates as the archbishops of St Andrew, the bishops of Brechin, Dunkeld, Orkney, and Glasgow, and the abbots of Dunfermline, Culross, and Newbattle.

⁴⁶ *APS*, iii, 427-8, app. 3.

excommunicated, and Peter Rollock was a bishop in title only. Of the 6 privy councillor prelates, 3 were administrators, and 4 were senators of the college of justice. Seven of the 10 prelates had been members of the 1585 committee of articles. As with the 1585 parliament, these 1587 ecclesiastical representatives were more closely tied to the administration or the law than the kirk. Not surprisingly, the representation of the kirk in parliament was a particularly sore point, not least in 1587.¹⁷ As usual, the general assembly had to find other ways of making formal representation to parliament as a whole, and the committee of articles in particular.

According to two English estimates that were written in 1586, the peers on the committee of the articles contained a broad spectrum of religious and political allegiances. Six of the 10 were commented upon, with Angus and Mar noted as being pro-English, and Huntly, Crawford, Seton, and Boyd described as being of a contrary persuasion. The majority of the peers, including those that attracted comment, were in their 20s or 30s, the minority – Boyd, Doune, and Ogilvy, being older. Twenty five-year old Mar was the youngest, and the 71-year Boyd was the oldest. The average age was 41 years, which was a little above the average age of peers in parliament over the period as a whole, as discussed earlier (The average age of earls and above was around 33 years, whilst that of lords of parliament was around 39 years). The average peer on the committee of the articles was roughly the same age as the 42-year old Glamis, and twice as old as the 21-year old king. The living memory of the average peer stretched back into the previous reign well beyond the reformation, whereas that of the king did not reach it.

Most of the urban representatives on the committee of articles came from the wealthiest burghs. The exceptions were David Crawford, burghess of Ayr, Hew Campbell of Loudoun, burghess of Irvine, and Robert (surname unknown), burghess of Montrose. Young has identified four of the 10 burgh commissioners as lairds. These were John Arnot of Birswick (Edinburgh), Robert Forester of Boquhan (Stirling), James Learmonth of Dairsie (St Andrews), and Hew Campbell of Loudoun Irvine. But if Glamis's kinsman, Patrick Lyon (Dundee) is anything to go by, there were likely to be others of this status. Patrick was retoured heir of his father James Lyon in the lands of Westhill in 1589,¹⁸ and he received a crown charter for the same as heir of his grandfather Patrick Lyon in the following year.¹⁹ Perhaps not so surprisingly, both grandfather and grandson were known by their burghal rather than their territorial status 'of Westhill' because of their very close ties with Dundee. Grandfather Patrick Lyon and

¹⁷ *Rat. Parliaments*, 175; *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, ii, 419, 425; *The Historie and Life of King James Sixth*, ed. T. Thomson (Bannatyne Club, 1825), 232. 1578 and 1587 examples.

¹⁸ *RSS*, vii, 2345.

¹⁹ *Strathmore MSS - Charters*, 1590; *ER*, xii, 524.

his first wife Elizabeth Wedderburn, who was of the dominant Wedderburn family oligarchy there, were granted the customs (1546-1557). He was appointed searcher for forbidden exports (1553),⁵⁰ admitted a burghess (1544), and attended the burgh council (1550-1552).⁵¹ Grandson Patrick Lyon was admitted a burghess (1576), described as a member of the corporation of weavers (1579),⁵² and regularly attended the burgh council after 1579. He was twice bailie (1579-80 and 1601-2), gave up the accounts of the burgh to the treasury (1580), and represented Dundee at the convention of royal burghs (1582 to 1600), parliament (1592 and 1593), and the convention of estates (1598 and 1602).⁵³ He was described as a godfather to David Wedderburn (1593).⁵⁴ These two brief Lyon biographies show that marriage and time confused the boundaries between merchants and landowners even further. Both men were servitors to the Lyons of Glamis, and this prominent Dundee family must have served as an extremely efficient political conduit between Glamis and his predecessors and this major royal and maritime burgh.

A further and final oddity about the overall polity of the 1587 parliament was the large number of parliamentary commissions (**Appendix 3.11**). There were 10 of these involving nearly 100 members, many of whom (26) were not members of parliament. The previous 1585 parliament had only had one commission, and the subsequent 1592 parliament three. As far as is known, none of these members had direct or indirect connections with Glamis. The average number of these interim committees per parliament over the period was roughly three, and only the 1578 and 1587 had more than this number. The 1578 parliament had eight. Five of the ten 1587 commissions involved finance, two concerned law and order, one defence, and one welfare. This imbalance in terms of basic governmental functions suggests that finance was a major thrust of the overall 1587 policy.

The driving force behind the new government at that time was reflected in the new privy council. This consisted of 34 nominated people: 10 officers, 14 peers, 7 prelates, and 3 lairds – Cowdenknowes, Seggie, and Patrick Vans of Barnbarrock (**Appendix 3.12**). Maitland and Auchnoul are recorded as being present on each of the first 10 full sederunts that are extant from 1 August 1587. The others listed in order of number of entries in these attendance lists are Easter Kennet and Lincluden (8); Cowdenknowes (7); Glamis (5); Newbattle and Pluscarden (4); Blantyre, Barnes, Culross, Marischal, and Murdocairney (3); Mar, Montrose, and Peter Rollock (2); the king, Patrick Adamson, Adam Bothwell, Boyd, Huntly, Bothwell, and Barnbarrock (1). Barnbarrock joined the privy council as an additional extraordinary member on 13 November 1587. Lord Boyd, who was not nominated as a member, is listed

⁵⁰ *RSS*, iv, 1706, 2194.

⁵¹ *ER*, xiv, 291.

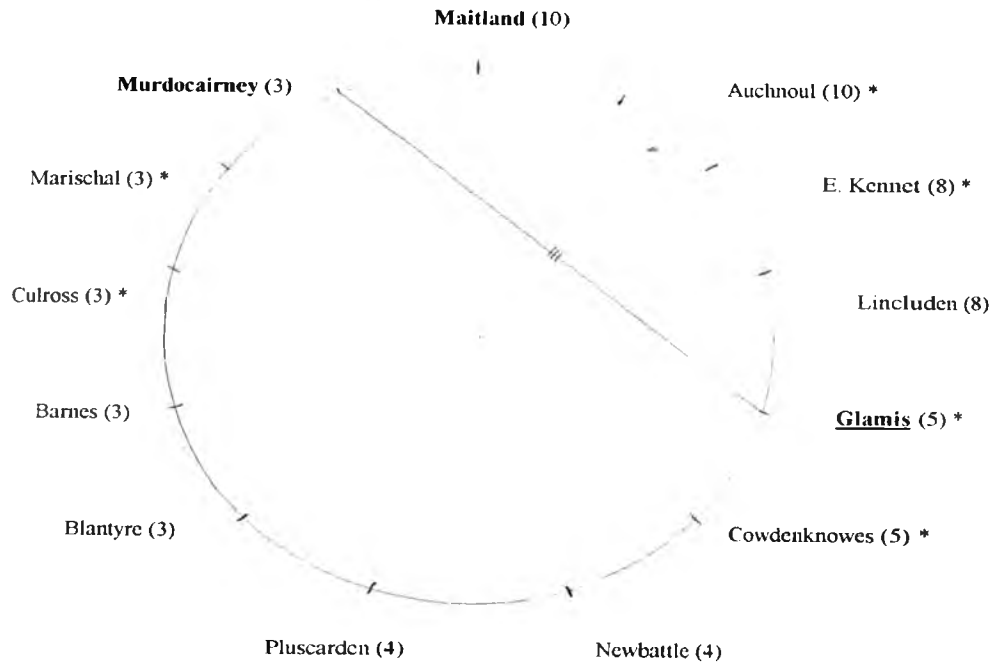
⁵² Dundee City Library - MS Index to Dundee People.

⁵³ *APS*, iii, 428, 530, iv, 6, 158, 177.

⁵⁴ *The Compt Buke of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee, 1587-1630*, ed. A.H. Millar (Scottish History Society, 1898), 48.

in the first sederunt. Eight nominated members did not attend at all during this initial five month period. These were David MacGill of Cranston Riddell, who was officially confirmed advocate at that parliament, Angus, Lords John and Claud Hamilton, Errol, Rothes, Crawford, Herries, Seggie, and Doune. As mentioned earlier, Glamis's new brother-in-law Angus, then aged 32 years, was in a bad state of health, and died less than one year later. **Figure 11** shows a sample made up of the 13 councillors who are recorded on the 10 sederunts three or more times. These more frequent attendees make up roughly around 40% of the total nominated membership. The names of seven of them can be found in the corresponding sample for 1585, discussed earlier (**Figure 10**). Nine out of them were senior officers of state, and six (just under 50% more than in the 1585 sample) are known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven. As in the 1585 sample, the known relations between the individual families of Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney and those of the others were weak. The only connections were between the families of Glamis and Murdocairney, and these were of a tertiary nature.

As can be seen in **Appendix 2.1**, the public and private legislation of the 1587 parliament comprised 136 very wide-ranging measures, including the Barons in Parliament Act and Annexation Act, all as summarised above and earlier. In very general terms, as with 1585 parliament, the 68 public acts or policy tended to be more redistributory. Only one public act dealt with defence, with the majority of the remaining 67 public acts being concerned with law and order (24), finance (20), and welfare (14). As in 1585, law and order measures were the more numerous. In very general terms, the predominance of redistributory measures enacted by the 1587 parliament as a whole would very loosely suggest that the policy communities that were responsible for them were integrated, and that the political cost of reaching a final decision on them for the individuals and groups involved was high. This was evident, for example, in the broad spectrum of religious and political allegiances that eventually managed to co-exist on the committee of articles, and the exceptionally high number (10) of parliamentary commissions. The tendency towards integration is surprising, not only in view of the wide range of public measures that were passed, but also the two more directly consequential statutes, the Barons in Parliament Act and Annexation Act. It would be tempting to suggest that the far-reaching and extensive exemptions, concessions, and privileges incorporated into these two measures helped to promote the wide range of public measures that were enacted along with them, were it not for the fact that, at this very general level of analysis, it would be extremely difficult if not impossible to strip out sufficient strands of evidence to support empirically this purely speculative point of view.



Key:

- — — — — - Primary relationship
- — — — — - Secondary relationship
- — — — — - Tertiary relationship

The figure in brackets indicates number of full sederunts that include that person
 * - Known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven (1582).

Figure 11. Known inter-relations between Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney's family and their known relations between those of other leading privy councillors around the time of the 1587 parliament.

England and the Kirk

The 1587 parliament passed only one public act concerning Anglo-Scottish relations – the Defence of the Realm Act,⁵⁵ and 10 public acts in favour of the kirk,⁵⁶ including the Annexation Act,⁵⁷ which, along with the Defence of the Realm Act, is analysed in some detail below. Curiously, the Annexation Act has been regarded by the Statutory Publications Office as a private rather than a public act.⁵⁸ As discussed earlier, the division between the public and private acts of the Scottish parliament was not clean cut. It was possible for public articles to become private acts, and vice versa. Broadly speaking, public acts dealt with wider problems and issues, and private acts concerned particular individuals or a specific locality or corporation. Although the Act of Annexation was concerned with particular people and locations, its overriding purpose was to deal with wider problems and issues. This is clearly evident in the preamble which explains the act almost exclusively in broad financial terms.⁵⁹ Consequently, for the purposes of this study, the 1587 Annexation Act has been treated as a public measure, even though this may be a debatable decision.

The Defence of the Realm Act was self-regulatory. It simply ordered that a commission be established consisting of seven privy councillors and others from south of the Forth, and that as few as any three of them advise on the 'defence of the realme in tyme of war and quieting of the bordor in tyme of peax'.⁶⁰ The fact that the commissioners were from the south of the kingdom indicates that the concern was with England. Those named were Herries (Kirkcudbrightshire), newly appointed warden of the west marches, Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden (Kirkcudbrightshire), William Ker of Cessford (Roxburghshire), warden of the middle marches and keeper of Liddesdale, Andrew Ker of Fawside (Haddingtonshire), James Home of Cowdenknowes (Berwickshire), Alexander Home of Huton Hall (Berwickshire), and Alexander Home of Northberwick (Haddingtonshire). The last three were kinsmen of Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, who was warden of the east marches. The act was possibly the last official reaction to the death of Mary five months earlier. The first unofficial reaction was a 'great

⁵⁵ NAS - PA2 13 150v, *APS*, iii, 517.

⁵⁶ Of the ecclesiastical measures, half – Papal Books Act, Benefices Act, Dilapidations Act, Clergy Liferants Act, and the Patronage Act, were predominantly redistributory; three – the Church Act, Religion Act, and Non Resident Ministers Act were essentially self-regulatory; and two – the Disorders in Church Act, and Churchmen's Warrandice Act, were predominantly regulatory (app. 2).

⁵⁷ NAS - PA2 13 81r-86v, *APS*, iii, 431-7.

⁵⁸ The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 1424-1707 (London (HMSO), 1966), v.

⁵⁹ NAS - PA2 13 81r, *APS*, iii, 431.

⁶⁰ NAS - PA2 13 150v, *APS*, iii, 517.

clamour for war'. In March 1587, Carvell informed Walsingham that 'there is mightly pasquils affixed against the king and the council, provoking him to a revenge of his mother's death'.⁶¹

The two first official reactions to the royal death were the king's refusal to admit the English special ambassador, Robert Carey, into Scotland, and the opening up of negotiations with France through James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow.⁶² On the one hand, these responses were direct, unambiguous, and not unrelated, and they, among other things, genuinely put the recent Anglo-Scottish treaty to the test. On the other hand, other responses, such as the 1587 Defence of the Realm Act, were more imprecise and compromising, and made in an attempt to put the alliance back on the negotiating table.⁶³ Given his heavily vested interest in the nature of the official response to the execution of his mother, the king was probably the leading person behind the act. His personal response to the death was not straightforward, and has been discussed many times elsewhere.⁶⁴ Donaldson, for example, concluded that 'James must have viewed with detachment the fate of a parent whom he had never known, whom he had been trained to hate and despise and whose very existence was an obstacle to his position and prospects; and pleas he might make for his mother's life could have no motive save compliance with propriety'.⁶⁵ Actual evidence of the king's inner reaction to the death is slim. Moysie simply records that, after hearing of her death, the king went to bed without supper and the next morning 'he past solitarie to Dalkeith, desiring to be solitary'.⁶⁶ The difficulty of assessing such personal matters, even with more substantial evidence, has already been discussed.

Another example, of the crown's ambivalent response to the fate of Mary can be seen in the diplomatic communication between the two countries. Archibald Douglas, the king's unofficial representative in London, and Murdocairney and Gray, the king's official ambassadors sent there after the English parliament's ratification of Mary's death sentence, made a strong overt appeal for extreme measures, but, at the same time, unsuccessfully explored covertly the possibility of a bargain based on the king's right to the English succession.⁶⁷ The king, Archibald Douglas, Murdocairney, and Gray were not the only likely leading figures behind the act. According to Randolph, in November 1586, 'some, like the secretary, persuade a middle course – not to join with France, nor yet to follow England, or depend on

⁶¹ *CPS Scot.*, ix, 327-328 – see also 6 Mar. 1587 (pp. 330-1).

⁶² Moysie, *Memoirs*, 61; *CSP Scot.*, ix, 331 – 10 Mar. 1587 – Woddrington to Walsingham, 340-1, *Border Papers*, i, 252 – 18 Mar. 1587 – Forster to Walsingham; M. Courcelles, *Extracts from the Despatches of M. Courcelles*, ed. R. Bell (Hannayne Club, 1828), 49-50 – 24 Mar. 1587 – Courcelles to Henry III.

⁶³ Donaldson, *James V – James VII*, 184-5. Another example, can be seen in the diplomatic communication between the two countries. Archibald Douglas, the king's unofficial representative in London, and Murdocairney and Gray, the king's official ambassadors sent there after the English parliament's ratification of Mary's death sentence, made a strong overt appeal for extreme measures, but, at the same time, unsuccessfully explored covertly the possibility of a bargain based on the king's right to the English succession.

⁶⁴ I. B. Cowan (ed.), *The Enigma of Mary Stuart* (London, 1971), Intro.

⁶⁵ Donaldson, *James V – James VII*, 184.

⁶⁶ Moysie, *Memoirs*, 60.

⁶⁷ Donaldson, *James V – James VII*, 184-5.

favour thence, but to join with some Protestant prince of good power in sure league, viz., by marriage, as well as to relieve the king's present want by dowry, as to strengthen him hereafter in the action to his claim to England, and so to hold afar off, that England may seek to follow them, than they England'.⁶⁸ Walsingham (if not events) made the futility of this middle course very clear to Maitland and others by late February and early March 1587 on the grounds that it would be pointless for Scotland to take up arms even with another Protestant state, and that France (and Spain) would not intervene.⁶⁹

On 6 March 1587, Carvell subsequently reported that Maitland was 'very well inclined towards her Majesty, and a favourer to the maintenance of peace and amity'.⁷⁰ But Maitland's duplicity with regard to England is apparent in a contrary statement he made to Richard Douglas eight days later, when he was 'busily occupied with his masons and workman at the building of his house in the Forth of Lauder (Thirlestane Castle)', that repeated his earlier view.⁷¹ Paradoxically, the oblong-plan house, which was being constructed in a symmetrical Scottish baronial style, was originally a strong tower built by Edward I during his invasion of Scotland.⁷² But as Lee has surmised, Maitland, like the king, had every intention of coming to terms with England, but they wanted to maximise the political benefits from Mary's death.⁷³ Other leading persons behind the act, no doubt such as Glamis and his senior Anglophile colleagues, did not necessarily share in the king, Archibald Douglas, Murdocarmey, Gray, and Maitland's intrigue, and those intent on retribution must have given considerable support to its outwardly aggressive and high risk overt purpose.

The June 1587 general assembly was noticeably quiet with regard to Mary's death and matters concerning England. Given her involvement in Catholic plots, it would be very surprising if many ministers gave much consideration to the 1587 Defence of the Realm Act. This likely indifference contrasted with the concern of many of the nobility, including lay prelates. Four months before the execution, Catholics nobles, such as Huntly, Crawford, Montrose, and Atholl, were among those who were beginning to stir.⁷⁴ Many expressed their determination at a convention of estates held in December 1586, at which Glamis was present, to fight if Mary should be executed. It was, perhaps, no coincidence that, a few days earlier, he and Crawford had renewed their ongoing assurance to each other.⁷⁵ The convention was asked to vote a tax to pay the expenses made necessary 'by the present condition of the Queen, his

⁶⁸ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 166-9. Nov. 1586. State of Scotland.

⁶⁹ C. Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1925), iii, 182-80.

⁷⁰ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 330-1. 6 Mar. 1587. Robert Carvell to Walsingham.

⁷¹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 236-9. 23 Mar. 1587. Richard Douglas to Archibald Douglas.

⁷² Tanner, *Fortified House*, i, 24-5; F. H. Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical, and Historical*, 6 vols. (London, c.1895), vi, 435.

⁷³ See Maitland, 110.

⁷⁴ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 147-8. 25 Oct. 1586. Gray to Douglas; *Salisbury Papers*, iii, 185-8.

⁷⁵ *Rix*, iv, 128.

Highness's dearest mother', but this was refused and the nobility offered a voluntary contribution.⁷⁹ In February 1587, on hearing rumours of Mary's death, John Ogilvy of Poury Ogilvy reported to Burghley that the Hamiltons had offered to burn Newcastle, but only if the king would match their proposed levy of 5,000 men.⁸⁰ In the same month, according to Cranston, various Catholic nobles were urging the king to join them.⁸¹ Their enthusiasm was probably ameliorated by various gifts and concessions, such as granting of Gray's lands of Dunfermline to the Huntly,⁸² and the restoration of three Catholic ex-bishops.⁸³

The disposition of policy networks or issue groups led by, or including, burgh commissioners is much more difficult to assess. A convention of royal burghs was held at Dundee between 3 and 6 July 1587. Only two of the 10 burgh representatives on the articles - David Crawford (Ayr), and Robert Lichtoun (Montrose), attended it, the minutes of which deal exclusively with administrative and local matters.⁸⁴ Trade as well as religious considerations must have been major considerations in persuading most, if not all, of the burgh commissioners, especially those on the committee of articles who came from the larger towns, to vote in favour of the more conciliatory and less expensive 1587 Defence of the Realm Act. Although the death of Mary touched people's consciousness in varying degrees, popular opinion, like the minutes of the July 1587 convention of the royal burghs, must have also been focused on more pragmatic matters, as reflected in the broad policy of the 1587 parliament, such as that concerning taxation, tithes, and victuals,⁸⁵ and would appear to be very far removed from the 'great clamour for war', mentioned above.

As far as Lee was concerned, there were only two people responsible for the redistributory Annexation Act⁸⁶ - the king and, more particularly, Maitland. Glamis and other contemporaries hardly entered the scene. According to Maitland's biographer, 'there was, Maitland felt, but one solution to this problem (to the crown's finances), a radical but perfectly logical solution, which would have the tremendous additional merit of pleasing the kirk'. But this was not the 'real significance of the act', which 'revealed not by tables of rents, but by the *government's* handling of the property it now had at its disposal'. This small concession to others was offset by Lee's later assertion that at some unspecified moment 'the king and Maitland must have realised the tremendous political possibilities latent in

⁷⁹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 185-6 (7 Dec. 1586 - Woddrington to Walsingham; *RPO*, iv, 129).

⁸⁰ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 275-6 (Feb. 1587 - Poury Ogilvy to Burghley).

⁸¹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 266 (7 Feb. 1587 - Cranston to Douglas).

⁸² *RAS*, v, 1261.

⁸³ Donaldson, *James V - James VII, 1567-1609*. These were James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow (*RAS*, v, 1168), John Leslie, bishop of Ross, and William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane.

⁸⁴ *Convention of Royal Burghs*, i, 229-43.

⁸⁵ *APS*, iii, 437 (c. 10 King's Marriage Act), 450 (c. 12 Tithes Act), 452 (c. 39 Export of Victuals Act).

⁸⁶ *NAS - P A2 13 81r-86v*; *APS*, iii, 431-7.

the matter of erections (of temporalities into lordships).⁸⁴ There is no doubt that the king and Maitland were key actors leading the policy-making process, or that the crown's finances, the kirk, and more latent personal ambition were the main reasons for its radical outcome, but there must have been others who played a major part, not least Glamis and his deputy at the treasury, Murdocairney. Glamis, in particular, was the chief financial officer. As mentioned earlier, he had spent a considerable time in England, where he would have experienced, at first hand, the largely successful economic, social, and political consequences of the Henrician dissolution of the monasteries, especially the transfer of the vast estates first to the crown, and then to even more fortunate private individuals and institutions. As is well recorded, this was the biggest transfer of land in English history since the Norman Conquest, with around 1,000 individuals and institutions first acquiring land from the crown. More than a quarter of this land went to spiritual institutions, which gave the crown money as well as other lands in exchange.⁸⁵

Spiritual leaders must also have had an institutional interest in the act, not least Patrick Adamson. His political survival as archbishop of St. Andrews was tied to the success of the crown's ecclesiastical policy, especially the so-called 1584 'Black Acts', which, as discussed earlier, reasserted Episcopal church government, and reaffirmed the supremacy of the king. Since then, the Episcopal governmental system headed by him had come under increasing pressure, especially as a result of the return of Andrew Melville and other exiled ministers at the end of 1585, and the antagonism resulting from excommunications of the archbishop, on the one hand, and James Melville and his uncle, Andrew Melville, on the other.⁸⁶ Randolph reported that it was Maitland, Glamis, and himself that persuaded the king from wholesale reprisals against the enemies of the unpopular archbishop,⁸⁷ who, in many ways, was a model senior prelate. Calderwood was confident that the act was 'the bane of Episcopal power and jurisdiction'.⁸⁸ But its perniciousness was not enough to ruin Adamson or the Episcopal system, and the continuation of the latter at this time may have been, in no small part, due to him.

The general assembly met in Edinburgh on 20 June 1587, the day after the king's important birthday, and it sat 17 times. Spottiswood recounted that the general assembly was 'where the king did purpose to have all matters settled betwixt him and the Church, but this meeting had not the like success'. Maitland and Auchinoul presented a number of articles to be considered, the two main ones being a redress for 'offences' committed by two ministers – James Gibson and John Cowper, and the admission of Robert Montgomery, bishop of Glasgow, into the general assembly. Earlier that year, Gibson had

⁸⁴ *See Maitland*, 142.

⁸⁵ S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (London, 1967), 105-8, 114-17.

⁸⁶ *DNB*, i, 112-13.

⁸⁷ *CSP Scot.*, viii, 328-30, 336-8. 22, 25 Apr. 1586. Randolph to Walsingham.

⁸⁸ *Calderwood*, iv, 6-40.

compared the king to Jeroboam, and Cowper had refused to concede a pulpit to Patrick Adamson, or to pray for the king's mother.⁸⁹ The admission of Robert Montgomery was not acceptable, and he resigned his title in favour of William Erskine, parson of Campsie, who was a 'friend and follower' of Mar. Campsie 'being well beloved of the ministry, and otherwise of good parts, obtained the consent of the presbytery of Glasgow, and was admitted thereto by them, although he was a laick, and bare no charge in the Church'.⁹⁰ This decision, however, was called to account, by the subsequent general assembly. Mar was elected a member of the 1587 committee of articles, and his undoubted influence at court at that time may have been a factor in the Montgomery ruling.⁹¹

The 1587 general assembly recommended that there should be a collection of acts of parliament against Catholics, and it nominated its moderator - Andrew Melville, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, Walter Balcanquhall, and 16 other ministers, as well as John Erskine of Dun to be commissioners for the kirk in the coming parliament. Spottiswood relates that they presented themselves at the first sitting, and 'desired' that all the prelates present should be removed because they did not have any authority to be there from the kirk, and most of them had 'no function or charge in at all'. Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, defended their right to be there and speak for the church, and Robert Pont replied to him 'somewhat bitterly'. The king 'willed them to be quiet, and present their petitions orderly' to the committee of articles where they would be dealt with 'according to reason'. This was the general assembly's leading petition, which was rejected. Some were accepted. Spottiswood's account not only highlights the fact that the general assembly's voice in parliament was indirect and limited, but also the fact that it was clearly directed towards prelates and papists rather than property.

Given the king's coming of age and the crown's financial problems, the reverse was probably true as far as the second estate was concerned. The preamble to the statute of annexation makes it clear that the king found it difficult to live off his present income, and that he intended to repossess himself of his rightful property, namely all the temporalities of the benefices, which are listed in considerable detail in the act. In future, this property was to be dealt with like any other property in terms of taxes and leasing. The general concern of a large section the nobility, including the peerage, as well as and many prelates and ministers and burghs, is reflected in the numerous exemptions and concessions that are described in the main text of act. Church lands already erected into temporal lordships were not annexed, including Maitland's lordship of Musselburgh. Certain other lands were also exempted, and the revenues of yet more lands were promised to their present holders in liferent. More significantly, there was the

⁸⁹ Calderwood, iv, 606, 607, 649-76; *RHC*, iv, 142-4; Spottiswood, ii, 354; Moysie, *Memoirs*, 59.

⁹⁰ Spottiswood, ii, 374-5.

⁹¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, ii, 314-22; Calderwood, iv, 615-38.

possibility of still further exemptions, and, by implication, further erections into temporal lordships, which, for some families, would mean a hereditary and permanent possession of a title and the land. Three other exemptions are listed later in the main text of the act. These were the abbey lands of Dunfermline, Paisley, and Pluscarden held by Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and Pluscarden respectively. It is clear in this section of the act that these lands were to be erected into temporal lordships in favour of their current occupiers, and that Lord John Hamilton and John Bothwell, the son of the bishop of Orkney, were to retain the revenues of the abbeys of Arbroath and Holyroodhouse respectively. Additions to the main text, which were made to the draft after its approval by the committee of articles and before its ratification by the king in parliament, include five more exemptions, namely the temporalities of Kelso, Coldingham, and Lesmahago, which were held by Bothwell; part of those of the collegiate church of Lincluden, which was held by Lincluden; and the nunnery of Northberwick, which was held by Northberwick.⁹²

The 1587 Annexation Act was necessarily complex because the temporal lands, which like the ghost of the old church that they very tangibly represented, touched every estate and all levels of society, and they were interwoven into an intricate pattern of individual and institutional land holding. As far as the crown was concerned, they had both an immediate and latent value in terms of both revenue and patronage. The realisation of this depended on the right balance between actual annexations and exemptions and concessions, many of the main beneficiaries of which were peers, prelates, or officers in the 1587 parliament as well as broad sections of society. Lee analysed the disposition of the 29 abbatial lands after 1587. Seven remained in the hands of the higher nobility in 1587; seven stayed in the hands of 'officials and courtiers'; five were eventually annexed to various bishoprics; and nine were acquired from members of the higher nobility, or by 'a connection of a great family by new men or the crown'. He maintained that the 'official element' was even more prominent in the case of the priories and nunneries.⁹³

The question of a division between the 'new' and 'old' nobility has already been discussed. Clearly the act encouraged a further extension, rather than a reformation, of the peerage through the various erections of temporal lands into temporal lordships. In any event, all the families that benefited from these conversions over time, such as the Keiths (Deer), Bothwell (Holyroodhouse), Stewarts (Inchcolm, Blantyre, and Inchmahome), Bruces (Kinloss), Leslies (Lindores), Kers (Newbattle), Hamiltons (Paisley), Setons (Pluscarden) were of very old lineage as was, of course, most of the Scottish

⁹² *APS*, iii c 8 431-7

⁹³ Lee, *Scotland*, 299-301

nobility. The erections would appear to be a clear case of the old and well-worn adage that 'them that hath shall be given' (Appendix 3.2). Glamis, for example, who did not hold temporal lands, only received three gifts out of the temporality of Arbroath, including the monks' portion of Arbroath.⁹⁴ This small gain was no doubt offset by other rewards, not least the gift of the office of treasurer and grants to his servants.⁹⁵

The Annexation Act exempted existing feus, such as that paid by Glamis to Robert Ramsay, vicar of Glamis, for the lands of Lenros and 10 acres of the lands of Baikie,⁹⁶ and pensions from the revenues of church property, and maintained the rights of lay patrons on church lands. It also exempted various kinds of lands and property that was set aside for ministers, including the manse of ministers in rural parishes and lands and properties within burghs that provided the sole support of the particular burgh minister concerned, and four acres of land nearest to the kirk; and all property that was used to support education, or for the benefit of the sick and the poor; and the part of the tithes, which collectively had become inextricably tied to other types of property. The numerous houses and castles of the prelates were also exempted. The act also transferred the superiority of the burghs of regality and barony from the kirk to the king, which left intact their monopolistic privileges.⁹⁷ The burghs and the population as a whole came out of it relatively unscathed through the carefully crafted exemptions and concessions. Broadly speaking, there was a very wide-ranging mutual exchange of interests. Curiously, the minutes of the previous convention of royal burghs do not refer, directly or indirectly, to any matters relating to the act, and popular opinion would appear to be similarly silent on this far-reaching measure.⁹⁸

In general terms, the Defence of the Realm Act, was self-regulatory, which would loosely suggest that the policy community supporting it was integrated, and that the political cost of reaching a decision for those involved was low. This was apparent, for instance, in the geographically inclusiveness of the members of the commission, and the general and compromising nature of the act itself, which followed on from a series of formal political reactions of decreasing intensity to the death of Mary five months earlier. In general terms too, the Annexation Act was redistributory on an exceptionally major scale. This type of policy would also loosely suggest that the policy community promoting it was integrated, and that the political cost of reaching a decision was high. In sharp contrast to the other ecclesiastical and other policy passed by this parliament, the scale of the act not only attracted the

⁹⁴ Strathmore MSS, box 235, bundle 3, NAS - PS1 56 83v-83r (Monks' portion of Arbroath), PS1 55 183r-184v, *RMS*, v. 134 (lands of Corston), 1444 (lands of Tulloes and Craichie).

⁹⁵ NAS - PS1 55 12v (John Ker of Lumbsy), 102v (John Ker of Wester Barnhill), 109v (Alexander Kessane), 174r (John Lyon, younger of Cossons), PS1 56 67r-68v (treasurer).

⁹⁶ NAS - Index of feu Charters of Kirklands, 28 Aug. 1583.

⁹⁷ *APS*, iii. 433-6; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545-1691*, eds J. H. Burton and others (Edinburgh, 1877-), second series, i. intro. clxii.

⁹⁸ *Convention of Royal Burghs*, i. 229-43.

attention of contemporary observers and subsequent historians, who, fortunately, had the wit to preserve at least some of what was recalled, but also necessarily required the content of it to be officially recorded in some detail. However, as mentioned earlier, there is virtually no detailed record of the policy communities that were responsible for such acts or any authoritative account of the discussions or voting leading up to the final decisions on them, particularly concerning the key people and various political sub-groups who were directly involved in the process. Consequently, in respect of this particular act, it is easier to come to grips empirically with at least part of the political cost of reaching a decision than with the policy community promoting it. The integration within the policy community was reflected, for example, in the depth of the crown's resolve to deal with the inadequacy of the king's property. The high cost is not only apparent, for instance, in the very detailed and largely quantifiable tangible exceptions and concessions in the act, such as the abbey lands of Dunfermline, Paisley, and Pluscarden held by Huntly, Lord Claud Hamilton, and Pluscarden respectively, but also, to a much lesser extent, the intangible, and, therefore, less quantifiable, losses and gains in respect of interests, not least those of Patrick Adamson and the more radical ministers.

Conclusion

As with the 1585 parliament, substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political figures and their families were evident in the politics, but sparse in the polity, and non-existent in the policy, of the 1587 parliament. With regard to politics, this was evident, for instance, in the list of leading pro-English nobles identified in November 1586: Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Lords (Claud and John) Hamilton, Glamis, and Gray.⁹² Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six named persons, which were of a secondary or tertiary nature: Mar was possibly a brother-in-law (secondary), Lord John Hamilton was a brother-in-law (secondary), and Lord Claud Hamilton the brother of John (tertiary). In contrast to the 1585 parliament, there were significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations within the politics involved in this parliament. More personal motives arising from the acrimonious divorce between Gray and his niece Elizabeth Lyon ran alongside Glamis's political ones in 1586, and the relation between Glamis and Marland was made worse

⁹² *CSP Scot.*, ix, 167-9. Nov. 1586. State of Scotland

in the following year when Glamis married secondly Eupheme Douglas, and his niece Jean Lyon was set to marry, also secondly, the ailing Angus. The divorce certainly helped to distance, if not destroy, Glamis's political relations with Gray, and Maitland had to look to others for political support. With regard to polity, Glamis had no family relations with the 30 people formally named as commissioners for holding parliament and/or lords of the articles, although his niece Jean Lyon married Angus, only a few days after the close of this parliament. Maitland and Murdocairney also had none. Further, Glamis had only one family relation in the sample of 13 leading privy councillors, which again was with his treasurer depute, Murdocairney, and of a tertiary nature. Once more, it is interesting to note at this stage that 6 of the 13 (roughly 45% and 50% more than in the 1585 sample) are known to have been directly involved in the Raid of Ruthven.

In sharp contrast to the other ecclesiastical and other policy passed by this and many other parliaments, the Act of Annexation attracted the attention of contemporary observers and subsequent historians, and the content of it was officially recorded in some detail. Consequently, it is easier to come to grips empirically with at least the very high tangible costs of reaching a political decision. The fact that the inherent 'perniciousness' within the act alluded to by Calderwood was not enough to ruin Patrick Adamson or the Episcopal system is no small tribute to the skill of those, including Glamis, who constructed this considerably complex and comprehensive mutual exchange of political interests. This finding, in particular, supports the first theoretical platform constructed earlier, based on the work of Wormald and others, which proposed that later-sixteenth century Scottish politics generally involved a co-operation, rather than a conflict, of interests between individuals and institutions, such as the 1587 parliament. It also similarly supports the second. Contrary to the views of many writers, such as Lee, who argued that the king and Maitland were 'responsible' for the Annexation Act, the nature of the annexations, exemptions, and concessions, and evident changes to these, within it certainly lends weight to the idea that policy determined politics, and that there was a dynamic link between the two.

8. The 1592 Parliament

*... A parliament can do anything but make a man a woman, and a woman a man.*¹

The 1592 parliament was different from the 1585 and 1587 parliaments because, among other things, Glamis was not formally present, and it took much longer to convene. These two matters were not unrelated. The 1592 parliament was prorogued twice: it was originally summoned for November 1591, deferred to January 1592, and then formally constituted on 3 April 1592, but it was continued without giving a specific date. On 9 December 1591, the English special ambassador, Robert Bowes, advised that it was not certain that parliament would be held on 10 January 1592, it depended 'if agreement between Maitland and Glamis not kept'. This particular attempt at reconciliation, as will be discussed, was one of many. The 1592 parliament was also unusual in comparison with the two previous ones because much greater consideration would appear to have been given to who should attend and what should be considered. At one stage, the king was 'minded to send the queen to Dalkeith and stay himself at Holyrood with some few chosen of the nobility, and to call to parliament to such other members as were well affected to the matters proponed'.² A convention of estates was held to prepare for parliament. As Aston noted on 25 May 1592, the previous day was the first day of the 'convention', 'many of nobility come to this town very strongly', and 'they are now upon consultation about what shall be concluded in parliament'. Moysie also noted that a convention was to be held on 24 May, and that the 1592 parliament assembled 'within v or vi days thairefter, quhairupone the nobilitie and estaitis wer wrettin for of new to that effect'.³ Parliament was fenced on Wednesday 24 May, convened in full on Monday 29 May, and most acts were passed one week later on 5 June 1592, when the full parliament was reconvened.⁴

The Parliamentary Process

The politics leading up to the 1592 Parliament were complex and rooted in the previous two parliaments, at least as far as Glamis was concerned. One of the many public acts that were passed by the

¹ *Harleian Miscellany*, v (1745). The quotation was made by Henry Herbert, Lord Pembroke, 2nd earl of Pembroke, who attended the second and final trial of Mary, queen of Scots, and recalled by his younger son, Philip Herbert.

² Macdonald, 'The parliament of 1592', draft p. 3, *CSP Scot.*, x, 566, 570, 583, 619, 626, 674.

³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 608-9. 31 Dec. 1591. Bowes to Burghley.

⁴ Moysie, *Memoires*, 94.

⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 677, 681; *APS*, iii, 527-650.

1585 parliament was the Chancellor Act, which declared that office vacant. It remained unoccupied until the 1587 parliament, which voted Maitland chancellor.⁶ Almost nine months earlier, in November 1586, Restalrig had advised Archibald Douglas that his stepfather, Glamis, had ambitions for that high office. For many onlookers, such as Restalrig and Archibald Douglas, this was an achievable goal. After all, since the return of the banished lords in 1585, Glamis had successfully handled the day-to-day affairs of government, at least as far as they related to the privy council, the treasury, and the college of justice, and such mechanisms of government was very familiar to him, before then, through his chancellor brother. Further, these onlookers had witnessed at first hand the promotion of Arran as captain of the guard, a post that Glamis currently held, to chancellor, and were no doubt mindful that Elizabeth's treasurer, Burghley, was likely to become her next first minister. Furthermore, major countries and Maitland apart, it had been common practice in Europe for such a position to go to a bishop or a great lord.⁷ The banished lords had already considered Angus for the post.⁸

But too much emphasis should not be placed on Restalrig's remark. For many others, not least monarchs such as James, as discussed earlier, the criteria for selecting the most senior officer of state were changing. Events leading up to Maitland's promotion as chancellor, especially his promotion to vice-chancellor and keeper of the great seal in 1586, and Glamis's ebb and flow relations with the king must have made it clear to him if not his supporters, as it did to others, exactly where he stood in relation to the chancellorship. During the four months leading up to the 1587 parliament, for example, Archibald Douglas thought that the 'Secretary doeth presentlye govern all matteris in Scotland', and Burghley would appear to have been at one with the king when he considered Maitland to be 'the wisest man in Scotland'.⁹ Further, Glamis was not the only courtier who had, or would, from time to time, either rashly or sincerely, expresses an ambition for the chancellorship, and, as one cynic wrote in March 1587, 'All the noble men envy the secretary's credit'.¹⁰ Whether Maitland's promotion frustrated Glamis's personal ambition or hopes for the state, or both, is impossible to say for certain.

The political problems that developed during Maitland's 'premiership', from its formal inauguration at the end of the 1587 parliament to the final session of the 1592 parliament, were more

⁶ *IPS*, iii, 489-90 - c.93 (1587). This was a private act.

⁷ Royal Manuscript Commission on Historical Manuscripts, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury (Salisbury Papers)*, eds. S. R. Bird and others, 18 vols. (London, 1883-1976), iii, 192-3.

⁸ *See Maitland*, 118; Zulager, 'Middle-rank administrators'. Whether or not Glamis can be regarded as a 'great lord' is somewhat open to question. Zulager classed him, along with Maitland and Gray, as a 'middle-rank administrator'.

⁹ Godscroft, *History*, 429.

¹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 324. 1 Mar. 1587. 'Mr Archibald Douglas to Walsingham, *RPS*', iv, p. xxiii.

¹¹ Courcelles, *Despatches*, 71-2 (Ogilvy Pourie).

serious than simple envy, especially as far as Glamis was concerned. Glamis and Matland's position at court during the latter part of 1588 had been weakened by the recent death of Angus, and the king's acquisition of two new favourites: Alexander Lindsay, later 1st Lord Spynie (Spynie), and Huntly. In October 1588, Spynie replaced Glamis as captain of the guard.¹² Glamis was 'heirliche movit' that the office, which had been given to him by parliament, had been taken from him 'without offence'. The fact that the replacement was Crawford's younger brother added insult to injury, and, because of Glamis's reaction to Spynie's appointment, Huntly took up this critical royal 'gate-keeping' post in the following month.¹³ For whatever reason, the formal confirmation of Huntly as captain of the guard at a convention of estates held in November 1588 would appear to have met with Glamis's approval. However, Huntly's enjoyment of the office was short lived.

Huntly had been on close terms with the king all through that winter, and continually urged him to dismiss Matland, Glamis, and other officers of state, and form a new administration.¹⁴ But Huntly's political ambitions were seriously checked in February 1589, when two letters were intercepted on their way to Spain and revealed that he, Errol, Maxwell, and Lord Claude Hamilton, together with Bothwell, who had allied himself to these Catholic lords, had apparently been drawn into a Catholic plot.¹⁵ Catholic communication with Spain was not unusual at that time, but the king was particularly upset by the extent of their involvement, and Huntly's personal treachery towards him.¹⁶ Despite this setback, the king was lenient towards them, and, as far as Huntly was concerned, only took away his command of the guard, which reverted back to Glamis as a safe pair of hands.¹⁷ But his hands were cleverly tied. Before leaving, Huntly had paid the guard, and ordered them to serve no other, who 'all observes the same'. Both Matland and Glamis tried to change them, but the king was not willing.¹⁸ The guard was eventually discharged in early April 1589, and Glamis went home.¹⁹

¹² Lee, *Matland*, 177; *CSP Scot.*, ix, 627; *Salisbury Papers*, iii, 374; Moysie, *Memoires*, 70-1; *The Records of Aboyne, 1230-1681*, ed. C. Gordon (Spalding Club, 1894), 507.

¹³ Moysie, *Memoires*, 71 (quotations); *CSP Scot.*, ix, 621 (Sept. 1588 - Intelligence from Scotland, 627 - Oct. 1588 - Hudson to Walsingham, 635 - 13 Nov. 1588 - Asheby to Burghley, 638 - 22 Nov. 1588 - Asheby to Burghley, 647 - 13 Dec. 1588 - Aston to Walsingham).

¹⁴ *Calderwood*, iv, 677, 696.

¹⁵ *Calderwood*, v, 1-35; Moysie, *Memoires*, 72.

¹⁶ J. D. Mackie, 'Scotland and the Spanish Armada', *Scottish Historical Review*, xii (1915), 1-23; *CSP Scot.*, ix, 699-700 - Feb. 1589 - James VI to Huntly.

¹⁷ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 708 - 8 Mar. 1589 - Aston to James Hudson - Glamis come to court, the king promised not to take the guard from him without his consent, x, 3-4 - 14 Mar. 1589 - Fowler to Burghley, 8-10 - 18 Mar. 1589 - Asheby to Burghley; *CSP Scot.*, x, 285 - 29 Apr. 1590 - Bowes to Burghley - Glamis heard from Denmark that Matland had declared himself 'a greater adversary to him than he looked for, and by his means the office of captain of the guard is turned over from Glamis to Carmichael'.

¹⁸ *Border Papers*, i, 336.

¹⁹ *Border Papers*, i, 642.

Huntly took steps to recover his position at court by force. Spain backed his second attempt at a largely Catholic coup, which he and others had secretly planned for early April 1589. Huntly and his Catholic supporters set about raising their forces in the north, and Bothwell did the same in the south. Glamis, who had just avoided capture near Dundee, gave warning that Huntly, Errol, and Crawford were on the march in the north, and the warden of the west marches, John Carmichael of Carmichael, raised the alarm for similar movements in the south.²⁰ But the rebels were unable to raise sufficient strength either side of the Forth. Shortly after Glamis had given his warning, he had arranged a meeting of his friends at Meigle church to raise some forces to join with those of Morton, Angus, Atholl, and Marschal, but he was surprised there on 10 April 1589, and chased to the house of Kirkhill belonging to Crawford's brother-in-law, Inchaffray.²¹ Crawford besieged the building.²² After it had been put to the fire, Glamis surrendered himself to Huntly's brother, Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, who took him prisoner from that small Presbyterian centre in east Perthshire to Auchindoun's massive three-storied castle in Banffshire.²³ According to Fowler, Huntly intended to 'send him to the Prince of Parma, as a special heretic, favourer of the English and destroyer of the Spanish'.²⁴ Colville noted that they carried Glamis 'in triumph by his own castle of Glamis, his lady and servants beholding the same. The indignity done to him has irritated his majesty very much, so that I think we shall not return till either they be expelled the realm or apprehended'.²⁵ Fowler commented that 'the King is exceedingly grieved, and so are all good men here, for he was a principal pillar of this faction, both for his valour of manhood, and good affection to England'.²⁶

James Gray, who may have been served Glamis earlier, thought that the subsequent political division between the two sides was the same as that at the raid of Stirling (1585) except for Bothwell and Glamis, who was detained in ward (vardoure).²⁷ The two forces eventually confronted each other in the middle of April 1589 at the crossing of the river Dee, just outside Aberdeen. Huntly decided not to fight and fled, and his brother released Glamis the following day.²⁸ Glamis advised the king that Huntly and the other rebel leaders would surrender if the penalties were not severe. At that point, according to Asheby,

²⁰ *Culderwood*, v, 54; *Salisbury Papers*, iii, 404.

²¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 36. 11 Apr. 1589. Fowler to Asheby.

²² *Culderwood*, v, 58.

²³ *RMS*, v, 442; *Spottiswood*, ii, 394, 397.

²⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, 46. 23 Apr. 1589. Fowler to Walsingham.

²⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 39-40. 14 Apr. 1589. Colville to Asheby.

²⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, 36. 11 Apr. 1589. Fowler to Asheby.

²⁷ *CSP Scot.*, x, 38. 13 Apr. 1589. J. Gray to Master of Gray. James Gray was a gentleman of the privy chamber, and the two

were brothers.

²⁸ *Culderwood*, v, 55.

the king was prepared to be forgiving to all, except those who laid a plot for taking Glamis.²⁹ Huntly, Bothwell, and Crawford were tried in Edinburgh for treason. The Master of Gray, who, now acrimoniously divorced from Glamis's niece, Elizabeth Lyon, reported that Lord John Hamilton, Angus, Mar, Morton, Home, Marschal, and Glamis had promised to help to restore the rebels, and that Glamis moved 'factiously' to seek Maitland's ruin. Fowler reported that Glamis was a 'suitor' for Bothwell and Huntly, and 'malcontented' with Maitland because 'Crawford is not to be executed, in respect of the feud between them'. Maitland could not agree to it because, among other things, so many of Crawford's friends had the king's ear, especially Spynie, still the 'king's minion'.³⁰ Glamis's relations with Maitland had changed.

Glamis protested in open council about allegations of his complicity with Huntly and his confederates. According to Fowler, Glamis had been taken at Kirkhill by his own consent, and released from Strathbogie to serve the traitors.³¹ Calderwood recalled that Glamis 'rendered to them upon conditions'.³² These may have been that he submitted to Auchindoun rather than Crawford, but, to Fowler and Gray, they could only be to rebel, rather than Glamis's own or royal, advantage. Before Huntly's rebellion, Fowler had reported that 'the Spanish faction (and the) Treasurer among them having store of pistols to serve when the king and his side have nothing to make any force with'.³³ After the rebellion, he pointed out that only Maitland, Murdocairney, James Colville of Easter Wemyss, and Carmichael were affected to the English, and that 'Glamis says little'.³⁴ Gray had observed that, although Glamis appeared to be the rebels' enemy, whatever he said tended to be to their advantage. According to Gray, this was particularly the case when Glamis spoke with the king, who thought that Glamis had the same disposition towards the rebels as him.³⁵ When Glamis accompanied the king north in July 1591 to deal with the outlaws, Gray commented that he 'disappoints the king of a great deal of money (fines) he looked for'.³⁶

Even to the more casual observer, Glamis's collusion in his capture may have been an unusual but not unreasonable conclusion. Glamis had unmistakably stood by Huntly and some of his friends – he spoke for them, and was prepared to support their restoration. Further, Glamis and Huntly were related to

²⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 48-9. 24 Apr. 1589. Ashby to Walsingham.

³⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, 102. 14 June 1589. Fowler to Walsingham.

³¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 102. 14 June 1589. Fowler to Walsingham.

³² *Calderwood*, v, 54.

³³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 16. 26 Mar. 1589. Fowler to Walsingham.

³⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, 73. 14 May 1589. Fowler to Burghley.

³⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 92-3. 4 June 1589. Master of Gray to Burghley.

³⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, 120-1. 17 July 1589. Master of Gray to Hudson.

each other by blood and marriage, and Glamis had been amenable to Huntly's appointment as captain of the guard. Furthermore, more than half the lands of the lordship of Glamis lay north of the river Dee, and a cadet branch of Glamis's family - the Lyons of Comalegy, lived within three miles of Huntly's main stronghold of Strathbogie Castle.³⁷ Before he arrived north with the king in July 1591, Glamis clearly had had the certain confidence of the king, and he may have acted as the king's (or, as discussed earlier, even Elizabeth's) agent in the whole affair.

In October 1589, James and his court, including Maitland, sailed to the continent to meet his new wife, Anne of Denmark. Careful arrangements were made for the government of Scotland during his absence. Glamis's deputy Murdocairney carried out the chancellor's day-to-day administrative duties, and Glamis continued as treasurer.³⁸ Glamis was not only on bad terms with Maitland by this time, but also with the king, who made his feelings very clear in a letter he wrote in the middle of that month to Maitland complaining of 'the inconsiderat importunitie of this Master of Glammes, quha, as a man careless of me and onlie louaie of him self, pressis by all meanes with his conuocationis for dayes of law to interrupt and truble this tyme onlie dedicatt for my honour; ueill thir faconis intollerabill in subiectis quhais prince meritis sa ueill at thaire handis alluaye'.³⁹ One reason for the rifts between them was that Glamis, as treasurer, had been pressing the king to convene days of law to bring in revenue identified in last year's convention of estates. This is made very clear in a letter that Gray wrote in June 1589 saying the Glamis and Maitland had quarrelled because nothing had been received as promised at that convention.⁴⁰

The April 1588 convention of estates had ordered a taxation of £100,000 imposed on 'all sortis and dergeis of personis without exception' to cover the cost of king's marriage. The first instalment of £50,000 was to be paid before Martinmas 1588, the next £25,000 before Martinmas 1589, and the last £25,000 before Martinmas 1590. The convention also set up a commission to deal with the complaints of diverse persons 'toward thair unequall stenting' in the past, and to prescribe a 'forme and ordour' for 'divyding and setting' of the present and future taxation. Both Maitland and Murdocairney were present at the convention and the privy council that preceded it, but not Glamis. His absence may have been due

³⁷ NAS - CS7 110 336r-337v, 361v-361x - Aug. 1587. Two years earlier there had been a minor local dispute between John Lyon of Comalegy and his son William Lyon, apparent of Comalegy, and Huntly, James Gordon of Auch and Walter Barclay of Newton.

³⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, 145 - 22 Aug. 1589. Ashby to Burghley, 179 - 22 Oct. 1589. Proclamation made in Edinburgh, 285 - 29 Apr. 1590. Bowes to Burghley, 294 - 16 May 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

³⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 174 - 19 Oct. 1589. James VI to the (English) Lord Chancellor.

⁴⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, 106 - 16 June 1589. Master of Gray to Burghley.

to a quarrel, because, a few weeks earlier, Elizabeth herself had expressed her sorrow 'for the danger of the Master of Glamis'.¹¹

Interference from the king and Maitland in Glamis's role as treasurer applied to initiatives on expenditure as well as income. This is particularly evident in October 1590 when Maitland, Glamis, and other officers met in Holyrood palace to 'kmit themselves together for the king's service, and to withstand their adversaries'. According to Bowes, Glamis proposed that 'the mynyons in the King's chamber might be holden so strait within their lymittes, as they should not have power to enrich themselves above measure, nor to alter the resolutions of the Counsaill at their pleasure'. Maitland found this matter 'full of peril' to carry out without the king's consent, and, therefore, it 'was cast in the deck for the tyme'. Bowes thought that Glamis's handling of the matter resulted in the credibility of Maitland with the king, queen, and gentlemen being shaken, and that Glamis's own standing was 'highly esteemed' to such an extent that the 'smoke of this fire so troubled the Chancellor and his friends as they found it high time to seek to quench it at the King's hands; wherein the Chancellor so well carried the matter with the King and gentlemen that they opened all things to him, acknowledging that Glamis was the author thereof'. Bowes was not sure how Glamis would 'acquite him self, or whether he bein dede giltye of this error'.¹² These two episodes concerning crown income and expenditure clearly strengthen the argument, presented earlier, that Glamis was an active rather than a passive treasurer.

In March 1590, several months into the temporary government that was set up during the king's visit to Norway and Denmark, Bowes reported that there was a rumour of a sort of Catholic-backed St Bartholomew's day plot to be touched off by an assault on Glamis.¹³ This was one of a series of rumours in Scotland at the time, some of which came from the king's party in Norway and, particularly, Denmark. Several of these suggested a reorganisation of the government to the detriment of the higher nobility. According to Halhill, Maitland was behind these proposed reforms, which included an exchequer in place of the privy council, to which the nobility were to be banned, and the removal of various 'independent' senators of the college of justice.¹⁴ In late April 1590, Bowes wrote that the expected arrival of the king from Denmark:

¹¹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 557-17 Apr. 1588. Burghley to Fowler.

¹² *CSP Scot.*, x, 421-2. 20 Nov. 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

¹³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 854-7. 5 Mar. 1590. (unknown) to Walsingham. G. M. Bell, *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509-1688* (London, 1990), 249.

¹⁴ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 201-2.

*stirred the best sort to provide for his welcome, and stay the attempts of the seditious. "But the number of malcontents are so increased by the conceipt taken by the King's resolution to reforme th' estate of his government, to the prejudice of the generall and ordinary votes of the nobilitie in counselles and matters of estate, and the preparacion of a gard to shoulder and mayntayne this innovation's arrival — all which are deemed to be wrought by meanes of Lord Chanceliour of Scotland with proms of th' assistance of Denmark — as it is verie likele that some fier shalbe kindled shortly after the Kinges return and sailing"*⁴⁵

At the end of that month, Carmichael arrived from the continent with orders from the king to raise, and take command of, a new royal guard of 200 men. This was not an immediate surprise to Glamis, who, according to Bowes, had heard from Denmark that Maitland had 'declared himself a greater adversary to him than he looked for', and that Maitland was responsible for the captaincy of the guard being given to Carmichael.⁴⁶ The reality of Carmichael's return to Scotland reinforced the still unreality of rumours of a 'Danish innovation', which were progressively unsettling some of the not so institutionally progressive Scottish higher nobility, including Glamis.

After the arrival of the newly-married royal couple at Leith in May 1590, the opposition against Maitland subsided, and there was a formal process of mediation between Maitland and Glamis. This was just one of series of attempts at reconciling Maitland and others.⁴⁷ But the political benefits of these initiatives were offset by Maitland's elevation to the peerage. He was the only person to receive such an honour at Anne's coronation later that month, when the king also knighted 15 people, including Glamis.⁴⁸ The benefits were also offset by the fact that many noblemen and barons felt slighted because, as Halhill recorded, they found, the 'hall, chamber, and all doors were so straitly shut and indiscreetly kept, that they could get no entry. Those who had been lately in Denmark with his Majesty, thought to retain him and the whole government in their hands, and had given his Majesty council not to be over familiar, nor of too easy access'.⁴⁹

In July 1590, Bowes noted that Errol had unsuccessfully sought to persuade Bothwell to join Huntly and others against Maitland who 'oppressed and dishonoured the nobility'. They were 'mynded to give him the like reward that was given to Coquharan, who serving under King James the third and offending generallie all the noblemen was sodainelic taken by the Erle of Angusse and others and hanged'. Errol named Glamis as the chief person in this intrigue, and that Glamis would 'ether tarie in court to bring in and gitt peace to the attemptours after the execution of the matter, or els that he wold in

⁴⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 281–24 Apr 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁴⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, 285–29 Apr 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁴⁷ *CSP Scot.*, x, 294–6–16 May 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁴⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, 299–300–23 May 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁴⁹ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 203.

parson attempt the enterprise". Although Bowes thought that many of those named by Errol would not enter into such a foul action because they were friends of Maitland and of "such peaceable disposition", their collective view that Maitland oppressed and dishonoured the nobility lends considerable weight to the importance to them of an ideological conception of Scotland such as that put forward by Godscroft, as discussed earlier, at least that part of it that involved the old nobility.⁵⁰

An important aspect of that part of that conception was the importance of a noble family Maitland, who, as mentioned earlier, was not so perfect in his generations, suspected another coalition was being formed against him when he learnt that Glamis was promoting the marriage of Errol to one of William Douglas, 6th earl of Morton's, daughters for that purpose. At the end of April 1590, Bowes reported that, by Glamis's means, Errol had renewed the negotiations for the marriage of Morton's daughter, and that Murdocairney was prepared to set this match forward to draw Errol away from Huntly.⁵¹ Glamis and his deputy at the treasury Murdocairney were responsible for the casualty, and would be very familiar with the political as well as the financial significance of such marriages. The two were inextricably mixed. Errol's marriage to the daughter of Morton meant that Glamis had a new brother-in-law, and, according to the English special ambassador, Edward Somerset, 4th earl of Worcester, these three nobles were soon acting in consort.⁵²

According to Bowes, later attempts at marriage brokerage by Glamis were not so successful. In January 1591, Glamis tried to reconcile Morton and Maxwell through the marriage of their children to draw Maxwell away from Maitland, but Maitland discovered the scheme.⁵³ A month later, Glamis failed to promote the marriage between his young nephew, Cassillis, and Anna Campbell, the only sister of Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll. Maitland, who was also a curator for both the young men involved, blocked this proposal too.⁵⁴ Towards the end of that year, when Glamis was "like to lose his offices of Lord Treasurer and in Session, and be charged to bring in Lord Glamis to the King and Council", Maitland "remained deaf to all Glamis's overtures". These included a proposal that Glamis's son (probably John Lyon, 2nd of Auldbar) might marry the chancellor's only daughter Anna Maitland, to which Maitland replied "he liked better the master's ward than the marriage of his son". Glamis turned to

⁵⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, 354-5. 11 July 1589. Bowes to Burghley. The other actors were Angus, Morton, Huntly, Mar, Lord Claud Hamilton, several officers including Blantyre (privy seal), L. Includen (collector), Parbroath (comptroller), Auchinoul (justice clerk), and Cowdenknowes (keeper of Edinburgh Castle).

⁵¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 281. 24 Apr. 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁵² *CSP Scot.*, x, 331. 20 June 1590. Earl of Worcester to Burghley, 352. 11 July 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

⁵³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 449. 13 Jan. 1591. Bowes to Burghley.

⁵⁴ *NAS*, Calendar of Deeds, xxxvi, 225. 11 Dec. 1490. Decree appointing Lord John Hamilton, Maitland, Glamis, Patrick Vans of Bambarock, and Thomas Kennedy of Bargunie Cassillis's curators; *CSP Scot.*, x, 468. 23 Feb. 1591. Bowes to Burghley; *Border Papers*, i, 703, pp. 375-6. This letter is misdated, the probable date of its writing is 23 Feb. 1591.

his niece Jean Lyon's husband, Spynie, to try to persuade Crawford to take his side, but Crawford was not interested.⁵⁵

The poor relations between Glamis and Maitland were made even worse by a bitter dispute over land involving Glamis's father-in-law, Morton, and Maitland's nephew-in-law, Patrick Crichton of Lugton, and the fact that Maitland had been worried that Glamis would be the one to achieve a settlement of the Huntly-Moray feud that had begun in 1589.⁵⁶ In January 1591, Maitland revived the question of Glamis's complicity in Huntly's capture of Glamis, and Maitland stepped in to solve the feud himself. As a result, the privy council allowed Huntly to go home, and kept James Stewart, 2nd earl of Moray, and Atholl at court. This new alliance between Maitland and Huntly paid off, and Huntly was careful not to be too friendly towards Glamis 'whereby Huntlay gayneth no little profit betwixt them'.⁵⁷ In the following month, Bowes was seriously worried about divisions in James's administration, and unsuccessfully tried to reconcile Glamis and Maitland. According to him, the point at issue was the composition of the coalition government. Maitland was willing to come to terms with James's favourite courtiers, but 'the chancellor and some others do not fully allow as yet that noblemen shall be added, as the master of Glamis hath advised that without the association and support of some well-affected noblemen he will not bear any part of the burden but rather retire And live privately at home. Next in the choise of the noblemen to be called they do most disagree'. The Chancellor 'would draw in Claud Hamilton and Maxwell; Glamis would rather have Morton and Errol, whom the chancellor suspects, while Glamis fears mischief from the other two'.⁵⁸ Bowes's effort at reconciliation collapsed, and this important difference between them concerning the nobility - who should be included in the government, continued. Glamis felt so strongly about the matter that he was even prepared to ally himself with Crawford, and assign his office of treasurer to Crawford's brother, and now Glamis's brother-in-law, Spynie.⁵⁹

Maitland not only nurtured Huntly to Glamis's political discomfort, but also Crawford. In February 1591, he encouraged Crawford to break off his negotiations for making peace with Glamis over the ownership of land in the burgh of Forfar. According to Bowes, the 'chancellor is suspected to agree that Crawford should awake this sleeping dog to bite Glamis' and that some thought that Crawford,

⁵⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 586-10 Nov. 1591-593-4 Dec. 1591, both Bowes to Burghley.

⁵⁶ *CSP Scot.*, x, 467-71-23 Feb. 1591; Bowes to Burghley, *Border Papers*, i, 703 (13 Feb. 1591); Bowes to Hundson.

⁵⁷ *CSP Scot.*, x, 469-23 Feb. 1591; Bowes to Burghley.

⁵⁸ *CSP Scot.*, x, 458-60-13 Feb. 1591; Bowes to Burghley.

⁵⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 468-9-23 Feb. 1591; Bowes to Burghley.

Ogilvy, and James Stewart, 6th earl of Innermeath had given "their bands to the Chancellor, to the prejudice of Glamis, and "to beard him at him at his owne doors"⁶⁰ This local quarrel came to a head at court in November 1591, when Glamis refused to bring in Lord Glamis for assurance with Crawford to settle the feud between them as charged by the privy council

The conflict over land in Forfar had its origins in the crown's gift to Glamis and his second wife, Eupheme Douglas, of the lands of Kingsmuir in 1587.⁶¹ It came to a head in June 1590 when John Brown of Fordell, accused Glamis and several of his servants of coming to his dwelling at Craignathro in the previous April and causing trouble. They came "bodin in armes, sercheing and seeking of himself to have performit some cruell interpris aganis him, and als for the violent taking, scourging, hounding with doggis and chassing, of sertane of his tenentis, and for sindry utheris crimes specalie mentionat". According to Fordell, he and his predecessors had been in "the peaceable possession of "pasturing, casting (boundary making) of faitl (turf) and devett (divot)" of the moor "past the memory of man"⁶² How Crawford managed to awake the sleeping dog in February 1591, or what his own relation to Fordell was, is not certain. What is clear is that Fordell was a nephew of Murdocairney,⁶³ who later replaced Glamis as head of the treasury.

In March 1591, Glamis found caution for John Ogilvy of Inverquharly and 67 other persons not to harm the community and inhabitants of Forfar, and, in the following month, the bailies and council of Forfar found caution that Inverquharly and others should be harmless of them and other inhabitants of the burgh.⁶⁴ (These persons are listed in full **Appendix 4.3**, and the composition of this group as a whole was discussed in Chapter 4.) Whereas Fordell or Murdocairney probably took advantage of the differences between Glamis and Crawford in seeking the aid of Crawford to try to keep possession of the moor, Glamis appears to have used for his ends the still ongoing antagonism between some of the Ogilvys and some of the Lindsays, which was particularly acute in that area. Given the involvement of Inverquharly, it seems unlikely that this local dispute kept Glamis busy to the extent that Lee suggested, that "Maitland enjoyed a brief respite from his attentions"⁶⁵ As far as Glamis was concerned, the Forfar dispute was probably more of a growl than a bite, but, nevertheless, it was a warning.

⁶⁰ *CSP, Scot.*, x, 468-9. 23 Feb. 1591. Bowes to Burghley; *Border Papers*, i, 703. (13 Feb. 1591. Bowes to Hunsdon).

⁶¹ *RHS*, v, 1409.

⁶² *RPC*, iv, 489, 491-2.

⁶³ *Scots Peerage*, vi, 95.

⁶⁴ *RPC*, iv, 603-4. The 67 persons included John Lyon of Cossins, elder, John Lyon, fir thereof, John Lyon of Rochelhill, James Lyon of Easter Ogl, Robert Lyon of Scroggerfield, David Lyon of Balgillo, William Lyon of Nether Balgillo, Patrick Lyon, burgess of Dundee, Michael Lyon, in Glamis, Thomas Lyon, in Kirriemuir, 608.

⁶⁵ Lee, *Maitland*, 227-8.

The real bite came from another quarter in July 1591, when the king accused Glamis of plotting with Bothwell, and warded him in Blackness Castle.⁶⁶ A month earlier, the privy council thought that Home, Morton, Errol, and others had joined him.⁶⁷ In August 1591, Walter Ker reported to Sir John Forster, the English warden of the middle marches, that Glamis had become a fugitive, his house rendered, and he himself sought, at the king's command, by Ogilvy and Spynnie.⁶⁸ Glamis's alleged association with Bothwell, irritation with the management of the king's finances, refusal to bring in Lord Glamis, and unwillingness to compromise on Maitland's proposed coalition were the main reasons why he no longer held the offices of treasurer and extraordinary lord of session in November 1591. In the following month, others besides Maitland, notably Huntly, Spynnie and Sir James Sandilands of Slammanane, were advising the king, and Glamis 'hath gotten a gate and comethe to courte' on the 20 December 1591 to accuse Maitland of treason against the king offering to prove it by word and in writing.

Glamis's loss of offices coincided with the first deferment of the 1592 parliament. In that month, he was released from ward on condition that he would stay north of the river Dee. Ironically, Bowes reported that he was sent with a small force to prevent Bothwell taking Orkney. In the meantime, as a result of Glamis's loss of office and other events, 'the provost of Lincluden, Newbattle, Blantyre, the Comptroller, and others absented themselves from Court and the Chancellor, whereby it was looked that that fellowship continuing since the raid of Stirling should have broken'.⁶⁹ In early December 1591, Bowes reported that unsuccessful attempts had been made to reconcile both Glamis and Maitland, and Glamis and Crawford, on the basis that Glamis, Errol, Marischal, Atholl, Morton, Moray, and Mar would agree to Argyll and Ogilvy's inclusion in his proposed coalition government. According to Aston, these attempts at reconciliation were supported by Mar, Newbattle, Blantyre, and others who 'had come to Edinburgh for the Master's affairs, Whatever the Chancellor will set down the Master will perform, and the rest will give bond for him'.⁷⁰ By the middle of December 1591, Hudson wrote that Glamis was to be granted permission to come to court and some feared that he might 'mack a step to the worsser side, and so he (is) more lyk to prove a head to that fassyon (Bothwell and his supporters) that is to be feared rather then the Duik. All this mae be doubted, for the Master his honesty and consyence wil disjeast as

⁶⁶ J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs, from MDCCXXXVII to MDCCVII*, eds. J. Robertson and G. Grub, 3 vols. (Spalding Club, 1841), I, 87; Moysie, *Memoires*, 86-7. Spynnie went to Angus to arrest Glamis, but came back without him.

⁶⁷ Moysie, *Memoires*, 86.

⁶⁸ *Border Papers*, I, 723.

⁶⁹ *Border Papers*, I, 739.

⁷⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, 590-1. 21 Nov. 1591. Bowes to Burghley.

⁷¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 592-3. 4 Dec. 1591. Bowes to Burghley (with enclosure from Aston to Bowes).

great a matter The hoap is resteth in the Chanceler's courage and wit'.⁷² Hudson's hope did not materialise because Maitland did not trust Glamis. In contrast to Maitland, Hudson had shifted his opinion of Glamis by the end of the year when he wrote that as far as the 'Master of Glamis, the Earl Bothwell, and Mr Archebald Dowglass it is almost in every man's mowth that no man wil beleive a truth upon ther oath or wryttinge; and in this degrei or near this is Huntly and Montrose'.⁷³

Early in new year, the king was becoming more positive towards Crawford, Montrose, Huntly, Lord John Hamilton, and Maxwell because of their apparent lack of connection with Bothwell, especially after Bothwell's first raid against the king on 27 December 1591, in which Lennox was implicated.⁷⁴ In the aftermath of this in the following month, Huntly murdered the Protestant Moray. This momentous event coincided with the second deferment of the 1592 parliament. At the same time, an English observer noted that it was rumoured that Crawford had murdered Glamis.⁷⁵ Maitland's earlier alliance with Huntly had not paid off in this instance. The mounting hostility towards him, which reached its peak during the few weeks following Moray's death, when the 'King and Chaunceller' (were) murmured aganis be the commoun pepill, for not halffing sick regard to the punischment of that murthour as become'.⁷⁶ Largely as a result of this reaction, the king ordered Maitland to leave the court, and not to return until he was summoned. According to Calderwood, this 'change in court was wrought by the queene, and others that favoured Bothwell', including Mar, Morton, and Blantyre, who 'guided the court'.⁷⁷ During the few weeks before his departure on 30 March 1592, and the short period leading up to the 1592 parliament, Maitland tried to improve his political position by attempting to resolve his differences with Glamis and others.⁷⁸ But this time, it was Glamis (and others) who remained deaf to his overtures.

Bowes predicted that the polity of the 1592 parliament would be small,⁷⁹ and this may or may not have been the case because a complete list of names of those attending the full parliament, or appointed to the commission for holding parliament, has not survived. Macdonald has recently compiled a parliamentary 'sederunt' based on the committee of the articles, which is known in full, those present at the privy council, which was held on 5 June 1592; shire commissioners, who were summoned to

⁷² *CSP Scot.*, x, 599 - 16 Dec. 1591 - Hudson to Burghley.

⁷³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 610-11 - 31 Dec. 1591 - Hudson to Burghley.

⁷⁴ *Spottiswood*, ii, 417-18; Moysie, *Memoires*, 87.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Bloodshed*, 127; *CSP Scot.*, x, 595 - 7 Dec. 1591 - Hudson to Burghley, 598 - 16 Dec. 1591 - Hudson to Burghley, 600 - 20 Dec. 1591 - Bowes to Burghley, 602 - 20 Dec. 1591 - Enclosure (Aston to Bowes), 608 - 31 Dec. 1591 - Enclosure (Aston to Bowes), 627 - 26 Jan. 1592 - Bowes to Burghley.

⁷⁶ Moysie, *Memoires*, 91.

⁷⁷ *Calderwood*, v, 149.

⁷⁸ *Calderwood*, v, 149; *CSP Scot.*, x, 667-8, 670-1, 673-4.

⁷⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 679 - 29 May 1592 - Bowes to Burghley.

parliament, and 10 others, including the clerk register and six burgh commissioners, who were recorded as having been in attendance.⁸⁰ The lack of evidence on the polity of the 1592 parliament means that it is possible to make numerical or other comparisons with the two previous parliaments only with regard to the committee of the articles. A list of the non-official and official members of that body is given in **Table 24**. There were 35 of them: eight from three estates – prelates, peers, and lairds, seven (rather than the usual eight) from the fourth – burgh commissioners, and four officers. Three of the prelates – Peter Rollock, Adam Bothwell, Culross, and three of the burgh commissioners – James Drummond (Perth), Anthony Bruce (Stirling), and James Cockburn (Haddington), had been members of the 1585 committee. Eleven of the 31 non-official members had served on the 1585 or 1587 committees. Fourteen out of 35 members of the 1592 committee became privy councillors. Eight were senators of the college of justice. Glamis had only two family relations with the 35 members, and these were at a tertiary level involving his nephew-in-law Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie, and his godfather Murdocarney, now treasurer. Murdocarney had one in addition to that with Glamis, which was at the primary level. This was with his brother, William Melville, commendator of Tongland.⁸¹ Maitland had one. This was a secondary connection with Richard Cockburn of Clerkington (secretary), who was his nephew.⁸²

The committee of the articles was elected on a Monday, and, in contrast to the 1587 parliament, the king spent most of that week in the Tolbooth working with them.⁸³ As with the previous two parliaments, the eight prelate members were an odd mixture of establishment figures. They were more closely allied to the administration or the law than the kirk. Only Adam Bothwell had a meaningful connection with the kirk. Peter Rollock was bishop in title only, and all six commendators were simply lay holders of monastic properties. Blantyre was keeper of the privy seal, and he and Inchaffray were gentlemen of privy chamber. Adam Bothwell, Culross, and Tongland were lords of session. According to an anonymous and, therefore, somewhat questionable report, Lindores was 'evil affected' towards England.⁸⁴ In contrast to the 1585 and 1587 parliaments, the majority of the eight peer members of the committee were earls. A very crude English estimate that was written a month after the 1592 parliament loosely indicates that, typically, these nobles represented a broad range of opinion. Montrose and Seton

⁸⁰ MacDonald, 'The parliament of 1592', draft app.

⁸¹ *Scotts Peerage*, vi, 94-5.

⁸² *Scotts Peerage*, v, 298.

⁸³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 681. 3 June 1592. Howes to Burghley.

⁸⁴ *CSP Scot.*, x, 620. 12 Jan. 1592. 'The Nobility of Scotland and the Amity with England.'

are described as Catholic, while William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus, is portrayed as a 'doubtful' Protestant. The rest were of a Protestant, and, probably, pro-English, persuasion.⁸⁵

Peter Rollock, bishop of Dunkeld (85) (87)
 Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney (85) (87) °
 Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross (85) (87) °
 Patrick Leshe, commendator of Lindores (87)
 William Melville, commendator of Tongland °
 Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss
 Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre *
 James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray (87)

William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus *
 George Keith, 5th earl Marischal (87) *
 James Cunningham, 6th earl of Glencairn *
 John Graham, 6th earl of Montrose * °
 John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar (87) *
 Robert Seton, 6th lord Seton (87)
 James Lindsay, 7th lord Lindsay of the Byres
 Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie *

George Lauder of the Bass *
 David Carnegie of Colluthie and Kinnaird *
 George Home of Wedderburn or Spott
 Alexander Bruce of Airth *
 John Murray of Tullibardine *
 Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy
 Patrick Vans of Barnbarock °
 John Wishart of Pitarro

William Little of Over Liberton, burghess of Edinburgh
 George Herriot, burghess of Edinburgh
 James Drummond, burghess of Perth (85)
 Patrick Lyon, burghess of Dundee (87)
 Anthony Bruce, burghess of Stirling (85)
 William Cunningham, burghess of Glasgow
 James Cockburn, burghess of Haddington (85)

John Maitland of Thirlestane, chancellor * °
 Robert Melville of Munlochnay, treasurer *
 Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, secretary * °
 John Cockburn of Ormiston, justice clerk * °

Key: italics – primary-tertiary family relation to Glamis * – elected as a privy councillor ° – senator of the college of justice (85) – member of 1585 committee of the articles (87) – member of 1587 committee of the articles

Table 24. Known members of the 1592 committee of the articles⁸⁶

The 1592 parliament was the first to be held with shire commissioners, who were summoned on this occasion by royal letter rather than precept.⁸⁷ All eight were described as barons, and a recent

⁸⁵ *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 63-72

⁸⁶ See app. 3

⁸⁷ J. Goodare, 'The admission of lairds to the Scottish parliament', *English Historical Review*, cxvi (2001), 1121.

survey suggests that the majority were substantial establishment and governmental committee figures. Patrick Vans of Barnbarrock was a lord of session and had been an ambassador to Denmark, and he, Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, and John Murray of Tullibardine were knights of the realm. Seven of the eight eventually achieved this title. Barnbarrock and David Carnegie of Colluthie had been privy councillors, and Colluthie, Spott, and Tullibardine had been shire commissioners at earlier conventions of estates. Colluthie, Spott, Tullibardine, and John Wishart of Pitarro had been parliamentary commissioners, with Tullibardine and Pitarro serving on commissions for executing laws against Catholics. Four of the eight became members of the privy council, and two, Colluthie and Bass, were appointed to 1592 parliamentary commissions, with the latter being delegated with the sole responsibility for punishing slayers of solan geese on the Bass.⁸⁸ Apart from this one reference, there would appear to be no other evidence in the surviving records of this parliament to suggest that there was any connection, electoral or pastoral, with the particular shires they were supposed to represent on this occasion.

Six of the seven burgh members of the committee of the articles came from the wealthiest burghs. Edinburgh took two places as usual, but Aberdeen was not represented. The provost, bailies, council, and community of Aberdeen were under censure for perpetuating heritable magistrates, and not holding free elections for the offices involved.⁸⁹ Four of the seven came from major maritime burghs. The name of Glamis's distant kinsman, Patrick Lyon, burghess of Dundee (discussed in the previous chapter), appears in the treasurer's accounts as a representative for Dundee and as a member of the committee of the articles.⁹⁰ Patrick Lyon's presence at this and the previous parliament meant that the third estate was likely to have been within reach of Glamis's extended family circle. The 1592 parliament passed private acts in favour of the burghs of Haddington, Clackmannan, Anstruther, and Culross.⁹¹ James Cockburn (Haddington) was a member of the committee of the articles, and it was likely that at least one or more representatives from the other burghs directly affected by this private legislation were present in the 1592 parliament. Four officers had places on the committee of the articles. Easter Kennet (clerk register) probably attended in addition in an *ex officio* capacity. Two officers were among the following six persons who were knighted at the beginning of this parliament - Richard Cockburn of Clerkington (secretary), James Lindsay of Pitroddie, Michael Balfour of Burghley, John Cockburn of Ormistoun (justice clerk), Robert Melville, younger of Murdocairney, and John Hamilton of Lettrick (a natural son

⁸⁸ Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*, i, ii; MacDonald, 'Parliament of 1592', app. MacDonald gave the names of the seven knights.

⁸⁹ *Convention of Royal Burghs*, i, 383-6.

⁹⁰ Dundee City Archives - Treasurer's Accounts, i, 1591-2.

⁹¹ *APS*, iii, 580 - c.80 (1592-Haddington), 582 - c.83 (1592-Clackmannan), 583 - c.86 (1592-Anstruther), 584 - c.87 (1592-Culross).

of Lord John Hamilton) The king also similarly honoured John Anstruther of Anstruther, Hugh Carmichael, younger of Carmichael, John Lindsay of Ballinshoe (Crawford's and Spynie's brother) at the end of the session.⁹² All nine new knights were also probably present at this parliament

The driving force behind the government at that time was reflected in the new privy council. This consisted of 42 nominated people (Appendix 3.12). They included 14 officers, 17 peers, 1 prelates, and 10 lairds – Bruce of Airth, Campbell of Terrinyean, Colluthie, Carmichael, Gordon of Lochinvar, Home of Northberwick, Bass, Mackenzie of Kintail, James Melville of Halhill, and Tullibardine. None of the three previous laird members were re-elected. The king's name appears on six of the first 10 full sederunts that are extant for the privy council meetings that occurred immediately after the parliament from May to August 1592. Figure 12 shows a sample made up of the 15 councillors who are recorded on the 10 sederunts five or more times, plus Glamis, who was (for the time being) deprived of office. The sample is roughly around 40% of the total privy council membership. The 15 persons and their level of attendance (given in brackets) were Murdocairney (8), Clerkington, Morton, and Carmichael (7), Easter Kennet, Mar, Bass, Maitland, Newbattle, Ormiston, Parbroath, and Spott (6), and Airth, Easter Kennet, Marischal, Halhill, and Lennox (5). Nine (60%) out of the 15 privy councillors were senior officers of state, and, surprisingly, after 10 years, 6 (roughly 40%) of the 15 – a third more than the 1585 sample, are known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven. The relations between the individual families of Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney, and those of others, like the 1585 and 1587 samples, were not substantial. However, they were slightly more numerous and stronger than in the earlier two samples, with only one link involved primary relations (the two Melville brothers), the others being of a tertiary nature.

The policy enacted by the 1592 parliament was extensive. In contrast to the two previous parliaments, nearly five years had elapsed since the last parliament and it was the first parliament after James VI's birthday. Perhaps not so surprisingly, the legislation was made up of the highest number of measures passed by a single parliament before 1641, including far-reaching revocations.⁹³ Just over one third (63) of the 181 acts that were passed were of a public nature.⁹⁴ One of the many private acts

⁹² *CSI Scot.*, x, 683-4. 5 June 1592. Councillors chosen by the Parliament of Scotland. The two Lindsays were younger brothers to Crawford and Spynie.

⁹³ *NAS - PA7* 1-45. There was an additional private act – a ratification to William Keith of Delny (*RMS*, v, 1625), Goodare, 'Parliament and society', 482. On the basis of this, Goodare suggests that there may have been others; Macdonald, 'The parliament of 1592', 11.

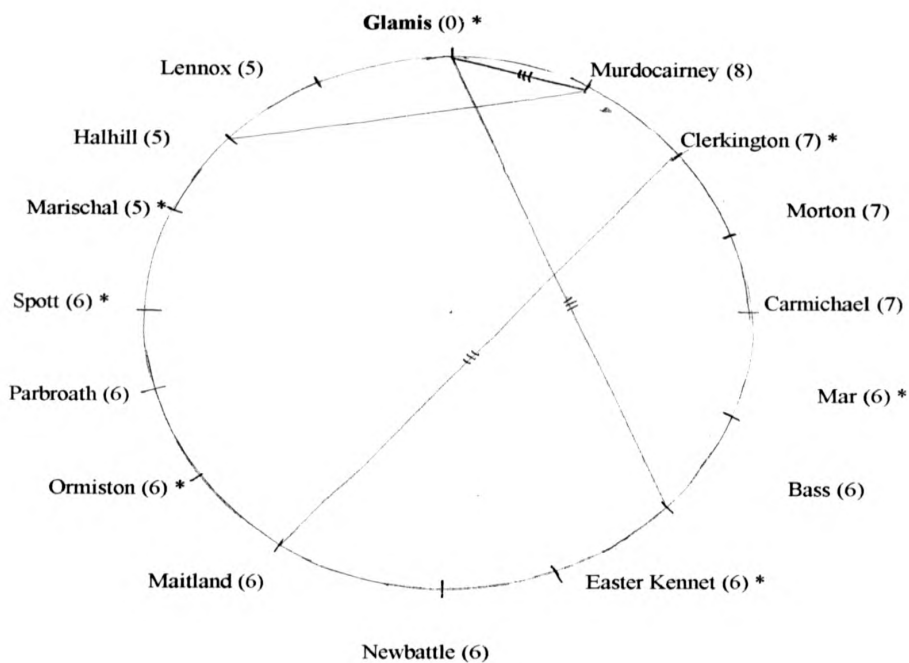
⁹⁴ *APS*, iii, 19-22; Goodare, 'Parliament and society', app. A; Macdonald, 'Parliament of 1592', draft p. 11. Goodare and Macdonald give 182 acts – 181 in *APS* (*NAS - PA7* 1-45 – a ratification to William Keith of Delny).

confirmed Murdocarmey as treasurer in place of Glamis.⁵⁵ In contrast to the overall policy of the 1585 and 1587 parliaments, that of the 1592 parliament was, perhaps, more typical of that enacted over the period as whole. There was a predominance of redistributory as well as regulatory public legislation (**Appendix 2.1**). Both types of policy made up, in equal measure, more than two thirds (46) of the public acts as a whole. In very general terms, the equal predominance of these two types of policy would very loosely suggest that the political cost of reaching decisions was high, and that that the policy communities that were responsible for them were integrated and fragmented respectively. The high cost was evident, for example, in the record number (101) of private acts that were enacted, and the possible tendency towards integration or fragmentation is reflected respectively in the fact that the majority (60%) of the leading privy councillors were senior officers of state, and the unusual length of time it took to convene parliament, which, at one stage, was partly because of an ongoing disagreement between Glamis and Maitland. The public legislation as a whole covered all the main government functions except defence. Over one third of the acts (23) concerned law and order. Only the Customs Act was directly concerned with Anglo-Scottish relations,⁵⁶ and as many as 10 were in favour of the kirk. These included the General Assembly Act, or so-called 'Golden Act', which, as mentioned earlier, first authorised the Presbyterian system of church government.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *APS*, iii, 601-2 - c.115 (1592). This was a private act.

⁵⁶ *APS*, iii, 561 - c.37 1592 Customs Act.

⁵⁷ *APS*, iii, 541-2 - c.8 1592 General Assembly Act, 542-3 - c.9 1592 Deposition of Ministers Act, 543 - c.10 1592 Mansees and Glebes Act, 543-4 - c.11 1592 Adultery Act, 544 - c.12 1592 Murder in Churches Act, 544 c.13 1592 Direction of Church Lands and Tields Act, 545 - c.14 1592 Jesuits Act, 545-7 - c.15 1592 Ministers Stipends Act, 548 - c.17 Market Day Act, 553-4 - c.27 1592 (Second) Ministers Stipends Act. Macdonald, 'The parliament of 1592', 24. Macdonald notes that it was first called 'theat goldin act' in 1606 (Calderswood, vi, 521).



Key

- |— - Primary relationship
- ||— - Secondary relationship
- |||— - Tertiary relationship

The number in brackets indicates number of full sederunts that include the name of the person given.

* - Known to have been directly involved in the Raid of Ruthven (1582).

Figure 12. Known inter-relationships between Glamis, Maitland, and Murdocairney's family and their known relations between those of Glamis and other leading privy councillors around the time of the 1592 parliament.

England and the Kirk

In sharp contrast to his 1585 predecessor, the English resident ambassador, Bowes, was more interested in the main thrust of the general policy of the 1592 parliament rather than a particular aspect of it. The Customs Act was not high on his official agenda.⁹⁸ In his correspondence to Burghley immediately prior to the opening of the full parliament, he notes that the 'present affairs of the state of Scotland sufficiently appear to be in deliberation rather than to be resolved, and the calm there is such this time that little needs to be added to his (Aston's) report'. His main concerns were that 18-year old Lennox was enjoying increasing favour from the king, who, after the death of Cowdenknowes, had promised to ratify through the coming parliament Lennox's temporary keepership of Edinburgh Castle, and that a consignment of deer would reach the king in order 'that the mouths of the papist, Spanish, and malicious may be stopped'. A rumour that Bothwell would receive help from Elizabeth was another worry.⁹⁹

The Customs Act was redistributory. It reallocated badly-needed income from the property, which was one of the two major sources of ordinary crown revenue, to the advantage of Scottish merchants. England was a main trading partner with Scotland, and a considerable amount of money would have been involved. The relaxation of customs duty on English goods no doubt received the support of the king and others. The king's Anglophile interest had passed various tests since 1585, not least his ambivalence over the execution of his mother in 1587, his attitude towards Spain and the Anglo-Spanish war, and the persistence of his claim to the English throne. As Goodare has pointed out, his overall steadfastness to Elizabeth was influenced by fluctuations in the annual subsidy of between £36,000 and £18,000 that she had been paying to him since the formal signing of the Anglo-Scottish league in 1586.¹⁰⁰ Goodare has suggested that the English subsidy was only £18,000 in July 1592 because of English suspicions that James had been lenient towards Bothwell. Huntly and the other Catholic earls. Only a year before, Maitland had voiced his 'reassuring' resoluteness on the need for amity between the two kingdoms.

⁹⁸ SAS - PA2 14 24v-24r, *APC*, iii, 561.

⁹⁹ *SP Scot.*, x, 677-8. 29 May 1592. Bowes to Burghley.

¹⁰⁰ Goodare, 'English Subsidy', 110.

*"If this microcosme of Britannie, seperat from the continent world, naturallve joined by situatioun and language, and most happelve be religioun, shalbe by the indissolubill amitie of the two princes sincerelve conserved in unioun, the antichristian confederatis shaal never be abill to effectuat thair bloodve and godless intentions."*¹⁰¹

Murdocarmey, whose attitude to England was possibly of two minds, especially after the death of Mary, may, as treasurer, have sided with Parbroath, who, as comptroller, was responsible for the property and formally protested against the act.¹⁰² The pro-English and ex-treasurer Glamis may have been torn between the two interests.

The Customs Act not only encouraged trade and lent support to Stewart dynastic ambitions, but also may have been deliberately used as a concession to the burghs by the administration in order to help it overcome current difficulties with Bothwell, Huntly, and the other Catholic earls, most of whom were against any ties with England.¹⁰³ Many privy councillors and leading members of the nobility had close ties with the larger maritime burghs, such as Dundee. Seven of the new privy council – Crawford, Mar, Marischal, Lennox, Lord John Hamilton, Carmichael and Northberwick, were burgesses of Dundee. Peter Young of Seton, who was born in that burgh, joined this distinguished group, for 'merit in the service of the commonwealth' in October 1592.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that the Customs Act would have had the support of many of these prominent people and the various policy networks and issue groups associated with them as well as the convention of royal burghs, the burgh commissioners in parliament, and many of the individual inhabitants of the burghs as a whole. Scotland had a long history of scarcity, which may have been another influencing factor. A continual lack of a sufficient food supply was particularly evident in the continuing famines from the early 1550s to 1587 (discussed earlier), the Forestallers Acts of 1552, 1579, 1587, and 1592, which tried to penalise those who cornered supplies of scarce goods for profit, and the steep price increases, which is suggested, for example, by the jump in the price of Ayr mill ferme malt from £4 to £6 per boll between 1592 and 1593.¹⁰⁵ But the position of the broader population in relation to this matter is not easy to judge. The convention of royal burghs met in Kirkcaldy a week after the close of parliament between 12 and 17 June 1592, and exclusively dealt with administrative and local

¹⁰¹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 377-8 - 13 Aug. 1590 - Matland to Burghles.

¹⁰² Fraser, *Earls of Melville*, i, 111-13; *APS*, iii, 561.

¹⁰³ *Border Papers*, i, p. 299.

¹⁰⁴ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 51-81.

¹⁰⁵ *APS*, ii, 488 - c 24 1552 Forestallers Act, 146-7 - c 26 1579 Forestallers Act, 452 - c 38 1587 Forestallers Act, 576-7 - c 70 1592 Forestallers Act; A. J. S. Gibson and F. C. Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 1995), 64.

matters.¹⁰⁰ and the easier trade between the two countries could just as easily have diminished the food supply as well as enhance it through imports and increased wealth.

Typically, there is virtually no record of the discussions or voting leading up to the General Assembly Act.¹⁰¹ and little information as to who were the key people who were involved. Spottiswood maintained that the king had been unwilling either to repeal or alter the 1584 'Black Acts', or grant the 'ratification of the present (second book of) discipline'. If that was the case, the king had, at some later time, changed his mind because the wording of the General Assembly Act reveals that it was 'aggret upon be his Majeste in conference with certane of the ministrie convent to that effect'.¹⁰² The act appears to have merited a considerable degree of discussion. According to Macdonald, the terms of it remained uncertain until as late as 2 or 3 June 1592.¹⁰³ But the king did not go as far as repealing the 1584 Black Acts, or the 1587 Annexation Act, which he promised to do at the general assembly of May 1592.¹⁰⁴ According to Colville, there had been a bitter storm about the voting in parliament between the king and various ministers, who thought that their petitions and articles might be in danger.¹⁰⁵

James Melville had no doubt about who was responsible for the General Assembly Act when he wrote that 'the kirk is indebted to Mr. John Maitland . . . for the same, who induced the king to pass it, for what respect I leave to God'.¹⁰⁶ Calderwood was much more specific about Maitland's motives, which he thought were 'to win the hearts of the ministers and the people, alienated from him for his hounding out of Huntly against the earl of Moray'.¹⁰⁷ Maitland perhaps was not only attempting to remove the stigma that had been attached to him by those who were opposed to Huntly as a result of Moray's death, but also the notion promoted at the time of the 1592 parliament by Bothwell and others that he was the 'principal defender of all Papists in Scotland'.¹⁰⁸ Earlier, in 1589, Errol noted that Maitland was 'altogether irreligious, careth no estat but as it may avail his owne standing'.¹⁰⁹ Maitland was quite capable of using the kirk to further his own ambitions. The king met him at his house at Lethington in early in May 1592.¹¹⁰ Maitland's ability to influence the proceedings of the 1592 parliament is reflected

¹⁰⁰ *Convention of Royal Burghs*, i, 369-39.

¹⁰¹ NAS - PA2.14.10r-11r, *APS*, iii, 541-2.

¹⁰² *APS*, iii, 541-2.

¹⁰³ Macdonald, 'The parliament of 1592', 12. Macdonald does not give any evidence for this.

¹⁰⁴ *Calderwood*, v, 159-60.

¹⁰⁵ *CSP Scot.*, x, 686. 6 June 1592. Colville to Bowes.

¹⁰⁶ Melville, *Diary*, 298.

¹⁰⁷ *Calderwood*, v, 162.

¹⁰⁸ *Salisbury Papers*, iv, 205-6.

¹⁰⁹ *Calderwood*, v, 52-4.

¹¹⁰ *CSP Scot.*, x, 670-1. 22 Apr. 1592. Bowes to Burghley, 674-5. 13 May 1592. Ashton to Bowes; Moysie, *Memoires*, 93.

in Roger Aston's comment to Sir Thomas Henegge, written just before the opening of the full assembly, that Maitland 'will move things that others dare not'.¹¹⁷

The king and Maitland cannot have been the only key actors involved in promoting the General Assembly Act, and there is a danger of putting too much emphasis on Maitland's role. James Melville and Calderwood had a vested interest in religious legislation, and, as Macdonald has pointed out, subsequent historians have been strongly influenced by such ecclesiastical writers. Maitland's biographer, Lee, had an almost single minded interest in him. He described Maitland's involvement in the 1592 ecclesiastical legislation as 'his last great act of constructive statesmanship'. Although Maitland had the ability to influence the proceedings of the 1592 parliament, his religious leanings were questionable, he had been absent from court, and, among other things, he was not impervious to the opinions of others, not least his wife. According to a rare glimpse of political discussion in the home provided by Fowler, Janet Fleming was 'a wise woman and half chancellor when he is at home'.¹¹⁸ He was certainly at home for much of the period leading up to the 1592 parliament.

Another figure that may have been equally, if not more, involved with the General Assembly Act is the clerk register, Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, who had occupied that post throughout the period, and his central role in both the 1587 and 1592 parliaments is very evident in the few supplementary parliamentary papers that have survived from the period.¹¹⁹ He was appointed an ordinary lord of session in 1579, and had carried out the administrative duties of secretary in 1589-1590, while the king and Maitland were abroad. Going by his 1577 report on the Scottish nobility (**Appendix 3.5**), he was very much aware of the religious leanings (and other qualities) of the leading political figures of the time, including Mar, who may, for example, have been another person involved in the act. He had been closely associated with the Presbyterian ministers in exile. For others, such as Glamis, the act may have been too much of a concession to Mar and others' more radical Protestant views.

Macdonald found that there was significant support for kirk.¹²⁰ But, with or without a full sederunt of the 1592 parliament, it is impossible to discern to what extent the estates were in favour of a Presbyterian system of church government. However, this is not the case for the general assembly, which met in Edinburgh on nine days between 22 May and 7 June 1592. On the first day, Robert Bruce was duly

¹¹⁷ *CSP Scot.*, s. 676-7. 25 May 1592. Aston to Sir Thomas Henegge.

¹¹⁸ *Salisbury Papers*, iii, 446-6. 7 Dec. 1589. Fowler to Burghley.

¹¹⁹ *NAS - PA7 I*, nos. 35 (1587), 37, 42 (1592).

¹²⁰ Macdonald, 'The parliament of 1592', 10, 14. Macdonald defined supporters as those members of parliament who voluntarily participated in the courts of the kirk. He also states that 'further evidence that the kirk had powerful support can be found in the appointment of the privy council', but he does not say what that evidence is.

chosen as moderator. He was a good choice, not least because he was the second son of Alexander Bruce of Airth, who was a member of the committee of the articles, and the two were connected by marriage to Maitland.¹²¹ On the second day, the 'gravest and weightiest heids' to be put to parliament were drawn up. These were that the 1584 'Black Acts' should be annulled; that the 1587 Act of Annexation should be abolished; that prelates should not represent the ecclesiastical estate; and that 'the country, quhilk is pollutt with fearefull idolatrie and blood, be purgit'.¹²² Only the first of the four proposals had a direct bearing on the act.

The delegation of ministers that was elected put considerable direct pressure on king and his chief administrator to accept all four. Calderwood states that the conference between the king and ministers was held over three days, 24 to 26 May 1592, and that the ministers who were delegated to 'discharge their conscience in this behalfe, to their soverane, to whom cheeflie it apperteaneth to procure remedie thereof' were Andrew Melville and 11 others.¹²³ Two of these, David Lindsay and Patrick Galloway, were court ministers.¹²⁴ The timing of the conference coincided with the election of the committee of the articles. This direct pressure was reinforced indirectly by, among other things, a series of sermons directed against the king, the nobility, and others by certain ministers and popular opinion. The king was particularly offended by the sermon delivered on 2 June 1592 by Walter Balcalquhal, with whom he quarrelled in the presence of the committee of the articles for his assertions against him and the estates.¹²⁵ As Donaldson argued, the authorisation of a Presbyterian kirk polity may have been deliberately used as a concession to the kirk by the administration in order to help it overcome current difficulties with Bothwell, Huntly, and the other Catholic earls.¹²⁶

In general terms, the Customs Act was redistributory. This would loosely suggest that the policy community supporting it was integrated, and that the political cost of reaching the decision for those involved was high. In practice, the act reallocated badly-needed income from the king's property to the advantage of Scottish merchants and many privy councillors and leading members of the nobility who had close ties with the larger burghs, who collectively supported the act. The high cost is particularly apparent, for instance, in Parbroath's formal protestation, possibly supported by Glamis, about his loss, as comptroller, of crown income. In general terms too, the General Assembly Act was redistributory on an

¹²¹ J. Howie, *The Scots Worthies* (Edinburgh, 1870), 142. See *Maitland*, 203. Maitland's wife's first cousin was married to William Bruce of Airth, and Maitland and Alexander Bruce of Airth had been curators to John Fleming, 6th lord Fleming.

¹²² *Book of the Universall Kirk*, II, 786-7.

¹²³ *Calderwood*, v, 157-9.

¹²⁴ *Calderwood*, vi, 501-32.

¹²⁵ *Calderwood*, v, 161-2.

¹²⁶ Donaldson, *James V - James VII*, 193.

exceptional scale. It undermined the long-standing and still all-encompassing Episcopal system. This type of policy would also loosely suggest that the policy community promoting it was integrated, and the political cost of reaching a decision was high. In the case of both these two acts, given what was possibly at stake, the suggestion that policy communities supporting this measure was integrated and the cost of reaching a decision was high would appear to be surprising if it were not for the fact that the administration desperately needed the help of the burghs and, more especially, the kirk in order to overcome current difficulties with Bothwell, Huntly, and the other Catholic earls. With regard to the General Assembly Act, given a short-term view, it could be argued that the decision-making leading up to it was done at low political cost. Dickinson and Donaldson, for example, reasoned that it 'might give them (more radical member of the reformed church) some satisfaction but which yet made no real innovation, caused no dislocation, and cost nothing'.¹²⁷ However, given a more important long-term view, which takes into account the political potential of the act, the opposite is true. The administration did not recover its former position until the next century, and any subsequent crown initiative on Episcopalian church government must have been that much more difficult to achieve.¹²⁸

Conclusion

Although Glamis was temporarily out of office for six months prior to the holding of the 1592 parliament, he had an influence on it. Once again, family relations of any substance between Glamis and his family and other leading political figures and their families were evident in the politics, but sparse in the polity, and non-existent in the policy, of this parliament. The fact that Glamis was formally absent from parliament did not affect this ongoing pattern. Family relations were evident in the 1592 politics, for instance, in the beginning of December 1591 when Glamis, Errol, Marischal, Atholl, Morton, Moray, and Mar, for their part, were agreed to accept a compromise on the proposed coalition government. Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six named persons, which were of a secondary or tertiary nature: he had been tutor to Errol (tertiary), he was the son-in-law of Morton (secondary), and he was possibly a brother-in-law to Mar (secondary). As with the 1587 parliament, there were significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations within the politics

¹²⁷ W. C. Dickinson and G. Donaldson (eds.), *A Source Book of Scottish History III* (London, 1961), 48.

¹²⁸ Donaldson, *James I' James VII*, 200-8.

involved in this parliament. Gray continued to undermine his once brother- and uncle-in-law Glamis, especially when he reported that Glamis moved 'factiously' to seek Maitland's ruin. Maitland suspected another coalition was being formed against him when he learnt that Glamis was promoting the marriage of Errol to one of Morton's daughters for that purpose. Later, according to Somerset, the three nobles were soon acting in consort.¹³⁹ Subsequent attempts at marriage brokerage by Glamis were not so successful. The poor relations between Glamis and Maitland were made even worse by a bitter dispute over land involving Glamis's father-in-law, Morton, and Maitland's nephew-in-law, Lugton. The family was an important organising factor in terms of family relations within the politics of this parliament.

With regard to polity, Glamis had only two family relations with the 35 named lords of the articles, and these were at a tertiary level involving his nephew-in-law Spynie, and his treasurer depute Murdocairney. Maitland had one. This was a secondary connection with Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, secretary, who was his nephew – secondary. Murdocairney also had one, which was at the primary level. This was with his brother, William Melville, commendator of Tongland.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, Glamis had only two family relations with the 15 leading privy councillors in the sample. These were with Murdocairney and Bass, and both were of a tertiary nature. Of particular note, six (roughly 40%) of the 15 are known to have been directly involved in the raid of Ruthven 10 years earlier. Family relations of any substance were not evident in the policy of the 1592 parliament. The politics, polity, and policy of the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliamentary process in general, and the enactments concerning both England and the kirk, support the third theoretical platform presented earlier that proposed that every type of policy – regulatory, self-regulatory, distributive, or redistributive, there was likely to be a distinct type of political relation based on the cost of reaching the decision and the degree of fragmentation within the political groups involved, where record sources were available. Scottish parliamentary politics have not been assessed in this way before.

¹³⁹ *CSP Scot.*, x, 331. 20 June 1590. Earl of Worcester to Burghley, 352. 11 July 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

¹⁴⁰ *Scots Peerage*, vi, 94-5.

9. Conclusion

I have described it as a new political history, different from the old — dedicated to structures, social analysis, semiology and the study of power. This is certainly an overoptimistic picture But the fact is that the new political history that I have tried to sketch is as yet a dream rather than a reality.¹

This study has been primarily concerned with the importance of the family within Scottish politics during the period in which Glamis was head of the house of Glamis, using him and his family predominantly as an example. This major part of the investigation was guided by two working propositions. The first hypothesised that if the family was an important organising principle in later sixteenth-century Scottish politics, then there will be a substantial inclination towards the family, in general, in the ideological, institutional, and past policy context within which the parliamentary process occurred. If, on the other hand, the family was not important then, then there will not be a substantial inclination towards the family within that context. The ideological, institutional, and past policy context was important because it largely determined whether or not families were either insiders or outsiders at any one particular point in time when it came to that process. It gave families structural advantages or disadvantages in relation to others, which the decisions of individuals by themselves could not change.

The research has shown that there was a substantial inclination towards the family within the ideological context. This was apparent in the religious and secular thinking of the time. Having looked at this, it is very tempting to stress a single dimension. A metaphysical one would mainly draw upon the almost universal understanding that the scriptures were the very word of God, and the foundation of a 'natural' moral law in which every conceivable 'right' concerning the family expressed divine will. A biological one would appeal largely to the common subscription to the kin system that defined the family and Scottish political society as a cultural and historic whole. An economic one would focus primarily on the popular concern with family property, income, division of work and resources, and inheritance strategies. A related political one would rely heavily on the widely shared conception of power based on the idea of patriarchy in which a single authority predominated over popular consent in ensuring the welfare of both the nation and the family. A psychological one would depend on identification, intimacy, and emotional needs, not least affection, which everyone, from Familist to fop, must have sought. Finally, a narrative or historical one would hinge substantially on the popular recalling and revision of family

¹ J. Le Goff, 'Is politics still the backbone of history?', in F. Gilbert and S. R. Graubard (eds.), *Historical Studies Today* (New York, 1972), 348.

stories, which reinforced the basis of political and moral behaviour, and the nature of ties at different levels, within the state. In terms of choice, they were clearly bounded by overriding ideologies, notably those that put religion before relatives and the state before dynasty, on the one hand, and simple pragmatism on the other.

There was also a substantial inclination towards the family within the institutional context. This was evident in the structure and function of the Scottish parliament as a whole. The second estate (peers) and the first and fourth estates (prelates and lairds) had a strong hereditary and substantial quasi-hereditary character respectively, and, with regard to the third estate (burgesses), there was a familial interest, at least, in some of the burghs. The notional 'fifth estate' of administrators also had a substantial inclination towards the family, which was reflected in the prevalence of particular surnames and quasi-hereditary succession to particular offices. The patronage system, which, among many other things, often involved private acts of parliament, tended to centralise politics and preserve powerful loyalties that mainly depended upon the horizontal ties of family and other alliances, but also the vertical links between patrons and their clients, which often involved family members. The extent to which there was a substantial inclination towards the family within the institutional context is difficult to judge, not just because of the amount of record sources available but also because of the sheer diversity and interrelatedness of the other factors involved. These included, for example, the degree to which members of the estates took on responsibility within parliament for their respective localities, and any trade or profession to which they may have been formally or informally attached, the government's need for technical expertise, and personal attributes, such as religion, other alliances, valour, judgement, and 'government', all of which could have a direct bearing on the matter.

There was a fairly substantial inclination towards with family within the past policy context. Several public acts dealt directly with royal marriages. These were the 1545 and 1558 acts concerning Mary, queen of Scots, marriage to the dauphin of France (Francis II), France, and the 1587 and 1592 measures in favour of James VI's marriage to Anne of Denmark. An even greater number of acts dealt with the family as such. These were the 1552, 1563, 1581, and 1592 Adultery Acts, 1552 Bigamy Act, 1567 Incest Act and Marriage Act, 1581 Divorce for Desertion Act, and 1592 Parricide Act.² The number and nature of these acts not only indicate the central importance of the Stewart family and the family generally as a social and legal entity, but also the inter-relationship between the ideology and policy, in particular, concerning the family. Other public legislation, such as 1560 acts in favour of the reformed

² *HPS*, ii: 476 - 1546 c.14 - royal marriage; ii: 506-7 - 1558 c. 3-5, iii: 437 - 1587 c.10 - king's marriage; iii: 565-8 - 1592 c. 46-9 - king's marriage; ii: 486 - 1551 c.11 - bigamy; ii: 486 - 1551 c.12 - adultery; ii: 539 - 1563 c.10 - adultery; iii: 26 - 1567 c. 15 - incest; iii: 26 - 1567 c. 16 - marriage; iii: 81 - 1573 c.1 - divorce for desertion; iii: 213 - 1581 c.7 - adultery; iii: 543 - 1592 c.11 - adultery; iv: 69 - 1594 c.30 - parricide.

church, had an indirect influence on it. The past policy context was important, but not as significant as the ideological and institutional contexts in determining whether or not families were either insiders or outsiders when it came to the parliamentary process at any one particular point in time.

The second proposition hypothesised that if the family was an important organising factor in later sixteenth-century Scottish parliamentary process, which was central to the later sixteenth-century Scottish political process as a whole, then there will be substantial family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political actors and their families, or significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations, within the politics involved in that process. If, on the other hand, the family was not important in this sense, then there will be no such relations or consequences within that process. 'Family relations' were defined in terms of primary, secondary, and tertiary members.

The research found that family relations between Glamis and his family and other leading political figures and their families within the politics of the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliamentary processes were substantial. For example, this was evident in the named group of banished lords that dealt with Maitland and Auchinoul immediately before their entry into Stirling in 1585. This consisted of Angus, Mar, Glamis, Lord John Hamilton, Bothwell, Home, and Maxwell.³ Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six persons - Hamilton, Home, and possibly Mar, all of which were of a secondary nature. In the list of leading pro-English nobles identified in November 1586 - Angus, Mar, Glencairn, Lords (Claud and John) Hamilton, Glamis, and Gray,⁴ Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six named persons - the Hamilton brothers, and possibly Mar, one of which was of a secondary - Mar, the other two of a tertiary, nature. Substantial family relations were also evident in the 1592 politics at the end of December 1591 when Glamis, Errol, Marischal, Atholl, Morton, Moray, and Mar, for their part, agreed a compromise on the coalition government. Glamis had a family relationship with two or three of the other six named persons he had been tutor to Errol (tertiary), he was the son-in-law of Morton (secondary), and he was possibly (Errol, Morton, and possibly Mar), two of which were of a secondary nature (Morton and Mar), the other being of a tertiary one. None of the family relations were at a primary level.

There were also significant consequences from proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations, within the politics leading up to the 1587 and 1592 public legislation. Personal motives arising from the acrimonious divorce between Gray and his niece Elizabeth Lyon ran alongside Glamis's

³ *CSP Scot.* viii, 150 - 5 Nov. 1585 - Lord Scrope to Walsingham.

⁴ *CSP Scot.* ix, 167-9 - Nov. 1586 - State of Scotland.

political ones in 1586. Although there is no evidence of proposed or actual changes in Glamis's own family relations in the politics within the 1585 parliamentary process, Gray's marriage difficulties probably began during that period. Glamis's political relations were made worse in 1587 when Glamis married secondly Eupheme Douglas, and his niece Jean Lyon was set to marry, also secondly, the ailing Angus immediately after the parliament of that year. The divorce damaged Glamis's political relations with Gray, and Maitland had to look elsewhere for political support following the Douglas alliances. Gray continued to undermine his ex-brother-in-law Glamis during the period leading up to the 1592 parliament, and Maitland suspected another coalition was being formed against him when he learnt that Glamis was promoting the marriage of Errol to one of Morton's daughters. Later, the three nobles were acting in consort.⁵ Subsequent attempts at marriage brokerage by Glamis were not so successful. Marriage was a useful political instrument, but it could be a disappointing tool, even in the hands of Glamis, who as a twice married treasurer and a noble perfect in his generations, was only too familiar with the political, social, and economic advantages aspects of it.

Surprisingly, family relations of any substance were not evident in the polity of the three parliaments. Family relations between Glamis and others were sparse. This was evident in the lists of commissioners for holding parliament and lords of the articles as well as the samples of leading privy councillors. Glamis only had four family relations with the total of 96 named members of the two committees for all three parliaments, and none of these were at the primary level. Murdocarmey had only one, and Maitland had two. The lack of family relations within the samples of leading privy councillors not only applied to Glamis, but also to Maitland and Murdocarmey, who were also included in the analysis for comparative purposes. Overall, there were only 10 linkages involving these three individuals within the three samples, 8 of which were only of a tertiary nature. Needless to say, because the lists and samples were specific to one particular point in time, there were no significant consequences from proposed or actual changes to these linkages. Family relations were far less prevalent than associations formed through state office holding, including membership of the college of justice, and, surprisingly, participation in the raid of Ruthven. This was particularly noticeable in the 1592 sample. This showed that nine (60%) of the 15 privy councillors were senior officers of state, eight (roughly 50%) belonged to the college, and six (roughly 40%) are known to have been directly involved in the raid, which occurred 10 years earlier. There was no reference to the family in terms of family relations or significance consequences in the policy enacted by any of the three parliaments.

⁵ *CSP: Scot.*, x, 331. 20 June 1590. Earl of Worcester to Burghley, 352. 11 July 1590. Bowes to Burghley.

The importance of the family in relation to other individual resources of political power is not easy to judge. The assessment of Glamis's personal qualities should dispel any notion of him as being simply a rude and stern man. He was a man of strong principles, who had an exceptional ability to reason, communicate, and persuade. This appraisal of him was strongly reinforced by Randolph's 1586 pen portrait which describes him as a man of personal integrity, and suggests that he was a soldier rather than a politician at heart. The family was an important factor in terms of Glamis's personal qualities, not only because of genetics and socialisation in general, but also the mantles and myths of his genealogy in particular. Randolph, like many of his contemporaries, no doubt took for granted the fact that his noble descent was his most valuable asset. Among other things, it automatically accredited him at court at home and abroad, and qualified him to be contracted into two illustrious marriages, and considered for high office close to the king. Many must have envied the fact that Glamis was 'perfect in his generations', not least Maitland, whom the king once described as 'but a cadet of a mean house'.⁶ The cloak of this critical social and political inheritance was lined, for better or for worse, by the actual and fabled attributes, achievements, and, more especially, the fate of his relatives, not least his chancellor brother, the 'noble Lyon fyne' (John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis), chamberlain ancestor, the 'white Lyon' (John Lyon, 1st of Glamis), and paternal grandmother, Janet Douglas, who as 'a singular beauty' and with 'man-like courage' was burnt on Edinburgh's Castlehill with 'the great commiseration of the people'. Their political value was greater in death than life. This was symbolised in the women represented in Glamis and his brother's coats of arms. It would not be surprising if the representatives of Princess Jean Stewart – the demi-lady with dishevelled hair and naked woman proper respectively, were a covert allusion to the fate of Janet Douglas.

Glamis's political motives are also not easy to judge. He was clearly consistent in his pro-English and Protestant ideological stance. But going beyond this simple assessment, his passionate plea to Davison would indicate that his political ideas and beliefs corresponded with Godscroft's ideal conception of Scotland as being inherently integrated through a complex synthesis of ancient and noble family, Calvinism, and classical politics, but not quite. Unlike Angus and Mar, for example, Glamis was of an Episcopalian persuasion. He was not typical of the other leaders of the banished lords in this respect. This is also evident in the letter he wrote to Davison. His support for an Episcopalian church had the potential to strengthen the ongoing political ties he had with England and the Scottish king, and weaken those he had with the likes of Angus. Glamis's belief in ancient and noble family is reflected in

⁶ *CSP Scot.*, xi, 666. 2 Aug. 1595. Colville to Howes.

the traditional style of the rebuilt Aldbar Castle, and his participation in the chivalric practice of breaking lances.

In accepting responsibility for the house of Lyon, Glamis possessed substantial resources of political power in respect of numbers and organisation. These allowed him to assert both the honour and reputation of the house and his or her own role as its leader. They not only included his own and his nephew's resources, but also those of others in his locality, including kin, which he extended through marriage alliances. Compared to the heads of other noble houses, such as those of Crawford, Douglas, or Hamilton, Glamis was not the leader of a large extended family. Nevertheless, the increasing number of family members in the locality and, especially, the burghs, not only extended the geographical area in which the family operated, but also the range of family and political networks outside the family to which they could subscribe. Despite his relatively small extended family, the overall numbers that Glamis could raise on occasion were considerable. This was evident in the 1582 and 1592 lists of some of his supporters. These *ad hoc* gatherings indicate that, although many were regularly included in them, such as the lairds of Glaswell, Inverquharty, and Pitcur, the overall membership varied over time; that members of the Lyon family were very much in the minority, and all were distant kinsmen; that most of the overall membership came from the Glamis's more immediate locality in Forfarshire, and that this membership could cut across any religious or urban divide. This last observation would suggest that members were there to do service rather than to fulfil political ends.

Distant family members, including his wife's, were a more prominent feature of his day-to-day servitors. The most comprehensive list of these can be found in the remissions for the raid of Ruthven. Four of the 13 (30%) mentioned belonged to his own family (David Lyon, William Lyon, Robert Lyon, and John Lyon), and three (Thomas Gray, George Gray, and James Gray). It is interesting to note that during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the most senior servitor role transferred from the head of the senior to the head of junior branch of the family. The Catholic James Lyon of Easter Ogil, unlike the Protestant John Lyon of Cossins, could neither write nor read. Literacy or religion or both could be, perhaps, a major barrier to being near the very hub of a family's political power. The lists of supporters and servitors show that, despite quarrels with his brother, his nephew, and other members of his immediate family, Glamis managed to maintain the loyalty of his more distant relatives, especially the two most senior cadets, Easter Ogil and Cossins. Although numbers and organisation could be a functional and dysfunctional individual resource of political power, this was generally not the case with the Lyons of Glamis – by and large, they were functional.

In accepting the overall responsibility for his house, Glamis also acquired the control of his nephew's wealth. He held this in addition to his own, which was considerably enhanced by his appointment to high office and his two marriages. Lack of exceptional wealth, such as that held by Crawford and Glamis's cousin, Lord John Hamilton, was probably the main reason why he, as head of his house, had relatively little economic and political interest or influence in the local burghs. Lack of access to family wealth during his exile nearly ruined his political ambitions. Over the period, particularly after his second marriage, he deliberately concentrated his and his wife's permanent and temporary land holdings within a large triangular area located between the burghs of Forfar and Brechin, in central Forfarshire. This rationalisation must not only have allowed them to unite those family members and others that came under his lordship, but also helped them to manage their substantial resources. Land was not only the most prevalent source of material wealth, but also had a potent non-material value too. Glamis and his wife took full advantage of this by focusing on the main estate and rebuilding Aldbar Castle, the extent of which suggests a serious dynastic ambition. The individual resources of political power, including the family, were clearly inter-related.

It was Glamis or, on his instruction, his servitors' latent ability to carry out violent acts during the Glamis/Crawford family feud that apparently put such fear into Crawford that he 'all his life was glad to stand in a soldier's posture', not the other way round. Given Glamis's apparent high propensity for legitimate and illegitimate violence, it was surprising to find that Glamis may not have been at the forefront of the raid of Ruthven or the raid of Stirling. On both occasions, there were reports of him arriving late. Glamis and Marschal walked away from the earlier dispute between Lennox and Gowrie at Perth before Ruthven, and he was probably responsible for bringing in the victuals to Stirling. Glamis took a strategic view when reviewing the failure at Stirling. It seems very likely that Glamis's use of violence was highly measured, considered within a broad strategic context, and informed by a great deal of experience. In the Huntly rebellion, the king and many others thought that he was the victim of it and reacted accordingly. Whereas family disputes could be the cause of violence, family connections could help to avoid it. This was the case when Crawford stepped into save one of Glamis's servitors, William Lyon of Nether Balgillo, *alias* 'Hollybonnets', from hanging after the abortive raid of Stirling with the remark: 'Hang who liked, Hollie-bonnets should not hang'. Fortunately for him, Hollybonnet's maternal grandmother was a daughter of the house of Crawford.⁸ The political society in which Glamis operated

⁸ Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i, 118.

⁹ Ogi MS, 6.

was not inherently violent, and Glamis's use of violence was typical in as much as it was used as a last resort.

This study was also concerned, as a secondary matter, with the degree to which Glamis and his family were a suitable model for the topic, and, more especially, the unusual application of current political theory to the early modern period. Suitability is not easy to determine: it is always a question of degree rather than kind. Zulager's work suggested that Glamis was typical with regard to social origins and land tenure, and educational background, but it did not say how he matched up to his other three criteria - services to the king, patronage, and religion. He was typical in these areas only up to a point. Like several nobles of his status, such as Murdocairney, Mantland, and Angus respectively, Glamis held several offices in various areas of government, routinely participated in the patronage system, and was consistent in his Protestant views. But going beyond the level of Zulager's broad criteria, the individual resources of political power that were available to Glamis and other leading political actors, such as Mantland, Murdocairney, Angus, Lord John Hamilton, Crawford, clearly mark these intriguing later sixteenth-century political figures and their families as unique, and, further, unique over time. This is particularly apparent not only when considering Glamis's continually evolving political career but also that of his more studious and less enigmatic chancellor brother. Glamis was not the "rude and stern man" that has sometimes been portrayed, and it would be nice to think that he was, like his contemporary James Melville of Halhill, "everything a Renaissance courtier was expected to be".⁹ Glamis and his family were typical to a point where particular generalisations can be made in terms of one or two of Zulager's broad criteria, but certainly not to the extent that they can be seen in such general stereotypical terms. This does not mean to say that they are not of interest in their own right. Like many of his more senior contemporaries and their families, they most certainly are.

Particular modern political theories were applied to the early modern period, and they were presented as five different theoretical platforms. These proposed that: (1) co-operation rather than conflict provided the means for forming policy; (2) policy determined politics; (3) type of policy was determined by the cost of reaching the decision and the degree of fragmentation in political groups; (4) political groups were normally extensive, fluid, and diverse, and ranged from almost closed and close policy communities to open and loose issue groups; and (5) the extent to which a leading politician, such as Glamis, could act autonomously at any one time largely depended on the types of policy networks involved, and the structures of dependency within them. The research found that a heavy reliance on co-operation enabled the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliaments to form policy. This finding, which supported the

⁹ Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 203-4. This was Brown's description of James Melville of Halhill.

first theoretical proposition, loosely corresponds with the views of writers such as Wormald. The research also supported the second theoretical proposition. Contrary to the views of many writers, such as Lee, who argued that politics determine policy - the king and Maitland were "responsible" for the Annexation Act. The annexations, exemptions, and concessions within it certainly lend weight to the reverse idea, and that there was a dynamic link between the two.

The politics, polity, and policy of the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliamentary process in general, and the enactments concerning both England and the kirk, supported the third theoretical proposition, which involved regulatory, self-regulatory, distributive, or redistributive types of policy. Scottish parliamentary politics have not been assessed in this way before. The individuals named in the 1569, 1577, 1582, and 1592 documents, which listed four political networks headed by Glamis or his brother, supported the fourth theoretical proposition, which proposed that political groups were normally extensive, fluid, and diverse - similar to the ecclesiastical groups studied by Bardgett and, particularly, Macdonald, and can be placed along a continuum that ranged from almost closed and close communities through to open and loose issue groups. They contradict the views of some contemporary early modern and late medieval historians, such as Young and Grant, who respectively took a more static view of sixteenth-century Scottish "political parties" and fourteenth-century nobles' "affinities". Although theory behind the third and fourth propositions did not lend itself to some traditional methods for gathering information, the methods that were used did collect sufficient data in most areas. The main weaknesses with regard to sufficiency were the quantification of issue groups, which were probably a local rather than a national phenomenon, and the intangible political costs and benefits of making a decision, such as deference and influence. These deficiencies were not unduly affected by the research time available. However, such particular weaknesses, like more general ones such as those concerning quantification and causation, are equally problematic to more traditional approaches to politics over the period.

The politics surrounding the Treaty with England Act and the Benefices Act, Church Lands Act, and Ministers and Schoolmasters supported the fifth theoretical proposition. The pro-English policy was more likely to attract a policy community, and therefore act autonomously, because policy-making in this area was generally more elitist and closed. The state was highly dependent on those who held the military and economic resources - the major landowning families, such as Glamis's, and the controlling family oligarchies of the larger royal burghs, for its enactment and implementation. On the other hand, the ecclesiastical policy was less likely to attract a policy community because policy-making in this area was generally more inclusive. Although the state was dependent on professional theologians and clerics for its enactment and implementation, there was a greater chance of issue group participation largely because of

the several, disparate, and often still-evolving religious ideologies that were present, as discussed earlier. These findings in relation to these two policy areas, England and the kirk, do not readily tie in with the views of the contemporary historians briefly considered earlier, particularly those such as Young and Goodare, who have promoted more boxed-in 'factions' and a 'new authoritarianism' respectively. The novel theoretical approach represented by the five propositions is a post-modern means of evaluating past politics, and not an instrument for pronouncing on the politics of Glamis's generation in terms of the present.

In sum, the family was important within Scottish politics because there was a substantial inclination towards it within the ideological and institutional context, and the politics leading up to the enactments of parliament. At least as far as Glamis and his family were concerned, family relations within the politics leading up to the enactments of parliament were probably not as significant as those formed by fellowship or office, which were largely motivated by political ideology and institutional expediency respectively. The family was not only important as a resource of individual political power in its own right - it provided an entree into different levels of political groupings both nationally and in the locality, including the burghs, but also as an indirect and invasive element in the other resources: personal qualities, ideology, numbers and organisation (of which it was part), wealth, and violence. Its indirect influence on later-sixteenth century Scottish politics may have been more important than its direct one. The lawyer Edward Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, conspicuously argued in 1587 that the main interests served by the constitution of parliament were not those of the estates, but those arising from land.¹⁰ But, perhaps, the strong hereditary and quasi-hereditary bias found in the structure and functioning of parliament would suggest that the main interests served by its constitution were those of families, much more so than land. Given the political nature and pervasiveness of the family, the 'familial electorate', in this sense, must have been far larger and more politically volatile than any other interest group, and the women within it involved to a much greater extent.

The extent to which the family was important is not easy to determine with any precision. Three major reasons for this are that it was an indefinable mixture of myth and reality, it could be functional as well as dysfunctional, and the sheer diversity and interrelatedness of the individual resources of political power as a whole. Such findings together with the nature of the methodology employed provide a cautionary note about making any statement about the family and politics. This study did not set out to prove that one approach is better than the other. Rather, a more circumspect view prevailed. Donaldson found that genealogy provided a useful restraint on theorising about political principles and

¹⁰ Raft, *Parliaments, 175, James Sext.* 232

motives, and argued that, as far as the evidence allowed, the genealogist had an important part to play in the historian's need to 'go beyond noblemen and their immediate kinsmen'.¹¹ Donnachie and Whatley have stressed the need to know more about family history, the sum of which they believed helps to reconstruct the national picture.¹² Although the focus on genealogy and family history in this study has only gone so far in uncovering information about Glamis and the Lyons of Glamis, it has revealed a number of things that would have been helpful to the 'theorising' and 'reconstructing' in several recent historical studies.¹³ Both still have a purposeful role to fulfil because, among other things, the difficulty with theorising and reconstructing often lies in the detail. Despite this and other efforts, questions still remain about the later sixteenth-century family and politics, not least the nature and significance of policy. Glamis too deserves more attention, especially with regard to his role in the raid of Ruthven (1582), which is one of the more significant, yet one of the least understood, events in sixteenth-century Scottish history, and his handling of the treasury (1585-91, 1593-6). He, like many of his contemporaries, such as Crawford and Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, and contemporary less traditional approaches to the study of history, is far too important to overlook.

¹¹ Donaldson, 'Genealogy', 65-79.

¹² Donnachie and Whatley, 'Introduction', 10.

¹³ These included Brown's long history of a recurrent Glamis Crawford feud (*Bloodfeud*, 124-5); Brown's the Lyons of Glamis a Protestant family (*Bloodfeud*, 225); Brown's marriage of Patrick Lyon (*Noble Society*, 124); Bardgett's John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis (*Scotland Reformed*, 32); Grant's John Lyon, 1st of Glamis, and his entry into second division of higher nobility (*Independence and Nationhood*, 123-5); Goodaire's Glamis a transitional example of influence depending on offices ('Parliament and society', 460); Cowan's John Lyon and a disagreement with Crawford ('Angus Campbells', 33).

Appendix 1. The Administrators

Appendix 1 consists of a list of the known administrators at the senior officer and officer level who were likely to have been in post over the period. It includes clerks and masters and keepers in the royal households. It excludes many geographically peripheral persons, such as bailies on the numerous crown lands, and assumes that the institutions were operating at full strength, and that there was no absence due to rotation or other reasons. In drawing up this information it has been assumed that there were clear horizontal and vertical lines between institutions, divisions, and sections on the one hand, and senior officer, officer, and servants on the other. In reality, these demarcations were not so clean-cut, and terminology varied. The primary and secondary material from which the appendix was compiled were many.¹ Despite this, deficiencies in the record sources, especially in respect of dates of the appointment and variations in titles, rewards, and roles, made it impossible to give a completely accurate picture of those officially employed. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to construct fairly accurate lists for each institution over the period at the officer level and above. There was insufficient evidence to construct a similar list of below this level, except in the case of the royal household. Juhala has done this.² The information in this appendix adds to her list at the officer level and above, and ranks these members according to function.

Contents

- 1.0 The royal households:
 - 1.1-3 The king's household
 - 1.4-5 Mary, queen of Scots, household
 - 1.6-8 The queen's household
 - 1.9-10 Prince Henry's household
- 2.0 The state executive:
 - 2.1 Chancery
 - 2.2 Secretariat
 - 2.3 Privy Seal's office
 - 2.4 Registry (and Privy Council)
 - 2.5 Parliament
- 3.0 The judiciary:
 - 3.1 Court of Judiciary
 - 3.2 Court of Session
 - 3.3 Legal office
 - 3.4 Court of Lyon King of Arms
 - 3.5 Commissariats
 - 3.6 Coronaries
 - 3.7 Court of Admiralty
 - 3.8 Heritable jurisdictions
 - 3.9 Special commissions
- 4.0 Finance:
 - 4.1 Comptrollery
 - 4.2 Treasury
 - 4.3 Collectory
 - 4.4 Octavians
 - 4.5 Special commissions
 - 4.6 Mint
 - 4.7 Court of Exchequer
- 5.0 Defence:
 - 5.1 Army
 - 5.2 Navy

¹ Unless otherwise stated, this list is made up from *APS*, *CSP Scot.*, *RMS*, *RPC*, *RSS*, *TA*, and Juhala, 'Court of James VI', app. 1, 310-39.

² Juhala, 'Court of James VI', app. 1, 310-39. Juhala ranks members according to bills of account and other remunerations, rewards are not considered.

Key

(1578) – Bracketed dates indicate that the person was in post that in that year

1578-1596 – Un-bracketed dates indicate that the person was either appointed to or left the post in that year.

xxx – Indicates that a date or part of name is unknown.

UPPER CASE – Senior Officer -Those holding or having the equivalence of one or more offices which at one time or another were officially constituted within the membership of the privy council or holding an official office or role superior to them.

The figure in brackets after a job title indicates the actual or estimated (c.) number of persons employed in that role.

1.0 The Royal Households

A. THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD

1.1 The Chamber

a) Guard Chamber

(1) Captain

- 1560-xxx – John Stewart of Traquair
 1580-1582 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 1582-1585 – William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem
 1585-1588 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**³
 1588-1588 – Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie⁴
 1588-1589 – George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly⁵
 1589-1590 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**⁶
 1591-1593 – John Carmichael of Carmichael
 1593-1593 – Andrew Stewart, 2nd lord Ochiltree⁸
 1593-1593 – William Ker of Cessford
 1593-1594 – Alexander Home, 5th lord Home⁹
 1594-xxx – John Home of Crumstane
 (1596) – John Carmichael of Carmichael

(2) Lieutenant

- (1577) – John Forbes, master of Forbes
 1584-(1586) – James Stewart of Schillinglaw¹⁰
 (1586)-(1590) – William Home of Bassendean¹¹
 (1592)-(1593) – James Hunter

(3) Ensign

- (1581) – Charles Geddes of Rachan

(4) Cornet

- (1586)-(1587) – Archibald Carmichael of Edrom
 (1592) – James Cranston

(5) Commissary¹²

- 1581-1582 – Patrick Guthrie

(6) Quartermaster

- (1563) – Mr Alan Stewart
 (1585) – Andrew Haultie
 (1585)-(1592) – Captain Patrick Cranston¹³
 (1587)-(1588) – James Wilkinson
 (1593) – Robert Purves

(7) Clerk of Expenses

- (1567) – Alan Macauley

b) Presence Chamber

(1) CHAMBERLAIN

- 1580-1583 – Esme Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox¹⁴
 1583-1624 – Ludovick Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox

(2) CHAMBERLAIN DEPUTE

- 1580-1587 – Alexander Erskine of Gogar¹⁵

³ See *Maitland*, 190; Moysie, *Memoires*, 71

⁴ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 655 – The captaincy of the guard was changed three times in 20 days.

⁵ *Culderwood*, iv, 696; Moysie, *Memoires*, 71; *CSP Scot.*, x, 4 – 14 Mar. 1589 – Fowler to Walsingham – Huntly had the guard again.

⁶ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 708 – 8 Mar. 1589 – Roger Aston to James Hudson – Glamis come to court, the king promised not to take the guard from him without his consent, x, 285 – Glamis heard from Denmark that Maitland had declared himself a greater adversary to him than he looked for, and by his means the office of captain of the guard is turned over from Glamis to Carmichael.

⁷ See *Maitland*, 207.

⁸ *Lang. History*, ii, 376.

⁹ *Lang. History*, ii, 376.

¹⁰ *Scots Peerage*, viii, 401 – James Stewart of Shillinglaw, originally a lieutenant in the king's guard under his brother John Stewart of Traquair, was appointed captain in 1566.

¹¹ *Calderwood*, v, 56 – William Hume was described as captain of the guard in Apr. 1589, when he probably held the post in lieu of Glamis.

¹² The commissary was an officer who has charge of the supply of food, stores, and transport.

¹³ *CSP Scot.*, x, 618 – In Jan. 1592, the king raised a guard of 50 horsemen under John Carmichael of Carmichael, and 50 footmen under Captain Cranston.

¹⁴ The office of chamberlain was newly created in Sept. 1580.

- 1587-1589 – George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly¹⁶
 1589-1592 – Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie
 1592-(1594) – Thomas Erskine of Gogar
- (3) Master Ushers (hereditary)
 xxx-1583 – George Douglas, bishop of Moray
 1583-1616 – John Flemming, 6th lord Fleming¹⁷
 xxx-(1595) – William Cockburn of Langton¹⁸
- (4) Gentlemen Ushers (or Usher Deputes)
 1572-1600 – Alexander Young of Eastfield¹⁹
 (1585)-(1603) – John Stewart of Roslin
 (1578)-(1598) – John Drummond of Slipperfield
- (5) Master of Valets
 (1594) – William Murray
- (6) Reader and Master of the Pages
 (1578) – Richard Wright
 (1590)-(1596) – Mr Daniel Chalmer
- c) Privy Chamber
- (1) First Gentleman of the Privy Chamber²⁰
 1580-1583 – Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox Lennox *²¹
 1583-1590 – Ludovick Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox *
 1590-1596 – James Sandilands of Slamannan *²²
 (1596) – Andrew Stewart, 3rd lord Ochiltree *
- (2) Ordinary Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber (c.20)
 (1578) – William Cunningham of Polmais²³
 1580-(1584) – Robert Erskine of Little Sauchie
 1580-xxx – George Keith, master of Marischal
 1580-xxx – James Leslie, master of Rothes²⁴
 1580-xxx – Thomas Kennedy, master of Cassilis
 1580-1592 – James Lindsay, master of Lindsay
 1580-xxx – Alexander Livingstone, master of Livingstone
 1580-xxx – Alexander Elphinstone, master of Elphinstone
 1580-xxx – William Maxwell, master of Herries
 1580-xxx – James Ogilvy, master of Ogilvy
 1580-xxx – James Home of Cowdenknowes
 1580-xxx – Thomas Kennedy of Bargany
 1580-xxx – Thomas Maclellan of Bombie
 1580-xxx – William Livingstone of Kilsyth
 1580-xxx – John Stewart of Minto
 1580-xxx – William Ruthven of Ballindean
 1580-xxx – Patrick Crichton of Strathurd
 1580-xxx – William Moncreiff of Moncreiff
 1580-xxx – Mark Ker, later commendator of Newbattle *
 1580-xxx – George Douglas of Rungally
 1580-(1582) – James Stewart, later 1st earl of Arran *
 1580-xxx – Alexander Ruthven, commendator of Inchaffray
 1580-xxx – Alexander Home, commendator of Coldingham
 1580-xxx – Alexander Home of North Berwick
 1580-xxx – James Chisholm of Cromlix
 1580-xxx – Alexander Murray of Drumdewan²⁵
 1580-xxx – Patrick Home of Polwart
 1580-xxx – William Murray of Pitcairly²⁶

¹⁶ The office of chamberlain depute was newly created in Sept. 1580.

¹⁷ NAS - Gordon Castle muniments, xii, GD44.13.4 R.

¹⁸ *Scots Peerage*, viii, 545. The grant recognises the hereditary right to this office in the past and in the future of the lords Fleming.

¹⁹ NAS - Calendar of Charters, xiv, 3373.

²⁰ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 106. Alexander was the younger brother of Peter Young of Seton.

²¹ For the purposes of this study, gentlemen of the privy chamber includes those who were described as gentlemen of the chamber and gentlemen of the bedchamber.

²² S. J. Houston, *James I* (London, 1995), 5. Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox, as chamberlain was responsible for the king's guard.

²³ Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 121. James Sanderson was the first keeper of the king's chamber.

²⁴ *Spottiswood*, ii, 230.

²⁵ Or his brother.

²⁶ Alexander Murray of Drumdewan was the son of the comptroller.

- 1580-xxx – Walter Stewart, later 1st lord Blantyre *
 (1581)-(1601) – Roger Ashton
 (1583) – John Cockburn²³
 1583-(1588) – Laurence Gordon, commendator of Glenluce *
 (1583)-(1594) – William Keith of Delny
 (1583-1602) – James Shaw, apparent of Little Sauchie
 1584-xxx – Patrick Gray, master of Gray *
 (1584) – John Gibb²⁴
 (1584) – Walter Lindsay of Balgawy²⁵
 (1585)-(1592) – Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst²⁶
 (1585)-(1600) – Thomas Erskine of Gogar²⁷
 (1586)-(1591) – James Gray²⁸
 (1587)-1590 – Alexander Lindsay, later 1st lord Spynie *
 1587-1589 – Mr David Morton²⁹
 (1588) – Mr Archibald Douglas *
 (1588) – Andrew Murray of Arngosk
 1588-(1592) – Mr Richard Cockburn
 (1589) – George Douglas, younger of Parkhead
 (1591) – George Home
 (1591) – James Melville of Halhill *
 (1591)-(1596) – Patrick Lindsay, later 1st lord Lindores
 1591-1596 – James Meldrum of Segie *
 1592 – (1596) – Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn
 (1592) – Andrew Wemyss of Logie
 (1592) – Michael Balfour of Burley
 (1594)-(1595) – Sir William Stewart
 (1595)-(1608) – William Stewart of Bancherie and Strathbram
 (1596)-(1600) – George Elphinstone of Blytheswood
 1596-xxx – George Hay, later 1st earl of Kinnoul³¹
 1593-xxx – Alexander Home, 6th lord Home
 1593-(1597) – Patrick Murray of Geames³²
 (1595)-(1599) – William Home
 (1595) – James Lindsay³³
 (1594)-(1603) – William Stewart of Grantullie
 (1596) – John Elphinstone
 (1596) – Robert Crichton, 8th lord Crichton
 (1596) – Francis Bothwell³⁴
 (xxx) – John Murray of Tullibardine *
 (xxx) – David Drummond, later 2nd lord Drummond
 (3) Extraordinary Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber (c.5)
 (1580) – John Maxwell, 8th lord Maxwell *
 (1580) – Walter Ker of Cessford
 (1580) – James Campbell of Ardkinglas
 (1580) – William Cunningham of Caprington *
 (1580) – Alexander Home of Manderston
 (1580) – William Stewart of Caverston *
 (1580)-(1585) – James Drummond, commendator of Inchaffray
- * Denotes privy council experience

d) Wardrobe

(1) MASTER OF THE WARDROBE

(1573)-1578 – William Beaton

²³ William Murray of Pitcairly was the son of the comptroller

²⁴ *Letters and State Papers (Spanish)*, iii, 471.

²⁵ NAS - Calendar of Charters, siii, 2709

²⁶ *Scots Peerage*, i, 511

²⁷ *Scots Peerage*, v, 72.

²⁸ *Scots Peerage*, v, 84.

²⁹ James Gray was the son of Patrick Gray, 4th lord Gray

³⁰ David Morton was the brother of William Morton of Cambo.

³¹ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 87-8; *DNB*, ix, 259.

³² *Spottiswood*, iii, 437.

³³ NAS - Calendar of Deeds, I, 278. James Lindsay was the brother of Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie

³⁴ Francis Bothwell was the son of the bishop of Orkney.

1579-1583 – James Murray of Halyards
 1581 – Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox
 1583 – David Lindsay, master of Crawford
 1583-1584 – William Stewart
 1584-1585 – Patrick Gray, master of Gray
 1585-1589 – William Keith of Delny
 (1589) – William Beaton
 (1587) – Patrick Gray, master of Gray³⁸
 1589-(1601) – George Home of Spott
 (1593) – Mr James Murray

(2) Master Broudstair

(1574)-(1598) – William Beaton

(3) Master tailor

(1575)-(1590) – James Inglis
 (1592)-(1603) – Alexander Wilson

(4) Goldsmith

1578-(1584) – Mungo Braidie
 (1581)-(1596) – Thomas Foullis
 (1580)-(1595) – Michael Gilbert
 (1584) – George Herriot
 1587-(1595) – James Acheson

c) Ecclesiastical

(1) ALMONER

1577-1614 Peter Young of Seton

(2) Almoner Depute

(1591) – Mr John Scrymgeour
 (1595)-(1599) – Mr John Young

(3) Ministers (c. 3)

1568-(1601) – John Duncanson
 (1581)-(1598) – John Brand
 (1582) – John Erskine of Dun³⁹
 (1590)-(1592) – David Lindsay⁴⁰
 (1590)-(1602) – Patrick Galloway⁴¹
 (1579)-(1598) – John Craig
 (1592) – William Leslie

f) Education

(1) Preceptors (c. 2)

1569-1578 – David Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth⁴²
 1569-1578 – Adam Erskine, commendator of Dryburgh⁴³
 1569-1580 – Peter Young of Seton
 1569-1580 – Mr George Buchanan⁴⁴

(2) Mathematician

(1583) – William Welwood

g) Medicine

(1) Doctor of Medicine (or Mediciner) (c. 2)

1581-(1598) – Gilbert Skeyne⁴⁵
 1575-(1595) – Gilbert Moncreiff, commendator of Glenluce
 1568-(1580) – Alexander Preston
 (1593) – Martin Schoner

(2) Principal Surgeon (c. 2)

1578-(1603) – Gilbert Primrose
 1583-(1603) – George Boswell
 1585-(1603) – John Nasmith⁴⁶

(3) Ordinary Surgeon

³⁸ *James the Sixth*, 250.

³⁹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, i, 581.

⁴⁰ Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 121; *Calderwood*, v, 162.

⁴¹ *Calderwood*, vi, 501-32.

⁴² Willson, *James VI and I*, 19.

⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ *DNB*, xviii, 341.

⁴⁶ *DNB*, xiv, 112.

- 1576-1578 – Gilbert Primrose
- (4) Apothecary
1577-(1602) – Alexander Barclay
- h) Marischall's Office
- (1) Marischall (hereditary)
1527-1581 – William Keith, 4th earl Marischall
1581-1623 – William Keith, 5th earl Marischall
- (2) Marischall Depute
(1579)-(1581) – Robert Keith of Canterland
(1584) – John Irvine
(1585)-(1587) – James Keith of Canterland
(1590) – Andrew Keith, 1st lord Dingwall
(1592) – James Matheson
(1593) – Thomas Scott
(1594) – James Matheson
- (3) Marshall of the Household
(1588)-(1604) – William Henderson ¹⁷
(1592)-(1604) – James Ogilvy
- i) Constabulary
- (1) Constable (hereditary)
1574-1585 – Andrew Hay, 8th earl of Errol
1585-1631 – Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol
- (2) Constable Depute
(1579) – James Kinross
(1579)-(1595) – William Henderson ¹⁸
- (3) Master Porter
1578-(1596) – John Boig ¹⁹
1578-1580 – Patrick Crumby
1579-1580 – Thomas Inglis of Auldliston
- (4) Master Porter of the Forward Gate
(1593)-(1595) – John Boig, elder
- (5) Master Porter of the Outer Gate
1591-1599 – John Boig
- j) Administration
- (1) SECRETARY – see II 2a) below
(2) Secretary Depute – see II 2b) below
(3) Clerk of the Chamber
(1590) – Mr John Geddy
(1594) – Thomas Foulis ²⁰
- k) Finance
- (1) COMPTROLLER (and Keeper of Holyrood Palace) – see IV 1a) below
(2) Comptroller Clerk (Comptroller Depute and Keeper Depute of Holyrood Palace)
(1562)-(1616) – John Fenton ²¹
- (3) Clerk of Expenses (or Argenter or Pursemaster)
xxx-1580 – Alexander Durham
1580-(1600) – James Durham of Dunterville
(1583) – Alexander Durham
(1593)-(1597) – David Selkirk
- (4) Clerk of Expenses Depute
(1594)-(1595) – George Whitehead
- l) Legal
- (1) ADVOCATE – see 3.3 a) below
(2) Advocate Depute – see 3.3 b) below
(3) Solicitor – see 3.3 c) below
- m) Requests
- (1) MASTER OF REQUESTS ²²
1578-1578 – Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle

¹⁷ William Henderson was married to Janet Ogilvy and both lived in the Marshal's House in 1595.

¹⁸ William Henderson had faithfully served Mary, queen of Scots, and was appointed constable-depute for life in 1594.

¹⁹ *MHA*, I, 305, 309.

²⁰ Goodare, 'English subsidy', 115.

²¹ John Fenton had been in the king's service for 33 years in 1588.

²² The master of requests was assisted by a writer, and located in the offices of the treasurer and comptroller.

- 1578-1581 – Mr John Colville
 1581-1592 – Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle
 1592-1592 – Richard Cockburn of Clerkington
 1592-1606 – Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle
 (2) Deputy Master of Requests
 (1581)-(1586) – Robert Young, younger of Harpendene

1.2 The Household Indoors

a) The Hall

- (1) Heritable Master of the Household
 1573-1584 – Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll⁵³
 1584-1638 – Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll⁵⁴
- (2) First Master of the Household
 1587-1588 – John Seton of Barnes
 (1594) – John Erskine, earl of Mar
- (3) Extra-Ordinary Masters of the Household (c. 3)⁵⁵
 (1578) – John Cunningham of Drumquhassil⁵⁶
 1579-1583 – Alan Cathcart, 4th lord Cathcart
 (1579)-1583 – James Colville of Easter Wemyss⁵⁷
 1581-1593 – James Chisholm of Cromlix and Dundurne
 1583-(1592) – David Beaton of Melgund
 (1579)-1589 – Mungo Graham of Rathernis
 (1583) – Alan Cathcart, 4th lord Cathcart⁵⁸
 1588-(1605) – Andrew Melville of Garvoek
 (1590) – Andrew Sinclair⁵⁹
 1591-xxx – Patrick Home of Polwart
 (1579)-(1590) – John Murray of Tullibardine, younger
 1592-xxx – John Murray of Tullibardine⁶⁰
 (1592)-(1605) – Michael Elphinstone⁶¹

b) Table

- (1) Gentleman Server (or Dapifer) (c. 2)
 1579-(1591) – Thomas Erskine of Gogar
 (1578)-(1980) – Michael Elphinstone
 (1579)-(1596) – William Elphinstone⁶²
 (1982)-(1593) – Patrick Murray of Geanies⁶³
 (1594)-(1600) – James Erskine⁶⁴
- (2) Gentleman Carver (c. 2)
 1577-1583 – Andrew Wood, younger of Largo
 (1578)-1579 – Robert Erskine, apparent of Little Sauchie
 (1580)-(1593) – Michael Elphinstone
 (1582)-(1590) – Patrick Home, apparent of Polwart
 1582-(1592) – James Anstruther of Anstruther (heritable)⁶⁵
 (1596) – James Lundie
 (1596) – Richard Preston of Haltree
 (1596) – Mr Patrick Morton
 (1603) – William Shaw of Glanderston
- (3) Gentleman Cup Bearer (c. 2)
 (1580)-1584 – David Murray⁶⁶
 (1580)-(1596) – James Elphinstone

⁵³ Rogers, *Estimate*, 8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *RPO*, iii, 453. Three masters of the household were listed in 1582, *Papers Relative to the Marriage of James the Sixth of Scotland with Princess Anne of Denmark*, ed. J. T. G. Craig (Bannatyne Club, 1828), app. iii, 23. Only two were named in 1590.

⁵⁶ Halliell, *Memoirs*, 138.

⁵⁷ Moyzie, *Memoires*, 46; *CSP Scot.*, vi, 587.

⁵⁸ Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 38.

⁵⁹ Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 121, 126. Andrew Sinclair was the third son of Henry Sinclair, 5th lord Sinclair.

⁶⁰ Nisbet, *Systems*, ii, 191.

⁶¹ *Scots Peerage*, iii, 533. Michael Elphinstone was the fifth son of Alexander Elphinstone, 2nd lord Elphinstone.

⁶² Moyzie, *Memoires*, 46. William Elphinstone was discharged in 1583, probably temporarily.

⁶³ NAS - PS1 52.91v, 66.7r. Patrick Murray was the brother of Murray of Halvard.

⁶⁴ James Erskine was the brother of Thomas Erskine of Gogar.

⁶⁵ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 81. James Anstruther of Anstruther was appointed heritable carver to the royal family, an office that was still held by his representative in the nineteenth century; Nisbet, *Systems*, ii, 63.

⁶⁶ Zulager, 'Middle-ranking administrators', 140. David and Patrick Murray were the sons of a Fife laird, and brought up at court in the 1570s.

(1582)-(1584) – John Lindsay⁶⁷
 (1582)-(1584) – Robert Melville, younger
 (1587) – Robert Burne
 (1590) – William Elphinstone⁶⁸
 (1593) – Patrick Home of Polwart
 (1596) – Gilbert Ogilvy of Pitentlic

- (4) Gentlemen Servants (c.2)
 (1581) – Robert Leslie
 (1581) – Harry Shaw
 (1582) – Andrew Moir
 (1585)-(1589) – James Melville of Halhill
 (1589)-(1591) – Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch

c) Wine Cellar

- (1) Wine Master (hereditary)
 1576-1602 – James Shaw, apparent of Little Sauchie
 (2) Master of Wine Cellar (or Symler)
 1568-(1597) – Jeremy Bowic
 (1575)-1578 – Alexander Douglas
 (1586)-(1594) – George Boig
 1589-(1591) – Captain Robert Arnott
 (1593) – John Boig
 (1597)-(1603) – James Bowic
 (3) Special Surveyor of Wines
 1590-xxx – James Scot

d) Ale Cellar

- (1) Master of the Ale Cellar
 1567-(1595) – George Boig
 (1575)-(1577) – Andrew Douglas
 (1579) – James Finnick
 (1579)-(1596) – James Boig
 (2) Master Brewer
 (1592) – James Boig
 (1592)-1595 – William Craig

e) Kitchen

- (1) Master Cook in the King's Kitchen
 (1568)-(1581) – John Lyon
 1582-(1591) – William Lamb
 1591-(1604) – Christopher Lamb
 (1591)-(1604) – James Murray
 (2) Master Cook in the Court Kitchen
 1568-1603 – James Murray

f) Meat and Fish

- (1) Master Flescher
 1576-(1578) – Harry Burrell⁶⁹
 1581-(1598) – Thomas Robertson
 (1585)-(1601) – John Robertson
 (2) Poultryman
 (1580)-(1591) – Thomas Wingate
 (1588)-(1589) – David Hutcheson
 (3) Fishman
 1598-(1599) – William Lyell

g) Bakery

- (1) Baker
 (1579) – Archibald Ward
 (1579)-(1580) – John Clark
 1580-(1603) – Patrick Rannald
 (2) Pastry Cook (or Patisserie)
 (1568)-(1580) – Patrick Rannald
 (1589)-(1597) – John Rannald

⁶⁷ John Lindsay was the brother of David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford.

⁶⁸ William Elphinstone was brother to Michael Elphinstone, carver.

⁶⁹ Harry Burrell was a burghess of Edinburgh.

- (3) Master of the Pantry (or Paniter or Master of the Bread House)
 1568-1587 – James Galbraith
 1587-(1603) – Francis Galbraith

h) Larder

- (1) Master of the Larder
 (1577) – Thomas Auchinleck
 1580-(1604) – Walter Neische⁷⁰
 (1590) – David Miller
 (2) Keeper of the Petty Larder
 (1582)-(1591) – David Menteith
 (1594)-1604 – Robert Menteith

i) Candles

- (1) Master Candle Maker
 1595-xxx – Robert Nicholson

j) Vessels

- (1) Keeper of Vessels
 (1568)-(1603) – William Murray
 (1578) – John Herries
 (2) Keeper of the Silver and Tin Vessels
 (1578) – Alexander Carpentynne
 (1585)-(1604) – Robert Robertson
 (3) Keeper of Pewter Vessels
 (1579)-(1580) – John Stobbo
 (4) Keeper of the Tin Vessels
 (1582)-(1584) – Alexander Morris
 (1587)-(1595) – Robert Robertson

k) Spices

- (1) Master of the Spice House
 (1580)-(1595) – Archibald Durham
 (1588) – David Menteith
 (1590)-(1599) – Andrew White

l) Laundry

- (1) Laundress (or Lavendar) to King
 (1568)-(1604) – Margaret Douchall⁷¹
 (2) Laundress to the Court
 (1586)-(1591) – Agnes Bowie
 1590-(1591) – xxx Robertson

m) Administration

- (1) Clerk of Expenses (or Writer of the Compts)
 (1578)-(1591) – Robert Porterfield
 (1592)-(1603) – David Selkirk
 (2) Purveyor (or Cator)
 (1580) – Walter Haig
 (1582)-(1595) – John Wingettis
 (3) Master (or Captain) of the Households Servants
 (1590) – not named
 1594-1600 – Richard Preston of Haltree

1.3 **The Household Outdoors**

a) Stable

- (1) Principal Master of Horse (or Great Master of the Horse)
 1581-1587 – John Seton of Barnes
 (1583) – David Lindsay, master of Crawford
 (1589) – Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell⁷²
 (1585)-(1593) – John Carmichael of Carmichael⁷³
 1592-xxx – Alexander Home, 5th lord Home⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Walter Neische was a burghess of Stirling.

⁷¹ Margaret Douchall was possibly the Maragret Balcomie, who was described as lavendar in the newly formed household of 1568. She was the wife of Jeremy Bowie.

⁷² Rogers, *Estimate*, 54.

⁷³ NAS - PS1 64 69v; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 121.

⁷⁴ Alexander Home, 5th lord Home, was made Grand Master-Stabler and the king committed to him and his strength chiefly the guard of his person.

- (2) Extra-ordinary Masters of Horse (c. 3)
- (1578)-1583 – William Erskine, commendator of Paisley
 - 1579-1583 – Patrick Drummond of Carnock⁵
 - xxx-1583 – John Livingstone of Dunnipace⁶
 - (1581)-1583 – James Preston of Balaferle
 - 1581-(1592) – John Livingstone of Abercorn
 - 1582-xxx – David Home of Cranshaws
 - 1582-xxx – David Lindsay, 11th earl of Crawford⁷
 - (1582)-(1589) – George Home
 - 1583-xxx – John Drummond
 - 1583-xxx – William Murray
 - (1588)-1592 – John Carmichael of Carmichael⁸
 - (1583)-(1599) – David Murray of Gosperte⁹
 - (1586)-1595 – William Leslie of Civilde¹⁰
 - (1590)-(1591) – John Shaw¹¹
 - (1591) – Robert Abercromby
 - (1593) – Hugh Carmichael, younger of Carmichael¹²
 - (1591)-(1595) – William Home
 - (1592)-(1599) – John Home of Fentonhall
 - (1595)-(1599) – Alexander Livingstone of Pantasken
- (3) Gentlemen Pensioners (to attend on king's riding and passing in the fields) (c. 10)
- (1580) – the Laird of Anslouch
 - 1580 – Thomas Dishington of Ardross
 - (1580)-(1581) – Roger Aston
 - (1580) – Colin Campbell
 - (1580) – John Carmichael of Carmichael
 - (1580) – Alan Cathcart, master of Cathcart
 - (1580) – John Kimmont of Cragyhall
 - (1580)-(1581) – Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill
 - (1580) – Robert Dalzell of Dalzell
 - (1580) – Mr James Durham
 - (1580) – the Laird of Galbaird
 - (1580) – James Gibb
 - (1580) – William Campbell of Glasnock
 - (1580) – Captain David Home
 - (1580) – James Leverhulme
 - (1580)-(1584) – Captain Robert Montgomery
 - (1580) – Patrick Murray of Geanies
 - (1580) – Andrew Niald
 - (1580) – Patrick Home of Polwarth
 - (1580) – James Shaw of Sauchie
 - (1580) – James Sirssel
 - (1579)-(1580) – Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir
 - (1580) – John Stewart
 - (1580)-(1592) – Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre
 - (1580) – William Stewart
- (4) Master of Carriage (or Director of the Baggage)
- 1578-(1588) – Laurence Fenton
 - (1580)-(1602) – William Murray¹³
- (5) Postmaster
- (1591) – James Armour
- (6) Horse Marshal or Horse Doctor
- (1582)-(1591) – Alan Balmanno
- (7) Keeper of King's Hackneys

⁵ Moysie, *Memoires*, 46

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Bowes, *Correspondence*, 585.

⁸ *Border Papers*, i, 585.

⁹ David Murray was the brother of Patrick Murray, server to the king, and Andrew Murray of Arngosk.

¹⁰ William Leslie of Civilde was the brother of John Leslie of Balquhan.

¹¹ *Calderwood*, v, 206; Moysie, *Memoires*, 87. John Shaw was killed during Bothwell Raid in Dec. 1591.

¹² *Scots Peerage*, iv, 581.

¹³ William Murray was married to Catherine Lindsay.

- (1583) – David Lychton
 (1581)-(1583) – John Malloch
 (1583) – John Orrock
- (8) Master Furriour (or Quartermaster)
 (1579)-(1590) – Thomas Murray
 1580-(1600) – Cuthbert Murray
 (1589) – Thomas Nersche
 (1594)-(1602) – William Murray
- (9) Master Saddler (and Keeper of the Equerrian Wardrobe)
 1576-(1578) – John Harlaw
 1578-(1598) – Robert Abercromby
- (10) Master Wright
 (1592)-(1601) – James Wright
- (11) Master Smith (or Horseshoer)
 (1591)-(1595) – James Lescheman
 (1596)-(1603) – Abraham Hamilton
- (12) Keeper of Stores and Fodder⁸⁴
 (1579) – James Finnick
 (1587) – Alexander Allan
- (13) Surveyor (or Comptroller of the Stables)
 1581-xxx – James Livingstone of Inchmauchan
- (14) Clerk of the Stables (or Equerry or Clerk of Avery)
 1584-(1593) – James Bennet
 (1593)-(1605) – Finlay Taylor – joint with queen's household
- b) Hunting, Hawking and Other Pursuits
- (1) Master Hunter
 (1582)-(1595) – John Home⁸⁵
- (2) Master Falconer
 (1576)-(1580) – William Brisbane
 1580-(1607) – Alexander Moncreiff of Fawside
- (3) Keeper of Hawks and Dogs
 (1577)-(1587) – John Ramsay
- (4) Keeper of Hawks
 1596 – Thomas Cargill
- (5) Keeper of Dogs
 (1578) – John Dewar
 (1579) – Malcolm McKendrick
 (1584)-(1593) – John Kers
 (1588)-(1597) – John Acheson
 (1588)-(1598) – Robert Walker (English)
 (1590) – Robert Inglisman
- c) Gardens and Menagerie
- (1) Gardeners
 (1567)-(1603) – John Morrison (south side)⁸⁶
 1562-1578 – William Brown (north side)
 1578-(1595) – Elizabeth Richardson (north side)
 (1578)-(1603) – Andrew Brown (north side)⁸⁷
 (1585)-(1591) – Thomas Alexander
- (2) Keeper of Yards (and Petters)
 (1587) – not named
- (3) Keeper Depute of Yards and Zookeeper
 (1586)-(1596) – Thomas Fenton
- d) Buildings and Maintenance
- (1) Master of Works⁸⁸
 (1574)-1579 – William MacDougall
 1579-1583 – Robert Drummond of Carnock⁸⁹

⁸⁴ *AHW*, i, 391

⁸⁵ John Home was the brother of Alexander Home of Manderson

⁸⁶ John Morrison son and heir of late John Morrison was appointed gardeners at Holyrood House (south side) in 1585.

⁸⁷ *NAS* PS1/59/103v. Andrew Brown was the son of the late William Brown

⁸⁸ *AHW*, i, pp. xviii, xxvii, xxviii. In 1539 and 1579, master of works were appointed with the power to appoint of three or four deputies, but over the period 1578-96 the master of works retained a universal jurisdiction.

⁸⁹ *AHW*, i, p. xviii.

- 1583-1602 – William Shaw¹⁸⁰
 (2) Master Mason⁹¹
 1567-(1582) – John Roytell⁹²
 (1600) – William Cunningham
 (3) Master Slater
 (1575)-(1576) – David Hay
 (1576)-(1594) – George Hay

B. MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS, HOUSEHOLD

1.4 The Chamber

- a) Ladies and Gentlewomen
 1561-1583 – Marie Seton⁹³
 xxx-1587 – Jane Kennedy
 b) Secretary
 xxx-1587 – Curle⁹⁴
 1574 -1587 – Claude de la Boisseliere Nau⁹⁵
 c) Chaplain
 xxx-1587 – de Préau⁹⁶

1.5 The Household Indoors

- a) Master of the Household
 1573-1587 – Andrew Melville of Garvock⁹⁷
 b) Personal Attendant and Musician
 (1576)-(1582) – John Lauder⁹⁸

C. THE QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD

1.6 The Chamber

- a) Chamber
 (1) Chamberlain
 (1590) – David Seaton of Parbroath
 (1594)-(1595) – William Shaw
 (2) Lady Companion
 (1596) – Henrietta Stewart, countess of Huntly⁹⁹
 (3) First Chief Lady
 (1590)-1603 – Margaret Stewart, lady Ochiltree
 (4) Second Chief Lady
 (1590)-1591 – Elizabeth Gordon, lady Home
 (5) Ladies-in-Waiting, Maids of Honour, and other Ladies of the Chamber (c. 10)
 1589-1589 – Jane Kennedy¹⁰⁰
 (1590) – Katherine Skinkell (Danish)
 (1590)-(1591) – Sophia Koss (Danish)
 (1590)-(1592) – Elizabeth Gib¹⁰¹
 (1590)-1591 – Mary Stewart¹⁰²

¹⁸⁰ *MB3*, i, p. xviii

⁹¹ *MB3*, i, p. xxviii. 'Master mason' was a term that was applied to an officer in charge of operations or to local craftsmen.

⁹² *MB3*, i, p. xxviii. Although there was no record of an appointment of a master mason after John Roytell until the next century, but it has been suggested that Thomas Mylne held the office between 1561 and 1579, and John Mylne occupied the post around 1584.

⁹³ *Scots Peerage*, viii, 585. Marie Seton was the only daughter of George Seton, 4th lord Seton, and his second wife Marie Pierts, a French lady.

⁹⁴ I. B. Cowan (ed.), *The Enigma of Mary Stewart* (London, 1971), 208.

⁹⁵ *DNB*, xiv, 125. Nau managed her accounts and advised her on policy, and went on missions to Scotland in 1579 and 1581. C. Nau, *Memorials of Mary Stewart*, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1883).

⁹⁶ Cowan, *Enigma*, 212.

⁹⁷ *Ytler, History*, vii, 74, 116.

⁹⁸ *Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry*, 76-7. John Lauder was the natural son of James Lauder, musician to James VI.

⁹⁹ Countess of Huntly was appointed companion to the queen on the occasion of the baptism of Princess Elizabeth.

¹⁰⁰ Jane Kennedy was drowned while crossing the Forth after being summoned by the king to attend upon Queen Anne.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Gib was the wife of Peter Young of Seton.

¹⁰² *Scots Peerage*, vi, 516. Mary Stewart was possibly Marjory Stewart, the third daughter of Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochiltree, who married Roger Ashton, a gentleman of the bedchamber to James I.

- (1590)-1591 – Martha Stewart¹⁰³
 (1590)-1591 – Jean Stewart¹⁰⁴
 (1590)-(1600) – Jean Drummond¹⁰⁵
 1590-1619 – Anna Roos¹⁰⁶
 1592-1595 – Margaret Vinstar (Danish)¹⁰⁷
 1591-(1594) – Mary Young¹⁰⁸
 (1594) – Annabelle Murray, countess of Mar
 (1596) – Lady Lindores
 (1596)-(1600) – Beatrix Ruthven¹⁰⁹
 (1596) – Marjorie Stewart¹¹⁰
 (1596) – Margaret Stewart
 (1596) – Mary Carmichael, lady Holyroodhouse
 (1596) – Anna Ker
 (1596) – Elizabeth Shaw
 (1596) – Christian Ruthven
 (1596) – the Laird of Kirkenshaw's daughter
 (1600) – Barbara Ruthven¹¹¹
 1600 – xxx Ruthven¹¹²
- (6) Queen's Maiden
 (1592)-(1594) – Anna Myteris (Danish)
- (7) Gentlemen (c.3)
 1590-(1591) – Patrick Home of Polwart
 (1591)-(1597) – James Melville of Halhill¹¹³
 (1594)-(1598) – John Elphinstone of Baberton¹¹⁴
 (1595) – Mungo Murray
 (1596) – Archibald Erskine¹¹⁵
 (1596) – Robert Anderson
- (8) Usher (c.3)
 (1589)-(1597) – Mr David Morton
 (1596) – Alexander Ker
 (1591) – Martine Laurens
 (1591) – James Ogilvy
 (1591) – John Tindern

b) Wardrobe

- (1) Master of the Wardrobe
 1592-1597 – Soren Jonsen (Danish)
- (2) Master Tapister and Broudstair
 1589-(1598) – William Beaton
- (3) Master Tailor
 (1590)-(1591) – Pal Rei (Danish)
 (1594)-(1596) – Peter Sanderson
 (1596) – Alexander Wilson
- (4) Goldsmith
 (1590) – Thomas Foulis
 1597-xxx – George Herriot, younger¹¹⁶
- (5) Master Glover
 (1589)-(1597) – John Bannatync¹¹⁷

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* – Martha Stewart was probably the fourth daughter of Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochiltree.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* – Jean Stewart was possibly the fifth daughter of Margaret Stewart, Lady Ochiltree.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vii, 47-8. Jean Drummond was the third daughter of Patrick Drummond, 4th lord Drummond.

¹⁰⁶ M. M. Meikle, 'Hold her at the Oeconomick rule of the House', *Anna of Denmark and Scottish court finances, 1589-1603*, in F. Ewan and M. M. Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), 105.

¹⁰⁷ *NAS - Calendar of Deeds*, ii, 37. 14 Mar. 1595 – contract of marriage between Margaret Vinstar and Andrew Wemyss of Myreanney; *Calderwood*, v, 206. Margaret Vinstar was one of the Danish gentlewomen who attended the queen (lady Logie).

¹⁰⁸ *CSP Scot.*, xi, 531. 'Mr Peter Young's daughter presently serving the queen'.

¹⁰⁹ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 266. Beatrix Ruthven was the sixth daughter of William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie.

¹¹⁰ Marjorie Stewart was Roger Astons wife.

¹¹¹ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 266. Barbara Ruthven was the ninth daughter of William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie.

¹¹² *Ibid.* – the name of the sister is not given.

¹¹³ *Calderwood*, v, 95.

¹¹⁴ John Elphinstone of Kilbaberton was the second son of Robert Elphinstone, 3rd lord Elphinstone, and an elder brother of James Elphinstone, 1st lord Balmerino.

¹¹⁵ Archibald Erskine was the brother of Thomas Erskine of Gogar.

¹¹⁶ Meikle, 'Oeconomick rule', 107.

¹¹⁷ John Bannatync was a burgher of Edinburgh.

- (6) Furrer
1591-1593 – Henric Koss (Danish)
(1590) – not named

c) Administration

- (1) Secretary
1590-(1593) – John Calixtus Skien (Danish)¹¹⁸
(1596)-(1604) – William Fowler¹¹⁹
- (2) Deputy Secretary and Master of Requests
1589-xxx – William Fowler¹²⁰
- (3) Comptroller
(1589) – David Beaton of Melgund
- (4) Treasurer Depute
(1596) – James Thorbrand
- (5) Council (c.7)
1593-(1596) – Alexander Seton, lord Urquhart (president of the court of session)
1593-(1596) – Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre
1593-(1596) – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir
1593-(1596) – James Elphinstone of Innernaughty
1593-(1596) – Thomas Hamilton of Drumcarn
1593-(1596) – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
1593-(1596) – Peter Young of Seton
- (6) Clerk of Expenses
(1590) – not named

d) Ecclesiastical

- (1) Master Almoner (and Chaplain)
(1591)-(1603) – Johannes Saringus (Danish)
- (2) Almoner
1590-xxx – Steven Wilson, parson of Moffat¹²¹
- (3) Preacher
(1590) – John Sering (Danish)

1.7 The Household Indoors

a) Hall

- (1) Master of the Household (c.2)
(1590) – William Vaudervaus
1590-(1591) – David Beaton of Melgund¹²²
(1593)-(1603) – James Anstruther, fiar of Anstruther¹²³
(1589)-(1602) – Andrew Melville of Garroch
(1595) – Henry Lindsay, fiar of Kinfauns¹²⁴
(1596)-(1599) – Henry Charteris of Kinfauns

b) Table

- (1) Gentleman Server
1590-(1596) – David Cunningham of Robertland
1591 – George Epping (Danish)
(1595)-(1599) – William Bell
- (2) Gentleman Cupbearer
(1590)-(1591) – Christopher Carioth
- (3) Gentleman Carver
(1590)-(1591) – George Epping
(1595)-(1596) – James Lundie

c) Cellar

- (1) Cellar
1594 – James Boig

d) Kitchen

¹¹⁸ R. D. S. Jack, ed., *Scottish Prose, 1550-1700* (London, 1971), 98.

¹¹⁹ NAS - Calendar of Charters, xv, 3613. William Fowler was a poet, and the maternal uncle of the poet William Drummond of Hawthornden.

¹²⁰ Jack, *Scottish Prose*, 98; Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 37.

¹²¹ Steven Wilson was described as having been domestic servant to the queen.

¹²² David Beaton of Melgund died in 1592.

¹²³ NAS - G1D63 - Bell-Brander Manuscripts, xii.

¹²⁴ NAS - Calendar of Deeds, I, 278. Henry Lindsay, fiar of Kinfauns, was the brother of Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie.

- (1) Master Cook
 (1590)-(1591) – Hans Drier (Danish)
 1591-1596 – Hans Popillman (Danish)

c) Medicine

- (1) Surgeon
 1588-(1603) – John Naysmith
- (2) Apothecary
 1589-xxx – Archibald Melville¹²⁵
 (1589) – Archibald Mudie
 (1590)-(1599) – Alexander Barclay

f) Legal

- (1) Advocate
 (1591) – David Makgill of Cranston-Riddell

g) Constabulary

- (1) Master Porter
 1589-xxx – James Boig¹²⁶

h) Administration

- (1) Clerk of the household accounts
 (1591)-(1603) – James Tat
 (1597) – David Selkirk

18 **The Household Outdoors**

a) Stables

- (1) Master of Horse (c.2)
 1589-(1592) – John Livingstone of Abercorn¹²⁷
 1590-1619 – William Murray of Abercainey¹²⁸
 (1590) – David Cunningham of Robertland¹²⁹
 (1591) – John Lindsay of Ballinscho
 (1592) – Alexander Kirkpatrick of Kirkmichael
 (1592)-(1596) – Hugh Carmichael
 (1594)-(1595) – James Anstruther of Anstruther, younger
 (1595) – John Lindsay¹³⁰
 (1596)-(1601) – Robert Stewart
 (1596) – the Laird of Kirkenshaw
- (2) Master of the Carriage and Master Furrier (quartermaster)
 1589-(1599) – Oliver Donaldson
- (3) Master Saddler
 1591-1594 – Robert Abercrombie
- (4) Master Wright
 (1591)-(1596) – Harry Murray¹³¹
- (5) Stable Clerk
 (1589)-(1593) – James Bennet
 (1593)-1605 – Finlay Taylor – joint with king

b) Garden (Falkland Palace)

- (1) Gardener
 xxx-1583 – Andrew Strachane
 1583-xxx – John Strachane and George Strachane¹³²

D. PRINCE HENRY'S HOUSEHOLD

19 **The Chamber**

a) Guardian

- 1594-xxx – John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar

¹²⁵ Archibald Melville was a burghess of Edinburgh

¹²⁶ James Boig was the eldest son of John Boig, the king's master porter

¹²⁷ NAS - Calendar of Deeds Ixi. 107, Ixiv. 8 – John Livingstone of Abercorn was the first master stabler to the queen

¹²⁸ Millar, *Eminent Burghesses*, 119-20.

¹²⁹ Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 37; Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 93-4.

¹³⁰ NAS - Calendar of Deeds, 1278 – John Lindsay was the brother of Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie

¹³¹ Harry Murray was the son of James Murray, the king's wright.

¹³² John Strachan and George Strachan were appointed on the decease of Andrew Strachan

- b) Keeper
(1595) – George Home¹³³
- c) Chamber
- (1) Chamberlain and Collector
1594-xxx – William Keith
 - (2) Gentleman of the Prince's Chamber
(1602) – David Murray
 - (3) Dames of Honour (c 8)
1594-xxx – Annabelle Murray, countess of Mar
1594-xxx – Mary Stewart, countess of Mar
1594-xxx – Agnes Leslie, countess of Morton
1594-xxx – Magdalene Livingstone, lady Scrymgeour of Dudhope
1594-xxx – lady Clackmannan
1594-xxx – Elizabeth Shaw, lady Abercromby
1594-xxx – Eleanor Hay, lady Cambuskenneth
1594-xxx – Margaret Livingstone, lady Bellenden of Broughton
- d) Wardrobe
- (1) Master of the Wardrobe
(1595) – Patrick Gray, master of Gray
 - (2) Tapster (or Broudstair)
1594 – Alexander Miller
1595-1598 – William Beaton
 - (3) Master Tailor
(1594)-(1601) – Alexander Wilson
- e) Ecclesiastical
- (1) Master Almoner (and Chaplain)
1594-xxx – William Laing
- f) Education, Training and Nursery
- (1) Governess
1594-xxx – Lady Jane Drummond
 - (2) Principal Nurse
(1596) – Elizabeth Auchmowtie
 - (3) Keeper of the Prince's Coffer and Clothes
1594-xxx – Barbara Murray
- g) Legal
- (1) Special Procurator
1594-(1595) – Patrick Murray
- h) Marischall's Office
- (1) Marshal
1594-xxx – James Ogilvy
- i) Constabulary
- (1) Master Porter
1594-xxx – William Cunningham

110 The Household Indoors

- a) Hall
- (1) Master of the Household
1594-xxx – Thomas Duddingston
- b) Table
- (1) Steward
1594-xxx – Alan Lawmond
- c) Cellar
- (1) Master of Wine Cellar
1594-xxx – James Bowie¹³⁴
 - (2) Ale Cellar
1594-xxx – Patrick Henderson
- d) Kitchen
- (1) Master Cook
1594-xxx – Mont
- e) Bakery

¹³³ George Home was a son of David Home in A.

¹³⁴ James Bowie was the son of the king's master of wine cellar

- (1) Pantry or Bread House
1594-xxx – James McKeston
- (2) Pastry Chef
1594-xxx – Patrick Marshal
- f) Larder
 - (1) Keeper of the Larder
1594-xxxx – George Home
- g) Vessels
 - (1) Keeper of Silver Vessels and Coal
1594-xxx – William Methven
 - (2) Cup house
1594-xxx – John Douchall
- m) Spice House
 - (1) Master of Spice House
1594-xxx – Harry Murray

2.0 State Executive

2.1 Chancery

- a) CHANCELLOR (and Keeper of the Great Seal)¹³⁵
 - 1578-xxx – John Stewart, 4th earl of Athol
 - 1579-1584 – Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyle
 - 1584-1585 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 - 1587-1595 – John Maitland, 1st lord Thurlistane
- b) CHANCELLOR DEPUTE
 - 1586-1587 – John Maitland, 1st lord Thurlistane
 - 1589-1590 – Robert Melville, 1st lord Melville of Monimarl
 - 1595-xxx – Walter Stewart, 1st lord Blantyre
- c) FIRST IN COUNCIL
 - 1578-1580 – James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton
- d) Keeper of the Great Seal
 - 1595 – David Moystie
- e) Chancellor Depute (and Keeper Depute of the Great Seal)
 - (1576) – John Sharp of Houston, advocate
 - xxx-1583 – John Graham of Halyards
- f) Secretary to Chancellor¹³⁶
- g) Director of Chancery (and Keeper of the Quarter Seal and Register of Great Seal)
 - 1567-1579 – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet¹³⁷
 - 1579-1586 – Robert Scott, elder of Knichtispottie¹³⁸
 - 1586-1589 – Robert Scott, younger of Knichtispottie
 - 1589 – Robert Scott, elder of Knichtispottie
 - 1587-(1608) – William Scott of Grangemure and Elie¹³⁹
- h) Director of Chancery Depute
 - (1587) – Robert Scott¹⁴⁰
 - (1595) – William Chalmer¹⁴¹
 - (1598) – John Wylie¹⁴²
- i) Writer to Chancery
 - (1574)-(1578) – William Ogle
 - (1579)-(1595) – John Wylie WS¹⁴³

¹³⁵ There was no chancellor between 1585 and 1587 and it was in abeyance during Maitland's 'retirement' from Aug. 1592 and Oct. 1593, and after his death from Oct. 1595 to Jan. 1597.

¹³⁶ *ABEL*, i. 199, 229.

¹³⁷ Rodgers, *Estimate*, 5.

¹³⁸ There was an overlap between Robert Scott, elder and younger of Knichtispottie.

¹³⁹ *H.S.* 314 – William Scott of Grangemure and Elie was a clerk of session (see below), and the son of John Scott of Orchardfield and married firstly a daughter of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, secondly Isobel Durie, thirdly Jean Skene, a daughter of John Skene, joint advocate 1589-94 and clerk register 1594-1608. He was born in 1546, and died in 1628.

¹⁴⁰ *NAS* - Calendar of Charters, xiii. 2903.

¹⁴¹ *NAS* - Calendar of Charters, xiv. 3327.

¹⁴² *NAS* - Calendar of Charters, xiv. 3571.

¹⁴³ *H.S.* 371 – John Wylie had previously been servitor to Henry Sinclair, writer to the privy seal, and married Agnes Sinclair.

2.2 Secretariat

- a) SECRETARY (and Keeper of the Signet)
 1570-1583 – Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline
 1583-1591 – John Maitland, 1st lord Thirlestane
 1591-1696 – Richard Cockburn of Clerkington
 1596-1598 – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir
- b) Secretary Depute
 (1578)-1594 – George Young¹⁴¹
 1594-1616 – John Laing of Spittel¹⁴⁵
- c) Keeper of Register of Signatures
 (xxx) – George Young
 1594-xxx – Robert Young
- d) Keeper of Signet Depute
 (1574)-1586 – Neil Laing WS
 1586-1616 – John Laing of Spittel¹⁴⁶
- e) Under or Substitute Keeper of Signet
 1594-1616 – Adam Lawtie of Saughtonhall WS¹⁴⁷
- f) Writers to the Signet (c 6)
 (1573) – James Millar
 (1576)-(1579) – John Forsyth WS¹⁴⁸
 (1577)-(1588) – Peter Hewat WS¹⁴⁹
 (1576)-(1587) – James Harlaw WS¹⁵⁰
 xxx-(1607) – James Harlaw, younger WS¹⁵¹
 (1587)-(1607) – Thomas Young of Cammo WS¹⁵²
 (1589)-(1608) – Richard Cass of Fordell WS¹⁵³
 (1593)-(xxx) – Thomas Harvie WS¹⁵⁴
 (1587)-(1603) – Walter Henderson of Dungrene and Easter Granton WS¹⁵⁵
 (1594)-(1601) – Henry Bickarton WS¹⁵⁶
 (1596) – James Tarbet WS¹⁵⁷
 (1592) – John Young¹⁵⁸

2.3 Privy Seal's Office

- a) KEEPER OF THE PRIVY SEAL
 1570-1578 – Mr. George Buchanan
 1578-1582 – Thomas Buchanan of Ybert
 1582-1596 – Walter Stewart, 1st lord Blantyre
 1596-1596 – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir
 1596-1626 – Richard Cockburn of Clerkington
- b) Keeper Depute of the Privy Seal
 xxx – William Cunningham of Rathlert and Brownhill WS¹⁵⁹
- c) Writer to Privy Seal¹⁶⁰
 (1549)-1571 – Thomas Sinclair
 1571-1574 – Mr George Cook

¹⁴¹ Moysie, *Memoires*, 42. George young was described as 'secretary', *ER*, xxi, 402; *HS*, 218. Neil Laing married Elizabeth Dennistoun, and died in 1586.

¹⁴² *HS*, 219. John Laing was described as depute secretary and keeper of the signet in 1594. He married Rebecca Damistoun

¹⁴⁶ *NAS - PS1* 69 72v. In 1596, John Lindsay of Balcarres (also Parson of Menmuir), secretary, resigned for himself and his successors that part of his office that involved the custody of the signets – great and small, into the hands of John Laing, the present keeper, who held the office for life for a payment to the secretary (who retained the right to nominate persons to that post) of £1000 annually; *HS*, 47, 218, 380.

¹⁴⁷ *HS*, 219, 381. Adam Lawtie was the son of David Lawtie WS, and married Janet Anderton.

¹⁴⁸ *HS*, 104. John Forsyth married Margaret Cant., and died in 1581.

¹⁴⁹ *HS*, 184. Peter Hewat was a commissioner in 1594.

¹⁵⁰ *HS*, 184. James Harlaw was the son of William Harlaw, Burgess of Edinburgh, and married Barbara Touris. He died in 1587.

¹⁵¹ *HS*, 184. James Harlaw, the son of James Harlaw above, and was apprenticed to and a servant of Richard Cass above.

¹⁵² *NAS - PS1* 56 144v; *HS*, 374. Thomas Young married Isobel Bellenden.

¹⁵³ *HS*, 104. Richard Cass was the son of Robert Cass of Fordell, a commissioner in 1594.

¹⁵⁴ *HS*, 185. Thomas Harvie was a commissioner in 1594, and married Agnes Harlaw.

¹⁵⁵ *HS*, 189. Walter Henderson was a commissioner in 1594, and married Elizabeth Hepburn, relict of Robert Hepburn of Turdie.

¹⁵⁶ *HS*, 78. Henry Bickarton was a commissioner in 1594, married Violet Tuedy.

¹⁵⁷ *HS*, 341. James Tarbet was the son of James Tarbet, in Edinburgh.

¹⁵⁸ *NAS - PS1* 65 35v.

¹⁵⁹ *HS*, 124. William Cunningham of Rathlert and Brownhill was the second son of James Cunningham of Ashnyards. He married Rebecen Muirhead.

¹⁶⁰ This clerk was responsible for the register of presentations (keeper of books of assignments of ministers' stipends) assisted the keeper of the privy seal.

1574-1578 – Henry Sinclair
 1578-(1601) – Alexander Hay
 (1596)-(1601) – Daniel Hay WS ¹⁶¹

d) Writer Depute of Privy Seal

(1571)-1574 – Henry Sinclair ¹⁶²
 (1581)-1593 – Robert Sinclair WS ¹⁶³
 1593-xxx – Daniel Hay ¹⁶⁴
 (1596) – John Andrews

e) Registrar of Signatures

xxx-1583 – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
 1583-xxx – John Hay ¹⁶⁵

2.4 **Registry (and Privy Council)**

a) CLERK REGISTER (and Principal Clerk to the Privy Council or Clerk of rolls, register and council)

1569-1579 – James Makgill of Rankcillor-Nether
 1579-1594 – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
 1594-1612 – John Skene of Curriehill

b) Clerk Register Depute

(1583)-(1596) – John Hay of Easter Kennet
 (1608) – Alexander Hay

c) Writer to Council

1572-(1596) – John Andrew ¹⁶⁶
 1564-1572 – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
 (1584) – Archibald Andrew
 1596-(1606) – Alexander Hay ¹⁶⁷

d) Clerk to Clerk Register

1594-xxx – Habakkuk Bisset. WS ¹⁶⁸

e) Keeper of Rolls

(1582)-(1594) – James McCartney ¹⁶⁹

2.5 **Parliament**

a) Dempster (or Adjudicator)

1579-1584 – Andrew Lindsay
 1585 – James Matheson
 1587 – James Scheill
 1592 – James Nesbit
 1593 – Oliver Sinclair
 1594 – James Nesbit

3.0 **Judiciary**

3.1 **Court of Justiciary**

a) JUSTICIAR

1573-1584 – Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll
 1584-1603 – Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll

b) JUSTICE DEPUTE

(1575) – Thomas Bannatyne
 (1575)-(1579) – Thomas Craig
 (1578) – Thomas Bannatyne

¹⁶¹ B.S. 186 – Daniel Hay was the second son of Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet.

¹⁶² Henry Sinclair was the son of Thomas Sinclair.

¹⁶³ Henry Sinclair succeeded to the office of clerk to the privy seal in 1574 with the power to appoint deputies in succession to his father Thomas Sinclair, who had delegated the work to George Cok; NAS - PS1 64 1v – Robert Sinclair was described as a writer to the privy seal in 1590; B.S. 320. He died in 1594.

¹⁶⁴ NAS - PS1 66 1v.

¹⁶⁵ Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, clerk register, demitted this office on favour of his son, Mr John Hay, in 1583.

¹⁶⁶ Rodgers, *Estimate*, 5. John Andrew was appointed as scribe and clerk to the privy council on the demission of that office by Alexander Hay in 1572. He was nominated by the lord secretary Robert Pitcairn, commandator of Dunfermline.

¹⁶⁷ B.S. 186 – Alexander Hay was the son of John Hay and grandson of Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet. He was appointed one of the clerks in place of his brother John Hay, without prejudice to the other clerk John Andrew.

¹⁶⁸ B.S. 79 – Habakkuk Bisset was clerk to John Skene of Curriehill, who was clerk register 1594-1608.

¹⁶⁹ NAS - PS1 66 103r.

(1579)-1593 – John Graham of Hallyards¹⁷⁰
 (1580) – Alister Bannatyne
 1593-(1601) – William Hart of Leveclands¹⁷¹
 (1595) – Mark Borthwick

c) JUSTICE CLERK

1577-1591 – Lewis Bellenden of Auchmoul (joint justice clerk 1587-91)
 1587-1623 – John Cockburn of Ormiston (joint justice clerk 1587-91)

d) Justice Clerk Depute

(1586) – James Bellenden
 (1586)-(1589) – James Bannatyne of Kirkton of Newtyle. WS¹⁷²

e) Clerk of Justiciary

(1578) – John Graham¹⁷³
 (1583) – David Lawtie¹⁷⁴

3.2 Court of Session (or College of Justice)

a) Chancellor (see above)

b) President

1568-1593 – William Baillie of Provan
 1593-1596 – Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden

c) Ordinary Lords or Senators (14)

1560-1587 – Alexander Dunbar, dean of Moray
 1564-1593 – Adam Bothwell, bishop of Orkney
 1568-1584 – Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline
 1570-1581 – Thomas Macalzean of Cliftonhall
 1572-1584 – Robert Pont, provost of Trinity College
 1573-1581 – David Borthwick of Lochill
 1575-1588 – James Meldrum of Segie
 1575-1590 – William Douglas of Whittinghame
 1575-1597 – Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross
 1575-1584 – Henry Kinnear, commendator of Balmerino
 1576-1597 – Patrick Vaus of Barnbarrock
 1577-1591 – Thomas Bellenden of Newtyle
 1578-1581 – Archibald Douglas, parson of Glasgow
 1579-1594 – Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet
 1581-1582 – Robert Crichton of Elliock
 1581-1587 – John Matland of Thirlestane
 1581-1598 – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir
 1582-1595 – David Makgill of Nisbet and Cranston Riddell
 1584-1593 – John Graham of Hallyards
 1584-1591 – Lewis Bellenden of Auchmoul
 1584-1586 – John Bartane, dean of Dunkeld
 1586-1592 – David Chalmers of Ormond
 1587-1605 – James Elphinstone of Innernaughty
 1587-1587 – John Colville, chanter of Glasgow
 1587-1613 – William Melville, commendator of Tongland
 1588-1593 – Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden
 1590-1618 – Archibald Douglas of Whittinghame
 1591-1591 – Thomas Bellenden of Newtyle
 1591-1626 – Richard Cockburn of Clerkington
 1591-1617 – Andrew Wemyss of Myrecairn
 1592-1616 – Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn
 1593-1623 – John Cockburn of Ormiston
 1593-1608 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**
 1593-1609 – John Bothwell, commendator of Holyrood
 1594-1612 – John Skene of Curriehill

¹⁷⁰ *Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland*, 3 vols., ed. R. Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club and Matland Club, 1829-33), i: 80; NAS - Calendar of Charters, xiv: 3195

¹⁷¹ NAS - Calendar of Charters, xiv: 3195; NAS - PS1 66: 232v

¹⁷² *BN*, 71. James Bannatyne is described as a son of Thomas Bannatyne, one of the senators of the college of justice, married Rutherford, and was previously a tabulator (see above); NAS - PS1 59: 132r

¹⁷³ John Graham was described as servant and clerk to the justice clerk in 1578

¹⁷⁴ *BN*, 219. David Lawtie was assaulted by Thomas Douglas in 1571 and most part of his finger was stricken from him (diurnal of Occurrences). He died before 1596

1595-1609 – John Preston of Fenton-barns

d) Extraordinary Lords or Senators (4)

1569-1584 – Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle

1573-1588 – Robert Boyd, 5th lord Boyd

1578-1578 – Patrick Gray, master of Gray

1578-1584 – William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie

1583-1584 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran

1584-1586 – James Stewart, 1st lord Doune

1584-1586 – John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose

1584-1586 – Patrick Graham, master of Graham

1584-1609 – Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle

1586-1588 – Alexander Seton, commendator of Pluscarden

1586-1591 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**

1588-1594 – John Seton of Barnes

1588-1593 – John Cockburn of Ormiston

1591-1598 – John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose

1593-1593 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**

1593-1599 – Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre

1594-1601 – Robert Melville of Murdocairney

e) Dean of the Advocates of Session

(1582) – John Sharp of Houston

f) Keeper of the Sessions Signet

g) Principal Clerk of Session ¹⁷⁵

(1597) – Adam Couper of Gogar WS ¹⁷⁶

h) Second Clerk of Session

i) Third Clerk of Session

1594-xxx – Alexander Gibson ¹⁷⁷

j) Clerks or Writers to Session (c.3)

(1573)-(1583) – Robert Scott, elder of Knichtispointie

(1589)-(1590) – William Scott of Grangemure

1573-(1594) – John Hay, younger of Easter Kennet ¹⁷⁸

(1581)-(1590) – Robert Scott of Grangemure WS ¹⁷⁹

(1592) – Alexander Hay ¹⁸⁰

(1594)-(1595) – William Scott of Grangemure and Elie WS ¹⁸¹

xxx-1587 – Robert Innes ¹⁸²

k) 'Tabular' or Clerk of Bills

xxx-1583 – James Bannatyne of Formanhill and Kirkton of Newtyle WS ¹⁸³

1583-xxx – James Bannatyne of Kirkton of Newtyle WS ¹⁸⁴

1583-xxx – Thomas Bannatyne WS

(1614) – John Skene of Hallyards WS ¹⁸⁵

3.3 Legal Office

a) ADVOCATE

1573-1581 – David Borthwick of Lochhill – joint advocate

1559-1582 – Robert Crichton of Eliok – joint advocate until 1581 ¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁵ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 84

¹⁷⁶ *BS*, 115 – Adam Couper of Gogar was the second son of James Couper, burgess of Edinburgh, and married firstly in 1593 Margaret Danielston

¹⁷⁷ *DNB*, vii, 271

¹⁷⁸ *NAS* - PS1 63 198r, 66, f 17v. Gilbert Robertson was described as servitor to John Hay

¹⁷⁹ *NAS* - PS1 60 143r, *BS*, 314 – Robert Scott was married to Elizabeth Scott, and died in 1592

¹⁸⁰ *NAS* - Calendar of Charters – xiv, 3180

¹⁸¹ *BS*, 314 – William Scott of Grangemure and Elie was a director in chancery (see above), and the son of John Scott of Orchardfield and married firstly a daughter of Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield, secondly Isobel Durie, thirdly Jean Skene, a daughter of John Skene of Curriehill, joint advocate 1589-94 and clerk register 1594-1608

¹⁸² *NAS* - PS1 56 95r – Robert Innes was appointed commissar of Ross in 1587

¹⁸³ *BS*, 71 – James Bannatyne of Formanhill and Kirkton of Newtyle was the son of John Bannatyne, WS (who was the son of John Bannatyne, burgess of Edinburgh, and secretary to Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, and a justice clerk and director of chancery). He married firstly Catherine Tailzefer and secondly Janet Cockburn, and died in 1584

¹⁸⁴ *BS*, 71 – James Bannatyne is described as a son of Thomas Bannatyne, one of the senators of the college of justice. He married Rutherford

¹⁸⁵ *BS*, 320 – John Skene of Hallyards was also a clerk of session, and was the second son of John Skene of Curriehill, joint advocate 1589-94 and clerk register 1594-1608. He married Alison Rigg

1582-1596 – David Makgill of Nisbet or Cranston Riddell
 1589-1594 – John Skene of Curriehill – joint advocate from 1594
 1594-1597 – William Hart of Levelands – joint advocate
 1596-1612 – Thomas Hamilton, 1st earl of Haddington

b) Advocate Depute

(1585) – Mr David Makgill¹⁸⁷

c) Solicitor

1587-xxx – William Macartney¹⁸⁸

1591-1594 – William Hart of Levelands¹⁸⁹

1594-xxx – James Hamilton¹⁹⁰

3.4 Court of Lyon King of Arms

a) Principal Heralds

(1) Lyon King-of-Arms (or Lord Lyon or Principal Herald)¹⁹¹

1568-1591 – David Lindsay of Rethillett (Rothesay)

1591-1620 – David Lindsay of the Mount¹⁹²

(2) Lyon King-of-Arms Depute

1568-xxx – David Lindsay of the Mount (Rothesay)

1591-1620 – Thomas Lindsay

(3) Lyon Clerk (and Keeper of the Record)

1554-xxx – Adam McCulloch (Marchmont Herald)¹⁹³

(1579)-(1591) – James Purdie (Islay)

1587 – John Purdie (Ross Herald)¹⁹⁴

1597-1607 – James Borthwick WS (Rothesay)¹⁹⁵

b) Heralds (6)

(1) Albany

1565-(1588) – Alexander Oliphant¹⁹⁶

1604 – Thomas Oliphant

(2) Islay

1572-(1586) – James Purdie of Kinnaldie (Kintyre)¹⁹⁷

1588 – Patrick Bannatyne

1596 – John Blinsele (Bute)

(1591) – David Lindsay of the Mount

(3) Marchmont

1561-1573 – Adam McCulloch¹⁹⁸

1573-(1579) – Gilbert Guthrie¹⁹⁹

1588 – Gilbert Guthrie

(1581) – Adam Malculloch

1597 – James Workman

¹⁸⁶ Mr David Borthwick of Lochill and Mr Robert Crichton of Ellok were confirmed of the gifts of the office of advocate, but that, in the case of David's decease, Robert was to continue in office alone.

¹⁸⁷ NAS - PS1 53.59r. Mr David Makgill was depute to his father Mr David Makgill, Advocate, in 1585.

¹⁸⁸ H.S. 227, C. A. Malcom, 'The solicitor-general for Scotland', *Juridical Review* 54 (1942), 68. The crown appears to have used the church solicitor before 1587, when legal matters became more complicated after the 1587 Annexation act.

¹⁸⁹ NAS - PS1 63.258v. William Hart was promoted to joint king's advocate in 1594.

¹⁹⁰ Malcom, 'Solicitor-general', 69. James Hamilton was the son of Thomas Hamilton, king's advocate.

¹⁹¹ J. H. Stevenson, *Heraldry in Scotland*, 2 vols. (Glasgow, 1914), i. 41, 53. Stevenson thought that Lord Lyon held his office immediately of the sovereign, rather than to the Marshall or Constable, and that its duties were carrying and delivering royal messages, directing royal and public ceremonies, and dealing with armorial bearings. Cf. Seton, *The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1863), 40-1. Lord Lyon was responsible for the superintendance of all matters connected with armorial bearings. He was also responsible for the nomination and control of the whole body of messengers-at-arms, and, in this respect, Seton regarded him as the head of the civil branch of the executive department of the law. In directing royal and public ceremonies, he was probably subordinate to the Marshall or Constable. F. Innes of Learney, *Scots Heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1956), 7, 12. Lord Lyon was, by virtue of his office, one of the five king's lieutenants and a privy councillor, and the heralds and pursuivants were members of the royal household. Stevenson, *Heraldry*, i. 46, ii. 423. The ordinary heralds and pursuivants carried out other duties outside of their Lyon Office functions. For example, Islay and Rothesay heralds were involved in collecting the thirds of the benefices in 1579.

¹⁹² Stevenson, *Heraldry*, ii. 445-6.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 447.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ H.S. 83. James Borthwick was a commissioner in 1594, married Marion Sommerville, and died in 1605.

¹⁹⁶ NAS - PS1 57.167r.

¹⁹⁷ James Purdie was previously Kintyre pursuivant, was also usher to the exchequer in 1579. He was also a collector of the thirds of the benefices in 1579.

¹⁹⁸ Stevenson, *Heraldry*, ii. 447.

¹⁹⁹ Gilbert Guthrie was previously Linlithgow pursuivant and the son of the late Alexander Guthrie, Snowdon Herald. He was travelling on the treasurer's affairs in 1576.

- (4) Orkney
 xxx-1581 – James Maxwell
 1581-xxx – Adam Makculloch ²⁰⁰
- (5) Ross
 1567-(1584) – Patrick Davidson ²⁰¹
 (1587) – John Purdie ²⁰²
 (1590) – James Davidson ²⁰³
 (1593) – John Purdie (Dingwall)
 (1596) – Andrew Littlejohn
 (1599) – Adam Matheson
- (6) Rothesay
 (1567) – David Lindsay
 (1574) – Florens Douglas
 (1587)-(1591) – John Forman
 (1597) – James Borthwick WS ²⁰⁴
- (7) Snowdon
 xxx-(1573) – Alexander Guthrie
 (1571)-(1591) – Thomas Lindsay ²⁰⁵
 (1579) – Thomas Tod
 (1607) – James Law

c) Pursuivants (6)

- 1581-xxx – John Brown
- (1) Bute
 (1554)-1561 – Adam McCulloch ²⁰⁶
 1561-(1580) – John Calder
 (1590)-(1598) – John Blinsel (Islay)
 (1598) – William Mikieson
- (2) Carrick
 1557-(1570) – Alexander Forester
 (1582)-(1595) – Robert Campbell ²⁰⁷
- (3) Dingwall
 (1566) – William Henderson
 (1590) – John Purdie
 (1596) – Daniel Graham
- (4) Ettric
 1569 – Thomas Barry
- (5) Kintyre
 1562-1572 – James Purdie of Kinaldies (Islay)
 (1595)-(1598) – William Rankelour
 (1616) – Walter Ritchie
- (6) Linlithgow
 xxx-1573 – Gilbert Guthrie ²⁰⁸
- (7) Ormond
 (1572) – Alexander McCulloch
 (1577)-(1594) – John Gledstones of Quothquhan
 (1607) – David Gardner
- (8) Unicorn
 (1579)-1585 – Patrick Ramsay ²⁰⁹
 1585-(1585) – Robert Fraser
 (1599) – John Ramsay

²⁰⁰ Adam Makculloch, Marchmont herald, was rehabilitated in 1581 and made extraordinary herald to be named as Orkney herald as the late James Maxwell was before.

²⁰¹ Patrick Davidson was collector of the thirds of the benefices for Cathness in 1572. James Davidson made pursuivant to succeed on his father Patrick Davidson Patrick's decease. He was also a collector of the thirds of the benefices in 1579.

²⁰² Stevenson, *Heraldry*, ii, 447.

²⁰³ James Davidson was described as the son of the late Patrick Davidson (above).

²⁰⁴ HN, 83. James Borthwick was a commissioner in 1594, married Marion Sommerville.

²⁰⁵ Thomas Lindsay was also a collector of assignments.

²⁰⁶ Adam McCulloch was promoted to Marchmont Herald in 1561.

²⁰⁷ NAS - PS1 56/67r.

²⁰⁸ Gilbert Guthrie was the son of Alexander Guthrie, Snowdon herald.

²⁰⁹ NAS - PS1 51/174v. Robert Fraser was appointed Unicorn Pursuivant on the decease of Patrick Ramsay in 1585.

3.5 Commissariats

a) Commissary General

xxx-1582 – Patrick Guthrie
1582-xxx – William Murray ²¹⁰

b) Commissaries (9) ²¹¹

c) Commissary Clerks (9)

d) Quotter of the Commissaries of Edinburgh ²¹²

(1576) – Duncan Livingstone

e) Procurator Fiscal (c. 2) ²¹³

(1576)-1578 – Henry Kinross
1578-xxx – Robert Danielson
(1594) – Patrick Forrest (Edinburgh and north of the Forth) ²¹⁴
(1594) – Mr Walter Mowbray (Edinburgh and south of the Forth) ²¹⁴

3.6 Coronaries

a) Coroner General

(1589) – Andrew Keith, 1st lord Dingwall

b) Coroners (c. 50)

3.7 Court of Admiralty – see Navy below

3.8 Heritable jurisdictions

a) Sheriff Courts (33)

(1) Sheriffs
(2) Sheriff Deputes
(3) Sheriff Clerks

b) Regality (21) ²¹⁶

(1) Lords of Regality
(2) Chamberlains

c) Barony (149)

(1) Lairds
(2) Chamberlains

3.9 Special Commissions (various)

4.0 Finance

4.1 Comptrollery

a) COMPTROLLER (or Keeper of Accounts)

1566-1583 – William Murray of Tullibardine
1580-1583 – John Fenton – substitute ²¹⁷
1580-1584 – John Murray of Tullibardine -substitute
1583-1585 – James Campbell of Ardkinglas ²¹⁸
1585-1587 – Andrew Wood of Largo ²¹⁹
1587-1588 – John Seton of Barnes
1588-1588 – John Fenton ²²⁰
1589 – David Beaton of Melgund ²²¹
1588-1596 – Colonel David Seton of Parbroath
1596-xxx – James Elphinstone of Innernaughty

²¹⁰ William Murray, master of the king's carriage, appointed in succession to the deceased Patrick Guthrie in 1582.

²¹¹ These were Aberdeen, Brechin, Dunblane, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hamilton and Campsie, Lanark, Lauder, and St. Andrews.

²¹² Collector of the quotus for the confirmation of testaments.

²¹³ King's procurator fiscal before the Commissaries of Edinburgh.

²¹⁴ NAS - PS1 67.11v-11r

²¹⁵ NAS - PS1 67.23r

²¹⁶ These were Argyll, Atholl, Boreale and Preston, Coupar-Angus, Culross, Kilwinning, Dalkeith, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Glasgow, Glenluce, Grant, Hamilton, Huntly, Kilmarnock, Lennox, Melrose, Paisley, Pluscarden with Urquhart and Farnen, St. Andrews, and Spynie.

²¹⁷ Rogers, *Estimates of the Nobility*, 40.

²¹⁸ *CSP Scot.*, vi, 590. 22 Aug. 1583. John Fenton yielded up the office of comptroller – given to James Campbell of Ardkinglas.

²¹⁹ *CSP Scot.*, ix, 453. Andrew Wood of Largo was discharged in 1587 because he was thought to be of Master of Gray's faction.

²²⁰ NAS - PS1 57.45r

²²¹ NAS - PS1 60.43r

- b) Comptroller Clerk
1572-1603 – John Fenton²²²
- c) Writer to Treasury and Comptrollers (see below)
xxx-1584 – John Young²²³
1584-(1589) – Mr Robert Young WS²²⁴
(1589) – John Young WS
- d) Crown Land Officers
Various officers of the king's rents, keepers of royal non-military property, and chamberlains and receivers on crown lands
- e) Customs Officers
(1) Customars – various²²⁵
(2) Keepers and Clerks of Coquet – various
(3) Keepers and Clerk of Coquet Depute – various²²⁶
(2) Searcher Generals – various²²⁷
(3) Searcher General Deputes – various²²⁸

4.2 Treasury

- a) TREASURER
1571-1583 – William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie
(1584) – Robert Melville of Murdocairney
1584-1585 – John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose
1585-1591 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**
1591-1592 – Robert Melville of Murdocairney
1592-1596 – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**
1596-1599 – Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre
- b) TREASURER DEPUTE²²⁹
1582-1596 – Robert Melville, 1st lord Melville of Monmail²³⁰
1596-1598 – Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre
- c) Treasurer Clerk
(1575)-(1579) – Robert Colville of Cleish
- d) Registrar or Keeper of the Treasurer's Register
(1574)-(1580) – Hugh Tod
(1584)-(1596) – John Oliphant²³¹
- e) Clerks to Treasury (c. 2)
(1574)-1579 – John Lawson
1579-xxx – David Lawtie
(1587) – William McCartney²³²
(1589) – Mr George Abercromby²³³
(1589) – Mr Robert Purves²³⁴
(1574)-(1578) – Allan Tod
- f) Clerk and Daily Receiver and Waiter to the Treasurer and Treasurer Depute²³⁵
1583-xxx – David Lawtie

²²² John Fenton was appointed a substitute to the comptroller in 1582 in succession to William Murray of Lullibardine. He was married to Agnes Lindsay.

²²³ H.S. 227 – William McCartney WS was servitor to John Young.

²²⁴ NAS - PS1 59 64r Mr Robert Young was appointed on the decease John Young, his father, in 1584.

²²⁵ These included Anstruther and Crail, Berwick (with Roxburgh and Selkirk), Burntisland, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Dundee, Edinburgh and St Andrews.

²²⁶ For example, William McCatnay was clerk of coquet depute for Edinburgh in 1587.

²²⁷ James Mowbray of Petlevar was appointed searcher general for forbidden goods in 1578 for one year to be extended at the king's will. Later in the same year, he with other searchers and visitors was prohibited from interfering in the remit of Robert Erskine of Little Sauchie, who was appointed searcher for salt.

²²⁸ John Guthrie, was searcher depute within the town of Montrose in 1580 working under James Mowbray of Petlevar searcher general for forbidden goods north side of the Forth – see above.

²²⁹ The treasurer was only supported administratively by a treasurer-depute from 1582 onwards. Before that date, the main responsibility for the day-to-day running of the treasury fell upon the treasurer-clerk. Melville became both treasurer depute and treasurer clerk in 1584 for life with the power to 'make, substitute, remove, output and impute' other clerks under him for keeping of the register and using of the other officers concerning the said office of clerkship.

²³⁰ There was no treasurer depute before Melville.

²³¹ NAS - PS1 58 59v, 63, f.270r, 64, f.1v, 5r, 67, f.29r, 68, f.70; *Papers Relative to the Marriage*, 17. John Oliphant received money for his ablement in 1590.

²³² NAS - PS1 56 119v

²³³ NAS - PS1 59 39v

²³⁴ NAS - PS1 59 39v

²³⁵ This clerk was a receiver and waiter on the treasurer and treasurer's clerk in the justice ayres and justice courts for awaiting the escheats and unlaws.

- 1588-1592 – John Gray ²³⁶
 g) Clerk to Treasury and Comptrollery (see above)
 xxx-1584 – John Young ²³⁷
 1584-(1589) – Mr Robert Young WS ²³⁸
 (1589) – John Young WS
 h) Solicitor ²³⁹
 (1591) – Adam Lawtie. WS ²⁴⁰

4.3 Collectory

- a) COLLECTOR GENERAL (and Treasurer of New Augmentations)
 xxx-1578 – Robert Boyd, 5th lord Boyd
 1578-1583 – Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth ²⁴¹
 1583-1585 – James Stewart, 1st lord Doune
 1585-1596 – Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden
 1596-xxx – James Elphinstone of Innermauchty
 b) Collector Depute
 (1576) – James Boyd
 (1590) – Andrew Morton ²⁴²
 (1581) – Archibald Graham
 c) Sub-collectors (c12)
 d) Receiver under Collector General
 (1578) – James Purdie
 (1581)-(1584) – Duncan Nairn
 e) Clerk of Collectory
 (1563) – James Nicholson WS
 1580-1581 – John Nicholson
 1581-1583 – James Nicholson ²⁴³
 1583-xxx – William Stewart ²⁴⁴
 f) Procurator
 1579-xxx – Thomas Craig
 g) Solicitor and Informer
 xxx-1582 – John Monro WS ²⁴⁵
 1582-1583 – George Mack ²⁴⁶
 1583-xxx – Robert Stewart WS ²⁴⁷

4.4 Octavians

- a) Commissioners
 1596 – Alexander Seton, lord Urquhart (president of the court of session) *
 1596 – Walter Stewart, prior of Blantyre (treasurer and treasurer depute) *
 1596 – David Carnegie of Colluthie
 1596 – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir *
 1596 – James Elphinstone of Innermauchty (comptroller and collector) *
 1596 – Thomas Hamilton of Drumcairn *
 1596 – John Skene of Curriehill
 1596 – Peter Young of Seton *
 * Chosen from the queen's council
 b) Receiver General ²⁴⁸
 1596 – Henry Wardlaw ²⁴⁹

²³⁶ John Gray was the son of Helen Little, who had been the king's principal nurse, and he was appointed to this office in recognition of her services.

²³⁷ *HS*, 227 – William Macartney WS was servitor to John Young.

²³⁸ *NAS* - *PS1* 59.64r – Mr Robert Young was appointed on the decease John Young, his father, in 1584.

²³⁹ There was a treasury solicitor was mentioned in 1590 and 1591.

²⁴⁰ *NAS* - *PS1* 61.120r

²⁴¹ Adam was forfeited as a result of the raid of Stirling (1584).

²⁴² *NAS* - *PS1* 61.46v.

²⁴³ Mr James Nicholson, son of the late James Nicholson, appointed on the demission of John Nicholson in 1581.

²⁴⁴ In 1583, William Stewart, writer, was appointed as clerk to the collector general for life, discharging Mr John Nicholson and 'all other collector clerks'.

²⁴⁵ *HS*, 266 – John Monro died before 1594.

²⁴⁶ George Mack was appointed on the demission of office by John Munroe in 1582. *HS*, 237 – George Mack was the father of George Mack, WS, who married in 1616 Agnes Hay, and died in 1622.

²⁴⁷ *HS*, 333 – Robert Stewart was appointed a solicitor and 'informarie' to the collectory in 1583, and was the son of William Stewart, writer, and was also a mace.

²⁴⁸ The receiver general was responsible for the crown's income as a whole.

4.5 Special Commissions

- a) Collector of Taxes
 - 1587 (£40,000) – Robert Melville of Murdocairney
 - 1590 (£40,000) – **Thomas Lyon, master of Glamis**
 - 1594 (£100,000) – Thomas Erskine of Gogar
- b) Collector of King's Part of Assignations
 - 1583-xxx – David Makgill of Nesbitt
 - 1584-xxx – Walter Adamson
- c) Collector General of Imports (Wine)
 - (1590) – John Arnot²⁵⁰

4.6 Mint (or Coin House)

- a) General of the Mint
 - (1573) – David Forres
 - 1577-(1582) – Archibald Napier of Edinbellie²⁵¹
- b) Warden
 - (1579)-(1580) – John Carmichael
 - (1592) – John Acheson²⁵²
- c) Counter Warden
 - 1578-(1580) – David Adamson
- d) Master of the Mint (or Master Coiner)
 - (1575)-1582 – John Aitchison
 - 1581-1582 – Francis Napier²⁵³
 - 1582-xxx – Thomas Aitchison
- e) Servant to Master of the Mint (and Receiver, Keeper and Maker of all Exchange)
 - (1579)-(1580) – Alexander Hunter²⁵⁴
- f) Assaver
 - (1580)-1582 – Thomas Acheson
 - (1588)-(1593) – Francis Napier²⁵⁵
 - (1592) – George Forray²⁵⁶
- g) Master of metals
 - 1592-xxx – John Lindsay, parson of Menmuir²⁵⁷

4.7 Court of Exchequer

- a) Lords of Exchequer - various
- b) Clerk of Exchequer²⁵⁸
 - xxx-(1593) – Walter Mavor of Mavorston
 - (xxx) – Henry Sinclair

5.0 Defence

5.1 Army

- a) Generals or Colonels of the Kingdom
 - (1) Lord General of the Realm
 - 1589 – Andrew Keith, 1st lord Dingwall
 - (2) Lieutenant-general when forces were in the field
 - 1584 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 - 1586 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus

²⁵⁰ *FR*, xxiii, 134, Goodare, *State and Society*, 122

²⁵¹ *NAS* - PS1 61 82v

²⁵² Archibald Napier of Edinbellie succeeded his father John Napier of Edinbellie, who succeeded his father Archibald Napier of Edinbellie in 1572 as general of the mint.

²⁵³ *NAS* - PS1 65 10v

²⁵⁴ Francis Napier, a son of John Napier of Merchiston appointed on the demission of John Acheson in 1581 with power to appoint deputies.

²⁵⁵ *NAS* - PS1 63 5v

²⁵⁶ *NAS* - PS1 57 141v – Francis Napier was assisted by his servitor Alexander Napier as assaver in 1593.

²⁵⁷ *NAS* - PS1 63 256v

²⁵⁸ Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*, i, 365 – The office of master of metals created for the 'energetic and knowledgeable' Lindsay of Menmuir

²⁵⁹ Normally several clerks were withdrawn from other duties to serve the lords auditors.

- (3) Captain General of Light Horse
1588 – John Carmichael of Carmichael
- (4) Colonel of the Kingdom
1581 – Alan Coust²⁵⁹
1590 – William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem²⁶⁰
- b) Wardens of the Marches
- (1) East Marches
1573-1578 – James Home of Cowdenknowes
1578-xxx – George Home of Wedderburn
(1581)-(1594) – Alexander Home, 6th lord Home
- (2) Middle Marches
(1575)-(1579) – William Ker, *alias* Kircaldy of Grange
(1578) – Walter Ker of Cessford²⁶¹
1581-1583 – John Carmichael, younger of Carmichael
(1583) – William Ker of Cessford
(1584)-(1585) – Thomas Ker of Fernichurst
(1586)-(1595) – William Ker of Cessford
- (3) West Marches
xxx-1579 – John Maxwell, 4th lord Herries
1579-xxx – John Johnstone of Johnstone²⁶²
xxx-1582 – John Maxwell, 8th lord Maxwell
1582-1585 – John Johnstone of Johnstone
1585-1587 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus
1587-1588 – John Maxwell, 5th lord Herries
1588-1592 – John Carmichael of Carmichael
1592-1595 – John Maxwell, 8th lord Maxwell
1595-1595 – John Maxwell, 5th lord Herries
- (4) Keeper of Liddersdale
1578-1581 – John Carmichael, younger of Carmichael
1581-1589 – combined with the wardenship of the Middle Marches
(1591) – Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell
1591-1591 – Walter Scott of Buccleuch
- c) Wardens Depute of the Marches (4)
- d) Warden Clerks (4)
- e) Highlands
- (1) Commander of Lorne and the Western Isles
(1589) – Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll²⁶³
- f) Special Commissions
- (1) All Parts
1578 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus
1588 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus
1590 – William Douglas, 9th earl of Angus, and Lord John Hamilton
- (2) Borders
1582 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
Montrose
1584 – William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem, Andrew Leslie, 5th earl of Rothes, and Alexander Erskine of Gogar (south-east shires)
1586 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus
1587 – Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus
- (3) North
1587 – George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly
1589 – George Keith, 5th earl Marischal
1592 – George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly (apprehend Moray)
1592 – William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus
- g) Captains and Other Officers of Specially Commissioned Companies (various)
- h) Artillery
- (1) Master of the Ordinance (hereditary)
xxx-1585 – Henry Stewart, 3rd lord Methven²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Alan Coust was appointed in 1581 colonel for life of all armies of men of weir levied or to be levied at any time hereafter.

²⁶⁰ Stevenson, *Royal Wedding*, 121.

²⁶¹ *Moyie, Memoires*, 17.

²⁶² *Scots Peerage*, i, 254.

²⁶³ Rogers, *Estimate*, 56.

- (2) Master of Artillery (or Master of the Ordinance)
 (1574)-(1583) – Alexander Jardine of Applegarth²⁶⁴
 (1591)-(1601) – James Chalmer²⁶⁵
- (3) Comptroller of Artillery²⁶⁷
 1579-(1599) – John Chisholm
- (4) Master Smelter and Founder
 (1580)-(1592) – Davis Rowan
 1584-xxx – David Williamson
 1599 – Benjamin Lambert (French)
- (5) Master Wright and Gunner
 xxx-1584 – James Hector
 1584-xxx – James Roknow
 (1592) – James Murray²⁶⁸
- (6) Master Wright and Gunner (Edinburgh Castle and other forts and palaces)
 1580-xxx – Quentin Bickerton
 xxx-1584 – John Crawford
 1584-xxx – James Murray
- (7) Master Wright and Gunner (Stirling Castle)
 1578-1584 – Michael Gardiner
 1584-xxx – James Gardiner

i) Governors of Larger Royal Castles

- (1) Blackness
 1577-1579 – James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton
 xxx-1581 – Alexander Stewart of Scotstonhill and Malcolm Douglas of Mains
 1581-xxx – Robert Stewart, feur of Orkney and Zetland
 1585-1591 – Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul
 (1592)-(1599) – James Sandilands of Slamannan
- (2) Dumbarton
 1579-1580 – Robert Stewart, 7th earl of Lennox²⁶⁹
 1580-1582 – Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox
 1582-1583 – William Stewart of Caverston²⁷⁰
 1583-xxx – Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox
 1585-xxx – Lord John Hamilton
- (3) Edinburgh
 xxx - 1578 – George Douglas of Parkhead²⁷¹
 1578-1584 – Alexander Erskine of Gogar²⁷²
 1584-1585 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 1585-1592 – James Home of Cowdenknowes
 1592-1592 – Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox²⁷³
 1592-xxx – John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar
- (4) Stirling
 1578-xxx – John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar
 xxx-1584 – Alexander Erskine of Gogar
 1584-xxx – James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 1585-xxx – John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar

j) Governors Depute of Larger Royal Castles (various)

k) Governors of Smaller Royal Castles and Fortresses (various)²⁷⁴

5.2 Navy

a) Admiral

²⁶⁴ *CPS Scot.*, v. 262

²⁶⁵ *T.A.*, xiii. 41, 361

²⁶⁶ *NAS - PS1*, 63. 7r

²⁶⁷ The comptroller was assisted by the master and ordinary wrights and gunners of the king's artillery and the king's artillery in Edinburgh and other forts and palaces, which in times of peace had very small garrisons.

²⁶⁸ *NAS - PS1*, 64. 8r, 160v

²⁶⁹ The castle was held by the progenitors of Robert Stewart, 7th earl of Lennox.

²⁷⁰ William Stewart of Caverston replaced Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox, for one year and further at the king's will in 1582.

²⁷¹ *Moysie, Memores*, 3, 5.

²⁷² *Scots Peerage*, v. 82.

²⁷³ *CSP Scot.*, x. 678. After James Home of Cowdenknowes death, Lennox held Edinburgh until 1592 parliament decided the keepership, 684. Parliament granted Lennox keepership of Edinburgh Castle, but, after taking possession, resigned it in favour of Mar.

²⁷⁴ These included Tantallon, Mey, and St Andrews.

(1578)-1578 – James Hepburn, 4th earl of Bothwell
 1579-1581 – James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton
 1581-1591 – Francis Stewart, 1st earl of Bothwell
 1591-(1603) – Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox

b) Admiral Depute

(1577) – Laurence Bruce of Cultemalindy
 (1577) – Gilbert Ogilvy of Ogilvy
 (1581) – James Gordon
 (1582) – James Campbell of Ardkinglass²⁷⁵
 (1589)-(1594) – William Allan of Leith

c) Vice-Admiral

(1586) – ‘Collace’²⁷⁶

d) Admiral Officer

(1577) – John Dalmahoy
 (1600) – George Pursell

e) Admiral Clerk

(1577) – Gilbert Thornton

f) Captains and Other Officers of Specially Commissioned Ships (various)

²⁷⁵ James Campbell of Ardkinglass was admiral depute to Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll
²⁷⁶ NAS - PS1 53 139v

Appendix 2. Policy

Appendix 2 consists of two tables that deal with the 607 public acts or policy of 26 parliaments held during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI from 1542 to 1596. Two of the acts - the 1542 Passing of Signatures Act and the 1567 (James VI) Confession of Faith Act, listed in this chronology do not appear in the printed version of the full acts of parliament that can be found in *APS*. Both tables show the type and function of the public acts. The first table is a summary of the second. The second includes brief entries for private acts for information purposes only. This larger table is the product of a computer database, and, because of this, the titles of the public acts within it have been modified. As discussed earlier, these short titles are based on those found in *The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* (HMSO, 1966). The information on English policy has been taken from *Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols., eds. A. Luders and others (London, 1810-1828). This table is limited to the public acts over the period (1578-1596), but also indicates their type and function. The information on type and function cannot be found elsewhere.

Contents

- 1.0 Summary of policy
- 2.0 Policy
- 3.0 English policy

1.0 Summary of Policy

Key

Type: D – distributive, R – re-distributive, Re – regulatory, and S – self-regulatory

Function: D – defence, L – law and order, F – finance, W – welfare, and O – other

Parliament	Type				Function					Total Acts ¹
	D	R	Re	S	D	L	F	W	O	
1542	-	2	3	7	1	2	-	3	6	12 (14)
1543	-	-	2	5	2	2	-	1	2	7 (9)
1545	3	3	6	3	10	1	-	2	2	15 (15)
1551	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	3 (3)
1552	10	4	15	-	3	6	9	10	1	29 (30)
1555	10	4	24	2	1	14	10	14	1	40 (41)
1557	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	-	-	6 (6)
1558	-	2	-	5	2	1	1	-	3	7 (7)
1560	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4 (4)
Sub-total	25	21	52	25	22	29	22	35	15	123 (129)
1563	6	4	11	6	3	5	9	10	-	27 (27)
1564	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2 (2)
1567 (Mary)	-	1	1	2	-	1	-	2	1	4 (30)
Sub-total	6	6	12	9	3	6	9	13	2	33 (59)
1567 (James)	5	10	12	14	3	6	11	14	7	41 (41)
1571	-	5	2	7	1	4	-	5	4	14 (21)
1572	-	6	5	3	-	6	2	3	3	14 (15)
1573	4	1	2	-	-	-	4	3	-	7 (7)
Sub-total	9	22	21	24	4	16	17	25	14	76 (84)
1578	3	2	5	8	-	3	5	7	3	18 (34)
1579	6	12	13	9	-	16	8	12	4	40 (76)
1581	12	12	13	6	-	9	18	13	3	43 (113)
1584 (May)	2	12	4	8	-	11	5	5	5	26 (49)
1584 (August)	3	6	3	2	-	5	5	4	-	14 (38)
1585	1	7	11	4	1	9	4	6	3	23 (74)
1587	10	14	26	18	1	24	20	14	9	68 (136)
1592	6	23	23	11	-	23	18	12	10	63 (181)
1593	2	12	10	5	-	9	10	9	1	29 (59)
1594	6	12	22	1	-	13	11	14	3	41 (100)
Sub-total	51	112	130	72	2	122	104	96	41	365 (860)
TOTAL	91	161	215	130	31	173	152	169	72	597(1132)

Type, function, and selected interest of the public acts of 26 parliaments held during the minority and majority reigns of Mary, queen of Scots, and James VI, 1542 -1596.

¹ The total number of public and private acts is given in brackets.

2.0 Policy

Key

Number: This corresponds to the number of the act in *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* (Record Commission, 1814-75)²

Parliament/Act – The first part indicates the year of the act. The first digit of the second part shows that it was an act of parliament, and the last two digits specify the month.

NPAG – Private act (not public and general)

² The 1542 Passing of Signatures Act, which is not listed in the record commission has been given the number 14, and the 1567 (James VI) Confession of Faith Act has been given the number 41.

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
1 42/103		Lord Governor appointment	Other	Self-regulatory
2 42/103		Lord Governor oath	Other	Self-regulatory
3 42/103		Embassy England	Defence	Self-regulatory
4 42/103		Regent two acts in favour of	Other	Self-regulatory
5 42/103		NPAG		
6 42/103		NPAG		
7 42/103		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
8 42/103		Queen person responsibility	Other	Self-regulatory
9 42/103		Queen person residence	Other	Self-regulatory
10 42/103		Church heresy addition	Welfare	Regulatory
11 42/103		Church heresy suspected	Welfare	Regulatory
12 42/103		Church bible vulgar tongue	Welfare	Re-distributive
13 42/103		Treason persons deceased	Law/Order	Regulatory
14 42/103		Signatures	Law/Order	Re-distributive
1 43/112		Queen loyalty to	Law/Order	Regulatory
2 43/112		Treaty England revoked	Defence	Self-regulatory
3 43/112		Treaty France renewed	Defence	Self-regulatory
4 43/112		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
5 43/112		NPAG		
6 43/112		Church heresy	Welfare	Regulatory
7 43/112		Court of Session ratification	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
8 43/112		Printing act of parliament	Other	Self-regulatory
9 43/112		NPAG		
1 45/109		Defence England against	Defence	Regulatory
2 45/109		Defence Borders garrisons on	Defence	Regulatory
3 45/109		Defence horsemen tax for	Defence	Distributive
4 45/109		Defence horsemen on Borders	Defence	Regulatory
5 45/109		Defence horsemen on Borders	Defence	Regulatory
6 45/109		Defence payment last tax	Defence	Distributive
7 45/109		Queen person responsibility	Other	Self-regulatory
8 45/109		Defence tax bringing in	Defence	Distributive
9 45/109		Compensation clergy property	Welfare	Re-distributive
10 45/109		Siege of St Andrews	Defence	Re-distributive
11 45/109		Treaty England and France	Defence	Self-regulatory
12 45/109		Defence St Andrews Castle	Defence	Regulatory
13 45/109		Tenants removal by their lords	Welfare	Re-distributive
14 45/109		Queen marriage dissolution	Other	Self-regulatory
15 45/109		Court of Session tax bringing in	Law/Order	Regulatory
1 51/105		Church excommunication	Welfare	Re-distributive
2 51/105		Treason traitors and fugitives return	Law/Order	Regulatory
3 51/105		Slaughter game	Finance	Distributive
1 52/102		Wine shortage	Welfare	Distributive
2 52/102		Prices foul	Finance	Distributive
3 52/102		Defence Scotsmen and England	Defence	Regulatory
4 52/102		Defence Scotsmen and England	Defence	Regulatory
5 52/102		Defence Scotsmen and England	Defence	Regulatory
6 52/102		NPAG		
7 52/102		Church blasphemy	Welfare	Regulatory
8 52/102		Church disturbance in	Welfare	Regulatory
9 52/102		Church excommunication	Welfare	Re-distributive
10 52/102		Church excommunication	Welfare	Re-distributive
11 52/102		Marriage bigamy	Welfare	Regulatory
12 52/102		Marriage adultery	Welfare	Regulatory
13 52/102		Craftsmen maltmaker dearth	Finance	Distributive
14 52/102		Ferriers dearth caused by	Finance	Distributive
15 52/102		Slaughter beasts and lambs	Finance	Distributive
16 52/102		Beggars addition	Welfare	Re-distributive

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
17 52/102		Notaries false with addition	Law/Order	Regulatory
18 52/102		Craftsmen prices	Finance	Distributive
19 52/102		Notaries with addition	Law/Order	Regulatory
20 52/102		Slaughter hares	Finance	Distributive
21 52/102		Slaughter deer	Finance	Distributive
22 52/102		Sumptuary meat	Finance	Distributive
23 52/102		Packing and peeling	Welfare	Regulatory
24 52/102		Forestallers	Law/Order	Regulatory
25 52/102		Export fish	Finance	Distributive
26 52/102		Printing books without license	Law/Order	Regulatory
27 52/102		Ambassador French	Other	Regulatory
28 52/102		Regent acts	Law/Order	Regulatory
29 52/102		Queen Arran contract with	Law/Order	Regulatory
30 52/102		Compensation Edinburgh tenements	Welfare	Re-distributive
1 55/106		Church freedom of	Welfare	Self-regulatory
2 55/106		Land reversions	Law/Order	Regulatory
3 55/106		Land redemptions	Law/Order	Regulatory
4 55/106		Murder addition	Law/Order	Regulatory
5 55/106		Citations passing from the realm	Other	Regulatory
6 55/106		Citations summons before judges	Law/Order	Regulatory
7 55/106		Land sasines	Law/Order	Regulatory
8 55/106		Minors	Welfare	Regulatory
9 55/106		Lent	Welfare	Distributive
10 55/106		Land reversions	Law/Order	Regulatory
11 55/106		Land resignations	Defence	Regulatory
12 55/106		Tenants removings	Welfare	Re-distributive
13 55/106		Murders	Law/Order	Regulatory
14 55/106		Export food	Finance	Distributive
15 55/106		Criminal procedure	Law/Order	Regulatory
16 55/106		Civil procedure	Law/Order	Regulatory
17 55/106		Bands maurent and maintenance	Welfare	Regulatory
18 55/106		Notaries admission	Law/Order	Regulatory
19 55/106		Export England	Finance	Distributive
20 55/106		Weights and measures	Welfare	Regulatory
21 55/106		Land sasines	Law/Order	Regulatory
22 55/106		Perjury	Law/Order	Regulatory
23 55/106		NPAG		
24 55/106		Burghs ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
25 55/106		Slaughter game with addition	Finance	Distributive
26 55/106		Craftsmen deacons and visitors	Finance	Regulatory
27 55/106		Highways high gates for burghs	Welfare	Regulatory
28 55/106		Fishing west burghs	Finance	Distributive
29 55/106		Hornings	Law/Order	Regulatory
30 55/106		Slaughter beasts and lambs	Finance	Distributive
31 55/106		Farriers	Welfare	Regulatory
32 55/106		Slaughter foul	Finance	Distributive
33 55/106		Planting	Welfare	Distributive
34 55/106		Craftsmen goldsmiths fraud	Finance	Regulatory
35 55/106		Wine, salt and timber disposal of	Welfare	Distributive
36 55/106		Slaughter game hunting of	Finance	Distributive
37 55/106		Shipping west burghs	Welfare	Regulatory
38 55/106		Beggars	Welfare	Re-distributive
39 55/106		Treason French and Scots	Law/Order	Re-distributive
40 55/106		Popular figures eg Robert Hood	Welfare	Regulatory
41 55/106		Queen revocation	Finance	Re-distributive
1 57/112		Embassy France ransom	Defence	Self-regulatory
2 57/112		Embassy France disposition	Defence	Self-regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
3 57/112		Embassy France supercession	Defence	Self-regulatory
4 57/112		Cautions	Law Order	Regulatory
5 57/112		Exceptions	Law Order	Re-distributive
6 57/112		Process expenses	Finance	Distributive
1 58/111		Embassy France exoneration	Defence	Self-regulatory
2 58/111		Embassy France exoneration	Defence	Self-regulatory
3 58/111		Queen marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
4 58/111		Queen marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
5 58/111		Queen marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
6 58/111		Subjects French	Law Order	Re-distributive
7 58/111		Queen regent grants	Finance	Re-distributive
1 60/108		Church confession of faith	Welfare	Re-distributive
2 60/108		Papist jurisdiction	Welfare	Re-distributive
3 60/108		Church idol abolition	Welfare	Re-distributive
4 60/108		Church mass abolition	Welfare	Re-distributive
1 63/106		Oblivion	Finance	Re-distributive
2 63/106		Oblivion exceptions	Finance	Re-distributive
3 63/106		Fish salmon with addition	Finance	Distributive
4 63/106		Bullion with addition	Finance	Distributive
5 63/106		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
6 63/106		Food dearth	Finance	Distributive
7 63/106		Manufacture salt new method	Welfare	Regulatory
8 63/106		Ministers manses and glebes	Finance	Re-distributive
9 63/106		Witchcraft	Welfare	Regulatory
10 63/106		Marriage adultery	Welfare	Regulatory
11 63/106		Defence armed forces raising	Defence	Regulatory
12 63/106		Church parish churches	Welfare	Regulatory
13 63/106		Tenants church lands	Welfare	Re-distributive
14 63/106		Weights and measures	Welfare	Regulatory
15 63/106		Slaughter game	Finance	Distributive
16 63/106		Notaries admission	Law/Order	Regulatory
17 63/106		Notaries creation	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
18 63/106		Land sasines	Law/Order	Regulatory
19 63/106		Land resignations	Law/Order	Regulatory
20 63/106		Burghs convention notice of	Welfare	Self-regulatory
21 63/106		Burghs tumult in	Law/Order	Regulatory
22 63/106		Export coal	Finance	Distributive
23 63/106		Markets condition of meat	Welfare	Regulatory
24 63/106		Burghs ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
25 63/106		King of Portugal	Defence	Self-regulatory
26 63/106		Universities commission	Welfare	Self-regulatory
27 63/106		Embassy Denmark	Defence	Self-regulatory
1 64/112		Queen majority	Other	Self-regulatory
2 64/112		Church lands	Welfare	Re-distributive
1 67/104		Castle Edinburgh keeper	Law Order	Self-regulatory
2 67/104		Church true religion	Welfare	Self-regulatory
3 67/104		NPAG		
4 67/104		NPAG		
5 67/104		NPAG		
6 67/104		NPAG		
7 67/104		Oblivion	Finance	Re-distributive
8 67/104		Printing bill posting	Other	Self-regulatory
9 67/104		NPAG		
10 67/104		NPAG		
11 67/104		NPAG		
12 67/104		NPAG		
13 67/104		NPAG		

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
14 67/104		NPAG		
15 67/104		NPAG		
16 67/104		NPAG		
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26 67/104		NPAG		
27 67/104		NPAG		
28 67/104		NPAG		
29 67/104		NPAG		
30 67/104		NPAG		
41 67/112		Church confession of faith	Welfare	Re-distributive
1 67/112		King accession and coronation	Other	Self-regulatory
2 67/112		Regent Moray constitution	Other	Self-regulatory
3 67/112		Papist jurisdiction	Welfare	Re-distributive
4 67/112		Papist acts repealed	Welfare	Re-distributive
5 67/112		Church mass	Welfare	Regulatory
6 67/112		Church those not of the same	Welfare	Re-distributive
7 67/112		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
8 67/112		King oath coronation	Other	Self-regulatory
9 67/112		Officers public	Other	Self-regulatory
10 67/112		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
11 67/112		Schoolmasters	Welfare	Regulatory
12 67/112		Church jurisdiction	Welfare	Self-regulatory
13 67/112		Universities bursaries	Welfare	Re-distributive
14 67/112		Fornication	Welfare	Regulatory
15 67/112		Family incest	Welfare	Regulatory
16 67/112		Marriage own blood	Welfare	Regulatory
17 67/112		Slaughter game	Finance	Distributive
18 67/112		Queen previous acts	Law/Order	Regulatory
19 67/112		Queen retention	Defence	Self-regulatory
20 67/112		Queen retention at Lochleven	Defence	Self-regulatory
21 67/112		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
22 67/112		Court of Session appointment	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
23 67/112		Firearms and daggers	Law/Order	Regulatory
24 67/112		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
25 67/112		Articles commission	Other	Self-regulatory
26 67/112		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
27 67/112		Thieves and ransom	Law/Order	Regulatory
28 67/112		Export horses	Finance	Distributive
29 67/112		Court of Session sittings	Law/Order	Regulatory
30 67/112		Escheat gifts of	Finance	Re-distributive
31 67/112		Church men privileges	Welfare	Self-regulatory
32 67/112		Parliament shire representatives	Other	Self-regulatory
33 67/112		Burghs privileges	Welfare	Self-regulatory
34 67/112		Burghs sasines within	Welfare	Regulatory
35 67/112		Demolition Dunbar Castle	Defence	Re-distributive
36 67/112		Commissary Courts procedure	Law/Order	Regulatory
37 67/112		Craftsmen maltmen deacons	Finance	Regulatory
38 67/112		Slaughter fish and green wood	Finance	Distributive
39 67/112		Printing parliament acts	Other	Self-regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
40 67/112		Mines fire raising	Welfare	Regulatory
1 71/108		Regent Mar appointment	Other	Self-regulatory
2 71/108		Church freedom of	Welfare	Self-regulatory
3 71/108		Parliament ratification of last	Other	Self-regulatory
4 71/108		Treason Damley's murderers	Law/Order	Regulatory
5 71/108		Tenants of Forfeited persons	Law/Order	Re-distributive
6 71/108		NPAG		
7 71/108		Burghs freedom	Welfare	Self-regulatory
8 71/108		Homings rebel burgesses	Law/Order	Re-distributive
9 71/108		Customs ships without coquets	Law/Order	Regulatory
10 71/108		Officers of arms	Other	Self-regulatory
11 71/108		NPAG		
12 71/108		NPAG		
13 71/108		NPAG		
14 71/108		NPAG		
15 71/108		Chapel Royal reformation	Other	Self-regulatory
16 71/108		NPAG		
17 71/108		NPAG		
18 71/108		Compensation ministers slain	Welfare	Re-distributive
19 71/108		Compensation subjects slain	Welfare	Re-distributive
20 71/108		Compensation subjects slain	Welfare	Re-distributive
21 71/108		Treaty England	Defence	Self-regulatory
1 73/101		Regent	Other	Self-regulatory
2 73/101		Church true	Welfare	Self-regulatory
3 73/101		Church property	Finance	Re-distributive
4 73/101		Homings rebels pardon	Law/Order	Re-distributive
5 73/101		Ministers manes and glebes	Law/Order	Re-distributive
6 73/101		Regent	Other	Self-regulatory
7 73/101		King jewels	Other	Regulatory
8 73/101		Church possessions and homings	Law/Order	Re-distributive
9 73/101		Regent acts	Law/Order	Regulatory
10 73/101		NPAG		
11 73/101		Subjects Edinburgh inhabitants	Law/Order	Regulatory
12 73/101		Papist bulls fraudulently obtained	Law/Order	Regulatory
13 73/101		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
14 73/101		Church excommunication	Welfare	Re-distributive
15 73/101		Church parish churches repair	Welfare	Regulatory
1 73/104		Marriage divorce and desertion	Welfare	Regulatory
2 73/104		Import and prices wine	Finance	Distributive
3 73/104		Export salt	Finance	Distributive
4 73/104		Weights and measures fish	Welfare	Regulatory
5 73/104		Compensation Edinburgh damage	Welfare	Re-distributive
6 73/104		Export forbidden goods	Finance	Distributive
7 73/104		Slaughter fish	Finance	Distributive
1 78/107		Parliament freedom of	Other	Self-regulatory
2 78/107		Regent ratification	Other	Self-regulatory
3 78/107		Church ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
4 78/107		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
5 78/107		Universities visitation	Welfare	Self-regulatory
6 78/107		Ministers glebes free of tunds	Finance	Re-distributive
7 78/107		Hospitals visitation	Welfare	Self-regulatory
8 78/107		NPAG		
9 78/107		NPAG		
10 78/107		NPAG		
11 78/107		Burghs ratification addition	Welfare	Self-regulatory
12 78/107		Treason Damley's murderers	Law/Order	Regulatory
13 78/107		King crown lands confirmation	Finance	Re-distributive

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
14 78/107		NPAG		
15 78/107		Export flesh	Finance	Distributive
16 78/107		Vacations change	Finance	Distributive
17 78/107		Commissary Courts	Law Order	Regulatory
18 78/107		Laws	Law Order	Regulatory
19 78/107		Church policy	Welfare	Self-regulatory
20 78/107		NPAG		
21 78/107		NPAG		
22 78/107		NPAG		
23 78/107		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
24 78/107		Bridge Tay	Welfare	Regulatory
25 78/107		NPAG		
26 78/107		NPAG		
27 78/107		NPAG		
28 78/107		NPAG		
29 78/107		NPAG		
30 78/107		NPAG		
31 78/107		NPAG		
32 78/107		NPAG		
33 78/107		Burghs lands recognition	Welfare	Regulatory
34 78/107		NPAG		
10 79/110		Church bibles psalm books home	Welfare	Re-distributive
11 79/110		Agricultural labourers relief	Welfare	Re-distributive
12 79/110		Beggars pure and impotent	Welfare	Re-distributive
13 79/110		Hornings rebels and them at home	Law Order	Re-distributive
14 79/110		Officers of arms fraud disorder	Law Order	Regulatory
15 79/110		Law breakers fines	Law Order	Regulatory
16 79/110		Criminal letters	Law Order	Regulatory
17 79/110		Inquest choice	Law Order	Regulatory
18 79/110		Deed subscription	Law Order	Regulatory
19 79/110		Spulsive and ejection prescription	Law Order	Regulatory
20 79/110		Removal prescription	Law Order	Re-distributive
21 79/110		Debt prescription	Law Order	Regulatory
22 79/110		Planting destruction	Welfare	Distributive
23 79/110		Burghs ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
24 79/110		Fishing	Finance	Distributive
25 79/110		Firearms	Law Order	Regulatory
26 79/110		Foresters	Law Order	Regulatory
27 79/110		Slaughter fish salmon	Finance	Distributive
28 79/110		Export coal	Finance	Distributive
29 79/110		Process expenses	Finance	Distributive
30 79/110		King revocation ratification	Finance	Re-distributive
31 79/110		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
32 79/110		Council	Other	Self-regulatory
33 79/110		Forfeiture dispositions	Law Order	Re-distributive
34 79/110		Low Countries privileges	Finance	Self-regulatory
35 79/110		Low Countries unfreemen	Finance	Self-regulatory
36 79/110		Council	Other	Self-regulatory
37 79/110		Court of Session material	Law Order	Regulatory
38 79/110		Court of Session membership	Law Order	Re-distributive
39 79/110		NPAG		
40 79/110		NPAG		
41 79/110		Regent exoneration	Other	Self-regulatory
42 79/110		NPAG		
43 79/110		NPAG		
44 79/110		NPAG		
45 79/110		Hornings	Law Order	Regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
46 79/110		NPAG		
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54 79/110		Regent approbation	Other	Self-regulatory
55 79/110		Subjects loyal	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
56 79/110		Manufacture spirits	Welfare	Regulatory
57 79/110		Burghs antiquity and priority	Welfare	Re-distributive
58 79/110		Education youth and music	Welfare	Re-distributive
59 79/110		NPAG		
60 79/110		NPAG		
61 79/110		NPAG		
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5 79/110		NPAG		
6 79/110		Church those not of the same	Welfare	Re-distributive
7 79/110		Church jurisdiction	Welfare	Self-regulatory
8 79/110		Markets and behaviour on Sunday	Welfare	Regulatory
9 79/110		Papist converts	Welfare	Re-distributive
1 81/111		Church and religion ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
2 81/111		Ministers stipends	Finance	Re-distributive
3 81/111		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
4 81/111		Ministers presentations	Welfare	Re-distributive
5 81/111		Church blasphemy	Welfare	Regulatory
6 81/111		Papist rites	Welfare	Re-distributive
7 81/111		Marriage adultery	Welfare	Regulatory
8 81/111		Papist and other fugitives	Welfare	Re-distributive
9 81/111		Articles commission	Other	Self-regulatory
10 81/111		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
11 81/111		Bullion import	Finance	Distributive
12 81/111		Customs payments	Finance	Distributive
13 81/111		King protection	Law/Order	Regulatory
14 81/111		Slaughter beasts	Finance	Distributive
15 81/111		Slaughter fish salmon	Finance	Distributive
16 81/111		Thieves	Law/Order	Regulatory
17 81/111		Hospitals commission	Welfare	Self-regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
18 81/111		Sumptuary clothes	Finance	Distributive
19 81/111		Sumptuary banqueting	Finance	Distributive
20 81/111		Papist jurisdiction	Welfare	Re-distributive
21 81/111		Land owners residence	Other	Regulatory
22 81/111		Lawburrows addition	Law/Order	Regulatory
23 81/111		Arrestment breach	Law/Order	Regulatory
24 81/111		Inhibitions and interdictions	Law/Order	Regulatory
25 81/111		Spulsive and ejection ratification	Law/Order	Regulatory
26 81/111		Burghs convention	Welfare	Self-regulatory
27 81/111		Shipping west country	Welfare	Regulatory
28 81/111		Price regulation	Finance	Distributive
29 81/111		Beasts horses meat	Welfare	Distributive
30 81/111		Slaughter wild life firearms	Finance	Distributive
31 81/111		Export beasts	Finance	Distributive
32 81/111		Castle captains and keepers	Finance	Regulatory
33 81/111		Wine mixing	Welfare	Regulatory
34 81/111		Forfeiture heirs	Law/Order	Re-distributive
35 81/111		NPAG		
36 81/111		NPAG		
37 81/111		Parliament acts proclamation	Law/Order	Regulatory
38 81/111		Council	Other	Self-regulatory
39 81/111		King suitors	Finance	Re-distributive
40 81/111		Factories discharge	Welfare	Re-distributive
41 81/111		NPAG		
42 81/111		Tax ward holding	Finance	Distributive
43 81/111		NPAG		
44 81/111		NPAG		
45 81/111		NPAG		
46 81/111		NPAG		
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64 81/111		NPAG		
65 81/111		Court of Session own commission	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
66 81/111		NPAG		
67 81/111		NPAG		
68 81/111		King revocation casualty	Finance	Re-distributive
69 81/111		King revocation casualty	Finance	Re-distributive
70 81/111		King revocation collectory	Finance	Re-distributive
71 81/111		NPAG		
72 81/111		NPAG		
73 81/111		NPAG		
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Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
75 81/111		NPAG		
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112 81/111		NPAG		
113 81/111		NPAG		
1 84/105		Church freedom	Welfare	Self-regulatory
2 84/105		King sovereignty	Other	Self-regulatory
3 84/105		Parliament jurisdiction	Other	Self-regulatory
4 84/105		King jurisdiction	Other	Self-regulatory
5 84/105		Ministers benefices deprivation	Welfare	Re-distributive
6 84/105		Ministers disqualification	Welfare	Re-distributive
7 84/105		Honours late rebels	Law Order	Re-distributive
8 84/105		Treason slander of king	Law Order	Regulatory
9 84/105		Treason Ruthven rebels	Law Order	Re-distributive
10 84/105		King revocation escheat	Finance	Re-distributive
11 84/105		Forfeiture reduction	Law Order	Re-distributive
12 84/105		Remissions against	Law Order	Re-distributive
13 84/105		King guard provision	Other	Self-regulatory
14 84/105		Murder	Law Order	Regulatory
15 84/105		Decree execution	Law Order	Regulatory
16 84/105		Officers continuation	Other	Self-regulatory
17 84/105		Law court attendance	Law Order	Re-distributive
18 84/105		NPAG		

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
19 84/105		Weights and measures: fish	Welfare	Regulatory
20 84/105		Church commission	Welfare	Self-regulatory
21 84/105		Homings late rebels	Law/Order	Re-distributive
22 84/105		Ministers stipends	Finance	Re-distributive
23 84/105		NPAG		
24 84/105		Homings rebels	Law/Order	Re-distributive
25 84/105		NPAG		
26 84/105		King revocation ratification	Finance	Re-distributive
27 84/105		Court of Sessions reformation	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
28 84/105		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
29 84/105		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
30 84/105		NPAG		
31 84/105		NPAG		
32 84/105		NPAG		
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49 84/105		NPAG		
1 84/108		NPAG		
2 84/108		Ministers and schoolmasters	Welfare	Regulatory
3 84/108		Church prelaties: annulment	Welfare	Re-distributive
4 84/108		NPAG		
5 84/108		King crown lands feuing	Finance	Re-distributive
6 84/108		Forfeiture lands	Law/Order	Re-distributive
7 84/108		Treason lands of those accused	Law/Order	Re-distributive
8 84/108		Church lands	Welfare	Re-distributive
9 84/108		NPAG		
10 84/108		Decret in absence	Law/Order	Regulatory
11 84/108		Dead subscription	Law/Order	Regulatory
12 84/108		Sumptuary meat	Finance	Distributive
13 84/108		Export prohibitions	Finance	Distributive
14 84/108		Burghs ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
15 84/108		Sumptuary clothing	Finance	Distributive
16 84/108		Treason commission	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
17 84/108		NPAG		
18 84/108		NPAG		
19 84/108		NPAG		
20 84/108		King revocation	Finance	Re-distributive
21 84/108		NPAG		
22 84/108		NPAG		
23 84/108		NPAG		
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Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
27 84/108		NPAG		
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37 84/108		NPAG		
38 84/108		NPAG		
1 85/112		Slander	Welfare	Regulatory
2 85/112		Parliament acts execution of	Law/Order	Regulatory
3 85/112		Officers fees	Finance	Re-distributive
4 85/112		Court of Session sitting times	Law/Order	Regulatory
5 85/112		Ministers benefices dilapidation	Welfare	Regulatory
6 85/112		Bands leagues and bands	Law/Order	Regulatory
7 85/112		Signatures	Law/Order	Re-distributive
8 85/112		Castle keepers extortion	Finance	Regulatory
9 85/112		Poiding double	Law/Order	Regulatory
10 85/112		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
11 85/112		Burghs fish	Welfare	Regulatory
12 85/112		Export prohibitions	Finance	Distributive
13 85/112		Thieves addition	Law/Order	Regulatory
14 85/112		Factories and tenants	Welfare	Re-distributive
15 85/112		Church lands	Welfare	Re-distributive
16 85/112		Signatures	Law/Order	Re-distributive
17 85/112		Officers chancellor	Other	Self-regulatory
18 85/112		Treaty England	Defence	Self-regulatory
19 85/112		Forfeiture persons	Law/Order	Re-distributive
20 85/112		King revocation	Finance	Re-distributive
21 85/112		NPAG		
22 85/112		NPAG		
23 85/112		NPAG		
24 85/112		Ministers and schoolmasters	Welfare	Regulatory
25 85/112		Curators	Law/Order	Regulatory
26 85/112		NPAG		
27 85/112		NPAG		
28 85/112		NPAG		
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72 85/112		NPAG		
73 85/112		NPAG		
74 85/112		Parliament shire commissioners	Other	Self-regulatory
1 87/107		King majority	Other	Self-regulatory
2 87/107		Church freedom	Welfare	Self-regulatory
3 87/107		Church true religion	Welfare	Self-regulatory
4 87/107		Papist books	Welfare	Re-distributive
5 87/107		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
6 87/107		Church disorders in	Welfare	Regulatory
7 87/107		Dilapidations	Law/Order	Regulatory
8 87/107		NPAG		
9 87/107		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
10 87/107		King marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
11 87/107		Weights and measures	Welfare	Regulatory
12 87/107		Ministers liferents	Finance	Re-distributive
13 87/107		NPAG		
14 87/107		King revocation	Finance	Re-distributive
15 87/107		Ministers non-resident commission	Welfare	Self-regulatory
16 87/107		Parliament	Other	Self-regulatory
17 87/107		Parliament priority and voting	Other	Re-distributive
18 87/107		Parliament commission	Other	Self-regulatory
19 87/107		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
20 87/107		Court of Session	Law/Order	Regulatory
21 87/107		Court of Session lords	Law/Order	Re-distributive
22 87/107		NPAG		
23 87/107		Court of Session	Law/Order	Regulatory
24 87/107		Litigant vexations	Law/Order	Regulatory
25 87/107		Court of Session sitting and seats	Law/Order	Regulatory
26 87/107		Court of Session	Law/Order	Regulatory
27 87/107		Court of Session	Law/Order	Regulatory
28 87/107		Council	Other	Self-regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
29 87/107		Notaries improvement	Law Order	Regulatory
30 87/107		Officers of arms reformation	Law Order	Regulatory
31 87/107		Supersedes	Law Order	Regulatory
32 87/107		Agricultural labourers treads	Welfare	Re-distributive
33 87/107		Treason accusations	Law Order	Regulatory
34 87/107		Treason future crimes	Law Order	Regulatory
35 87/107		Usury	Finance	Distributive
36 87/107		Prices wine and timber	Finance	Distributive
37 87/107		Tax impositions on victuals	Finance	Distributive
38 87/107		Foresters	Law Order	Regulatory
39 87/107		Export victuals	Finance	Distributive
40 87/107		Beasts horses meat	Welfare	Distributive
41 87/107		Fishing	Finance	Distributive
42 87/107		Lent eating flesh	Welfare	Distributive
43 87/107		Slaughter game	Finance	Distributive
44 87/107		Brieve serving	Law Order	Regulatory
45 87/107		Factories payments	Welfare	Regulatory
46 87/107		Commandators subscription	Other	Re-distributive
47 87/107		Patronage lay	Welfare	Re-distributive
48 87/107		King pensions gifts	Finance	Re-distributive
49 87/107		Exchequer	Finance	Self-regulatory
50 87/107		Land sasines	Law Order	Regulatory
51 87/107		Exchequer	Finance	Self-regulatory
52 87/107		King crown lands	Finance	Re-distributive
53 87/107		King crown wadsets	Finance	Re-distributive
54 87/107		Jurors	Law Order	Regulatory
55 87/107		Ratifications	Finance	Re-distributive
56 87/107		King peace	Law Order	Regulatory
57 87/107		Criminal justice	Law Order	Regulatory
58 87/107		King declaration on Huntly	Law Order	Regulatory
59 87/107		King peace	Law Order	Regulatory
60 87/107		Pacification	Law Order	Re-distributive
61 87/107		NPAG		
62 87/107		NPAG		
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73 87/107		NPAG		
74 87/107		NPAG		
75 87/107		NPAG		
76 87/107		NPAG		
77 87/107		Ministers warranting the dead	Welfare	Regulatory
78 87/107		NPAG		
79 87/107		NPAG		
80 87/107		NPAG		
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107 87/107		NPAG		
108 87/107		NPAG		
109 87/107		Burghs taxation	Finance	Distributive
110 87/107		NPAG		
111 87/107		NPAG		
112 87/107		NPAG		
113 87/107		NPAG		
114 87/107		Burghs inhibition	Welfare	Regulatory
115 87/107		NPAG		
116 87/107		NPAG		
117 87/107		NPAG		
118 87/107		NPAG		
119 87/107		NPAG		
120 87/107		Parliament shire commissioners	Other	Self-regulatory
121 87/107		NPAG		
122 87/107		NPAG		
123 87/107		Defence commission	Defence	Self-regulatory
124 87/107		Tax commission	Finance	Self-regulatory
125 87/107		Bullion commisston	Finance	Self-regulatory
126 87/107		NPAG		
127 87/107		NPAG		
128 87/107		NPAG		
129 87/107		NPAG		
130 87/107		NPAG		
131 87/107		NPAG		
132 87/107		Justice commission	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
133 87/107		Law commission	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
134 87/107		NPAG		
135 87/107		Prices food commission	Finance	Self-regulatory
136 87/107		Weights and measures	Welfare	Regulatory
1 92/105		NPAG		
2 92/105		NPAG		
3 92/105		NPAG		
4 92/105		Forfeiture persons obligations	Law Order	Re-distributive
5 92/105		NPAG		
6 92/105		NPAG		

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
7 92/105		NPAG		
8 92/105		Assembly	Other	Self-regulatory
9 92/105		Ministers deposition	Welfare	Regulatory
10 92/105		Ministers manses and glebes	Finance	Re-distributive
11 92/105		Marriage adultery	Welfare	Regulatory
12 92/105		Murder in church	Law/Order	Regulatory
13 92/105		Church lands and teinds	Welfare	Re-distributive
14 92/105		Papist Jesuits and others	Welfare	Re-distributive
15 92/105		Ministers stipends	Finance	Re-distributive
16 92/105		NPAG		
17 92/105		Markets not on Sunday	Welfare	Regulatory
18 92/105		Pacification	Law/Order	Re-distributive
19 92/105		Hospitals commission	Welfare	Self-regulatory
20 92/105		NPAG		
21 92/105		NPAG		
22 92/105		NPAG		
23 92/105		NPAG		
24 92/105		NPAG		
25 92/105		NPAG		
26 92/105		NPAG		
27 92/105		Ministers stipends	Finance	Re-distributive
28 92/105		Officers Sheriff Deputes	Law/Order	Regulatory
29 92/105		Officers Lyon King of Arms	Other	Self-regulatory
30 92/105		King crown rents	Finance	Re-distributive
31 92/105		King mines and metals interest in	Finance	Re-distributive
32 92/105		King revocation	Finance	Re-distributive
33 92/105		NPAG		
34 92/105		King crown lands past	Finance	Re-distributive
35 92/105		King parks	Other	Regulatory
36 92/105		Burghs taxation	Welfare	Distributive
37 92/105		Customs English goods	Finance	Distributive
38 92/105		Subjects rights	Law/Order	Regulatory
39 92/105		NPAG		
40 92/105		NPAG		
41 92/105		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
42 92/105		Officers Treasurer ratifications	Finance	Regulatory
43 92/105		NPAG		
44 92/105		Land rents and feus	Law/Order	Regulatory
45 92/105		Printing parliament acts	Welfare	Self-regulatory
46 92/105		King marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
47 92/105		King marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
48 92/105		King marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
49 92/105		King marriage	Other	Self-regulatory
50 92/105		Court of Session qualifications	Law/Order	Re-distributive
51 92/105		Signatures	Law/Order	Re-distributive
52 92/105		Redemptions reduction of	Finance	Re-distributive
53 92/105		Redemptions	Finance	Re-distributive
54 92/105		Charters bounded	Law/Order	Regulatory
55 92/105		Pensions	Finance	Re-distributive
56 92/105		Contracts unlawful conditions	Law/Order	Regulatory
57 92/105		Repossessions	Law/Order	Re-distributive
58 92/105		Bands by prisoners	Law/Order	Regulatory
59 92/105		Signatures (citation)	Law/Order	Re-distributive
60 92/105		Charges general	Finance	Regulatory
61 92/105		Compensation	Law/Order	Re-distributive
62 92/105		Expenses	Finance	Distributive
63 92/105		Escheat	Law/Order	Regulatory

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
64 92/105		Commissary Courts Edinburgh	Law Order	Regulatory
65 92/105		Treason	Law Order	Regulatory
66 92/105		Escheat	Law Order	Regulatory
67 92/105		Remissions	Law Order	Re-distributive
68 92/105		Mines fire raising	Other	Regulatory
69 92/105		Beggars poor	Welfare	Re-distributive
70 92/105		Foresters	Law Order	Regulatory
71 92/105		Export beasts	Finance	Distributive
72 92/105		Deforcement	Law Order	Regulatory
73 92/105		Libel criminal	Law Order	Regulatory
74 92/105		Burghs freedom	Welfare	Self-regulatory
75 92/105		Burghs taxation	Finance	Distributive
76 92/105		Craftsmen in suburbs	Finance	Re-distributive
77 92/105		Export hides	Finance	Distributive
78 92/105		Burghs streets and passages	Welfare	Regulatory
79 92/105		Admiral Court proceedings	Law/Order	Regulatory
80 92/105		NPAG		
81 92/105		NPAG		
82 92/105		NPAG		
83 92/105		NPAG		
84 92/105		NPAG		
85 92/105		NPAG		
86 92/105		NPAG		
87 92/105		NPAG		
88 92/105		Council remit to	Other	Self-regulatory
89 92/105		Patronage lay	Welfare	Re-distributive
90 92/105		NPAG		
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Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
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Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
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181 92/105		NPAG		
1 93/107		NPAG		
2 93/107		NPAG		
3 93/107		NPAG		
4 93/107		NPAG		
5 93/107		NPAG		
6 93/107		Markets not on Sundays	Welfare	Regulatory
7 93/107		Church jurisdiction	Welfare	Self-regulatory
8 93/107		Ministers manses and glebes	Finance	Re-distributive
9 93/107		Ministers troubled by pensioners	Welfare	Regulatory
10 93/107		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
11 93/107		Papist	Welfare	Re-distributive
12 93/107		Ministers livings	Finance	Re-distributive
13 93/107		Lawburrows additions	Law/Order	Regulatory
14 93/107		NPAG		
15 93/107		Customs officers	Finance	Regulatory
16 93/107		Remissions	Law/Order	Re-distributive
17 93/107		Forfeiture persons	Law/Order	Re-distributive
18 93/107		King's crown lands	Finance	Re-distributive
19 93/107		Patronage lay	Welfare	Re-distributive
20 93/107		Church lands	Welfare	Re-distributive
21 93/107		NPAG		
22 93/107		Parliament assault in	Law/Order	Regulatory
23 93/107		Remissions	Law/Order	Re-distributive
24 93/107		Court of Session	Law/Order	Regulatory
25 93/107		Deeds execution of	Law/Order	Regulatory
26 93/107		Ministers benefices	Finance	Re-distributive
27 93/107		NPAG		
28 93/107		NPAG		
29 93/107		NPAG		
30 93/107		Suspensions commission	Law/Order	Self-regulatory
31 93/107		Coinage commission	Finance	Self-regulatory
32 93/107		NPAG		
33 93/107		Burghs ratification	Welfare	Self-regulatory
34 93/107		Hornings	Law/Order	Regulatory
35 93/107		NPAG		
36 93/107		Export hides	Finance	Distributive
37 93/107		Customs English bear	Finance	Distributive
38 93/107		Burghs deans of guild	Welfare	Regulatory
39 93/107		Burghs common good	Welfare	Regulatory
40 93/107		NPAG		
41 93/107		NPAG		
42 93/107		NPAG		
43 93/107		NPAG		
44 93/107		NPAG		
45 93/107		Ministers stipends	Finance	Re-distributive
46 93/107		Council establishment	Other	Self-regulatory
47 93/107		NPAG		
48 93/107		NPAG		
49 93/107		NPAG		
50 93/107		NPAG		
51 93/107		NPAG		
52 93/107		NPAG		
53 93/107		NPAG		

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
54 93/107	NPAG			
55 93/107	NPAG			
56 93/107	NPAG			
57 93/107	NPAG			
58 93/107	NPAG			
59 93/107	NPAG			
1 94/106	NPAG			
2 94/106	NPAG			
3 94/106	Papist mass		Welfare	Re-distributive
4 94/106	Papist		Welfare	Re-distributive
5 94/106	Annexation erections		Finance	Re-distributive
6 94/106	Church provision of churches		Welfare	Regulatory
7 94/106	Church excommunication		Welfare	Re-distributive
8 94/106	Church Sunday behaviour		Welfare	Regulatory
9 94/106	Ministers manses and glebes		Finance	Re-distributive
10 94/106	Patronage lay		Welfare	Re-distributive
11 94/106	Forfeiture persons repeal of acts		Law/Order	Re-distributive
12 94/106	Forfeiture persons		Law/Order	Re-distributive
13 94/106	Annexation		Finance	Re-distributive
14 94/106	Dissolution		Law/Order	Regulatory
15 94/106	Slander		Welfare	Regulatory
16 94/106	Tax wines		Finance	Distributive
17 94/106	Annexation and pensions		Finance	Re-distributive
18 94/106	Officers of arms		Other	Regulatory
19 94/106	Suspensions		Law/Order	Regulatory
20 94/106	King parks		Other	Regulatory
21 94/106	Court of Session		Law/Order	Regulatory
22 94/106	Court of Session		Law/Order	Regulatory
23 94/106	Vacations harvests		Finance	Distributive
24 94/106	Prescription		Law/Order	Regulatory
25 94/106	NPAG			
26 94/106	Land purchase		Law/Order	Regulatory
27 94/106	Ejection caution		Law/Order	Regulatory
28 94/106	Articles consideration		Other	Self-regulatory
29 94/106	Murder		Law/Order	Regulatory
30 94/106	Murder parricide		Law/Order	Regulatory
31 94/106	Church Lent		Welfare	Regulatory
32 94/106	Usury		Finance	Distributive
33 94/106	Education students and bursars		Welfare	Re-distributive
34 94/106	Slaughter fish salmon		Finance	Distributive
35 94/106	Burghs		Welfare	Regulatory
36 94/106	Burghs		Welfare	Regulatory
37 94/106	Thieves		Law/Order	Regulatory
38 94/106	NPAG			
39 94/106	NPAG			
40 94/106	NPAG			
41 94/106	NPAG			
42 94/106	NPAG			
43 94/106	NPAG			
44 94/106	NPAG			
45 94/106	Church prelates tax		Welfare	Re-distributive
46 94/106	NPAG			
47 94/106	Craftsmen skimmers		Welfare	Regulatory
48 94/106	NPAG			
49 94/106	NPAG			
50 94/106	NPAG			
51 94/106	NPAG			

Number	Parliament/Act	Title/Subject Matter	Function	Type
52 94/106		NPAG		
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70 94/106		NPAG		
71 94/106		NPAG		
72 94/106		NPAG		
73 94/106		NPAG		
74 94/106		Coinage	Finance	Distributive
75 94/106		Bullion	Finance	Distributive
76 94/106		Foresters	Law/Order	Regulatory
77 94/106		Exchequer late submissions	Finance	Regulatory
78 94/106		NPAG		
79 94/106		NPAG		
80 94/106		NPAG		
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96 94/106		NPAG		
97 94/106		NPAG		
98 94/106		Hospitals and schools	Welfare	Regulatory
99 94/106		NPAG		
100 94/106		NPAG		

3.0 English Policy

Parliament	Public Act	Function	Type
1581	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Queen subjects obedience 2. Queen words and rumours 3. Fines and recoveries 4. Fortification of Scottish border 5. Mariners and navigation 6. Wax making 7. Dye making 8. Pheasants and partridge preservation 9. Subsidy clergy 10. Subsidy temporality 11. Pardon general and free 12. Naturalisation English children overseas 	Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Defence Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare Finance Finance Law/Order Law/Order	Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Distributive Distributive Re-distributive Re-distributive
1584-1585	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Queen surety and peace 2. Jesuits 3. Debts 4. Conveyances 5. Demurrers and pleaders 6. Jurors 7. Jurors 8. King's bench 9. Fines and recoveries 10. Common informers 11. Statutes revision 12. Oaths sheriffs and others 13. Hue and cry 14. Malt making 15. Fish and herring 16. Leather makers 17. Woollen cloth 18. Woollen cloth 19. Timber 	Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare	Regulatory Re-distributive Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory
1586-1587	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attainders 2. Attainders 3. Traitors 4. Extortion 5. Statutes revision 6. Statutes execution of 	Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order	Re-distributive Re-distributive Re-distributive Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory
1589	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Writs exchequer and king's bench 2. Fines 3. Outlawry 4. Embezzlement 5. Informers 6. Scholars and benefices 7. Cottages building and maintaining 8. Ale and beer 9. Writs 10. Statutes execution and revision 11. Entries and indictment 12. Horse stealing 13. Dover harbour 	Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Welfare	Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Re-distributive Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Re-distributive
1593	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Queen subjects obedience 2. Papistry 3. Letters patent 4. Soldiers and mariners relief 5. Attainders 6. New building and tenants 7. Statutes execution and revision 8. Rope for navy 9. Dye making 10. Cloth making 11. Timber 	Law/Order Law/Order Law/Order Welfare Welfare Welfare Law/Order Welfare Welfare Welfare Welfare	Regulatory Re-distributive Regulatory Re-distributive Re-distributive Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory Regulatory

Type and function of the public acts of the five English parliaments held at Westminster between 1578 and 1596

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Appendix 3. The Policy-Makers

Appendix 3 consists of lists and tables relating to the Scottish parliament and the privy council over the period. The parliaments for which there is an official sederunt were those held in 1579, 1581, May 1584, August 1585, and 1587. A substantial attendance list for the 1578 parliament can be derived from *RPC*, *Calderswood*, and *Movsie*. The names of the commissioners for parliament (10.0) are only extant for the August 1584, 1592, and 1593 parliaments, whilst the members of the committee of articles are available for all but the 1583 parliament. The 1583 parliament has been excluded from any statistical analysis that follows. This has been generally based on the 10 remaining parliaments. The exceptions to this were where consideration has been given to estimates, and the estimated ages of peers, and shire representation, which only occurred after 1587. The assessment of the attendance of privy councillors (12.0) is based on the names appearing on the full sederunts of 10 privy council meetings subsequent to the opening of the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliaments. The final section (13.0) provides biographies of the officers of state who were formally constituted official members of the privy council by act of parliament over the period. The emphasis of this brief survey is on family connections. Despite limited resources and lack of source material, enough information has been found to construct a fairly informative review of them. Some of the information in this appendix can be found elsewhere (notably 1.0, 3.0, and 6.0).

Contents

- 1.0 The opening and closing dates and location of the known Scottish conventions of estates and the English parliament
- 2.0 Known prelates, and the known attendance of prelates in parliament
- 3.0 The peerage, and the known attendance of peers in parliament
- 4.0 Estimate ages of peers over eight parliaments
- 5.0 Contemporary estimates of peers
- 6.0 Known shire commissioners, with details of their attendance at conventions of estates and any privy council or royal household membership, and the known attendance of shire commissioners in parliament
- 7.0 Known burgh commissioners, with details of their attendance at conventions of estates, and any privy council or royal household membership, and the known attendance of burgh commissioners in parliament
- 8.0 Known attendance of officers in parliament
- 9.0 Known attendance of members of the estates and officers on the committee of articles
- 10.0 Known selected commissioners for holding parliament
- 11.0 Number, functions, and membership of parliamentary commissions
- 12.0 Privy councillors who attended privy council meetings subsequent to the 1585, 1587, and 1592 parliaments
- 13.0 Official members of the privy council

1.0 The Opening and Closing Dates and Location of the Known Scottish Conventions of Estates and the English Parliament

1.1 Known Scottish convention of estates¹

Convention	Location	Dates of Opening	Date of Closing
1578	Stirling	8 March	8 March ²
1578	Stirling	12 June	12 June
1578	Stirling	15 November	15 November
1579	Stirling	12 March	21 March
1579	Stirling	7 August	13 August
1581	Stirling	22 September	22 September
1581	Holyroodhouse	26 February	27 February
1581	Holyroodhouse	3 April	3 April
1581	Holyroodhouse	20 October	20 October
1582	Perth	6 July	6 July
1582	Holyroodhouse	19 October	19 October
1583	Holyroodhouse	19 April	19 April
1583	Holyroodhouse	7 December	7 December
1585	Holyroodhouse	28 April	28 April
1585	St Andrews	31 July	31 July
1586	Holyroodhouse	22 September	23 September
1586	Edinburgh	15 December	15 December
1587	Holyroodhouse	10 May	15 May
1587	Edinburgh	6 June	7 June
1588	Holyroodhouse	4 April	4 April
1588	Holyroodhouse	20 May	20 May
1588	Holyroodhouse	27 July	27 July
1588	Holyroodhouse	28 November	28 November
1589	Holyroodhouse	26 May	
1589	Holyroodhouse	26 August	
1590	Holyroodhouse	January-February	
1590	Holyroodhouse	12 June	12 June
1590	Holyroodhouse	29 July	29 July
1591	Holyroodhouse	5 May	
1591	Edinburgh	6 August	7 August
1593	Holyroodhouse	1 May	1 May
1593	Stirling	11 September	12 September ³
1593	Linlithgow	31 October	31 October
1593	Holyroodhouse	23 November	26 November
1593	Holyroodhouse	27 December	27 December
1594	Holyroodhouse	17 January	23 January ⁴
1594	Edinburgh	29 April	29 April
1594	Holyroodhouse	10 September	10 September
1594	Holyroodhouse	28 November	29 November
1595	Holyroodhouse	15 March	15 March

Known Scottish convention of estates, 1578-1596

¹ This table was compiled from *APS, RPC, CSP Scot., Calderwood, and Spottiswood.*

² Various dates are given over these months. These are 8, 12, 13, 14, 24, and 31 Mar. 1578, and 12 June 1578.

³ The layout of *APS* suggests that two separate conventions were held 11-12 Sept. 1593, but it has been assumed that this was not the case.

⁴ The layout of *APS* suggests that two separate conventions were held 17-18 Jan. 1594, but it has been assumed that this was not the case.

1.2 English parliaments, 1578-1596

Parliament	Location	Dates of Sessions	Date of Dissolution
1581	Westminster	16 January – 18 March 1581	19 April 1583
1584-5	Westminster	23 November 1584 – 19 March 1585	24 September 1586
1586-7	Westminster	29 October 1586 – 23 March 1587	23 March 1587
1589	Westminster	4 February – 29 March 1589	29 March 1589
1593	Westminster	19 February – 10 April 1593	10 April 1593

English parliaments, 1578-1596.⁵

⁵ M. A. R. Graves, *Elizabethan Parliaments, 1559-1601* (London, 1996), 125.

2.0 Known Prelates, and the Known Attendance of Prelates in Parliament

2.1 Bishops, 1578-1596^a

a) Archbishops

ST ANDREWS - 1576-1593 – Patrick Adamson; and 1593-1604 – vacancy
 GLASGOW - 1573-1581 – James Boyd; 1581-1585 – Robert Montgomery; 1585-1587 – William Erskine; and 1587-1603 – James Beaton (restored).

b) Bishops

ABERDEEN - 1577-1603 – David Cunningham
 ARGYLL - 1560-1580 – James Hamilton; and 1580-1608 – Neil Campbell
 BRECHIN - 1566-1607 – Alexander Campbell
 CAITHNESS - 1560-1586 – Robert Stewart; and 1587-1600 – vacancy
 DUNBLANE - 1575-1603 – William Chisholm
 DUNKELD - 1571-1584 – James Paton; 1584-1585 – Robert Crichton; and 1585-1607 – Peter Rollock
 ISLES - 1558-1567 – John Campbell; 1567-72 – John Carswell; and (1584) – John Campbell
 MORAY - 1574-1589 – George Douglas; and 1589-1611 – vacancy
 ORKNEY - 1559-1593 – Adam Bothwell; and 1593-1611 – vacancy
 ROSS - 1575-1578 – Alexander Hepburn; 1578-1587 – vacancy; 1587-1589 – John Leslie; and 1589-1600 – vacancy.

2.2 Known attendance of bishops in parliament

Bishops	Parliament									
	1578 ^b	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
St Andrews	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	-	-	-
Glasgow	C	C	-	C	C	-	-	-	-	-
Aberdeen	C	C	-	X	X	-	X	-	C	C
Argyll	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brechin	-	X	C	C	C	-	C	-	C	C
Caithness	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunblane	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunkeld	-	X	-	C	C	C	C	C	-	C
Isles	-	-	-	C	C ^c	-	-	-	-	-
Moray	C	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Orkney	X	C	C	X	-	C	C	C	-	-
Total	6	7	3	9	6	3	5	2	2	3

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of bishops in parliament, 1578-1596

^a Unless otherwise stated, this list was compiled from Keith, *Scottish Bishops, APS, RAS, RPS*, and *RSS*.

^b The bishopric of Galloway was completely vacant over the period.

^c The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderswood*, iii, 413-18; and Moysie, *Memoires*, 11-13.

^d Although it was decided that the committee of the articles remained the same except for the addition of Arran, the bishop of the Isles's name does not appear on the only sederunt extant for the Aug. 1584 parliament.

2.3 Known abbots, 1578-1596¹⁰

Key

(1584) – bracketed year refers to a year that was not a start or an end date

- ARBROATH - £10,924 - 1574-1579 – Lord John Hamilton, 1579-1583 – Esme Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox; 1583-1585 – Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox (also prior of St Andrews); and 1585-1604 – Lord John Hamilton
- BALMERINO - £1,773 - 1574-1582 – Henry Kinnear; and 1582-1603 – John Kinnear
- CAMBUSKENNETH - £3,148 - 1555-1584 – Adam Erskine of Alva; 1584-1585 – Alexander Livingstone, 1st earl of Linlithgow; and 1585-1604 – Adam Erskine of Alva
- CUPAR - £5,590 - xxx-1603 – Leonard Leslie
- CROSSRAGUEL - £1,860 - 1576-1587 – James Stewart of Cardonald; and 1587-1616 – Patrick Vans of Barnbarrock¹¹
- CULROSS - £1,600 - 1568-1597 – Alexander Colville; and 1597-1609 – John Colville
- DEER - £2,300 - 1551-1587 (created into a temporal lordship) – Robert Keith, 1st lord Altrie
- DRYBURGH - £2,210 - 1579-1584 – David Erskine; 1584-1585 – William Stewart of Caberstoun; and 1585-1608 – David Erskine
- DUNDRENNAN - £500? - 1566-1599 – Edward Maxwell of Lamington
- DUNFERMLINE - £9,630 - 1566-1582 – Robert Pitcairn; 1582-1585 – Henry Pitcairn of Fother; 1585-1587 – Patrick Gray, master of Gray; and 1587-1588 – George Gordon, 6th earl of Huntly - created into a temporal lordship
- FARN OR TAYNE - £1,010 - 1571-1584 – Thomas Ross; and 1584-xxx – Walter Ross
- GLENLUCE - £667 - 1560-1581 – Thomas Hay; and 1582-1602 – Lawrence Gordon
- HOLYROODHOUSE (or St Cruers) - £5,600 - 1568-1582 – Adam Bothwell (bishop of Orkney, 1559-93); and 1582-1606 – John Bothwell, 1st lord Holyroodhouse
- HOLYWOOD - £880? - (1554)-1581 – Thomas Campbell; and 1581-1608 – James Johnstone of Johnstone
- INCHAFFRAY - £667 - 1565-1609 – James Drummond of Innerpefferay
- INCHCOLM (or St Colme) - £1,240 - 1543-1581 – James Stewart of Beith, 1st lord Doune; and 1581-1611 – Henry Stewart, 1st lord St Colme
- IONA (or Incolmekell) - £ minimal (see Pittenweem) - (1576)-1581 – John Campbell (bishop of the Isles, 1558-1567, and also prior of Ardhattan); and 1581-1602 – Alexander Campbell (also prior of Ardhattan)
- JEDBURGH¹² - £2,480 - (1560)-(1589) – Andrew Home; and xxx-1610 – Alexander Home, 1st earl of Home
- KELSO - £4,830 - 1567-1587 – Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th earl of Bothwell (also commendator of Culross and Coldinghame); 1587-xxx – John Maitland of Thirlstane; and xxx-1592 – Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th earl of Bothwell
- KILWINNING - £2,560 - 1578-1585 – Alexander Cunningham of Montgrenane; 1585-1592 – James Cunningham of Montgrenane; and 1592-1613 – William Melville (also commendator of Tongland)
- KINLOSS - £3,480 - 1558-1583 – Walter Reid (also prior of Beaully); and 1583-1601 – Edward Bruce, 1st lord Kinloss
- LINDORES - £4,790 - 1569-1600 – Patrick Leslie, 1st lord Lindores
- MELROSE - £5,180 - 1568-(1585) – James Douglas¹³
- NEWBATTLE - £1,500 - 1557-1581 – Andrew Ker; and 1581-1587 (created into a temporal lordship) – Mark Ker, 1st lord Newbattle
- PAISLEY - £6,100 - 1573-1579 – Claud Hamilton, later 1st lord Paisley; 1579-1584 – William Erskine, parson of Campsie; and 1585-1587 (created into a temporal lordship) – Claud Hamilton (above)
- SOULSEAT - £810 - (1558)-1598 – John Johnstone
- SCONE - £5,350 - 1571-1580 – William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie; 1580-1581 – John Ruthven, 3rd earl of Gowrie; 1581-1584 – William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie; 1584-1586 – William Fullerton of Ardo; 1586-1588 – James Ruthven, 2nd earl of Gowrie; and 1588-1600 – John Ruthven, 3rd earl of Gowrie

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, this list was compiled from *APS*, *CSP Scot*, *RMS*, *RPC*, *RSS*, *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Keith, *Scottish Bishops*, and *Scotts Peerage*.

¹¹ *Charters of Crossraguel Abbey*, ed. F. C. Hunter-Blair, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1886), ii, 11-15.

¹² Jedburgh was combined with Canonby and Restarvet

¹³ *NAS* - Calendar of Charters, xii, 2793 – James Douglas was the second son of William Douglas of Lochleven

SWEETHEART (or New Abbey) - £690 - 1576-1612 – Gilbert Brown.¹⁴
 TONGLAND - £? - 1576-1587 - John Gordon; and 1587-1592 – William Melville, commendator (also
 commendator of Kilwinning).

2.4 Known attendance of abbots in parliament

Abbots	Parliament									
	1578 ¹⁵	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Balmerino	-	X	-	C	C	-	-	-	-	-
Cambuskenneth	C	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	C
Cupar	-	X	C	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crossraguel	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Culross	X	C	C	-	-	C	C	C	-	C
Deer	-	C	-	X	X	-	C	-	C	-
Dryburgh	C	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dundrennan	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunfermline	-	C	X	-	-	C	-	-	-	-
Fearn	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Glenluce	C	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Holyroodhouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	C
Inchaffray	X	X	-	-	-	C	C	C	C	C
Inchcolm	-	C	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jedburgh	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kilwinning	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kinloss	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	C	C	C
Lindores	-	-	X	C	C	-	C	C	C	-
Melrose	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Newbattle	-	C	C	-	-	C	C	-	-	-
Paisley	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Soulseat	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Scone	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Sweetheart	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
Tongland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-
Total	6	13	9	10	7	6	11	5	6	5

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of abbots in parliaments, 1578-1596.

¹⁴ J. Spottiswood, 'An account of the religious houses that were in Scotland at the time of the Reformation,' in M. Russel (ed.), *An Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops* (Edinburgh, 1824), 424-6.

¹⁵ The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderwood*, iii. 413-18; and *Moysie, Memoires*, 11-13.

2.5 Known priors, 1578-1596¹⁶Key

(1584) – bracketed year refers to a year that was not a start or an end date

- ARDCHATTAN (or S. Mordan's) - £ none - (1558)-1580 – John Campbell (bishop of the Isles, 1558-(1584), and also commendator of Iona); and 1580-1602 – Alexander Campbell (also commendator of Iona).
- BEAULY - £674 - 1573-1579 – John Fraser; 1579-xxx – Thomas Fraser; and xxx-1607 – Adam Cumming.
- BLANTYRE - £131 - 1569-1589 (created into a temporal lordship) – Walter Stewart, 1st lord Blantyre.
- CHARTERHOUSE (near Perth) - £1680 - 1570-(1588) – George Balfour; and (1592)-1600 – James Balfour of Pittendreich (also prior of Pittenweem).¹⁷
- COLDINGHAME - £2600? - 1574-1584 – Alexander Home of Manderston, younger; 1584-1592 – John Stewart; and 1592-1610 – Alexander Home, 1st earl of Home.¹⁸
- INCHMAHOME - £1680 - (1565)-1584 – David Erskine; 1584-1585 – Henry Stewart, 1st lord St Colme; and 1585-1608 – David Erskine.
- LESMAHAGOW¹⁹ - £ not known - 1561-(1578) – James Cunningham; (1586) – David Collace of Auchinforsyth; and xxx-1592 – Francis Stewart.
- MONYMUSK - £400 - 1577-xxx – Robert Forbes.
- PITTENWEEM - £1020 - 1567-1579 – James Balfour of Pittendreich; 1579-1583 – James Haliburton; and 1583-c1605 – William Stewart of Houston.
- PLUSCARDEN - £3,750 - 1577-1581 – James Douglas; and 1581-1588 (created into a temporal lordship) – Alexander Seton, 1st lord Urquhart.
- PORTMOAK - £250 - 1570-1599 – John Winram.
- ST ANDREWS - £12,500 - 1538-1570 – James Stewart, 1st earl of Moray (also commendator of Pittenweem); 1570-1586 – Robert Stewart, 1st earl of March (also bishop of Caithness 1542-86), and 1586-(1603) – Ludovic Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox (also commendator of Arbroath).
- ST MARY'S ISLE (or Trail) - £ not known - 1558-(1570) – Robert Richardson; and (1570)-1587 (created into a tenancy) – William Rutherford.
- STRATHFILLANE - £40 - 1569-1584 – John McCorquodale; and 1584-xxx – Donald McVicar.
- WHITHORN - £2540 - 1568-1581 – Robert Stewart; and 1581-xxx – Patrick Stewart, 2nd earl of Orkney.

¹⁶ Unless otherwise stated, this list was compiled from *APS; CSP Scot.; RAS; RPS; RSS; Booke of the Universall Kirk*; Keith, *Scottish Bishops*; and *Scotts Peerage*.

¹⁷ Millar, *Eminent Burgesses*, 68, 88.

¹⁸ HMC, *12th Report*, app. iii, 97, 61.

¹⁹ Lesmahagow was included with abbey of Kelso.

2.6 Known attendance of priors in parliament

Priors	Parliament									
	1578 ²⁰	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Blantyre	-	-	X	C	C	X	-	C	-	-
Coldinghame	-	X	C	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
Monymusk	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Pittenweem	-	-	-	C	C	-	-	-	-	-
Plusecarden	X	X	C	-	-	C	C	-	-	-
Whithorn	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	2	3	4	4	2	4	3	1	-	-

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of priors in parliament, 1578-1596.

²⁰ The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderwood*, iii. 413-18.

3.0 The Peerage, and the Known Attendance of Peers in Parliament

3.1 **Dukes and earls, 1578-1596**²¹

Key

- EC - J. Colville, 'An opinion on the present state, faction, religion, and power of the nobility of Scotland, 1583' in ed. C. Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the minority of James the Sixth*, (Grampian Club, 1873) 29-41.
- ES - All the earles of Scotland, with surnames and years, by estimation, for present living, anno 1580,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 52-53 (also *CSJ Scot.*)
- EP - 'A note of the especiall particularities concerning the present estate of the nobility here in Scotland (with Genealogical notices by Lord Burghley)' (1589) in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 53-62 (also *CSJ Scot.*)
- EN - 'The present state of the nobility in Scotland, the first of July 1592,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 63-72 (also *CSJ Scot.*)

Unusual abbreviations: att. - attained, cr. - created, forf. - forfeited, recog. - recognised, res. - restored, and succ. - succeeded

a) Dukes

LENNOX - Esmé Stewart (1st), b. 1542, promoted (see earl of Lennox below), dukedom cr. 1581, and Ludovic Stewart (2nd), b. 1574 (ES 1573, EP 1574), succ. 1583 - also earl of Darnley, and lord D'Aubigny, Tarbolton, Dalkeith, and (from 1592) Methven (see below)

b) Earls

ANGUS - Archibald Douglas (8th), b. 1555, rest. 1585 as earl of Angus, rest. 1586 as earl of Morton (see below), d. 1588; William Douglas (9th), b. c. 1532 (EP 1529), rest. 1589; and William Douglas (10th), b. 1554 (EN 1550, ES 1560), succ. 1591, forf. 1592 - also lord Douglas and Abernethie, bearer of the crown before the king in parliament, and first earl of Scotland.

ARGYLL - Colin Campbell (6th), b. xxx (EC 40+ (1543), succ. 1573; and Archibald Campbell (7th), b. 1575 (EN 1575, ES 1574, EP 1575), succ. 1584 - also lord Campbell and Lorne, heritable justice general, lord high steward of Scotland, commander of Lorne and the Western Isles, and third earl of Scotland

ARRAN - James Hamilton (2nd), b. c. 1538 (EP 1532), att. 1579, rest. 1585; and James Stewart (1st), b. xxx, cr. 1581, att. 1585, d. 1595 - also lord Evan and Hamilton.

ATHOLL - John Stewart (4th), b. xxx, succ. c. 1542; John Stewart (5th), b. 1563, succ. 1579, d. 1595; and John Stewart (1st), previously 6th lord Innermeath (see below), b. c. 1566 (EN 1560, ES 1562, EP 1563), cr. 1596

BOTHWELL - James Hepburn (4th), b. c. 1535, succ. 1556, d. 1578, and Francis Stewart (1st), b. c. 1563 (EN 1562, ES 1563, EC not past 25 (1558)), cr. 1581, att. 1592 - also lord Crichton, Halles and Lidderdale, and heritable admiral of Scotland.

BUCHAN - Christian Stewart, b. xxx, succ. 1551, d. 1580 (Christina married Robert Douglas, who became earl of Buchan in 1576, d. 1580); and James Douglas (1st), b. xxx (EN 1581, EP 1574, EC 1579 or 1580), serv. 1588 - also lord Auchterhouse

CAITHNESS - George Sinclair (5th), b. 1568 (EN 1566, ES 1566, EP 1566, EC 1566), succ. 1576

CASSILLIS - John Kennedy (EP David?), 5th earl of Cassillis, b. 1575 (EN 1575, ES 1576, EP 1576, EC an infant), succ. 1576.

CRAWFORD - David Lindsay (11th), b. c. 1557 (EN 1557, ES 1560, EP 1558), succ. 1574 - also lord Lindsay

EGLINTON - Hugh Montgomery (3rd), b. after 1533 (EC c. 1533), succ. 1546, Hugh Montgomery (4th), b. 1563 (ES 1562, EP 1563 or 1564), succ. 1585; and Hugh Montgomery (5th), b. 1584 (EN 1584, EP 1582 or 1583), succ. 1586 - also lord Montgomery.

ERROL - Andrew Hay (8th), b. xxx (EC 1528), succ. 1574, and Francis Hay (9th), b. 1564 (EN 1561, ES 1556, EP 1563), succ. 1585 - also Lord Hay and heritable constable of Scotland.

GLENCAIRN - William Cunningham (5th), b. xxx, succ. 1574; and James Cunningham (EP - John?)(6th), b. c. 1552 (EN 1552, ES 1551, EP 1553, EC c. 1553), succ. 1580 - also lord Kilmaur

GOWRIE - William Ruthven (1st), b. c. 1543, promoted (see lord Ruthven below), earldom cr. 1581, forf.

²¹ Unless otherwise stated, this list was compiled from *Scots Peerage*

- and d 1584; James Ruthven (2nd), b. 1575 (EP 1575), rest 1586; and John Ruthven (3rd), b. 1577 (EN 1577, EP 1579), succ. 1588 - also lord Ruthven.
- HUNTLY - George Gordon (6th), b. 1563 (ES 1560, EP 1561, EC c. 1562), succ. 1576 - also lord Gordon, and second earl of Scotland.
- LENNOX - Robert Stewart (7th), b. c. 1517, cr. 1578, res. 1580, d. 1586; and Esmé Stewart (8th), cr. 1580, cr. duke 1581 (see above) - also lord Darnley.
- MAR - John Erskine (2nd), b. 1562 (EN 1561, ES 1562, EP 1563), serv. 1573, forf. 1584, rest 1585 - also lord Erskine.
- MARCH - Robert Stewart (1st), b. c. 1517 (ES 1516, EC 1523 past 60), exchanged earldom of Lennox (see above) for earldom of March cr. 1580, d. 1586.
- MARISCHAL - William Keith (4th), b. 1509, succ. 1527; and George Keith (5th), b. 1553 (EN 1554, ES 1550, EP 1555), succ. 1581 - also lord Keith.
- MENTIETH - William Graham (5th), b. xxx, succ. 1565, and John Graham (6th), b. c. 1573 (EN 1573, ES 1526?, EP 1575, EC - infant), succ. 1578.
- MONTROSE - John Graham (3rd), b. 1548 (EN 1543, ES 1526?, EP 1549, EC 1553), succ. 1571 - also lord Graham.
- MORAY - Elizabeth, b. xxx, succ. 1570, m. 1580 James Stewart (2nd), b. c. 1565 (ES 1562, EP 1568, EC 1566), succ. 1580 by right of his wife; and James Stewart (3rd), b. c. 1582 (EN 1582, EP 1587), succ. 1592 - also from 1592 lord Doune (see below).
- MORTON - James Douglas (4th), b. c. 1516, succ. c. 1550 by right of his wife, att. and d. 1581; John Maxwell (1st), b. 1553, cr. 1581 (also cr. lord Carlyle and Eskdail), also 8th lord Maxwell (see below), depr. 1585 but still retained the dignity, d. 1593; Archibald Douglas (5th), also 8th earl of Angus (see above), b. 1555, rest 1587, d. 1588; and William Douglas (6th), b. 1540 (EN 1536, EP 1539), succ. 1588 - also lord Dalkeith, and Aberdour.
- ORKNEY - Robert Stewart (1st), b. xxx (EN 1529, ES 1531, EP 1529), earldom cr. 1581, and Patrick Stewart (2nd), b. xxx, succ. 1593 - also lord Zetland.
- ROTHES - Andrew Leslie (5th), b. xxx (EN 1527, ES 1526, EP 1529, EC 1553 (50 years upwards)), recog. 1565 - also lord Leslie.
- SUTHERLAND - Alexander Gordon (11th), b. 1552 (EN 1556, ES 1554, EP 1557, EC 1553), serv. 1573, d. 1594.

3.2 Known attendance of dukes and earls in parliament

Dukes and Earls	Parliament									
	1578 ²²	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Lennox	C	C	C	X	-	X	X	-	-	C
Angus	C	X	-	-	-	-	C	C	-	-
Argyll	-	C	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arran	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Atholl	-	X	X	X	-	C	-	-	-	-
Bothwell	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
Buchan	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Caithness	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Crawford	-	-	X	C	C	-	C	-	-	-
Eglinton	C	C	-	C	C ²³	-	-	-	-	-
Errol	X	X	-	X	-	C	-	-	-	-
Glencairn	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	C	-	-
Gowrie	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Huntly	-	-	X	C	C	C	C	-	-	-
Mar	X	X	-	-	-	-	C	C	C	C
Marischal	-	-	-	X	-	-	C	C	-	C
Montrose	X	X	C	C	C	-	X	C	-	C
Moray	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Morton	C	C	C	C	C	X	-	-	C	-
Orkney	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roths	-	C	C	C	C	-	-	-	-	-
Sutherland	-	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Total	10	11	13	14	10	6	8	5	2	4

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of dukes and earls in parliament, 1578-1596.

²² The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderwood*, iii. 413-18; and *Moysie, Memoires*, 11-13.

²³ Although it was decided that the committee of the articles remained the same except for the addition of Arran, the earl of Eglinton's name does not appear on the only sederunt extant for the Aug. 1584 parliament.

3.3 Lords of parliament, 1578-1596²⁴

Key

- EC - J. Colville, 'An opinion on the present state, faction, religion, and power of the nobility of Scotland, 1583' in ed. C. Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the minority of James the Sixth*, (Crampian Club, 1873), 29-41
- ES - 'All the earles of Scotland, with surnames and years, by estimation, for present living, anno 1586,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 52-3 (also *CSP Scot.*)
- EP - 'A note of the especial particularities concerning the present estate of the nobility here in Scotland (with Genealogical notices by Lord Burghley)' (1589) in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 53-62 (also *CSP Scot.*)
- EN - 'The present state of the nobility in Scotland, the first of July 1592,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 63-72 (also *CSP Scot.*)

Unusual abbreviations: att. - attainted, cr. - created, forf. - forfeited, recog. - recognised, res. - restored, and succ. - succeeded.

- LORD JOHN HAMILTON, lord of Arbroath, b. 1532 (b. ES 1526, EP 1535)²⁵
- LORD CLAUD HAMILTON b. xxx (b. ES 1524, EP 1537), cr. lord Paisley 1587 (see below)
- ALTRIE - Robert Keith (1st), b. 1529 (EN 1529, EP 1529), lordship cr. 1587 d. c. 1596²⁶
- BORTHWICK - William Borthwick (7th), b. xxx, succ. 1566; and James Borthwick (8th), b. 1570 (EN 1570, EP 1568, EC 1569), succ. 1582
- BOYD OF KILMARNOCK - Robert Boyd (5th), b. c. 1517 (EP c. 1529 - '60 odd', EC past 60 (1523)), succ. 1557; and Thomas Boyd (6th), b. xxx (EN 1546), succ. 1590, cr. 1592 lord Boyd of Kilmarnock (previously lord Boyd)
- CATHCART - Alan Cathcart (4th), b. xxx (EN 1537, EP 1537), succ. 1545
- CRICHTON OF SANQUHAR - Robert Crichton (8th), b. c. 1564 (EN 1568, EP 1569²⁷), succ. 1569
- DINGWALL - Andrew Keith (1st), b. xxx, lordship cr. 1584
- DOUNE - James Stewart (1st), b. c. 1529 (EP 1529), lordship cr. 1581, d. 1592 (see earl of Moray above)
- DRUMMOND - Patrick Drummond (3rd), b. c. 1551 (EN 1551, EP 1549), succ. 1571
- ELPHINSTONE - Robert Elphinstone (3rd), b. 1530 (EN 1529, EP c. 1560²⁸), succ. 1547
- FLEMING - John Fleming (6th), b. 1567 (EN 1567, EP 1567, EC 1568), succ. 1572 - also heritable lord chamberlain of Scotland
- FORBES - William Forbes (7th), b. xxx (EN 1517, EP 1524), succ. 1547; and John Forbes (8th), b. 1542 (EP 1539), succ. 1593.
- GLAMIS - Patrick Lyon (9th) b. 1575 (EN 1575, EP 1578), succ. 1578
- GRAY - Patrick Gray (4th), b. xxx, succ. 1541, and Patrick Gray (5th), b. 1538 (EN 1538, EP 1540), succ. 1584
- HAY OF YESTER - William Hay (5th), b. c. 1537, succ. 1576; William Hay (6th), b. c. 1561 (EP 1559), succ. 1586; and James Hay (7th), b. xxx (EN 1564, EP 1579), succ. 1591
- HERRIES OF TERREGLES - John Maxwell (4th), b. xxx, recog. 1566 in right of his wife; and William Maxwell (5th), b. 1557 (EN 1555, EP 1563, EC 1558), succ. 1583.
- HOME - Alexander (6th), b. xxx (EN 1565, EP 1564, EC 1566), succ. 1575
- INNERMEATH - James Stewart (5th), b. xxx, succ. 1570, and John Stewart (6th), b. c. 1562 (EN 1562, EP 1558), succ. 1586, cr. earl of Atholl 1596 (see above)
- LINDSAY OF THE BYRES - Patrick Lindsay (6th), b. xxx (EP 1521), succ. 1563; and James Lindsay (7th), b. xxx (EN 1554), succ. 1589.
- LIVINGSTONE - William Livingstone (6th), b. xxx (EN 1531, EP 1530), succ. 1553; and Alexander Livingstone (7th), b. xxx, succ. 1592.
- LOVAT - Simon Fraser (6th), b. xxx (EN 1569, EP 1568, EC 1571²⁹), succ. 1576.
- MAXWELL - John Maxwell (8th), b. 1553 (EN 1551, ES 1550, EP 1555), succ. 1554, cr. 1581 earl of Morton and lord Carlyle and Eskdail but depr. 1585 but still retained the dignity (see above); and John Maxwell (9th), also *de jure* 2nd earl of Morton, b. 1586 (EP 1586), succ. 1593.
- METHVEN - Henry Stewart (3rd and last), b. xxx (EC infant), succ. 1572, and d. 1585 (see duke of Lennox above).

²⁴ Unless otherwise stated, this list was compiled from *Scots Peerage*.

²⁵ Lords John Hamilton and Claud Hamilton have been classed as lords of parliament for the purposes of this study.

²⁶ *RHS*, v. 1307, 1309, 1320, *Scots Peerage*, i. 156-9. Robert Keith, 1st lord Altrie, was alive in 1584 but died before May 1590. After his death the peerage went to George Keith, 5th earl Marischal.

- NEWBATTLE - Mark Ker (1st), b. xxx (EN 1553), lordship cr **1591**.
- OCHILTREE - Andrew Stewart (2nd), b. c.1521 (EP 1521), succ. c.1548, and Andrew Stewart (3rd), b. 1560 (EN 1560), succ. 1592 - also lord Avendale
- OGILVY OF AIRLIE - James Ogilvy (5th), b. xxx (EN 1541, EP 1541), succ. c. 1549
- OLIPHANT - Laurence Oliphant (4th), b. xxx (EN 1527, EP 1529, EC past 50 (1533)), succ. 1566; and Laurence Oliphant (5th), b. 1583, succ. 1593.
- PAISLEY - Claud Hamilton (1st), promoted (see Lord Claud Hamilton above), lordship cr **1587**.
- ROSS OF HALKHEAD - James Ross (4th), b. xxx, succ. 1556; Robert Ross (5th), b. xxx (EN 1562, EP 1567), succ. 1581; and James Ross (6th), b. xxx, succ. 1595.
- RUTHVEN - William Ruthven (4th), b. c. 1543, succ. 1566, promoted 1581 (see earl of Gowrie above).
- SALTOUN OF ABERNETHY - Alexander Abernethy (6th), b. xxx, succ. 1543; George Abernethy (7th), b. xxx (EP 1561), succ. 1587; and John Abernethy (8th), b. xxx (EN 1578, EP 1577), succ. 1590
- SEMPILL - Robert Sempill (4th), b. xxx (EN 1563, EP c. 1571?, EC 1567), succ. 1576.
- SETON - George Seton (5th), b. 1531, succ. 1549; and Robert Seton (6th), b. xxx (EN 1552, EP 1559), succ. 1586.
- SINCLAIR - Henry Sinclair (5th), b. 1527 (EN 1527, EP 1528), succ. 1570.
- SOMMERVILLE - Hugh Sommerville (6th), b. 1547 (EN 1547, EP 1539?), succ. 1569
- SPYNIE - Alexander Lindsay (1st), b. xxx (EN 1564), lordship cr **1590**
- THIRLESTANE - John Maitland (1st), b. xxx (EN 1544), lordship cr **1590**; John Maitland (2nd), b. xxx, succ. 1595.
- TORPICHEN - James Sandilands (1st), b. xxx; and James Sandilands (2nd), b. c. 1574 (EN 1574, EC infant), succ. 1579.
- URQUHART - Alexander Seton (1st), b. 1557 (EN 1557), lordship cr **1588**.

²⁷ *Scots Peerage*, iii, 370; *APS*, iii, 485. The lands of Pluscarden and Urquhart were erected into a free barony in 1587 for Alexander Seton, and he was probably created 1st lord Urquhart in 1588. He is officially listed as a peer in 1592.

3.4 Known attendance of lords of parliament in parliament

Lords of Parliament	Parliament									
	1578 ²⁸	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Ld John Hamilton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	C
Boyd	C	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-
Cathcart	X	X	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-
Crichton	-	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
Doune	-	-	-	C	C	-	C	-	-	-
Drummond	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Fleming	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
Forbes	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	C	-
Gray	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Hay	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Herries	-	C	C	X	X	C	C	-	-	-
Home	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	C	C
Invermeath	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
Lindsay	X	C	C	-	-	-	-	C	-	C
Livingstone	-	-	-	C	C	X	-	-	-	C
Methven	-	-	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
Newbattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Ochiltree	C	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	C	-
Ogilvy	-	X	C	X	-	-	C	-	-	-
Oliphant	X	X	X	X	-	C	X	-	-	-
Ross	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ruthven	C	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saltoun	X	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Sempill	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-
Seton	-	X	C	-	-	C	C	C	-	X
Sinclair	X	X	X	X	X	C	X	-	C	X
Sommerville	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-
Spynie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	C	-
Urquhart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Total	11	12	12	15	10	11	12	3	6	8

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of lords of parliament in parliament, 1578-1596.

²⁸ The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderwood*, iii. 413-18; and *Moysie, Memoires*, 11-13.

4.0 Estimated Ages of Peers Over Eight Parliaments²⁹

a) Dukes and Earls

Dukes and Earls	Parliament							
	1579	1581	1584	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Lennox	62/	39/	10	11	13	18	19	20
Angus	24	26	29	30	32/	38	39	40
Argyll	36	38/	9	10	12	17	18	19
Arran	47/	?	2/	53	55	60	61	62
Atholl	16	18	21	22	24	29	30	31
Bothwell	-	18	21	22	24	29	30	31
Buchan	-	-	-	-	-	18	19	20
Caithness	13	15	18	19	21	26	27	28
Cassillis *	4	6	9	10	12	17	18	19
Crawford	22	24	27	28	30	35	36	37
Eglinton	46	48	51	52/	5	10	11	12
Errol	51	53	56/	29	31	36	37	38
Glencairn	2/	30	33	34	36	41	42	43
Gowrie	-	28	31/	8	10/	15	16	17
Huntly	19	21	24	25	27	32	33	34
Mar	17	19	22	23	25	30	31	32
March *	-	64	67	68	-	-	-	-
Marischal	70/	31	34	35	37	42	43	44
Menteith *	6	8	11	12	14	19	20	21
Montrose	36	38	41	42	44	49	50	51
Moray	-	29	32	33	35/	10	11	12
Morton	63/	31	34	35/	32/	56	57	58
Orkney	-	62	65	66	68	73/	?	?
Roths	53	55	58	59	61	66	67	68
Sutherland	27	29	32	33	35	40	41	42
Average	34	32	32	32	30	34	33	34

Key * – peerage not represented in any of eight parliaments / - change of succession after that session
? – age unknown

Estimated ages of dukes and earls over eight parliaments, 1578-1596

²⁹ These estimated ages are generally taken from the earliest date of birth in 2.1 and 2.3 above.

b) Lords of Parliament

Lords of Parliament	Parliament							
	1579	1581	1584	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
John Hamilton	53	55	58	59	61	66	67	68
Claud Hamilton *	51	53	56	57	-	-	-	-
Altrie *	-	-	-	-	58	62	63	64
Borthwick *	?	?	16	17	19	24	25	26
Boyd	62	64	67	68	70/	46	47	48
Cathcart	42	44	47	48	50	55	56	57
Crichton	5	7	10	11	13	18	19	20
Dingwall *	-	-	?	?	?	?	?	?
Doune	-	52	55	56	58	-	-	-
Drummond	30	32	35	36	38	43	44	45
Elphinstone *	50	52	55	56	58	63	64	65
Fleming	12	14	17	18	20	25	26	27
Forbes	62	64	67	68	70	75/	51	52
Glamis *	3	5	8	9	11	16	17	18
Gray	?	?	46	47	49	54	55	56
Hay	42	44	47	48/	28/	28	29	30
Herries	-	-	29	30	32	37	38	39
Home	15	17	20	21	23	28	29	30
Innermeath	?	?	?	?	29	34	35	36
Lindsay	58	60	63	64	66/	28	29	30
Livingstone	49	51	54	55	57/	?	?	?
Lovat *	11	13	16	17	19	24	25	26
Maxwell *	29	31	34	35	37	42/	7	8
Methven	?	?	?	-	-	-	-	-
Newbattle	-	-	-	-	-	28	29	30
Ochiltree	58	60	63	64	66	71/	32	33
Ogilvy	38	40	43	44	46	51	52	53
Oliphant	52	54	57	58	60	65/	10	11
Paisley *	-	-	-	-	59	64	65	66
Ross	?	19	22	23	25	30	31	32
Ruthven	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saltoun	?	?	?	?	16/	12	13	14
Sempill	16	18	21	22	24	29	30	31
Seton	48	50	53	54/	35	40	41	42
Sinclair	52	54	57	58	60	65	66	67
Sommerville	40	42	45	46	48	53	54	55
Spynie	-	-	-	-	-	28	29	30
Torpichen *	5	7	10	11	13	18	19	20
Urquhart	-	-	-	-	-	35	36	37
Average	36	39	40	41	41	41	37	38

Key * - peirage not represented in any of eight parliaments / - change of succession after that session
? - age unknown

Estimated ages of lords of parliament over eight parliaments, 1578-1596

5.0 Contemporary Estimates of Peers5.1 Estimates of various peers given in 1577 by Alexander Hay, and in 1583 by John Colville.¹Key

Letters - **N** - numerical number of peer (1 - 1st); **L** - living; g - great, r - reasonable, good or fair, and p - poor, little, indifferent, small, not great. **P** - power: g - great, r - reasonable, good or fair, and p - poor, little, small, indifferent, not great. **R** - religion: t - true or protestant, c - catholic or papist, and n - neutral, indifferent or unsettled; **A** - alliance, loyalty, fidelity, or affected: k - king, q - queen, f - France, e - England, s - Spain, and n - neutral, indifferent or unsettled; **V** - valour, courage, hardy or stomach: √ = good, x - poor, little, bad or none; **J** - judgement: √ - good, constant, and x - poor, little, bad or none; **G** - government or account: √ - good, and x - poor, little, bad or none; and **X** - absent, b - fugitive, f - France, i - Italy, m - minority, and l - not a courtier, quiet not a partaker or little sure of faction

Underlined - leader, head

Italics - outwardly or suspect

a) Dukes and earls

Dukes and Earls	1577										1583									
	N	L	P	R	A	V	J	G	X	N	N	L	P	R	A	V	J	G	X	N
Lennox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Angus	-	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	g	g	u	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
Argyll	6	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	t	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Arran	2	<u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	n	-	x	√	x	-	-	-
Atholl	4	-	-	t	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	<u>p</u>	t	-	x	x	x	-	-	-
Bothwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	g	-	t	-	-	√	√	-	-	-
Buchan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Caithness	4	<u>p</u>	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Cassilis	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Crawford	11	r	<u>p</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	<u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	t	f	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eglinton	3	-	<u>p</u>	-	-	√	-	-	-	4	-	-	t	f	x	x	x	l	-	-
Errol	8	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-
Glencairn	5	r	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	r	<u>g</u>	t	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Gowrie	-	r	r	-	k	√	-	-	-	1	-	<u>g</u>	t	e	√	-	x	-	-	-
Huntly	m	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	t	f	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lennox	-	<u>p</u>	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar	m	-	r	-	k	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
March	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	-
Marischal	4	<u>g</u>	<u>g</u>	t	-	-	-	-	-	5	<u>g</u>	-	t	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
Monteth	m	<u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	-	<u>p</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Montrose	3	<u>p</u>	<u>p</u>	-	-	-	-	-	l	3	-	<u>p</u>	t	f	√	-	-	-	-	-
Moray	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morton	4	-	-	-	k	√	√	√	-	1	-	r	t	f	-	x	x	-	-	-
Orkney	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	<u>g</u>	r	t	-	-	-	-	-	-	l
Roths	5	-	<u>g</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l
Sutherland	11	-	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	<u>p</u>	-	t	-	-	-	-	-	-	l

Estimates of various dukes and earls given in 1577 by Alexander Hay, and in 1583 by John Colville.

¹ A. Hay, 'The Scottish nobility in an *Dom*, 1577,' in *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility during the minority of James the Sixth*, ed. C. Rogers (Glasgow Club, 1873), 7-28; J. Colville, 'An opinion on the present state, faction, religion, and power of the nobility of Scotland,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 29-41

b) Lords of parliament

Lords of Parliament	1577										1583									
	N	L	P	R	A	V	J	G	X		N	L	P	R	A	V	J	G	X	
Altrie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Borthwick	7	r	-	t	k	√	√	-	l	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Boyd	5	-	-	t	-	√	√	-	-	5	r	r	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-
Cathcart	4	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crichton	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dingwall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Doune	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drummond	3	-	p	-	-	√	√	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	f
Elphinstone	3	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	p	p	n	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Fleming	m	p	p	-	qf	-	-	-	-	m	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Forbes	7	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	t	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Glamis	m	g	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	m	g	g	t	-	√	√	-	-	-	-
Gray	4	-	r	t	-	√	-	-	-	4	p	p	t	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hay	5	r	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	l
Herries	4	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-
Home	6	r	g	-	q	√	x	x	-	6	g	g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Innermeath	5	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	l	5	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
Lindsay	6	p	p	-	k	√	√	-	-	6	r	r	t	k	-	-	-	-	-	-
Livingstone	6	p	p	-	q	√	-	-	-	6	p	r	t	f	-	x	-	-	-	-
Lovat	6	r	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Maxwell	8	g	g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Methven	3	-	-	t	-	√	-	-	-	3	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Newbattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ochiltree	2	-	-	t	-	-	-	-	-	2	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ogilvy	5	-	r	-	-	-	√	-	-	5	p	R	t	f	-	-	x	-	-	-
Oliphant	4	p	p	-	k	-	-	√	-	4	g	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paisley	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ross	4	p	p	-	-	-	√	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Saltoun	6	r	r	t	k	√	-	-	l	6	p	p	t	-	-	-	x	-	-	l
Sempill	4	p	p	-	k	√	-	-	-	4	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	m
Seton	5	p	-	-	f	-	-	-	-	5	r	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sinclair	5	p	p	-	-	√	√	√	-	5	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
Sommerville	6	r	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	p	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spynie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thirlestane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Torrichen	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Urquhart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Estimates of various lords of parliament given in 1577 by Alexander Hay, and in 1583 by John Colville.

5.2 Estimates of religion and alliance of various peers

Key

Religion: t - true or protestant, c - catholic or papist, and n - neutral, indifferent or unsettled.

Alliance (or loyalty, fidelity, and affected): k - king, q - queen, f - France, e - England, s - Spain, and n - neutral, indifferent or unsettled

Underlined - leader or head

Italics - outwardly or suspect

a) Dukes and earls

Dukes and Earls ²	Estimate									
	1577 ³	1583 ⁴	1584 ⁵	1585 ⁶ (1) ⁷	1585 ⁸ (2) ⁷	1585 ⁸ (3) ⁸	1586 ⁹ (1) ⁹	1586 ⁹ (2) ¹⁰	1591 ¹¹	1592 ¹²
Lennox	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Angus	-	-	e	e	-	-	e	e	-	t
Argyll	-	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arran	-	-	-	-	-	fe	fe	-	-	-
Atholl	-	-	e	e	-	fe	fe	-	e	t
Bothwell	-	-	e	e	-	-	-	n	e	t
Cathness	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fe	e	n
Crawford	-	f	-	e	f	-	f	-	e	e
Eglinton	-	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Errol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	e	e
Gilencaim	-	-	n	n	-	-	-	e	-	t
Gowrie	k	e	e	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Huntly	-	f	-	e	fe	fe	-	fe	e	e
Mar	k	-	e	e	-	-	e	e	e	t
Marischal	-	-	e	e	-	-	-	-	e	t
Montrose	-	f	-	e	-	f	f	n	e	e
Morton	k	f	-	n	-	fe	fe	-	e	t
Orkney	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	n	-	n
Roths	-	n	n	n	-	-	-	-	e	t
Sutherland	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	fe	e	n

Estimates of religion and alliance of various dukes and earls, 1577-1592.

² The earls of Buchan, Cassilis, March, Menteith, and Moray were not included in any of these estimates.

³ Hay, 'Scottish nobility,' 7-28.

⁴ Colville, 'An opinion on the present state,' 29-41.

⁵ W. Burghley, ed., 'A list of Scottish nobles, and some genealogical memoranda of the Stewarts and others, May 1584,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 41-2.

⁶ F. Walsingham, ed., 'A list of the nobles in Scotland, soundly affected, neutral, or opposed to England, 1585,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 43.

⁷ 'A note of suche noble men and gentlemen in Scotlande that be affectioned to Fraunce, Receivers and mainteyners of the enemies to our pryncce (1585),' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 44.

⁸ 'The names of such Scotche Lordes as desires to draw course be France, 1585,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 44-5.

⁹ 'A list of Scotch nobles, whether affected to France or England, 1586,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 45-6.

¹⁰ F. Randolph, ed., 'The present state of Scotland, 1586, with their particular dispositions,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 46-52.

¹¹ 'Names of the papist and discontented earls and lords of Scotland,' and of 'the protestants and well affected to the course of England,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 62-3.

¹² 'The present state of the nobility in Scotland, the first of July 1592,' in Rogers, *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, 63-72.

b) Lords of parliament

Lords of Parliament ¹³	Estimate ¹⁴									
	1577	1583	1584	1585 (1)	1585 (2)	1585 (3)	1586 (1)	1586 (2)	1591	1592
Ld. Jo. Hamilton	-	-	-	e	-	-	-	e	e	t
Ld. Cl. Hamilton	-	-	-	-	fe	fe	-	e/f	e	-
Borthwick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Cathcart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Crichton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	e
Doone	-	-	-	-	f	f	-	-	-	-
Drummond	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Elphinstone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n
Fleming	q	-	-	-	-	-	-	fc	-	e
Forbes	-	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Glamis, master	-	-	e	e	-	-	-	e	e	-
Gray, master	-	-	-	-	f	-	-	e	e	e
Hay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	n	-	t
Herries	-	-	-	-	f	fe	-	-	-	e
Home	-	-	-	n	-	-	-	-	e	t/c
Innermeath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Lindsay	k	k	e	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Livingstone	k	f	-	-	-	e	-	-	e	e
Lovat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Maxwell	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	fc	e	e
Ochiltree	-	-	-	-	f	-	-	-	-	t
Ogilvy	-	f	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	e
Oliphant	k	-	n	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Ross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Saltoun	k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sempill	k	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Seton	f	-	-	-	f	-	-	fc	e	e
Sinclair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Sommerville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Spynie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t
Thirlestane	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	t

Estimates of religion and alliance of various lords of parliament, 1577-1592.¹³ The lords Altrie, Dingwall, Methven, Newbattle, Spynie, Torpichen, and Urquhart were not included in any of these estimates.¹⁴ The estimates are taken from the same set as in the table above.

6.0 Known Shire Commissioners, with Details of their Attendance at Conventions of Estates and any Privy Council or Royal Household Membership, and the Known Attendance of Shire Commissioners in Parliament.

6.1 Known shire commissioners in three parliaments (after 1587) with details of their attendance at conventions of estates, and any privy council or royal household membership¹⁵

Key

P – parliament
 C – convention of estates
 PC – privy councillor
 RH – royal household member

Brown of Colston, Patrick – Haddingtonshire – P 1593
 Bruce of Airth, Sir Alexander – Small baron – P 1593 – C 1593, 1593-1594, and 1594 – PC - 1593
 Campbell of Glenorchy, Sir Duncan – Small baron – P 1592 – Argyll – P 1593
 Carnegie of Colluthy and Kinnaird, Mr David – Small baron – P 1592 – C 1591, 1593, and 1594 – PC - 1592
 Edmonstone of Duntreth, Sir James – Small barons / Dumbartonshire – P 1593
 Foulis of Colinton, James – Edinburghshire – P 1594
 Hamilton of Crawfordjohn, Sir James – Lanarkshire – P 1593
 Hepburn of Wauchton and Lufness, Sir Patrick – Small baron – P 1594 – C 1593 and 1594 – Haddingtonshire – P 1593
 Home of Wedderburn, Sir George – Small baron – P 1592 and 1593 – C 1590, 1593, and 1594 – PC - 1593
 Houston of Houston, Sir Patrick – Renfrewshire – P 1593 – Small baron – C 1594
 Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Sir Roger – Small barons / Dumfriesshire – P 1593 – RH - 1593
 Lauder of the Bass, Sir George – Small barons – P 1592 – C 1593 and 1594 – PC - 1592
 Learmonth of Balcomie, James – Fife – P 1593
 Leslie of Balquham, John – Aberdeenshire – P 1593
 Lindsay of Dunrod, Sir John – Lanarkshire – P 1593
 Maxwell of Calderwood, Sir James – Lanarkshire – P 1593 and 1594
 Maxwell of Pollock, Sir John – Renfrewshire – P 1593
 Murray of Tullibardine, Sir John – Small barons – P 1592 – C 1590 and 1593 – Perthshire – P 1593 – PC - 1592 and 1593 – RH 1592 and 1593 ?
 Myrton (or Morton) of Cambo, Thomas – Small barons/ Fife - P 1593
 Ogilvy of Findlater, Sir Walter – Small barons/ Banffshire – P 1593
 Scrymgeour of Dudhope, Sir James – Forfarshire P 1594 – Small barons – C 1594
 Seton of Touch (or Tullibody), Sir James – Dunbartonshire – P 1593
 Stewart of Garlies, Sir Alexander – Wigtonshire – P 1594
 Stewart of Traquair, Sir William – Small barons / Peebleshire – P 1593 – Small barons – C 1594 - PC - 1593
 Vans of Barnbarroch, Sir Patrick, advocate – Wigtonshire – P 1593 – Small barons – P 1592 and 1593 – C 1590 and 1593-1594 – PC - 1592 and 1593 – RH - 1592 and 1593
 Wishart of Pitarro, Sir John – Small baron – P 1592
 Wood of Largo, Andrew – Fife – P 1594 – Small barons – C 1590 and 1594

¹⁵ Unless otherwise stated this list of shire commissioners was compiled from Young, *Parliaments of Scotland*, APS, RPC, and app 1.

6.2 Known attendance of shire commissioners in three parliaments

Shire	Parliament		
	1592	1593	1594
Aberdeenshire	-	X	-
Argyll	C	C	-
Banffshire	-	C	-
Dumbartonshire	-	C	-
Dumfriesshire	-	X	-
Edinburghshire	-	-	C
Fife	-	XX	C
Forfarshire	-	-	C
Haddingtonshire	-	XC	-
Lanarkshire	-	XX ¹⁶	-
Peebleshire	-	C	-
Perthshire	-	C	-
Renfrewshire	-	XX	-
Wigtonshire	-	C	C
	-	-	-
'Shire' or 'Small Baron'	CCCCCC	XC	C
Total	8	18	5

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of shire commissioners in three parliaments, 1587-1596

7.0 Known Burgh Commissioners, with Details of their Attendance at Conventions of Estates and any Privy Council or Royal Household Membership, and the Known Attendance of Burgh Commissioners in Parliament.

7.1 Known burgh commissioners in eight parliaments with details of their attendance at conventions of estates, and any privy council or royal household membership¹⁷

Key

P – parliament
 C – convention of estates
 PC – privy councillor
 RH – royal household member

¹⁶ Lanarkshire had three representatives at the 1593 parliament, and it has been assumed that one was a substitute.

¹⁷ Unless otherwise stated this list of burgh commissioners was compiled from Young, *Parliaments of Scotland, APS, RPC*; and app. 1.

- Acheson, John – Dunbar – P May 1584
 Adamson, Henry – Perth – P 1581
 Ainslie, James – Jedburgh – P 1579
 Ainslie, John – Jedburgh – P 1579
 Alexander, Robert – Stirling – P 1579 and 1594 – C 1594
 Alison, Robert – Jedburgh – P 1585
 Anderson, James – Cupar – P 1587 and 93 – C 1585, 1590, and 1594
 Anderson, Walter – Montrose – P May 1584
 Annand of Mureiston, John – Elgin – P 1579, 1581, and May 1584
 Annand, William – Craib? – P August 1584
 Annot of Hirswick, Sir John – Edinburgh – P 1587 – C 1586, 1588, and 1590
 Auchmutie, John – Stirling – P May 1584
 Baillie of Dunain, William – Inverness – P 1581
 Baillie, Hew – North Berwick – P 1587
 Balfour, Duncan – St Andrews – P May 1584 and August 1584 – C 1588 and 1594
 Bayne, Mr Randal – Dingwall – P 1593
 Beanston, Mr Thomas – Pittenweem – P 1579
 Blackburn of Brownside, William – Inverkeithing – P 1593
 Bonkle, William – Dunbar – P 1579
 Boswell, John – Kinghorne – P 1579
 Bowsie, David – Craill – P 1579
 Brown, William – Haddington – P 1581 – C 1586
 Bruce of Carnock, Sir George – Culross – P 1593
 Bruce, Anthony – Stirling – P 1585, 1592, and 1593 – C 1593
 Brunton, David – Lanark – P 1585
 Bryce, John – Dumfries – P 1587
 Campbell of Loudoun, Sir Hew – Irvine – P 1579 and 1587
 Carkett, John – Haddington – P May 1584 and August 1584
 Carrick, Alexander – North Berwick – P 1585
 Cheyne, Mr John – Aberdeen – P 1593 and 1594
 Christside, Robert – Glasgow – P 1593 – C 1594
 Clephane, Robert – Anstruther Easter – P 1593
 Clerk of Balbernie, Alexander – Edinburgh – P 1579, 1581, and May 1584
 Cochrane, George – Ayr – P 1593 – C 1585
 Cockburn, James – Haddington – P 1579, 1585, 1592, 1593, and 1594 – C 1585 and 1594
 Conqueror, Dionysius – Perth – P 1579 and 1584
 Cor, Clement – Edinburgh – P 1594 – C 1593 and August 1594
 Cornwell of Bonhard (or Ballinhard), Nicholas – Inlithgow – P 1593 – C 1593 and 1594
 Crawford, David – Ayr – P 1587 – C 1590
 Crawford, James – Ayr – P May 1584
 Cumming, Jasper – Inverness – P 1587
 Cumming, Robert – Inverness – P May 1584
 Cunningham, Robert – Dumfries – P August 1584
 Cunningham, William – Dumbarton – P 1593
 Cunningham, William – Glasgow – P 1592
 Cunningham, William – Kinghorn – P 1593
 Cuthbert, John – Inverness – P 1593
 Dalvell, Robert, Wigton – P 1587
 Dickson, Patrick – Peebles – P August 1584
 Douglas, John – Craill – P 1585
 Drummond, James – Perth – P 1585, 1592, and 1593
 Drummond, George – Cullen – P 1593
 Dunbar, James – Forres – P 1587
 Duncan, William – Dundee – P August 1584 – C 1585
 Edward, Michael – Edinburgh – P 1585
 Edward, Nicholas – Edinburgh – P 1585
 Elphinstone of Blythswood, George – Glasgow – P 1579 and August 1584 – C 1584
 Ferguson, Robert – Inverkeithing – P 1579 and 1587
 Finlayson, James – Dundee – P 1594
 Fleming, William – Perth – P 1579 and 1587
 Forrest of Magdalen, John – Inlithgow – P May 1584, August 1584, and 1585
 Forrester of Boquhan, Robert – Stirling – P 1587 – C 1578 and 1585
 Galbraith, Edward – Edinburgh – P 1593 – C 1593 and 1594
 Garden, Mr James – Elgin – P 1579
 Geddie, James – Craill – P 1587
 Gilbert, Michael – Edinburgh – P 1585
 Gilchrist of Sandford, John – Renfrew – P 1587
 Gladstone, Herbert – Kirkcudbright – P 1579
 Graham of Callender, John – Auchterarder – P August 1584
 Graham, John – Glasgow – P May 1584
 Guthrie, James – Montrose – P 1587
 Halliburton, Mr James – Dundee – P 1579 and 1581 – C 1578
 Halkett of Pittfirrane, Sir John – Kirkealdy – P 1593
 Hall of Tullibole, John – Dumfries – P 1593
 Halliwell, George – Selkirk – P 1585
 Hannay of Kirkdale, John – Wigton – P 1581
 Hartrig, John – Dumbarton – P 1579
 Harvie, William – Edinburgh – P May 1584 and (probably) August 1584
 Hay, Thomas – Elgin – P 1587
 Henederson, Thomas – Jedburgh – P 1587 and 1593 – C 1594
 Hepburn, James – Perth – P May 1584
 Herriot, George – Edinburgh – P 1592 and 94 – C 1585 and 1594
 Home, Robert – Lauder – P 1579
 Houston, Mr William – Dumbarton – P 1587
 Jackson, John – Renfrew – P 1593
 Jamieson, Robert – Ayr – P 1581
 Johnston, John – Edinburgh – P 1581
 Ker, Andrew – Inlithgow – P 1579 – C 1594
 Ker, Captain Thomas – Aberdeen – P May 1584
 Kinross, James – Inverness – P 1579
 Lauder of Bellhaven and West Barns, Maurice – Dunbar – P 1585
 Lauder, Andrew – Lauder – P May 1584 and August 1584
 Lauder, Hew – Dunbar – P 1587
 Lauder, Thomas – North Berwick – P 1579 and May 1584
 Learmonth of Dairsie, James – St Andrews – P 1587 and 1593
 Learmonth of Dairsie, Sir Patrick – St Andrews – P 1581 – C 1585
 Learmonth of Ulshaven, Robert – Montrose – P 1581 and 1587 – C 1578
 Lindsay of Dunrod, Robert – Rutherglen – P 1579
 Lindsay of the Mount, Sir David – Cupar – P 1585
 Little of Over Liberton, William – Edinburgh – P 1592
 Livingstone, Robert – Lanark – P 1587
 Lockhart, John – Ayr – P 1579 – C 1578
 Lyon, Patrick – Dundee – P 1587, 1592, and 1593
 McBrair of Almagill and Netherwood, Archibald –

- Dumfries – P 1579 and 1581
 (McBrair, Patrick – Dumfries – P 1579 presumably an error for above)
 McGillichoeane, John – Dingwall – P 1587
 Mackieson, John – Craill – P 1593
 Mason, James – Montrose – P August 1584
 (Matheson, John – Craill – P 1593 presumably an error for Mackieson above)
 Maver, Mark – Elgm – P 1593
 Maxwell of Newlaw, John – Dumfries – P 1585
 Menzies of Durne, Sir Thomas – Aberdeen – P 1593
 Menzies of Pittodells, Gilbert – Aberdeen – P 1579 and 1581 – C 1578
 Mitchelhill, John – Selkirk – P 1579
 Moir, Mr Thomas – Kintore – P 1579
 Muir, Roland – Lanark – P 1579
 Murray, Charles – Lauder – P 1585
 Muschet, John – Stirling – P 1585
 Nicol, James – Edinburgh – P August 1584
 Nisbet, Henry – Edinburgh – P 1578¹⁸ and 1579 – C 1585
 Ogilvy, Mr Thomas – Banff – P 1587
 Ogilvy, Mr Walter – Banff – P 1593
 Orsteane, Alexander – Edinburgh – P 1597 – C 1588 and 1590
 Paterson, David – Cupar – P 1579
 Pearson, David – Arbroath – P 1579
 Petrie, George – Montrose – P 1579
 Philp, David – Cupar – P May 1584
 Pringle, William – Lauder – P 1587 and 1593
 Ramsay, Alexander – Dundee – P 1594
 Riddell, John – Rutherglen – P 1593
 Robertson, James – Irvine – P 1585
 Robertson, John – Edinburgh – P 1593 – C 1594
 Rowat, Robert – Glasgow – P 1585 – C 1585 and 1594
 Russell, Mr David – St Andrews – P 1579 – C 1590
 Rutherford of Rubislaw, Alexander – Aberdeen – P August 1584, 1585, and 1587
 Rutherford, William – Jedburgh – P May 1584
 Scott, Hew – Irvine – P 1593
 Scott, James – Selkirk – P 1593
 Scott, William – Selkirk – P May 1584
 Scrymgeour, Alexander – Dundee – P 1579 and May 1584 – C 1585 and 1586
 Spalding, William – Forfar – P August 1584
 Spence, David – Rutherglen – P 1587
 Spreull, John – Rentfrew – P 1579
 Stevenson, John – Peebles – P 1593
 Stewart of Minto, Sir Mathew – Glasgow – P 1581 and 1594
 Stewart, James – Glasgow – P 1593
 Stewart, Mr John – Stirling – P 1581
 Strachan, Nicholas – Pittenweem – P 1593
 Thane, James – Brechin – P 1585
 Thomson, William – Forfar – P May 1584
 Traill, John – Forfar – P 1579 and 1587
 Tweedie, Gilbert – Peebles – P 1579
 Udward, Alexander – Edinburgh – P 1578¹⁹
 Udward, Nicholas – Edinburgh – P 1585
 Wade, David – Anstruther West – P 1593 – C 1594
 Wallace, Edward – Ayr – P 1579
 Watson, David – St Andrews – P 1593
 Watson, John – Selkirk – P 1587
 Wauch, William – Forres – P 1579
 Wedderburn of Kingennie, Mr Alexander – Dundee – P 1585 – C 1594
 Whiteford of Newgrange, Mr Patrick or Peter – Perth – P 1581 – C 1586
 Wilkie, Gavin – Selkirk – P May 1584
 Wilkie, John – Haddington – P 1587
 Wilkie, William – Lanark – P 1581 and 1593
 Wilson, Mr Andrew – Burntisland – P 1593 – C 1594
 Wishart, Mr James – Montrose – P 1593
 Wood, Niman – Craill – P May 1584
 Young, Oliver – Perth – P 1593 and 94

¹⁸ *Calderwood*, iii, 414.

¹⁹ *Calderwood*, iii, 414.

7.2 Known attendance of burgh commissioners in parliament²⁰

Burgh	Parliament									
	1578	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Aberdeen	C	X	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	C
Anstruther Easter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Anstruther West	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Arbroath	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Auchterarder	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Ayr	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	-	X	-
Banff	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Brechin	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
Buntisland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Cullen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Culross	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Cupar	-	X	-	X	-	C	X	-	X	-
Craill	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
Dingwall	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Dumbarton	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Dumfries	-	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	X	-
Dunbar	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
Dundee	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Edinburgh	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC	CC
Elgin	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	X	-
Forfar	-	X	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	-
Forres	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Glasgow	C	C	C	X	X	C	-	C	C	C
Haddington	X	X	X	X	X	C	X	C	X	C
Hawick	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Inverkeithing	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Inverness	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	-	X	-
Irvine	C	C	-	X	-	X	C	-	X	-
Jedburgh	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
Kelso	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kinghorne	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Kintore	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kircaldy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Kircudbright	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lanark	-	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-
Lauder	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-
Linlithgow	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	X	-
Montrose	-	X	X	X	X	-	C	-	X	-
North Berwick	-	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
Peebles	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Perth	C	C	C	C	C	X	C	C	C	C
Pittenweem	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Renfrew	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Rutherglen	-	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	X	-
Selkirk	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	-	X	-
St Andrews	X	C	C	C	C	-	C	-	C	-
Stirling	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Wigton	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Total	16	36	16	23	19	20	31	7	47	8

Key X - attendance C - attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of burgh commissioners in parliament, 1578-1596.

²⁰ The entries in the 1578 column are derived from *Calderwood*, iii. 413-18; and *Moysie, Memoires*, 11-13. Where there was more than one representative of each burgh (two in the case of Edinburgh) it has been assumed that the additional person was a substitute. Because it was decided that the committee of the articles remained the same except for the addition of Arran for the Aug. 1584 parliament, the burghs of Ayr and Stirling have been included even though their names do not appear on the only sederunt extant for that session.

8.0 **Known Attendance of Officers in Parliament**

Office	Parliament									
	1578	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
Chancellor	-	-	C	-	C	-	-	C	C ²¹	-
Treasurer	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	C	C	-
Secretary	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	C	C	-
Comptroller	-	-	C	-	C	-	-	C	C	-
Justice Clerk	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	C	C	-
Clerk Register	-	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Treasurer depute	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	C	-
Collector	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	-
Total	-	-	5	-	4	-	-	5	7	-

Key X – attendance C – attendance plus membership of committee of articles

Known attendance of officers in parliament, 1578-1596

²¹ Urquhart in place of Morton.

90 Known Attendance of Members of the Estates and Officers on the Committee of Articles

Estates and officers	Committee of Articles									
	1578	1579	1581	1584 May ²²	1584 Aug	1585 ²³	1587	1592	1593	1594
Prelacies (Bishops) (Abbots/priors)	8 (4) (4)	9 (4) (5) ²⁴	9 (3) (6)	8 (4) (4)	8 (4) (4)	8 (3) (5)	10 (4) (6)	8 (2) (6)	8 (2) (6)	8 (3) (5)
Peers (Dukes/earls) (Lords)	8 (5) (3)	9 (5) ²⁵ (4)	9 (5) (4)	8 (6) (2)	9 (7) (2)	8 (3) (5)	10 (4) (6)	8 (5) (3)	9 (2) (6)	8 (5) (3)
Shires	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	6
Burghs	8 ²⁶	9	9	8	8	8	10	7	8	8
Administration ²⁷	(-)	(-)	(5)	(-)	(4)	(-)	(-)	(5)	(7)	(-)
Total	24	27	27	24	25	24	30	31	33	30

Known attendance of members of the estates and officers on the committee of articles, 1578-1596²⁸

²² *Calderwood*, iv. 62. Calderwood states that the lords of the articles comprised of five bishops, three abbots or priors, five earls, two lords, and only four burgesses.

²³ *CSP Scot.*, viii. 161. 8 Dec. 1585. Henry Woddryngton to Walsingham. Woddryngton lists the prelates as the bishops of St Andrew, Brechin, Dunkeld, Orkney and Glasgow and the abbot of Dunfermline, Culross and Newbattle.

²⁴ Moysie, *Memoires*, 26. Moysie names only 4 abbots/priors.

²⁵ *Ibid.*. Moysie gives six earls, and two lords.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 12. Moysie gives only seven burgh commissioners.

²⁷ These are the members of officers who were named in addition to the above.

²⁸ These figures have been taken from the tables above.

10.0 **Known Selected Commissioners for Holding Parliament**

Members of the Estates and Officers ²⁹	Commission for Parliament									
	1578 ³⁰	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	1594
St Andrews	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	(X)	-	-
Brechin	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dunkeld	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-
Orkney	-	C	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-
Culross	-	-	-	-	-	C	C	C	-	-
Deer	-	C	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-
Dunfermline	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Culross	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kinloss	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	C	-
Melrose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Newbattle	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	(X)
Blantyre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(X)	-
Arran	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eglinton	-	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Errol	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-
Marischal	-	-	-	X	X	-	C	-	-	-
Montrose	-	X	C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morton	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	(X)	C	-
Seton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Cupar	-	-	-	-	-	(X)	-	-	-	-
Edinburgh	-	CC	C	C ³¹	C ³²	CC	C	C	-	C ³³
Linlithgow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(X)	-	-
Perth	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-
Stirling	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	-	-	-
Chancellor	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Treasurer	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	C	X
Secretary	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	C	-	X
Justice Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	C	-	X
Clerk Register	-	-	X	-	-	X	X	-	-	X
Treasurer depute	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	C	X
Collector	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	C	-
Advocate	-	XX	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Total	-	14	8	3	3	12	5	9	6	9

Key X – attendance in parliament C – attendance in parliament plus membership of committee of articles (X) – not known to have attended the parliament concerned

Known selected commissioners for parliament, 1578-1596

²⁹ This column is set out in the following order – bishops, abbots, priors, dukes and earls, lords, burghs, and offices.

³⁰ Information is not available for the commissioners for the 1578 parliament.

³¹ Bothwell.

³² Bothwell.

³³ Home of North Berwick.

11.0 **Number, Functions, and Membership of Parliamentary Commissions**

Function/ Membership	Parliamentary Commissions									Totals
	1578 ³⁴	1579	1581	1584 May	1584 Aug.	1585	1587	1592	1593	
Defence/	-/	-/	-/	-/	1/	-/	1/	-/	-/	2/
Bishops	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
Nobles	-	-	-	-	8	-	1	-	-	9
Burgesses	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	6
Officers	-	-	-	-	7	-	1	-	-	8
Others	-	-	-	-	3	-	5	-	-	8
Law and Order/	2/	-/	-/	1/	-/	-/	2/	1/	-/	6/
Bishops	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Nobles	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	8
Burgesses	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Officers	4	-	-	1	-	-	6	6	-	17
Others	14	-	-	-	-	-	8	3	-	25
Finance/	-/	-/	-/	-/	-/	1/	5/	2/	2/	10/
Bishops	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-	-	6
Nobles	-	-	-	-	-	1	13	2	4	20
Burgesses	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	2	12
Officers	-	-	-	-	-	10	17	8	7	42
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	18	8	36
Welfare/	5/	1/	1/	-/	1/	-/	1/	-/	-/	9/
Bishops	12	1	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	18
Nobles	10	4	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	24
Burgesses	2	-	6	-	-	-	4	-	-	12
Officers	4	1	9	-	2	-	2	-	-	18
Others	23	9	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	37
Other/	1/	-/	-/	-/	-/	-/	1/	-/	-/	2/
Bishops	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Nobles	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6
Burgesses	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Officers	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	6
Others	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2
TOTALS	8/ 94	1/ 15	1/ 30	1/ 4	2/ 32	1/ 12	10/ 94	3/ 38	2/ 21	29/ 340

Number, functions, and membership of the parliamentary commissions, 1578-1593³⁵

³⁴ Information is not available for the commissioners for the 1578 parliament.

³⁵ This table has been constructed from information given in Goodare, 'Parliament and society,' app. C, 504-7. The information includes some double counting, for example, nobles who were also officers of state. Eldest sons were assumed to be nobles, and commendators were regarded as 'others' unless they were officers. 'Others' mainly included lawyers and other working members.

12.0 Privy Councillors who Attended Privy Council Meetings Subsequent to the 1585, 1587, and 1592 Parliaments³⁶

a) The 1585 Parliament

Named Persons	Sederunt/s											Total
	Aug- Oct 85	4/ 11/ 85	26/ 11/ 85	11/ 12/ 85	14/ 12/ 85	21/ 12/ 85	23/ 12/ 85	10/ 1/ 86	13/ 1/ 86	22/ 1/ 86	25/ 1/ 86	
James VI	4	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	6
+ Adamson, St Andrews	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	3
Auchnoul, <i>justice-clerk</i>	12	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	8
+ Blantyre, <i>privy seal</i>	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	8
+ Bothwell, Orkney	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	3
+ Culross	1	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	2
+ Deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Douglas, earl of Angus	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	5
Easter Kennet, <i>cl-register</i>	14	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Erskine, earl of Mar	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	3
Gordon, earl of Huntly	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Glamis, <i>treasurer</i>	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	9
Gray, master of Gray	11	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	4
Hamilton, Lord Claud	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hamilton, Lord John	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	2
Home of Cowdenknowes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	4
Keith, earl Marischal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Largo, <i>comptroller</i>	4	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	4
Lesley, earl of Rothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	1
Lincluden, <i>col-general</i>	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	-	5
Maitland, <i>secretary</i>	14	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	10
Maxwell, earl of Morton	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Maxwell, lord Herries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murdocairney, <i>treas-depute</i>	12	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	6
+ Newbattle, <i>mr. of requests</i>	0	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
+ Pluscarden	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	✓	5
TOTAL	-	7	8	18	7	9	6	11	5	11	12	94

Key: + - prelate

Persons named on the 10 full sederunts of the privy council from November 1585 to January 1586, and the number of times they appeared on the 14 similar lists for the previous three months.

³⁶ The two tables were compiled from *RPC*.

b) The 1587 Parliament

Named Persons	Sederunt										Total
	1/ 8/ 87	9/ 8/ 87	16/ 9/ 87	20/ 9/ 87	13/ 11/ 87	17/ 11/ 87	21/ 11/ 87	20/ 12/ 87	22/ 12/ 87	29/ 12/ 87	
James VI	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	1
+ Adamson, St Andrews	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Auchnoull, <i>justice-clerk</i> *	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	10
Barnes, <i>comptroller</i> *	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	3
+ Blantyre, <i>privy seal</i> *	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
+ Bothwell, Orkney *	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Boyd, lord Boyd	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
+ Culross *	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Cranston-Riddle, <i>advocate</i> *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Douglas, earl of Angus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Easter Kennet, <i>clerk-register</i> *	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
Erskine, earl of Mar	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	2
Glamis, <i>treasurer</i> *	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	5
Gordon, earl of Huntly	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Graham, earl of Montrose	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hamilton, Lord Claud	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hamilton, Lord John	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hay, earl of Errol	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Home of Cowdenknowes *	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	7
Keith, earl Marischal	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	3
Leslie, earl of Rothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lincluden, <i>collector-general</i> *	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
Lindsay, earl of Crawford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maitland, <i>chancellor</i> *	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	10
Maxwell, lord Herries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Meldrum of Seggie *	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Murdocairney, <i>treasurer</i> *	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	3
+ Newbattle, <i>mr. of requests</i> *	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	4
+ Pluscarden	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	4
+ Rollock, Dunkeld	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	2
Stewart, earl of Bothwell	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Stewart, lord Doune	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vans of Barnbarrock	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	13	9	10	8	8	6	5	8	10	7	88

Key: + - prelate * - ordinary and daily council **bold** - added after 1585 parliament

Persons named on the 10 full privy council sederunts made from August to December 1587.

c) The 1592 Parliament

Named Persons	Sederunt										Total
	5/ 6/ 92	8/ 6/ 92	15/ 6/ 92	6/ 7/ 92	8/ 7/ 92	11/ 7/ 92	13/ 7/ 92	20/ 7/ 92	3/ 8/ 92	24/ 8/ 92	
James VI	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	6
+ Blantyre, <i>privy seal</i>	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	2
Boyd, lord Boyd	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	1
Bruce of Airth	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	-	-	-	4
Campbell, earl of Argyll	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	2
Campbell of Terrinyean	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Carnegie of Colluthie	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Carmichael of Carmichael	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	7
Clerkington, <i>secretary</i>	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	7
Cranston-Riddle, <i>advocate</i>	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cunningham, earl of Glencairn	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Douglas, earl of Angus	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Douglas, earl of Morton	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	7
Easter Kennet, <i>clerk-register</i>	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	6
Erskine, earl of Mar	✓	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	6
Gordon of Lochinvar	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	2
Graham, earl of Montrose	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Hamilton, Lord John	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	2
Hay, earl of Errol	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Home, lord Home	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	4
Home of Northberwick	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	2
Keith, earl Marischal	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	5
Lauder of the Bass	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	6
Leslie, earl of Rothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lincluden, <i>collector-general</i>	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	4
Lindsay, earl of Crawford	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lindsay, lord Lindsay	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	1
Mackenzie of Kintail	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maitland, <i>chancellor</i>	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	✓	✓	-	6
Maxwell, lord Maxwell	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	2
Melville of Halhill, 'officer'	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	5
Murdocairney, <i>treasurer</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	8
Murray of Tullibardine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newbattle, <i>master of requests</i>	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	6
Ormiston, <i>justice-clerk</i>	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	6
Parbroath, <i>comptroller</i>	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	6
Seton, <i>almoner</i>	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Seton, lord Seton	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	2
Spott, <i>wardrobe</i>	✓	-	✓	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	6
Spynie, <i>chamberlain-depute</i>	✓	-	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	4
Stewart, duke of Lennox	✓	-	-	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	5
TOTAL	24	16	16	7	14	18	8	8	16	15	142

Key: + - prelate **bold** - added after 1592 parliament

Persons named on the 10 full privy council sederunts made from June to August 1592.

13.0 **Biographies of official privy councillors named by parliament over the period**³⁷**Key**

Parliament: (78) – July 1578; (79) – Nov. 1579; (81) – Nov. 1581; (85) – Dec. 1585; (87) – July 1587; (92) – June 1592; (93) – July 1593³⁸

* - DNB

Great-grandparents – underlined (sections 16 and 19 only)

- 1 **Bellenden of Auchnoul*** – Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul – **justice clerk (78) (79) (81) (85) (87)**, b. ca. 1553 – d. 1591, was the son of Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul (just. clerk 1547-77), and the grandson of Mr Thomas Bellenden (just. clerk 1539-47). He was knighted around 1577, appointed an ord. lord of session in 1584, and k. of Blackness Castle in 1585. He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582); was involved in the downfall of James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran (chanc. 1584-5) by promoting, in collaboration with Patrick Gray, 6th lord Gray (mr. of the wardrobe 1584), the return of the banished lords in 1585, and accompanied James VI to Norway and Denmark (1589-90).³⁹ Sir John m. firstly Margaret Scott,⁴⁰ secondly Barbara Kennedy, a dau. of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains and Janet Stewart, the eldest dau. of John Stewart, 2nd earl of Atholl, and widow of Alexander Gordon, master of Sutherland, and thirdly Janet Seton, a dau. of Sir Walter Seton of Touch and Tullibody and Elizabeth Erskine, Sir Lewis's half-sister. Elizabeth Bellenden, m. secondly Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston (just. clerk (92) (93)). In 1587, Sir Lewis was made k. of Milnthgow palace in 1587 on the resignation of Robert Melville of Murdocarmey (treas. 1591-3, treas. dep. 1582-96), and with John Matland of Thirlestane (chanc. (87) (92) (93), see (85), vice-chanc. 1586-87) was granted a charter in feu-ferme for the administration of justice in the county of Orkney and the lordship of Zetland. He m. firstly in 1580 without issue Gillis Forrester, a dau. of Sir James Forrester of Corstophme, and secondly in 1581 Margaret Livingston, a dau. of William Livingstone, 6th lord Livingston, and Agnes Fleming, the second dau. of Malcolm Fleming, 3rd lord Fleming, who was the aunt of John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose (treas. 1584-85). Margaret m. secondly Patrick Stewart, 2nd earl of Orkney.
 - 1 Sir James Bellenden of Broughton m. 1601 Elizabeth Ker, the youngest dau. of Sir William Ker of Cessford, and Janet Douglas, a dau. of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig, who was the father of Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Edinburgh (col. gen. 1590-6), and the widow of James Tweedie of Drummelzier
 - 2 William Bellenden
 - 3 John Bellenden
 - 4 Margaret Bellenden
 - 5 Annabel Bellenden
- 2 **Borthwick of Lochill*** – Mr David Borthwick of Lochill – **advocate (78)**, d. 1581⁴¹ was created an ord. lord of session in 1573. He was the son and heir of David Borthwick, burgess of Haddington,⁴² and described himself in 1563 as a cousin of William Borthwick of Soltray, who m. Katherine Crichton.⁴³ He m. Marion Guthrie, a dau. of Alexander Guthrie, burgess of Edinburgh, who m. secondly, as his first wife, John Lindsay of Menmure (k. of the p. seal 1596, see 1596-8).
 - 1 Mr David Borthwick, who predeceased his father.⁴¹
 - 2 Mr James Borthwick.⁴⁵
- 3 **Buchanan*** – Mr George Buchanan – **keeper of the privy seal (78), and preceptor (79)**, b. 1506 – d. 1582, was a historian and scholar and tutor to James VI, 1570-8.⁴⁶
- 4 **Campbell, 6th earl of Argyle*** – Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyle – **chancellor (79) (81), and justice general (78)**, d. 1584, was largely responsible with John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (chanc. 1578), for deposing Morton as regent, and persuading James VI to assume the government, in 1578. He became

³⁷ Unless otherwise stated the information is taken from *Scots Peerage*.

³⁸ July 1578 - *APS*, iii, c.4 96-8; *RPC*, iii, 14n; Nov. 1579 - *APS*, iii, c.32 150-1; *RPC*, iii, 233n; Nov. 1581 - *APS*, iii, c.38 228-9; Dec. 1585 - *APS*, iii, c.10 378; *RPC*, iv, 36n; July 1587 - *APS*, iii, c.19 444; *RPC*, iv, xxiv-xxv; June 1592 - *APS*, iii, c.41 562-3; *RPC*, iv, 749-50n; July 1593 - *APS*, iv, c.46 34; *RPC*, v, 92n

³⁹ *DNB*, ii, 188.

⁴⁰ The justice clerk preceding Thomas Bellenden was Thomas Scott of Paterno.

⁴¹ *DNB*, ii, 408; *RSS*, viii, 434.

⁴² *HMC, 12th Report*, app. viii, 112.

⁴³ *HMC, Living Charters*, 757.

⁴⁴ *RSS*, vii, 1380.

⁴⁵ *RSS*, vii, 1380.

⁴⁶ *DNB*, iii, 186.

chancellor after agreeing to work with Morton after his appointment as 'first in council'. He was implicated in the Raid of Ruthven (1582), and in the plot to release the king from the Ruthven regime in 1583.⁴⁷ He was the second son of Archibald Campbell, 4th earl of Argyll (just gen. 1526-58), and his second wife Margaret Graham, the only dau. of William Graham, 3rd earl of Menteth, and Margaret Moubray, a dau. of John Moubray of Barnbougle, and the younger bro. of Archibald Campbell, 5th earl of Argyll (just gen. 1558-73). Colin m. firstly without issue Janet Stewart, the eldest dau. of Henry Stewart, 1st lord Methven, and secondly Agnes Keith, the eldest dau. of William Keith, 4th earl Marischal, and widow of regent Moray.

- 1 Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll
- 2 Sir Colin Campbell of Lundin, bart., m. Mary Campbell, a dau. of Colin Campbell of Glenurchy and widow of John Graham, 6th earl of Menteth
- 3 Anna Campbell

- 5 **Cockburn of Clerkington** - Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington - **secretary (92) (93)**, was also mr. of requests 1592, and k. of the p. seal 1596-1626. He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). Richard was a son of John Cockburn of Clerkington, and Helen Matland, the sis. of John Matland of Thirlestane (chanc. (87) (92) (93), sec. (85), vice-chanc. 1586-7). He m. firstly Janet Fleming, the only child of James Fleming, 4th lord Fleming, and secondly Margaret (surname unknown).⁴⁸

- 1 Patrick Cockburn of Clerkington⁴⁹
- 2 Jean Cockburn m. James Pringle, younger of Torwodlie, the son of George Pringle of Torwodlie⁵⁰
- 3 Helena Cockburn m. Sir Alexander Murray of Blackbarony⁵¹

- 6 **Cockburn of Ormiston** - Sir John Cockburn of Ormiston - **justice clerk (92) (93)**, was the son of John Cockburn of Ormiston and Alison Sandilands. He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). John m. firstly Janet Home, a dau. of Alexander Home of Manderston (gent. of the p. chamber) and Jean Home, a dau. of George Home of Spott, who was the sis. of the younger George Home of Spott (mr. of the wardrobe 1590-2). He m. secondly Elizabeth Bellenden, the half-sister of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchmoul (just. clerk (78) (79) (81) (85) (87)) by his third wife Jane Seton, a dau. of Sir Walter Seton of Touch and Fullibody and Elizabeth Erskine.⁵²

- 1 George Cockburn of Ormiston⁵³
- 2 Jean Cockburn m. Sir John Murray of Polmas.⁵⁴
- 3 Catherine Cockburn m. James Makgill, 1st viscount Oxford, the grandson and heir of David Makgill of Nisbet and Cranston Riddell (adv. 1581-96).⁵⁵

7. **Crichton of Elliok*** - Mr Robert Crichton of Elliok - **advocate (79)**, d. ca. 1586, was created an ord. lord session in 1582.⁵⁶ He was also designated 'of Cluny'. He m. firstly Agnes Mowbray, the dau. of John Mowbray of Barnebowgall and Elizabeth Kirkaldy,⁵⁷ secondly Isobel Borthwick,⁵⁸ and thirdly Elizabeth Stewart, the youngest dau. of Sir James Stewart of Doune, and sis. to James Stewart, 1st lord Doune (col. gen. 1584-7).⁵⁹

- 1 Mr James Crichton⁶⁰
- 2 Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny m. firstly Susanna Grierson, and secondly, as her second husb., Margaret Stewart, the second dau. of John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl (chanc. 1578-9).⁶¹
- 3 Margaret Crichton, eldest dau., m. Robert Dalzell, younger of Dalzell, who obtained the lands of

⁴⁷ *DNB*, iii, 347.

⁴⁸ *Scots Peerage*, v, 298, 300.

⁴⁹ *Retours*, i, Haddington 124 (1629).

⁵⁰ *RMS*, viii, 447.

⁵¹ *RMS*, viii, 1880.

⁵² *RMS*, v, 943. Walter was a witness in 1586 to a charter of confirmation from John Erskine, master of Erskine, to Alexander Hay of Delgaty, and Margaret Innes, in liferent and their second son Gilbert Hay of the lands of Parkyok, in the barony of Kellie, in Aberdeenshire. Alexander was also m., probably secondly as her second husb., Janet Forbes, the fifth dau. of John Forbes, 6th lord Forbes, and third wife Elizabeth Barley, the widow of Alexander Elphinstone, 1st lord Elphinstone. Janet m. firstly John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl, and thirdly William Leslie of Balquhan. Douglas, *Baronage*, 36. Gilbert m. Bessie Johnston, the eldest dau. of William Johnston, younger of Johnston, and Margaret Hay, a dau. of the laird of Delgaty.

⁵³ *Retours*, i, Haddington 126 (1629).

⁵⁴ Douglas, *Baronage*, 111.

⁵⁵ *RMS*, viii, 361.

⁵⁶ *DNB*, v, 87.

⁵⁷ *RSS*, vii, 234.

⁵⁸ *RSS*, vii, 1729.

⁵⁹ Douglas, *Baronage*, 489. Robert's sis. Mary m., as his first wife, Sir James Stewart of Ballechin.

⁶⁰ *RSS*, vii, 1915; *RMS*, iv, 2871, 2492.

⁶¹ *RPC*, iv, 770; *RMS*, vi, 543.

Eliok in 1551 from James Douglas of Drumlanrig the half bro. of Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden (col. gen. 1590-6).⁶²

4. **Marion Crichton**⁶³

8. **Douglas, provost of Lincluden** - Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden - **collector general (87) (92) (93)**, d. 1609, was a natural son of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig.⁶⁴ He was put to the horn in 1582 by the then col. gen. for the non-payment of his third of the benefice of Lincluden and of the mails of the church of Glencarne.⁶⁵

9. **Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth** - Adam Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth - **collector general (79) (81)**. He was a natural son of Thomas Erskine, master of Erskine, the second son of John Erskine, 5th lord Erskine, and Margaret Campbell, the eldest dau. of Archibald Campbell, 2nd earl of Argyll. He, together with his half-brother David Erskine, commendator of Cambuskenneth, who was a natural son of the same father, was a tramer in riding and manly sports to the young James VI.⁶⁶ In 1572, he and his uncle Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar (vice chamb. 1580) were granted a bond for the house of Mar that the king should be kept securely at Stirling castle under the tuition of Mr George Buchanan (k. of the p. seal 1570-8) and Sir Peter Young of Seton (almoner 1577-1614).⁶⁷ He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). He m. Margaret Drummond.⁶⁸
 1. Mary Erskine m. Sir James Erskine of Craig and Tullibody, the fourth son of Sir Alexander Erskine, 1st earl of Kellie, who m. probably firstly Margaret Home, a dau. of George Home, 4th lord Home, and probably secondly **Elizabeth Lyon**
 2. Annabel Erskine.⁶⁹
 3. Margaret Erskine.⁷⁰

10. **Hay of Easter Kennet*** - Mr Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet - **clerk register (79) (81) (85) (87) (92) (93)**, d. 1594, was appointed clerk to the p. council in 1564, director of chancery in 1577, and an ord. lord of session in 1579.⁷¹ He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). Alexander was the son of William Hay of Mayne.⁷² He m. Mariota Farquhar
 1. Sir Alexander Hay of Ardet was deputy clerk reg., and see 1608-12.⁷³
 2. Sir John Hay, who was master of the grammar school of Edinburgh up and until 1580.⁷⁴ He was appointed to the office of registration of signatures deputed to him by his father in 1583,⁷⁵ and clerk reg. 1633-37. He m. Mariota Drummond.
 3. Andrew Hay, master of the grammar school of **Lambethame**, and, in 1580, of Edinburgh.⁷⁶
 4. Daniel Hay.⁷⁷

11. **Home of Spott*** - Sir George Home of Spott, later 1st earl of Dunbar - **master of the wardrobe (92) (93)**, d. 1611, was one of the king's 'upstart courtiers'.⁷⁸ He was known 'of Primroknow', but, more usually, 'of Spott'. He was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber in the early 1580s, one of the king's master stablers in 1584,⁷⁹ and treas. 1602-11, and created Lord Home of Berwick in 1604, and earl in 1605. He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582), and accompanied James VI to Norway and Denmark in 1689-90.⁸⁰ He was the third son of Alexander Home of Manderston (gent. of the p. chamber) and Jean Home, a dau. of George Home of Spott, and m. Elizabeth Gordon, the only child of George Gordon of Gight and Agnes, a natural dau. of Cardinal Beaton
 1. Anne Home m. Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes
 2. Elizabeth Home m. Theophilus Howard, 2nd earl of Suffolk

⁶² *RAS*, vi. 483.

⁶³ *RPC*, iv. 770, v. 570, 571.

⁶⁴ *RAS*, vi. 483. James Douglas of Drumlanrig confirmed a charter, with the consent of Mr Robert Douglas, provost of Lincluden, and others, by which Robert Dalzell of Dalzell sold his lands of Eliok in the barony of Drumlanrig, in 1551 to his son Robert Dalzell, younger of Dalzell.

⁶⁵ *RSS*, viii. 785.

⁶⁶ D.H. Willson, *King James VI and I* (London, 1956), 19-20.

⁶⁷ *RPC*, ii. 181.

⁶⁸ *RSS*, viii. 1506.

⁶⁹ *RSS*, viii. 1506.

⁷⁰ *RSS*, viii. 1506.

⁷¹ *DNB*, v. 250.

⁷² *RPC*, iv. 655, 659.

⁷³ *RSS*, vii. 1701.

⁷⁴ *RSS*, vii. 2359.

⁷⁵ *RSS*, viii. 1548.

⁷⁶ *RSS*, vii. 2359.

⁷⁷ *RPC*, iv. 404.

⁷⁸ *Hallibill, Memoirs*, 40, *CSP Scot.*, x. 102, 575.

⁷⁹ *RSS*, viii. 2484.

⁸⁰ *DNB*, vi. 230.

- 12 **Home, 6th lord Home*** - Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, later 1st earl of Home - **captain of the guard (93)**, b. *ca.* 1566, d. 1619, was restored to the forfeited title and estates of his father in 1578, and was warden of the east marches 1582-99. He was involved in the Ruthven Raid (1582), imprisoned 1583-4 for a brawl with Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th earl of Bothwell, but later co-operated with him against him against James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran (chanc. 1584-5), and then, as capt. of the guard, worked against him. He was excommunicated as a Catholic, but absolved on making a confession of faith in 1593. He made an earl in 1605. He was the eldest son of Alexander Home, 5th earl of Home, and his second wife, Agnes Gray, the third dau. of Patrick Gray, 5th Lord Gray, and Mariota Ogilvy, the second dau. of James Ogilvy, 4th lord Ogilvy of Airlie. She was sister of Patrick Gray, master of Gray (mr. of the wardrobe 1584-5), and the widow of Robert Logan of Restalrig, and m. thirdly **Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis (treas. (85) (87) (93))**, capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90) Alexander Home, 5th lord Home, m. firstly Margaret Ker, a dau. of Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, by whom he had a daughter, Margaret Home, who m. before Feb. 1583 George Keith, 5th earl Marischal. His son, Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, m. firstly without issue in 1586 Christian Douglas, a dau. of William Douglas of Lochleven, later 6th earl of Morton, and widow of Lawrence Oliphant, master of Oliphant. He m. secondly *ca.* 1607 Mary Sutton, eldest dau. of Edward Sutton, 9th lord Dudley.
- 1 James Home, 2nd earl of Home, m. firstly in 1622 Catherine Carey, eldest dau. of Henry Carey, 1st viscount Falkland, and secondly after 1526 Grace Fane, a daughter of Francis Fane, 1st earl of Westmorland
 - 2 William Home
 - 3 Margaret Home m. James Stewart, 5th earl of Moray
 - 4 Anne Home m., as his first wife, John Matland, 1st duke of Lauderdale
 - 5 William Home, provost of Dunfermline (natural son)
- 13 **Ker, commendator of Newbattle*** - Mark Ker, 1st earl of Lothian - **master of requests (85) (87) (92) (93)**, b. *ca.* 1558 - d. 1609, became commendator of Newbattle in 1581, lord Newbattle in 1591, and earl in 1606. He was appointed a gent. of the p. chamber in 1580, an extraord. lord of session in 1584, and interim chanc. in 1604.⁸⁷ He was the eldest son of Mark Ker, commendator of Newbattle, and Helen Leslie, the second dau. of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes, and the widow of Gilbert Seton of Parbroath. His father was the second son of Sir Andrew Ker of Cessford and Agnes Crichton, the dau. of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranston Ridell. He m. Margaret Maxwell, the second dau. of John Maxwell, 1st lord Herries of Terregles, and Agnes Herries, *de jure* baroness of Terregleson.
- 1 Robert Ker, 2nd earl of Lothian, who was master of requests 1606-1624, m. Anabella Campbell, the second dau. of Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll
 - 2 Sir William Ker of Blackhope and Cockpen
 - 3 Sir Mark Ker of Maudslie
 - 4 James Ker
 - 5 John Ker
 - 6 Jean Ker m. firstly Robert Boyd, the eldest son of Thomas Boyd, 6th lord Boyd, and secondly David Lindsay, 12th earl of Crawford, and thirdly Mr. Thomas Hamilton of Robertston
- 14 **Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie*** - Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie - **vice-chamberlain (92)**, d. 1607, was described as the king's minion.⁸² He was eventually recognised after three years as a lord of parliament in 1593. He was accused of treason in 1592, and, although cleared of the charge, lost the king's confidence, and was accused of harbouring Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th earl of Bothwell, in 1592.⁸³ He was the fourth son of David Lindsay, 10th earl of Crawford, and Margaret Beaton, the eldest dau. of Cardinal David Beaton and Marion Ogilvy, the youngest dau. James Ogilvy, 1st lord Ogilvy. He m. 1589 **Jean Lyon**, the second dau. of **John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis** (chanc. 1573-8), and Elizabeth Abernethy, the only dau. of William Abernethy, 5th lord Abernethy of Saltoun. She was the widow of Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who was the bro. in law of **Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis (treas. (85) (87) (93))**, capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90) and Archibald Campbell, 7th earl of Argyll (just gen. 1594-1603) **Jean Lyon** m. secondly in 1587, as his third wife, Archibald Douglas, 8th earl of Angus.
- 1 Alexander Lindsay, 2nd lord Spynie, m. Margaret Hay, the only dau. of George Hay, 1st earl of Kinnoull (clerk reg. 1616-22, chanc. 1622-34). George was the nephew of Sir James Hay of Kingask (compt. 1608-10)
 - 2 John Lindsay
 - 3 Anna Lindsay m. Sir Robert Graham, the youngest son of John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose (treas. 1584-5)
 - 4 Margaret Lindsay m. Alexander Erskine of Dun

⁸² DNB, xi 62⁸³ *Hall's Memoirs*, 40, *CSP Scot.*, x, 102, 575.⁸⁴ DNB, xi 280

- 15 **Lyon of Auldbar (Glamis)* - Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis - treasurer (85) (87) (93)**, and capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90, was the youngest son of **John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis**, and Janet Keith, the dau. of Robert Keith, master of Marischal, and only bro. of **John Lyon*, 8th lord Glamis** (chanc. 1573-78). He was one of the leaders of the Raid of Ruthven (1582) and Raid of Stirling (1584). He was appointed an extraord. lord of session in 1586, and received a knighthood in 1590. He was deprived of his offices for favouring Francis Stewart Hepburn, 5th earl of Bothwell, in 1591, but restored to them and promoted to an ord. lord of session in 1593. He was compelled to give up his life-tenure of the office of treas. with the appointment of the Octavians (1596-7).⁸⁴ He m. firstly in 1575 Agnes Gray, the third dau. of Patrick Gray, 5th Lord Gray, and Mariota Ogilvy, the second dau. of James Ogilvy, 4th lord Ogilvy of Airhe. She was sister of Patrick Gray, master of Gray (mtr. of the wardrobe 1584-5), and the widow of Robert Logan of Restalrig and Alexander Home, 5th lord Home. His first two children were by Agnes. He m. secondly in 1586 Euphame Douglas, the fourth dau. of William Douglas, 6th earl of Morton, and Agnes Leslie, the sixth dau. of George Leslie, 4th earl of Rothes.
- 1 **Anna Lyon.**
 - 2 **Mary Lyon** m. firstly in 1617 Sir Robert Scott of Cruxton, the eldest son of Sir Robert Scott of Thirlestane, and his first wife Margaret Cranstoun, the second dau. of Sir John Cranstoun of Cranstoun, and secondly Robert Semphill of Beltnes, the eldest son of Sir James Semphill and his wife Egidia Elphinstone, the youngest dau. of George Elphinstone of Blythswood (gent. of the p. chamber).
 - 3 **John Lyon of Auldbar** m. 1613 Euphame Gladstones, a dau. of George Gladstones, D.D., archbishop of St. Andrewson.
 - 4 **Thomas Lyon.**
 - 5 **Alexander Lyon.**⁸⁵
 - 6 **Elizabeth Lyon** m. 1635 Robert Brisbane, the second son of John Brisbane of Bishopton.
 - 7 **Margaret Lyon** m. or before 1609 Sir James Stewart of Fday and Tulloes, the third son of Robert Stewart, 1st earl of Orkney and a natural son of James V, and his wife Jean Kennedy, the second dau. of Gilbert Kennedy, 3rd earl of Cassillis.
 - 8 **James Lyon** (natural son).
- 16 **Maitland of Thirlestane (Maitland)* - John Maitland, 1st lord Thirlestane - chancellor (87) (92) (93), and secretary (85)**, vice-chancellor 1586-7, b. ca. 1554 - d. 1595, was k. of the p. seal in 1567-71, and an ord. lord of session 1568-71. Soon after the fall of regent Morton in 1581, he was re-appointed as a lord of session and knighted. He accompanied the king on his visit to Norway and Denmark 1589-90, and was raised to the peerage in 1590. In 1592, he was accused on being mixed up in the murder by George Gordon, 1st marquis of Huntly, of James Stewart, the 'bonnie earl of Moray', the eldest son James Stewart, 1st lord Doune (col. gen. 1584), which upset the king.⁸⁶ His family background over three generations can be summarised as follows:⁸⁷
- I. *John Maitland, younger of Thirlestane m. unknown - probably a lady of the (Duncan of) Dundas family.*
 - 1 **WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON.**
 2. *Margaret Maitland m. John Edmonstone of Edmonstone (the marriage may have been within the forbidden degrees).*
 - II. *William Maitland of Lethington probably succeeded while young. His curator was Duncan of Dundas, and his aunt Margaret Maitland raised questions about his legitimacy. He m. Margaret Seton, a dau. of George Seton, 2nd lord Seton and Margaret Campbell, a dau. of Colin Campbell, 1st earl of Argyll.*
 - 1 **RICHARD MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON.**
 2. *Robert Maitland.*
 3. *Janet Maitland m. Hugh Sommerville, 5th lord Sommerville.*
 - III. *Richard Maitland of Lethington, kt. m. ca. 1520 Mariota Cranstoun, a dau. of Thomas Cranstoun of Corsbie (a son of George Cranstoun of Corsbie and Agnes Hopprigull⁸⁸) and unknown (a dau. of unknown and unknown).*
 1. *William Maitland*, younger of Lethington, m. firstly 1553 Janet Menteith, a dau. of William Menteith of Kerse; secondly 1568 Mary Fleming, a dau. of Malcolm Fleming, 3rd lord Fleming. Mary m. secondly George Melbrum of Fyvie. William's first child was by Janet.*
 1. *Marion Maitland m. Robert Fawside, younger of Fawside and had issue.*
 2. *James Maitland of Lethington, whose uncle Maitland, and then his cousin Richard Cockburn of Clerkington (sec. - see above), obtained his gift of ward which was fixed on Annabel Bellenden, the youngest dau. of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchmoul (just. clerk - see above) before it was bought by James. He m. Agnes Maxwell, a dau. of William Maxwell, 5th lord Herries.*
 - (1) *Richard Maitland*

⁸⁴ *DNB*, xii, 351.⁸⁵ International Genealogical Index.⁸⁶ *DNB*, xii, 357.⁸⁷ Unless otherwise stated this information has been taken from *Scots Peerage*, v, 289-302.⁸⁸ *RMS*, iv, 471, 477, 2160, 2137.

(2) *A dau.*(3) *A dau.*3. *Margaret Maitland m. ca. 1587 Robert Ker, younger of Cessford*2. **MAITLAND.**3. *Thomas Maitland.*4. *Helen Maitland m. 1560 Richard Cockburn of Clerkington (see see above).*5. *Isabella Maitland m. James Heriot, younger of Trabroun.*6. *Mary Maitland, who acted as her father's secretary, m. Alexander Lauder, younger of Hatton.*7. *Elizabeth Maitland m. ca. 1567 William Douglas of Whittinghame, a cousin of regent Morton.*

As can be seen above, Maitland was the second son of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington (k of the p seal 1562-67), and younger bro to William Maitland of Lethington (see 1558-73). He m. 1583 Jane Fleming, the only child of James Fleming, 4th lord Fleming. Janet's aunt was Lethington's wife, and her mother Barbara Hamilton was the eldest sis. of Lords John and Claud Hamilton, and the widow of Alexander Gordon, the eldest son and heir of George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly. She m. secondly John Kennedy, 5th earl of Cassilis.

1. John Maitland, 1st earl of Lauderdale, m. ca. 1610 Isabel Seton, the second dau. of Alexander Seton, 1st earl of Dunfermline (vice chanc. 1604, chanc. 1604-8)
2. Anna Maitland m. 1603 Robert Seton, 2nd earl of Seton

17. **Makgill of Cranstoun Riddell** – Mr David Makgill of Nisbet and Cranstoun Riddell – **advocate (87) (92)**, d. 1596, was the third son of Sir James Makgill, provost of Edinburgh, and the younger bro. of Sir James Makgill of Rankeillor Nether (clerk reg. 1567-79)⁸⁰. He m. firstly in 1557 Elizabeth Forrester, the sis. of James Forrester of Corstophine, and by her had five children. He m. secondly Isobel Cunningham⁸¹.

1. Mr David Makgill of Cranstoun Riddell m. 1583 Mary Sinclair, the eldest dau. of Sir William Sinclair of Hirdmestoun and Sibilla Cockburn.⁸¹
2. Mr Lawrence Makgill m. firstly in 1598 Jean Crechton, and secondly Helen, the widow of John Ker of Hillton
3. John Makgill m. secondly Maria Sandilands
4. Elizabeth Makgill m. firstly before 1576 Robert Logan of Restalrig, the step-son of **Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis (treasurer (85) (87) (93))**, capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90), secondly around 1579 Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, and thirdly, as his second wife, in 1605 William Mure of Rowallan
5. Jean Makgill m. - Ross of Balneil
6. George Makgill
7. Alexander Makgill
8. Jean Makgill

18. **Makgill of Rankeillor-Nether*** – Sir James Makgill of Rankeillor-Nether (in Momrial) – **clerk register (78)**, d. 1579, who was adv. 1539, clerk reg. 1554-65,⁸² and appointed an ord. lord of session in 1554.⁸³ He was the second son of Sir James Makgill, provost of Edinburgh,⁸⁴ and an elder bro. of David Makgill of Cranstoun Riddell (adv. 1582-95). He m. or before 1543 Janet Adamson, a dau. of William Adamson of Craigeock and Janet Napier, a dau. of Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston

1. Mr James Makgill of Rankeillor-Nether m. 1598 Jean Wemyss, a dau. of Sir David Wemyss of Wemyss and Cecil Ruthven, a dau. of William Ruthven, 3rd lord Ruthven.⁸⁵
2. Mr John Makgill m. Elizabeth Home, a dau. of William Home of Aytoun
3. Mr Samuel Makgill
4. Mr David Makgill
5. Zachary Makgill m. Bessie Hamilton
6. Rachel Makgill m. firstly in 1576 George Stewart, younger of Rosyth, and secondly before 1592 Archibald Wauchope of Niddrie
7. Elspeth Makgill m. before 1566 David Wood of Dunone
8. Jean Makgill m. William Gourlay of Kimerig.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Douglas, *Baronage*, 92. Sir James Makgill m. without issue Isobel Preston, the fifth dau. of Sir George Preston of Vallevied and Marian, the only dau. of Hugh, 3rd lord Semple, and his first wife Anne Hamilton, dau. of James Hamilton, earl of Abercorn.

⁸¹ *Inquisitionum Secretarium*, File 1447 (1636). Robert Makgill was named heir of tailzie and provision of Patrick Makgill, the second son of James Makgill, 1st viscount Oxliurd (grandson of the king's advocate who m. Catherine Cockburn the dau. of Sir John Cockburn of Ormston) his bro., in the lands of Largo.

⁸² *RMS*, v. 899.

⁸³ He was implicated in the murder of David Rizzio and his office was held by Sir James Balfour for two years.

⁸⁴ *DNB*, xii. 169.

⁸⁵ He was also provost of Edinburgh in 1570.

⁸⁶ *RPS*, ii. 457-8, v. 597-8.

⁸⁷ Douglas, *Baronage*, 471.

- 19 **Melville of Murdocairney*** - Robert Melville, 1st lord Melville of Monimail - **treasurer (92), and treasurer depute (85) (87) (92) (93)**, b. 1527 - d. 1621, was appointed k. of Linlithgow Palace in 1567, knighted in 1581, made treas. clerk in 1584,⁹⁷ vice-chanc. in 1589-90, an extraord. lord of session in 1594, treas. dep. again 1598-1604, and raised to the peerage in 1616. He and Patrick Gray, 6th lord Gray (mr. of the wardrobe 1584) went to England to protest against the trial of Mary, queen of Scots, but returned the day before her execution in 1587. He acted as chanc. 1589-90 during James VI's visit to Norway and Denmark. He was compelled to give up his office of treas. dep. with the appointment of the Octavians (1596-7).⁹⁸ His family background over three generations can be summarised as follows.⁹⁹

I. *William Melville of Raith m. firstly Margaret Douglas, a dau. f. xxx Douglas of Longquidry, and secondly Euphemia Landie (Lundie of Blagome). All his children were by his second wife.*

1. JOHN MELVILLE, YOUNGER OF RAITH.

2. William Melville.

3. Andrew Melville.

4. David Melville.

5. Elizabeth Melville m. John Gourley, younger of Lamlethan.

6. Margaret Melville m. (probably) James Bonar of Rossie.

7. Geilis Melville m. Henry Pitcairn of Drongy - a son: John Pitcairn of Pitlour.

II. *John Melville, younger of Raith m. Janet Bonar, a dau. of William Bonar of Rossie and probably Elizabeth Charters.*

1. JOHN MELVILLE OF RAITH

2. David Melville, burgess of Edinburgh.

1. Walter Melville.

III. *John Melville of Raith*, kt., assisted in the trial of Janet Douglas, lady Glamis*. He m. firstly a dau. of Sir John Wemyss of Wemyss, and secondly Helen Napier, a dau. of Alexander Napier of Merchiston (a son of Archibald Napier of Merchiston and Catherine Douglas (Douglas of Whittington) and Janet Chisholm (a dau. of Edmund Chisholm of Cromlix and unknown).¹⁰⁰ William was born of his first wife.*

1. William Melville m. Margaret Douglas, sis. of Robert Douglas of Lochleven.

2. John Melville of Raith m. firstly Isabel Lundie, a dau. of Walter Lundie of Lundie, secondly Margaret Bonar, a dau. of William Bonar of Rossie, and thirdly Crissel Meldrum, a dau. of (probably Thomas) Meldrum of Segie.¹⁰¹

1. John Melville of Raith m. ca. 1584 Margaret Scott, a sis. of James Scott of Balwearie.

2. Margaret Melville m. 1585 James Wemyss of Bogie.

3. Isabel Melville m. 1588 George Auchinleck, younger of Balmanno.

4. Mr Thomas Melville.

5. Agnes Melville m. 1604 John Ramsay of Priorlethan.

6. Janet Melville m. George Boswell.

7. Another dau.

8. James Melville.

9. Alison Melville m. Mr David Barclay of Touch.

10. Margaret Melville.

11. Christian Melville.

12. Katherine Melville.

3. ROBERT MELVILLE OF MURDOCAIRNEY.

4. James Melville of Halhill*, kt. (gent. of the p. chamber), m. Christine Boswell.

1. James Melville of Halhill m. firstly Catherine Colville, the third dau. of Alexander Colville, commendator of Culross, and secondly Catherine Learmonth.

2. Robert Melville m. Catherine Melville.

3. Elizabeth Melville m. John Colville, commendator of Culross.

4. Margaret Melville m. 1589 Sir Andrew Balfour of Montquhan.

5. David Melville of Newmill m. 1589 Margaret Douglas, sis. of Robert Douglas of Annaqueroche.

6. Walter Melville.

7. Andrew Melville of Garvock, kt., m. firstly Jane Kennedy, secondly Elizabeth Hamilton.

1. George Melville, kt.

2. William Melville.

3. Henry Melville.

8. William Melville, commendator of Tongland, m. before 1594 Anna Lindsay, the wid. of James Murray of Parlewis.

9. Janet Melville m. James Kirkaldy of Grange.

10. Katherine Melville m. firstly Robert White of Maw, and secondly John Brown of Fordell.

⁹⁷ RNS, viii, 2068.

⁹⁸ DNB, xiii, 245.

⁹⁹ Unless otherwise stated this information has been taken from *Scots Peerage*, vi, 81-105.

¹⁰⁰ *Scots Peerage*, iv, 407-12.

¹⁰¹ RNS, iv, 381, 1518.

11. Janet Melville m. 1564 James Johnstone of Elphinstone – two sons: James and Robert.
12. John Melville (natural son).

As can be seen above, Murdocairney was the third son of Sir John Melville of Raith. In 1587, he and his son resigned the office of k. of the castle of Lulithgow in favour of Sir Lewis Bellenden of Auchnoul (just. clerk 1577-91).¹⁰² Robert m. firstly Katherine Adamson, the dau. of William Adamson of Craigeacock, a burghess of Edinburgh, and widow of Richard Hopper, burghess of Edinburgh, by whom he had issue only, secondly, before 1593, Margaret Leslie, a dau. of Andrew Leslie, 5th earl of Rothes, and thirdly, after 1605, Jean Stewart, a dau. of Robert Stewart, earl of Orkney, and widow of Patrick Leslie, 1st lord Lindores.

- 1 Robert Melville, 2nd lord Melville of Monimail, m. firstly Margaret Ker, a dau. of Sir Thomas Ker of Fernichurst, who was a sis. in law to **Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis (treas. (85) (87) (93))**, capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90) and Thomas Hamilton, 1st earl of Haddington (adv. 1596-1612), and secondly Jean Hamilton, a dau. of Gavin Hamilton of Raploch and widow of Robert Ross, 5th lord Rosson.
 - 2 Christian Melville, a natural dau. who was legitimated in 1584,¹⁰³ m. Thomas Oliphant, portioner of Hilcarnay.
- 20 **Murray of Tullibardine*** - Sir William Murray of Tullibardine - **comptroller (78) (79) (81)**, d. 1583,¹⁰⁴ was knighted in 1565, the joint governor of James VI and k. of Stirling Castle with Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar (vice chamb. 1580) in 1572, and joined the conspiracy against regent Morton in 1580. He was the eldest son of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine and Catherine Campbell, the eldest dau. of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy. Catherine's younger sis. had dispensation to marry Alexander Napier of Merchiston. William m. 1547 Agnes Graham, the third dau. of William Graham, 2nd earl of Montrose, whose grandson was John Graham, 3rd earl of Montrose (treas. 1584-85). He was bro. in law to regent Mar. and Sir Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline (see 1573-80).
- 1 John Murray, 1st earl of Tullibardine, d. 1613, who was one of the masters of the household for some years from 1579, and was occasionally present in p. council 1592-97. He supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). John m. Catherine Drummond, the fourth dau. of David Drummond, 2nd lord Drummond, and Lilius Ruthven, the eldest dau. of William Ruthven, 2nd lord Ruthven.
 - 2 Mr William Murray of Pitcairly (gent. of the p. chamber).¹⁰⁵
 - 3 Col. Alexander Murray of Drumdewan (gent. of the p. chamber).¹⁰⁶
 - 4 Sir Mungo Murray of Claremont and Denork m. Margaret Crichton, the dau. of Sir John Crichton of Strathurd and the widow of Sir Andrew Murray of Blavaird.
- 21 **Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline*** - Sir Robert Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline - **secretary (78) (79) (81)**, b. ca. 1520 - d. 1584, was appointed an extraord. lord of session in 1568, supported the raid of Ruthven (1582), and worked against the counter-revolution of 1583.¹⁰⁷ He was the son of David Pitcairn of Fother and Elizabeth Dury.¹⁰⁸ He m. Eupheme Murray, the second dau. of Sir William Murray of Tullibardine (**compt. (78) (79) (81)**) and Katherine Campbell, a dau. of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy. She was the widow of Robert Stewart of Rosyth, and m. thirdly Sir Patrick Gray of Invergowrie, and uncle of Patrick Gray (mr. of wardrobe). Through his wife, Robert was also bro. in law to regent Mar.
- 1 Henry Pitcairn, commendator of Dunfermline.¹⁰⁹
- 22 **Ruthven, earl of Gowrie*** - William Ruthven, 4th lord Ruthven and 1st earl of Gowrie - **treasurer (78) (79) (81)**, b. ca. 1541 - d. 1584, was appointed an extraord. lord of session in 1578, and promoted earl in 1581. He was a central figure in the raid of Ruthven (1582), but pardoned for this, and took part in the raid of Stirling (1584), for which he was executed.¹¹⁰ He was the second son of Patrick Ruthven, 3rd lord Ruthven, and his first wife Janet Douglas, a natural dau. of Archibald Douglas, 6th earl of Angus, and a dau. of Stewart of Traquair. William m., as her fourth husb., Dorothea Stewart, the youngest dau. of Henry Stewart, 1st lord Methven, and Janet Stewart, the eldest dau. of John Stewart, 2nd earl of Atholl. Jane was William's father's second wife. Dorothea m. firstly, around 1520, Alexander Gordon, master of Sutherland, secondly, before 1532, Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvammam, thirdly before 1544 Henry Stewart, 1st lord Methven, and fifthly James Gray, a son of Gilbert Gray of Foulison.
- 1 James Ruthven, 2nd earl of Gowrie.

¹⁰² *RMS*, v. 1417, 1418.

¹⁰³ *RSS*, viii. 1728.

¹⁰⁴ *DNB*, xii. 406.

¹⁰⁵ *RSS*, vi. 2384.

¹⁰⁶ *RSS*, vii. 2385.

¹⁰⁷ *DNB*, v. 332.

¹⁰⁸ *RMS*, iv. 667.

¹⁰⁹ *RJA*, iii. 543.

¹¹⁰ *DNB*, xvii. 25.

- 2 John Ruthven, 3rd earl of Gowrie
 - 3 Alexander Ruthven, master of Gowrie
 - 4 William Ruthven
 - 5 Patrick Ruthven, M.D., lord Ruthven, m. after 1617 Elizabeth Woodford, a dau. of Robert Woodford of Brightwell and the widow of Thomas Gerard, 1st lord Gerard of Abbot's Bromley.
 - 6 Mary Ruthven m. firstly in 1580 John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl; secondly in 1596 James Stewart, 6th Inverneath, who was created earl of Atholl in the same year and had previously m. 1580 Margaret Lindsay, the youngest dau. of David Lindsay, 9th earl of Crawford, and thirdly before 1613 James Stewart, the son of the James Stewart, master of Buchan
 - 7 Margaret Ruthven m. 1593 John Graham, 4th earl of Montrose.
 - 8 Sophia Ruthven m. 1591, as his first wife, Ludovick Stewart, 2nd Duke of Lennox
 - 9 Jean Ruthven m. before 1588, as his first wife, James Ogilvy, 5th lord Ogilvy of Airhe
 - 10 Elizabeth Ruthven m. 1598 firstly Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, and secondly around 1608 Hugh Campbell, 1st lord Loudoun
 - 11 Beatrice Ruthven m. 1608 Sir John Home of Cowdenknowes
 - 12 Lillias Ruthven
 - 13 Dorothea Ruthven m. before 1609 John Wemyss of Pittencreef.
 - 14 Barbara Ruthven
- 23 **Seton of Barnis*** - Sir John Seton of Barnis - **comptroller (87)**, d. 1589, was appointed master of the horse in 1581,¹¹¹ master of the household and to a knighthood in 1587, and an extraord. lord of session in 1588.¹¹² He was admitted to the p. council in 1587.¹¹³ He was the third son of George Seton, 5th lord Seton, and Isabel Hamilton, a dau. of Sir William Hamilton of Sanquhar. He m. 1588 Anna Forbes, the youngest dau. of William Forbes, 7th lord Forbes, and Elizabeth Keith, the younger dau. and co-heiress of Sir William Keith of Inverurie, who was the cousin of Sir William Keith of Delny (mr. of the wardrobe 1587-90)
- 24 **Seton of Parbroath** - Col. David Seton of Parbroath - **comptroller (92) (93)**, was the grandson of Andrew Seton of Parbroath.¹¹⁴ He m. to Mary Gray, the second dau. of Patrick Gray, 5th lord Gray, and Barbara Ruthven, the fourth dau. of William Ruthven, 2nd lord Ruthven (k. of the p. seal 1546-52). Mary was the sis. of the first wife of **Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar, master of Glamis (treas. (85) (87) (93)**, capt. of the guard 1585-88, 1589-90)
- 1 Mr George Seton, app. of Parbroath¹¹⁵
 - 2 Andrew Seton¹¹⁶
- 25 **Stewart, earl of Atholl*** - John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl - **chancellor (78)**, d. 1578, was a zealous Catholic, yet nominated regent provisionally in 1569. He was largely responsible with Colin Campbell, 6th earl of Argyll (chanc. 1579-84, just gen. 1573-84) for deposing Morton as regent, and persuading James VI to assume the government, in 1578. Later, he became reconciled with Morton, but d. under suspicion of poison the same year.¹¹⁷ He was the son of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Atholl, and his first wife Grizel, a dau. of Sir John Rattray of Rattray and Elizabeth Kennedy, the second dau. of John Kennedy, 2nd lord Kennedy.¹¹⁸ His father m. secondly Janet Forbes, the fifth dau. of John Forbes, 6th lord Forbes, and his third wife Elizabeth Barley, the widow of Alexander Elphinstone, 1st lord Elphinstone. Janet m. secondly Alexander Hay of Dalgety (see footnote to Wood of Largo), and thirdly William Leslie of Balquham. John Stewart, 4th earl of Atholl, m. firstly Elizabeth Gordon, dau. of George Gordon, 4th earl of Huntly; and secondly in 1557, as her third husb., Margaret Fleming, the fourth Malcolm Fleming, 3rd lord Fleming, and Janet Stewart, a natural dau. of James IV. Margaret was the widow of Robert Graham, master of Montrose, and Thomas Erskine, master of Erskine
- 1 John Stewart, 5th earl of Atholl, supported the Raid of Ruthven (1582). He m. 1580, Mary Ruthven, the eldest dau. of William Ruthven, 1st earl of Gowrie (treas. 1571-83)
 - 2 Elizabeth Stewart m. firstly Hugh Fraser, 6th lord Lovat, secondly Robert Stewart, 7th earl of Lennox, and thirdly James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran
 - 3 Margaret Stewart m. firstly George Abernethy, 7th lord Saltoun, and secondly, as his second wife, Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny, the eldest son of Mr Robert Crichton of Ellik Cluny (adv. 1563-81).¹¹⁹
 - 4 Jean Stewart m. Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy
 - 5 Grizel Stewart m., as his second wife, David Crawford, 11th earl of Crawford

¹¹¹ *RSS*, viii, 263.¹¹² *DNB*, xvii, 272.¹¹³ *RPS*, ix, 139, 27 January 1587.¹¹⁴ *Retours*, i, File 51 (1563).¹¹⁵ *RPS*, v, 573, 576, 600.¹¹⁶ *RSS*, viii, 233.¹¹⁷ *DNB*, xviii, 323.¹¹⁸ *Douglas, Baronage*, 276.¹¹⁹ *RMS*, vi, 543.

6 Mary Stewart m., as his second wife, Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol

- 26 **Stewart, commendator of Blantyre*** - Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre (later 1st lord Blantyre) - **keeper of the privy seal (85) (87) (92) (93)**, d. 1617, was "one of the King's chiefe minionson"¹²⁰ He was educated with James VI at Stirling under Mr George Buchanan (k. of the p. seal 1570-8) and Sir Peter Young of Seton (almoner 1577-1614) He was appointed a gentleman of the newly formed bedchamber and designated "prior of Blantyre" in 1580, an extraord. lord of session in 1593, and a member of the Octavians (1596-7) He held the combined offices of treas. and treas. dep. 1596-8, was compt. 1598-9, and promoted to the peerage in 1606¹²¹ He was tutor to Ludovick Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox (chamb. 1583-1624).¹²² He was the only son of Sir John Stewart of Minto (gent. of the p. chamber) and his second wife Margaret Stewart, the second dau. of James Stewart of Cardonald. He m. 1582 Nichola Sommerville, the fourth dau. of John Sommerville of Cambusnethan and Catherine Murray, a dau. of Patrick Murray of Philliphough.¹²³

- 1 Sir James Stewart m. Dorothy Hastings, the second dau. of George Hastings, fourth earl of Huntingdon
- 2 William Stewart, 2nd lord Blantyre, m. Helen Scot, a dau. of Sir William Scot of Ardos and Jean Skene, a dau. of John Skene of Curriehill (clerk reg. 1594-1608)
- 3 Walter Stewart, who was a doctor of medicine
- 4 Mr John Stewart
- 5 Anna Stewart m. John Abernethy, 8th lord Abernethy of Saltoun
- 6 Jean Stewart

- 27 **Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox*** - Esme Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox - **chamberlain (81)**, b. ca. 1542 - d. 1583, was a favourite of the king. He was the only son of John Stewart, lord d'Aubigny, and Anne de la Quelle, the fourth dau. and co-heir of Francois, seigneur de la Quelle. He was the grandson of John Stewart, 3rd earl of Lennox, who was also the paternal grandfather of James VI through his father Henry Stewart, lord Darnley. He came from France at James's request in 1579, and was created the eighth earl of Lennox in 1580, and promoted to duke in 1581. Although he formally embraced Protestantism, he continued to work in the interests of Mary, queen of Scots. He and James Stewart, 1st earl of Arran (chanc. 1583-5), with the connivance of the king, successfully accused regent Morton in 1580, of having contrived the murder of the king's father, for which offence Morton was executed in 1581. The success of the raid of Ruthven (1582) forced his exile, and he d. in France.¹²⁴ He m. Katherine de Balzac, the youngest dau. of Guillaume de Balzac, seigneur d'Entraqueson.

- 1 Ludovick Stewart, 2nd duke of Lennox
- 2 Esme Stewart, 3rd duke of Lennox, m., as her first husb., Catherine Clifton, the dau. and heiress of Gervaise Clifton, lord Clifton of Leighton-Bromswold
- 3 Henrietta Stewart m. 1588 George Gordon, 1st marquis of Huntly
- 4 Marie Stewart m., as his second wife, John Erskine, 7th earl of Mar (treas. 1616-30).

- 28 **Wood of Largo** - Andrew Wood of Largo - **comptroller (85)**, was appointed a gentleman of the household and one of the king's carvers in 1577. He was the son of Andrew Wood of Largo, app. of Largo, who was a sub-collector of the thirds of benefices for Fife, Fothrik and Kinross 1561-4.¹²⁵ He m. 1580 Elizabeth Lundie, a dau. of Mr William Lundie of Lundie and Christian Ruthven, the seventh dau. of William Ruthven, 2nd lord Ruthven (k. of the p. seal 1546-52).¹²⁶

- 1 Andrew Wood of Largo m. 1606 Jean Drummond, the second dau. of James Drummond, 1st lord Maderty, and Jean Chisholm, a dau. of Sir James Chisholm of Cromlix (gent. of the p. chamber)
- 2 John Wood
- 3 William Wood
- 4 Lilie Wood
- 5 Christine Wood
- 6 Isobel Wood

- 29 **Young of Seton*** - Sir Peter Young of Seton - **almoner (92) (93)**, b. 1544 - d. 1628, was appointed joint instructor to James VI with George Buchanan 1570-8, and clerk reg. 1572-3. He was a member of the party that accompanied the king to Norway and Denmark 1589-90, appointed one of the Octavians (1596-7), and

¹²⁰ Halhill, *Memoirs*, 40; *CSP Scot.*, x, 102, 575

¹²¹ *DNB*, xviii, 359

¹²² *RPC*, iv, 177.

¹²³ Douglas, *Baronage*, 70, 105.

¹²⁴ *DNB*, xix, 77.

¹²⁵ *RSS*, vii, 1292; *Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, 1561-1572*, ed. G. Donaldson (Scottish History Society, 1949).

¹²⁶ *RMS*, vii, 544, 1916, viii, 2222, ix, 896. The lands of Largo were obtained by Patrick Black in 1618, Magister Alexander Gibson in 1633, and Sir James Makgill of Cranston-Riddell (grandson of David Makgill of Nisbet and Cranston Riddell, advocate 1581-96) in 1639.

knighted in 1605.¹²⁷ He was the bro and heir of Alexander Young of Eistfield.¹²⁸ Peter m firstly Elizabeth Gibb, with whom he had two sons,¹²⁹ and secondly, as her third husb., Janet Murray, dau. of William Murray of Polmais and Agnes Cunninghame, a co-heiress of James Cunninghame of Polmais. Janet m. firstly James Sandilands, 1st lord Torpichen, and secondly John Graham of Halyardson

- 1 James Young, son and app heir, m Isobel Arbuthnott, dau. of David Arbuthnott of Findowie and Elizabeth Rait, a dau. of William Rait of Halgreen.¹³⁰
- 2 Harry Young
- 3 Michael Young.¹³¹
- 4 Jean Young m **Thomas Lyon of Cossins**.¹³²
- 5 Magdalene Young m James Colville, 2nd lord Colville.¹³³
- 6 Mary Young m John Douglas of Tilliequhillie.¹³⁴
- 7 Nichola Young m David Boswell, son and heir app. of Sir John Boswell of Balmowto.¹³⁵

¹²⁷ *DNB*, xxi, 386.

¹²⁸ *Retours*, i, Perth 124.

¹²⁹ *RSS*, viii, 167.

¹³⁰ *RMS*, vii, 1071; *Scots Peerage*, i, 294. Their son and heir Peter Young sold (Easter) Seton in 1670 and bought Aldbar.

¹³¹ *RMS*, vii, 655, 744, 1044.

¹³² *RMS*, vii, 438, viii, 1516.

¹³³ *Scots Peerage*, ii, 558.

¹³⁴ *RMS*, vi, 676.

¹³⁵ *RMS*, viii, 192.

Appendix 4. Glamis

The first section on the family builds on and amends information that can be found in W. F. Lyon, *The Genealogical Tree of the Family of Lyon* (London, 1867), W. Lyon, *Lyon of Ogil* (London, 1867), which is a printed copy of the Ogil MS. A. Ross, *The Lyons of Cossins and Wester Ogil: Cadets of Glamis* (Edinburgh, 1901), and Lyon, *Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne* (Edinburgh, 1911), which is taken from the *Scots Peerage* (vol. VIII, pp. 261-317). Footnotes in this section only include detail that is inaccurate in these works, has not been previously published, or can be found in standard works (*T.1.*, *APS*, *DNB*, *RMS*, *RPC*, and *RSS*). The second section lists the known supporters of Glamis in 1582 and 1592 that are listed in the *RSS* and *RPC* respectively. The third section covers the lands and property of Glamis and is presented in two parts – those that were bought and sold by Glamis himself over his lifetime, and those that he held on behalf of his nephew, Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, over the period. The first part is not exhaustive. It simply lists his more significant dealings. The second part is a similar summary. It is based on the lands and baronies that were forfeited from John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, in 1538, which are listed in the *T.1.* The broad pattern of landholding of the Lords Glamis did not change substantially from 1542 to 1578. For convenience, this pattern is divided into seven sections based on the seven baronies that John Lyon held in 1538. Most of the information on the cadets of the Lyons of Glamis (1.2 and 1.3) and the lands of Glamis (3.1) cannot be found elsewhere.

Contents

- 1.0 The family:
 - 1.1 The Lyons of Glamis
 - 1.2 The Lyons of Easter Ogil
 - a) The Lyons of Easter Ogil
 - b) The Lyons of Comalegy
 - c) Alexander Lyon, burges of Aberdeen
 - 1.3 The Lyons of Cossins
 - a) The Lyons of Cossins
 - b) The Lyons of Westhill
 - c) Alexander Lyon, burges of Glasgow
- 2.0 The supporters:
 - 2.1 The supporters of Glamis, 1582
 - 2.2 The supporters of Glamis, 1592
- 3.0 The lands and property:
 - 3.1 The lands and property of Glamis himself
 - 3.2 The lands and baronies held on behalf of Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis

1.0 The Family

1.1 The Lyons of Glamis

I. SIR JOHN, OF FORTEVIOT, poss. m. a dau. of Iamond gt. grandchild of James Bane, the usurper who aspired to the crown in the reign of MALCOLM IV.¹ He prob. d. ca. 1375, and left issue.

1 JOHN, OF GLAMIS

2 A son – prob. Sir Alexander, liv. 1395.² The son had issue.

1 Patrick, poss. the Patrick Lyon, clerk of St. Andrews, who was granted by papal authority in a letter to the bishop of Dunkeld a benefice in the gift of the bishop of St. Andrews of 37 merks sterling without cure at the request of ROBERT II (1378).³

2 Michael, who poss. had issue.

(1) Stephen, burgess of Edinburgh, who was a merchant in Edinburgh (1417, 1429 and 1431).⁴ He d. in Bruges 1435.⁵

(2) Adam, of Waulkmill of Glamis,⁶ who was a merchant in Edinburgh (1418).⁷ Adam had issue.

1a. John, who m. 1448 Elizabeth – He prob. d. ca. 1494.

2a. Poss. Simon, who was servitor to Patrick Lyon, 1st lord Glamis (1425).⁸

3. Poss. John, who was chaplain to Donald MacDonal, 2nd lord of the Isles, and then JAMES I (1411-17).⁹ He subsequently was the king's secretary to the court in Rome, and then archdeacon of Teviotdale (1418-23).¹⁰ He was prob. b. 1379, was educ. in Paris (B.A. (1397), M.A. (1399)), and d. 1424.¹¹

4. Poss. Wilham, who was educ. in Paris (B.A. (1403)) and at onetime rector of St. Andrew's in Perth, and master of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene in the same burgh (1421). He d. 1425.¹²

3. Prob. James, canon of Aberdeen, who was said to have come from an affluent family since he had a subdeterminer at Paris, an early preferment by royal favour.¹³ He was prob. b. ca. 1355, and was educ. in Paris (B.A. (1373), M.A. (1376)). He was perpetual vicar of St. Giles in Edinburgh, and appointed canon of Aberdeen in 1378.¹⁴ The rights and patronage of the kirk of St. Giles belonged to ROBERT III.¹⁵ James was prebendary of Belhelvie, near Aberdeen (1395-1407), a canon and prebendary of Dunkeld, and an archdeacon of Teviotdale.¹⁶ He d. ca. 1423.¹⁷

4. Poss. Richard, who was warden of the friars-minor in Scotland in 1389.¹⁸

II. SIR JOHN, 1st OF GLAMIS, chamberlain of Scotland, m. 1376 Jean Stewart, second dau. of ROBERT II by his first wife Elizabeth Mure. Jean m. 1stly 1374 Sir John Keith, eldest son of Sir William Keith, marischal of Scotland, who d. 1375, and m. 3rdly Sir James Sandilands of Calder. John Lyon d. 1382, and left issue.¹⁹

1 JOHN, 2ND OF GLAMIS

III. SIR JOHN, 2ND OF GLAMIS, was prob. b. ca. 1377. He m. ca. 1395 Elizabeth Graham, younger dau. of Patrick Graham, earl of Strathearn.²⁰ John d. 1435, and left issue.

1 PATRICK, 1ST LORD GLAMIS

¹ Carse MS. 35.

² HMC, *Duke of Hamilton*, 15.

³ *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Clement VII of Avignon, 1378-1394*, ed. C. Burns (Scottish Historical Society, 1976), 14; NAS - Makgill Charters, GD82.6 – Robert Fleming was clerk to St. Andrews Diocese notary in 1382.

⁴ ER, v, 275, 507, 542.

⁵ ER, v, 661.

⁶ NR, (8) 885.37.4 – These lands were held by the Lyon family from 1494 to 1775.

⁷ ER, iv, 296; *Charters and Other Documents Relating to the City of Edinburgh, 1143-1540*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1871), 68.

⁸ *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, ed. D. Macpherson, 2 vols. (London, 1814-19), ii, 255.

⁹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, 197, 215, 222, 223, 225, 244; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in the P.R.O., London (CDS)*, ed. J. Bain, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1881-8), iv, 806, 878, 892.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-32*, eds. F. R. Lindsay and others, 3 vols. (Scottish History Society, 1934-70), i.

¹¹ W. Fraser, *The Douglas Book: Memoirs of the House of Douglas and Angus*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1885), vi, 234; *Supplications to Rome*, ii, 54.

¹² ER, v, 349; *Scottish Supplications to Rome*, ii, 121.

¹³ D. R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Medii Aevi ad Annum 1638* (Scottish Record Society, 1969).

¹⁴ *Calendar of Papal Letters to Scotland of Benedict XIII of Avignon, 1394-1419*, ed. F. McGurk, (Scottish History Society, 1976), 14.

¹⁵ *Papal Letters*, 49.

¹⁶ *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ed. C. Innes, 2 vols. (Spalding Club, 1845), ii, 140, 202, 216.

¹⁷ *Supplications to Rome*, ii, 36, 40, 45.

¹⁸ W. C. B. Fraser, *Memorials of the Earls of Haddington*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1889), ii, xxx.

¹⁹ ER, iii, 657.

²⁰ They were first cousins once removed, the common ancestor being Robert II.

- 2 David, of Letham, who m. Marjorie Strachan. He prob. d. m. or before 1478. He had issue.
 - 1 John, of Letham, who was b. m. Glamis ca. 1427. He was liv. m. 1471.
- 3 Michael,²¹ who was b. m. Glamis ca. 1405, died without issue (d.s.p.)
- 4 Prob. James, who, with David Lyon, witnessed a crown charter to Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintathen m. 1439.²²
- 5 Poss. Nicholas, b. ca. 1406.²³

IV. PATRICK, 1st LORD GLAMIS, m. ca. 1427 Isabel Ogilvy, dau. of Walter Ogilvy of Lintathen. Patrick d. 1459, and had issue.

- 1 ALEXANDER, 2nd LORD GLAMIS
- 2 JOHN, 3rd LORD GLAMIS
- 3 William, of Pettens – see 1.2 below.
- 4 Elizabeth, b. ca. 1430, and m. before 1460 Alexander Robertson of Strowan.
- 5 Patrick, b. ca. 1433.
- 6 Poss. Janet, m. James Scrymgeour of Dudhope.²⁴

V. ALEXANDER, 2nd LORD GLAMIS, b. ca. 1428, and m. 1450 Agnes Crichton, dau. of William Crichton, 1st lord Crichton. Alexander d.s.p. 1486.

VI. JOHN, 3rd LORD GLAMIS, m. ca. 1450 Elizabeth Scrymgeour, dau. of John Scrymgeour of Dudhope. John Lyon d. 1497, and had issue.

- 1 JOHN, 4th LORD GLAMIS
- 2 David, of Baky – see 1.3 below.
- 3 William, of Holmys, k. at the battle of Hodden (1513), and prob. d.s.p.
- 4 George, k. at the battle of Hodden (1513), and prob. d.s.p.
- 5 Violetta, m. 1464 Hugh Fraser, 1st lord Fraser of Lovat.
- 6 Janet, m. 1487 Gilbert Hay of Templeton. She d. ca. 1541.
- 7 Christian, m. 1492 William Hay, 4th earl of Errol.
- 8 Agnes, m. 1stly Alexander Forbes, 5th lord Forbes, who d.s.p. 1493, and m. 2ndly John Ross of Craig. She d. ca. 1529.
- 9 Margaret, m. 1stly Hugh Fraser, 1st lord Fraser of Lovat, 2ndly 1495 James Rhynd, younger of Broxmouth, who d. ca. 1500, and 3rdly Alexander Guthrie of Guthrie, who was k. at the battle of Hodden (1513).
- 10 Marota, m. 1499 William Ochterlony, son of James Ochterlony of Ochterlony.
- 11 Elizabeth, bapt. 1460, and m. William Forbes, a son of (prob. John) Forbes of Echt. She d.s.p. ca. 1509.

VII. JOHN, 4th LORD GLAMIS, was b. ca. 1448, and m. 1487 Elizabeth Gray, dau. of Andrew Gray, 2nd lord Gray. John d. 1500, and had issue.

- 1 GEORGE, 5th LORD GLAMIS
- 2 JOHN, 6th LORD GLAMIS
- 3 Alexander, of Lindertis, chanter of Moray, d. 1541, and had issue.
 - 1 Alexander, legitimated 1541.²⁵
 - 2 Robert, of Benholme, magister, legitimated 1541.
 - 3 Prob. Margaret, m. 1533 John Leith, portioner of Bannus.²⁶

VIII. GEORGE, 5th LORD GLAMIS, m. Janet Keith, dau. of William Keith, 2nd earl Marschal. George d.s.p. 1505.

IX. JOHN, 6th LORD GLAMIS, b. ca. 1491, m. 1520 Janet Douglas, dau. of George Douglas, master of Angus. John d. 1528, and had issue.

- 1 JOHN, 7th LORD GLAMIS
- 2 George, d. umm. 1543.
- 3 Margaret, d. umm. 1610.
- 4 Elizabeth,²⁷ m. 1stly 1535 John Forbes, master of Forbes, son of John Forbes, 6th lord Forbes, 2ndly 1537 Thomas Craig of Balmely, son of Alexander Craig of Craigston or Craigfintny, 3rdly ca. 1548 John Fulloch.

²¹ Lyon, *Family Tree*.

²² *RMS*, ii, 220.

²³ *International Genealogical Index, Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, 144, 160, 167 – three gifts in 1446.

²⁴ *The Pedigree Register*, ed. G. F. T. Sherwood, 3 vols. (London, 1907-13), ii, 138.

²⁵ Strathmore MSS, box 257, bundle 11 – 3 Feb. 1545 – Account of Aberdeen executors of Alexander Lyon, chanter of Moray, to John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, tutor-of-law to Alexander Lyon who was left £200 by his father Alexander Lyon, chanter of Moray.

²⁶ *Protocol Book of Sir John Christison, 1518-1551*, ed. R. H. Lindsay (Scottish Record Society, 1930), 110.

²⁷ *Acts of the Lords Council in Civil Causes (Selections), 1501-1554*, ed. R. K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932), 120 – Elizabeth was named before Margaret.

portioner of Montcoffer, son and heir of Thomas Tulloch, portioner of Montcoffer, and 4thly 1565 Magister John Abernethy of Balcoirs, son of Alexander Abernethy, 4th lord Saltoun

X. JOHN, 7TH LORD GLAMIS, m. Janet Keith, dau. of Robert Keith, master of Marischal. John d. 1559, and had issue.

1 JOHN, 8TH LORD GLAMIS

2 Thomas, of Auldbar (Glamis).

3 Margaret, m. 1stly 1566 Gilbert Kennedy, 4th earl of Cassilis, and 2ndly 1577 Lord John Hamilton, commendator of Arbroath. She d. 1626

4 Prob. Elizabeth, m. Alexander Erskine of Gogar, son of John Erskine, 5th lord Erskine.

5 Poss. a dau., m. James Ochterlony of Ochterlony *alias* Kelly.²⁸

1.2 The Lyons of Easter Ogil

a) The Lyons of Easter Ogil

I. WILLIAM, 1ST OF EASTER OGIL, was the third son of Patrick Lyon, 1st lord Glamis, and originally designated 'of Pettens', in Aberdeenshire. He was b. ca. 1430, and acquired the lands of Easter Ogil, in the barony of Tannadie, in Forfarshire, from his bro. Alexander in 1494. He m. Janet Scrymgeour, dau. of John Scrymgeour of Dudhope. She was sis. to his bro. John's wife. William was prob. k. at the battle of Flodden (1513). He had issue.

1 WILLIAM, 2ND OF EASTER OGIL

2 James, of Invereighty, m. Janet Scrymgeour, prob. dau. of John Scrymgeour of Glassary. He had issue.

1 William – see **1.2 b)** below

2 John, of Invereighty, m. Christine Young. He had issue.

1 William²⁹

2 George, m. 1546 Margaret Thornton, dau. of Magister John Thornton, precentor of Moray. George prob. had issue.

(1) David, m. Middleton of Ogilvy (1557), and m. Weddchill (1561)

3 Poss. Marjorie, m. David Scott, in Little Coull, and d. ca. 1583³⁰

3 Henry³¹

3 Walter³²

4 John of Knockenny, who had issue.

1 John

2 Walter, burgess of Montrose, who represented Montrose at the 1563 general assembly of the church of Scotland³³

5 Janet, m. John Mar of Auchterforfar, who d. ca. 1557³⁴

II. WILLIAM, 2ND OF EASTER OGIL, who obtained a charter of the lands of Easter Ogil in 1513. He m. a dau. of George Falconer of Halkerton. He had issue.

1 WILLIAM, 3RD OF EASTER OGIL

2 John, who was prob. the John Lyon, vicar pensionary of Banchory-Devenick, in Kincardineshire (1541), and exhorter there after the Reformation (1560) in 1563³⁵

III. WILLIAM, 3RD OF EASTER OGIL, m. Margaret Erskine, dau. of Thomas Erskine of Brechin, and his first wife Elizabeth, prob. dau. of James Scrymgeour of Dudhope. William had issue.

1 JAMES, 4TH OF EASTER OGIL

IV. JAMES, 4TH OF EASTER OGIL who m. – Fenton, dau. of Fenton of Ogil (prob. John Fenton, comptroller, and Agnes Lindsay³⁶). James d. ca. 1558,³⁷ and had issue.

1 JAMES, 5TH OF EASTER OGIL

²⁸ NLS - Advocates MS (Macfarlane Papers) – quoted in *Book of Record*, 126

²⁹ Strathmore MSS, box 33, bundle 3 – 1549

³⁰ NAS - CCR 12/109 (Testament, Edin., 15 May 1583)

³¹ *Protocol Books of James Foulis, 1546-1553*, ed. J. Beveridge and J. Russel (Scottish Record Society, 1927), 101

³² Strathmore MSS, box 1, number 183

³³ NAS - RDI 4/268v-269v

³⁴ NAS - Calendar of Charters, iv, 694 – 10 June 1506

³⁵ C. H. Haws, *Scottish Parish Clergy at the Reformation, 1540-1574* (Scottish Record Society, 1972), 20

³⁶ Ogil MS, 6

³⁷ *RHS*, iv, 1308 – Robert Lyon is mentioned as the bro. of James Lyon, (4th) of Easter Ogil, who must have succeeded his father c. 1558.

2 William,³⁸ of Nether Balgillo, *alias* 'Hollybonnets', m. Katherine Guthrie, dau. of (prob. William) Guthrie of Kimblethmont.³⁹ He prob. d. ca. 1610, and had issue.

3 Robert, of Scroggerfield, sometime in Drumgley, m. Istly Marjorie Ogilvy, and by her had issue.

- 1 Jane.
- 2 Isabel.
- 3 Barbara.

He m. 2ndly Catherine Turnbull, prob. dau. of Robert Turnbull, in Denhead, and by her had issue.

- 4 Agnes.
- 5 A dau.
- 6 Elspeth.

He d. ca. 1605.⁴⁰

4 John, elder,⁴¹ of Arniefoul, *alias* 'the page', who was a page in the household of Mary, queen of Scots, in France in 1567.⁴² He m. Elspeth Lyon. He d. ca. 1609, and had issue.

5 John, younger, *alias* 'the chamberlain', who was chamberlain at Glamis.

6 Poss. Michael, sometime in Glamis, who was a Catholic nuncio, and baillie of the barony of Errol, in Perthshire, for Andrew Hay, 8th earl of Errol (1576).

V. JAMES, 5TH OF EASTER OGIL, m. Elizabeth Tyrie, dau. of David Tyrie of Drunkilboe.⁴³ James had issue.

1 JAMES, 5TH OF EASTER OGIL.

2 Patrick, m. Murlton of Tannadice and later in Forfar, m. ca. 1610 Elizabeth Lyon, dau. of William Lyon.⁴⁴

3 Poss. William.

4 John, of Waterhaugh.

5 Thomas, in Kinalty, *alias* 'Lumbo', who was a Jesuit priest.⁴⁵

6 Andrew, of Over Balgillo, m. Margaret Ramsay, dau. of John Ramsay, commissar of Brechin.⁴⁶

7 Barbara, m. ca. 1587 Thomas Ogilvy, eldest son and heir of John Ogilvy of Inshewan. She d. ca. 1596.⁴⁷

VI. JAMES, 6TH OF EASTER OGIL, left the Scots College at Douai, in Belgium, in 1588 to marry Catherine Guthrie, dau. of Alexander Guthrie of Guthrie.⁴⁸ James inherited Easter Ogil from his father in 1608, and had issue.⁴⁹

b) The Lyons of Comalegy

I. WILLIAM, 1ST OF COMALEGY, was the second son of William Lyon, 2nd of Easter Ogil.⁵⁰ He was admitted a Burgess of Aberdeen in 1516, and registered as an advocate in the books of the lords of council in 1518.⁵¹ William m. a dau. of (prob. John) Troup of Comalegy. He d. ca. 1555, and had issue.

1 William, apparent of Comalegy, who had issue.

1 JOHN, 2ND OF COMALEGY

2 Alexander – see 1.2 c) below

3 Katherine, m. 1540 Andrew Murray, Burgess of Aberdeen, son of John Murray.⁵²

II. JOHN, 2ND OF COMALEGY, was the eldest son or grandson of William above.⁵³ He had issue.

1 William, who was described as 'apparent' of Comalegy' in 1588.⁵⁴

³⁸ Strathmore MSS, box 37, bundle 3 – 23 Nov. 1576 – Sasine witnessed by James Lyon of Easter Ogil, William – his son, and David Lyon m Balgillo.

³⁹ Strathmore MSS, box 33, bundle 3 – 11 June 1598.

⁴⁰ NAS - CC8 8 40 (Testament, Edm. - 25 May 1605).

⁴¹ Strathmore MSS, box 1, item 104 – John Lyon, elder, and John Lyon, younger, were described as bros. of James Lyon of Easter Ogil.

⁴² *Relations Politiques*, ii, 135.

⁴³ Tyrie, *Drunkilboe*, 30-2.

⁴⁴ Strathmore MSS, box 40, bundle 3 – 26 May 1610.

⁴⁵ *Ogil*, 2 – He was described as a 'vagrant friar', a common term for a Jesuit priest.

⁴⁶ Strathmore MSS, box 35, bundle 2.

⁴⁷ NAS - Calendar of Deceds, ii, 709; NAS - CC8 8 28 (Testament, St. And., 9 Jan. 1596).

⁴⁸ NLS - Ch. 17129.

⁴⁹ NAS - CC20 4 5 (Testament, St. And., 5 Nov. 1615).

⁵⁰ Lyon Office - MS 24 (Mackenzie Arms), 269 – This erroneously describes William as third of Easter Ogil.

⁵¹ Register of burgesses of Aberdeen', 46, 59; Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, ix, 623; *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1942*, ed. F. J. Grant (Scottish Record Society, 1944), 226.

⁵² *Poems Papers, 1507-1894*, ed. J. G. Burnett (Spalding Club, 1951), 166-7.

⁵³ NAS - RS4 3 137r-138r.

⁵⁴ NAS - C87 110, 275v-275r, 361v-361r – 28 June 1587 – William is also described as the son of John Lyon of Comalegy.

c) Alexander Lyon, Burgess of Aberdeen

I. ALEXANDER, BURGESS OF ABERDEEN, was admitted a burgess of Aberdeen in 1543,⁵⁵ and a member a member of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen in 1557.⁵⁶ He m. 1stly ca. 1538 Isabel Lindsay, dau. of John Lindsay of Blairfeddon, a notary public, and 2ndly 1572 Marjorie Urquhart, prob. dau. of Patrick Urquhart, but the marriage was diss. 1574 because of Alexander's adultery with Isabel Murray. Alexander prob. d. in the 1580s, and had issue:

- 1 Poss. Alexander Lyon⁵⁷
- 2 DAVID, OF BALGILLO
- 3 A dau., who m. – Ramsay, prob. a relative of James Ramsay, minister of Fannadice.⁵⁸

Alexander also had a natural son, poss. by Isabel Murray,

- 4 John, later of Middleton

II. DAVID, OF BALGILLO m. Elizabeth Gray, dau. of Andrew Gray of Dunmald. He m., prob. 2ndly Susanna Wood, dau. of Andrew Wood of Largo. David prob. d. ca. 1613,⁵⁹ and had issue:

1.3 The Lyons of Cossinsa) The Lyons of Cossins

I. DAVID, 1ST OF COSSINS, was the second son of John Lyon, 3rd lord Gilmas. He was b. ca. 1466, and m. before 1505 Elizabeth Lindsay, eldest dau. and one of two heirs-portioners of David Lindsay, 5th earl of Crawford and 1st duke of Montrose. David was k. at the battle of Flodden (1513), and had issue:

- 1 JOHN, 2ND OF COSSINS
- 2 George, of Kinalty⁶⁰
- 3 Patrick – see 1.3 b) below

4 Prob. Thomas, who was poss. the Thomas Lyon who owned a house in Drygate in Glasgow in 1497,⁶¹ and had issue:

- 1 Donald, burgess of Glasgow, m. Margaret Campbell, who was prob. of the house of Campbell of Ardkinglas, and had issue,
 - (1) Archibald – see 1.3 c) below
 - (2) Prob. Margaret, m. 1566 Colin Campbell, son of Colin Campbell of Ardentuny, cadet of Ardkinglas

II. JOHN, 2ND OF COSSINS, sometime of Halton Esse, magister, m. Marjorie Ogilvy, dau. of James Ogilvy, 3rd lord Ogilvy of Airlie, and Margaret Lindsay, second dau. of David Lindsay, 7th earl of Crawford.⁶² He had issue:

- 1 JOHN, 3RD OF COSSINS
- 2 Margaret, m. Henry Fullerton of Crago
- 3 Prob. Agnes, m. 1543 David Gardyne, younger of Leys.

III. JOHN, 3RD OF COSSINS, m. 1stly Mirabel Gardyne, dau. of Patrick Gardyne of Gardyne.⁶³ They were together in 1558.⁶⁴ He m. 2ndly ca. 1581 Margaret Drummond in Balloch, dau. of William Drummond of Balloch. She was the widow of 1stly John Campbell of Murlthly, 2ndly Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon, and 3rdly Magister Robert Spittel. He prob. m. 3rdly Agnes – ⁶⁵ and fourthly, ca. 1594, Elizabeth Lindsay, poss. dau. of Sir James Lindsay.⁶⁶ John Lyon d. 1615, and had issue:

- 1 JOHN, 4TH OF COSSINS

⁵⁵ "Register of burgesses of Aberdeen", 59, Register of Aberdeen, ix, 623, xix, 218.

⁵⁶ *History of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen*, ed. J. A. Henders (Spalding Club, 1912), 255.

⁵⁷ Strathmore MSS, box 28, bundle 12.

⁵⁸ *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ed. P. Chalmers and C. Innes, 2 vols. (Bannatyne Club, 1856), ii, 233. George Ramsay was described as a nephew of David Lyon of Balgillo in a 1603 charter to James Ramsay, minister of Fannadice.

⁵⁹ Genealogy Society - Lyon box. A typed transcript of a letter dated (no day) Jan. 1613 (source not mentioned) from Thomas Rollock to Patrick Lyon, 1st earl of Kinghorne, mentions among other things a David Lyon's right to his father's tack as apparent heir.

⁶⁰ Strathmore MSS, box 43, bundle 6.

⁶¹ *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes (Bannatyne Club, 1843), 495.

⁶² R. Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland*, ed. J. P. Wood, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1813), i, 116.

⁶³ D. C. Guthrie, *The Guthrie Family, 1178-1900* (Northampton, 1906), 26.

⁶⁴ Strathmore MSS, box 1, number 75.

⁶⁵ NAS - PS1 57 153v-153r. There was a crown gift of escheat to John and Agnes Lyon in 1588 of the goods and gear of James Ogilvy.

⁶⁶ *Calendar of the Laing Charters, AD 854-1837*, ed. J. Anders (Edinburgh, 1899), no. 13775.

- 2 George, of Balmuckety, m. Catherine Wishart of Balgarrock, dau. of John Wishart of Pittaric, treasurer clerk. George d. ca. 1646, and had issue.
- 3 Patrick.⁶⁹
- 4 Marion, m. 1585 Thomas Annand, son and heir of James Annand of Pearste.⁶⁸
- 5 Matilda, m. 1stly John Nevay of Nevay, minister of Nevay with Esse with Newtyle, and 2ndly, after 1591, George Fullerton of Wester Denoon.
- 6 A dau., m. George Lambie of Dunkenny.

IV. JOHN, 4TH OF COSSINS. m. Jean Campbell, prob. dau. of John Campbell of Murthly. John Lyon d. after 1637, and had issue.

- 1 THOMAS, 5TH OF COSSINS
- 2 David, prob. m. Isabel Ogilvy, dau. of James Ogilvy, second son of John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, and Helen Ogilvy, dau. of James Ogilvy, 4th lord Ogilvy of Airlie.⁶⁹
- 3 Alexander, of Balgownie Esse, sometime 'in Glamis' and 'in Rochmilne', all in the parish of Glamis.⁷⁰ He m. Agnes Allan. He d. ca. 1637, and had issue.⁷¹
- 4 John, of Rochelhill.
- 5 William.⁷²
- 6 Grisel, prob. m. James Brown, m. Templeton of Nevay.⁷³
- 7 A dau., m. John Rattray, son of Sylvester Rattray of Craighall.

b) The Lyons of Westhill

I. PATRICK, 1ST OF WESTHILL, burghess of Dundee, was a son of David Lyon, 1st of Cossins.⁷⁴ He and his wife Elizabeth Wedderburn held the customs of Dundee (1546-57).⁷⁵ Elizabeth had three husbands before marrying Patrick ca. 1545: Alexander Lord, Alexander Ogilvy, provost of Dundee, and Archibald Campbell of Invertschie and Dunfallinch, younger bro. of John Campbell of Murthly, whose widow Margaret Drummond m. 3rdly John Lyon, 3rd of Cossins.⁷⁶ Patrick d. 1589, and had issue.

1 JAMES, 2ND OF WESTHILL

He also had other issue.

- 2 George, legitimated 1547

II. JAMES, 2ND OF WESTHILL, burghess of Dundee, m. Katherine Carnegie dau. of John Carnegie of Carnegie and Seton. James obtained the lands and vicarage of Westhill from his father, but alienated them to him in 1569.⁷⁷ Patrick in turn transferred them back to him in 1576. James d. 1589, and had issue.⁷⁸

1 PATRICK LYON, 3RD OF WESTHILL

- 2 Janet, m. 1577 Andrew Marshall, in the mill of Balnabrecht, son of Thomas Marschall, m. Loutgrene.⁷⁹

III. PATRICK, 3RD OF WESTHILL, baillie of Dundee, who m. Grizel Burste, dau. of John Burste, burghess of Dundee.⁸⁰ He d. 1602,⁸¹ and had issue.

1 JAMES, 4TH OF WESTHILL

2 JOHN, 4TH OF WESTHILL

- 3 Patrick, of Cardene, burghess of Dundee, m. Marion Hay, and d. sp. 1635.⁸²

- 4 William, who was prob. the William Lyon, a tailor, who was admitted a burghess of Dundee in 1596

⁶⁹ NAS - PRS (Forfar), S2 ii, 179.

⁶⁸ NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xxv, 58. Contract of marriage between Thomas Annan, son of James Annan of Persie, and Marion Lyon, dau. of John Lyon, bar. of Halton Esse.

⁶⁹ NAS - CS7 77 255v.

⁷⁰ NAS - PRS (Forfar) S2 ii, f. 136, 180, 162, 184, CS7 77 255v.

⁷¹ NAS - CC20 4 9 (Testament, St. And., 29 July 1637).

⁷² NAS - Calendar of Deeds, I, 890 (1595).

⁷³ NAS - PRS (Forfar) S1, viii, f. 174.

⁷⁴ RAS, iii, 1057.

⁷⁵ ER, six, 291.

⁷⁶ A. Wedderburn, *The Wedderburn Book: A History of the Wedderburns in the Counties of Berwick and Forfar*, 2 vols. (N.p., 1898), i, 68-9.

⁷⁷ Strathmore MSS, box 1, item 211.

⁷⁸ NAS - RD1 37 28r-29v.

⁷⁹ NAS - RD (Abstracts) xxxvii, 28b, RD1 37 28r-29v.

⁸⁰ Strathmore MSS, box 21, bundle 2.

⁸¹ NAS - CC8 8 40 (Testament, Fdn., 26 July 1605).

⁸² NAS - CC20 4 9 (Testament, St. And., 24 Mar. (30 Apr.) 1635).

5 Thomas, liv in 1612⁸³

6 Elizabeth, m. ca. 1605 David Lindsay, eldest son of David Lindsay, burges of Brechin⁸⁴ She d s p. ca. 1612⁸⁵

7 Catherine m. 1stly Walter Wallace of Ogilston, and 2ndly Alexander Ramsay, burges of Dundee

8 Magdalene, m. James Pigot, provost of Forfar.

IV. JAMES, 4TH OF WESTHILL. was described as eldest lawful son and heir of his parents in 1602.⁸⁶

c) Archibald Lyon, Burgess of Glasgow

I. ARCHIBALD, BURGESS OF GLASGOW. was prob a gt-grandson of David Lyon, 1st of Cossins, Alexander m. 1stly Mariota Knox, dau. of John Knox, burges of Glasgow, and had issue,

1 Mariota, m. Donald Cunningham of Aikenbar, burges of Dumbarton

2 Joneta, m. John Campbell of Ardardo

He m. 2ndly Margaret Dunlop, dau. of James Dunlop of Dunlop, and had issue,

3 Helen, m. George Lyon, burges of Glasgow, son of David Lyon, burges of Glasgow. She m. 2ndly Colin Campbell of Kilberic.⁸⁷ She had issue

Archibald d. ca. 1587⁸⁸

⁸³ NAS - CC3 3 2 (Testament, Brechin, 28 July 1612).

⁸⁴ *Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, i, 234-5.

⁸⁵ NAS - CC3 3 2 (Testament, Brechin, 28 July 1612).

⁸⁶ Strathmore MSS, box 35, bundle 2.

⁸⁷ D. Campbell of Barcaldine, *The Clan Campbell*, ed. H. Paton, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1913-22), vii, 246.

⁸⁸ NAS - CC8 8 18 (Testament - Edin., 1 Feb. 1588); J. Tweed, *Glasgow: Ancient and Modern*, 4 vols. (Glasgow, 1872), ii, 839-52 (M'Ure's Account of Archibald Lyon), 852-7 (Bain's notes on Archibald Lyon).

2.0 The Supporters

2.1 The Supporters of Glamis, 1582

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Abat, in Newton of Glamis	William	Forfar
Adamson, in Balbrydie	David	Forfar
Adam, in Bow	John	Forfar
Adam, in Tannadice	John	Forfar
Adam, in Bow	-	Forfar
Air, in Nether Liff	Thomas	Forfar
Alexander, in Balmuckety	John	Forfar
Allane, in Newton of Glamis	David	Forfar
Allane	George	Forfar
Allane	John	Forfar
Allane	Robert	Forfar
Arbuthnot	David	Forfar
Arbuthnot of Lentusche	James	Aber
Barclay, in Newton of Glamis	George	Forfar
Barrie, in Culho	James	Forfar
Barrie	John	Forfar
Barclay	John	Forfar
Barnet, in Kyntryrie	Thomas	Forfar
Bell	George	Forfar
Bernard	David	Forfar
Blair, in Glamis	William	Forfar
Boutchart	Andrew	Forfar
Boutchart, in Grange	John	Forfar
Brachtie, in Balquharn	John	Forfar
Brachtie, in Balquharn	William	Forfar
Brown	Hugh	Forfar
Brown	James	Forfar
Brown, in Drumgley	John	Forfar
Brown	John	Forfar
Bruce, in Ogil	James	Forfar
Bruce	Robert	Forfar
Buchan, in Drumgley	Alexander	Forfar
Buchan, in Drumgley	John	Forfar
Cable, in Kirriemuir	James	Forfar
Cardean	Alexander	Forfar
Carter, in Glamis	John	Forfar
Chaplain	Alexander	Forfar
Chisholm	Archibald	Forfar
Clark, in Potterton	John	Aber
Clark, in Little Coull	Walter	Forfar
Cochrane, in Kirriemuir	James	Forfar
Cooper	John	Forfar
Craw	Harry	Forfar
Croal, in Ogil	Andrew	Forfar
Culross, in Newton of Glamis	Andrew	Forfar
Culross	David	Forfar
Cuthbert, in Balmuckety	George	Forfar
Dalgarno, in Eigie	Gilbert	Aber
Doig, fiar in Glamis	John	Forfar
Doig, in Glamis	John	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Doig, in Arnefoul	William	Forfar
Douglas	John	Forfar
Essie, in Kirriemuir	John	Forfar
Falconer	David	Forfar
Fenton, in Tannadice	Roger	Forfar
Fewane, in Kirriemuir	William	Forfar
Fife	Andrew	Forfar
Fife	David	Forfar
Fife	James	Forfar
Forsyth	Gilbert	Forfar
Fullerton of Denoon	Alexander	Forfar
Fullerton	George	Forfar
Fullerton, in Dundee	John	Forfar
Futhie, in Newton of Glamis	George	Forfar
Gardyne, in Dundee	David	Forfar
Garvock	John	Forfar
Gardyne, in Dundee	Robert	Forfar
Gibson, in Newton of Glamis	Thomas	Forfar
Gibson	William	Forfar
Glenday, in the Inch	Andrew	Forfar
Gordon, in Kirriemuir	Thomas	Forfar
Gordon, in Kirriemuir	Walter	Forfar
Gray of Dunninald	Andrew	Forfar
Gray, son of lord Gray	Gilbert	Forfar
Gray, in Forgon	James	Perth
Gray	James	Forfar
Gray	James	Forfar
Gray, in Kingoodie	John	Forfar
Gray	John	Forfar
Gray, in Lochton	William	Perth
Gray	Gilbert	Forfar
Gregory	John	Forfar
Gregory	William	Forfar
Hill	Mathew	Forfar
How, in Tannadice	John	Forfar
Hucheoun, in Tannadice	Alexander	Forfar
Hucheon	John	Forfar
Hunter, in Glamis	John	Forfar
Innes	Walter	Forfar
Irnis, in Glamis	Lewis	Forfar
Jamieson	Andrew	Forfar
Kay	George	Forfar
Kay, in Hatton of Essie	Walter	Forfar
Ker	Henry	Forfar
Ker, in Glamis	James	Forfar
Ker	John	Forfar
Ker, in Drumgley	Thomas	Forfar
Kessan	Alexander	Forfar
Kinnear	John	Forfar
Kinnear	John	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Kinnaird	Patrick	Forfar
Kinnear, in Glamis	William	Forfar
Laing, in Drumgowane	-	Aber
Lambie	George	Forfar
Lambie	Thomas	Forfar
Lamb, at Inverquharity Mill	William	Forfar
Lauder of Omachie	Alexander	Forfar
Leith, in Braytoun	Patrick	Forfar
Leslie, in the Mill of Potterton	James	Aber
Leslie, in Cowstoun	Robert	Forfar
Leuchars, in Tannadice	John	Forfar
Lindsay	James	Forfar
Louson, in Glenley	David	Forfar
Louson, in Glenley	William	Forfar
Luke	Andrew	Forfar
Lyal	Alexander	Forfar
Lyal, younger of Murthill	Alexander	Forfar
Lyal	George	Forfar
Lyal, in Kirriemur	Thomas	Forfar
Lyal of Murthill	Thomas	Forfar
Lyon, in Houppishill	Alexander	Aber
Lyon	Andrew	Forfar
Lyon, in Bagillo	David	Forfar
Lyon, brother of Cossins	James	Forfar
Lyon of Easter Ogil	James	Forfar
Lyon, younger of Cossins	John	Forfar
Lyon	John	Forfar
Lyon, in Dundee	John	Forfar
Lyon, elder	John	Forfar
Lyon, in Kinalty	John	Forfar
Lyon, in Rochelhill	John	Forfar
Lyon, younger	John	Forfar
Lyon, in Glamis	Mike	Forfar
Lyon, in Scroggerfield	Robert	Forfar
Lyon of Baldoukie	Thomas	Forfar
Lyon, in Balgillo	William	Forfar
Lyon, in Collieston	William	Forfar
Martin, in Arniefoul	Alexander	Forfar
Millar, in Glamis	Alexander	Forfar
Millar, at Inverquharity Mill	George	Forfar
Mill	William	Forfar
Moucur of Balmall	Andrew	Forfar
Monorgund	Andrew	Forfar
Moncur	Patrick	Forfar
Moodie, in Glamis	John	Forfar
Morgan	Patrick	Forfar
Mureson, in Tannadice	Alexander	Forfar
Murieson, in Tannadice	William	Forfar
Mustard	Robert	Forfar
Mustard	Thomas	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Neish, in Tannadice	Andrew	Forfar
Newton	Walter	Forfar
Nicol	Alexander	Forfar
Nicol	George	Forfar
Nicol	John	Forfar
Ogilvie	Adam	Forfar
Ogilvie	Alexander	Forfar
Ogilvie, in Crieff	David	Forfar
Ogilvie, in Woodhead	Henry	Forfar
Ogilvie	James	Forfar
Ogilvie of Ballinshoe	John	Forfar
Ogilvie of Inverquharity	John	Forfar
Ogilvie, in the Inch	Patrick	Forfar
Ogilvie, elder	Thomas	Forfar
Ogilvie, in Newton	Thomas	Forfar
Ogilvie	Thomas	Forfar
Ogilvie	Thomas	Forfar
Ogilvie, younger	Thomas	Forfar
Parker, in Arniefoul	Andrew	Forfar
Philp, in Arniefoul	David	Forfar
Philp, in Glamis	Thomas	Forfar
Pigott, in Kintyrie	James	Forfar
Pigott, in Crieff	John	Forfar
Pynnal, in Kintyrie	Andrew	Forfar
Pynnal, in Kintyrie	John	Forfar
Pyot of Foffarty	William	Forfar
Ramsay, in Tannadice	Alexander	Forfar
Ramsay, in Muirhead	George	Forfar
Ramsay	George	Forfar
Ramsay	Gilbert	Forfar
Rhind, in the Dod	Richard	Forfar
Robb, in Kyntyrie	David	Forfar
Rollock	Andrew	Forfar
Rollock, in Powhous	David	Forfar
Rollock	David	Forfar
Rollock	Don	Forfar
Rollock	Humphrey	Forfar
Rollock of Duncrub	James	Perth
Rollock	Patrick	Forfar
Rollock, in Murton	Robert	Forfar
Rollock	Walter	Forfar
Samson	William	Forfar
Scott, in Little Coull	David	Forfar
Srymgeour of Fordie	David	Forfar
Srymgeour of Balbeuthlie	James	Forfar
Srymgeour of Dudhope	James	Forfar
Srymgeour	Robert	Forfar
Shepherd	David	Forfar
Shepherd, in Arniefoul	John	Forfar
Simpson, in Hauch	Alexander	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Simpson	David	Forfar
Skair, in Tannadice	Alexander	Forfar
Skene	Gilbert	Forfar
Skene	-	Forfar
Skinner	David	Forfar
Smart, in Kinalty	Thomas	Forfar
Smith, in Glamis	David	Forfar
Smith, in Glamis	Gavin	Forfar
Smith	Gilbert	Forfar
Smith	Henry	Forfar
Smith, in Glamis	John	Forfar
Smith	Patrick	Forfar
Smith	William	Forfar
Smith	William	Forfar
Spalding, in Balmuckety	James	Forfar
Sprout, in Ogil	Charles	Forfar
Stewart	Bernard	Forfar
Steven, in Grange	James	Forfar
Strachan, in Bow	John	Forfar
Templeman	John	Forfar
Thorton, in Glamis	John	Forfar
Thorton of Thorton	John	Forfar
Thorton	Robert	Forfar
Thorton, in Balmuckety	-	Forfar
Vannan	Andrew	Forfar
Volume in Caulholme	William	Forfar
Walker, in Drumgley	David	Forfar
Walker, in Drumgley	James	Forfar
Walterstoun, in Blibberhill	Richard	Forfar
White	Andrew	Forfar
White	George	Forfar
White	John	Forfar
Wichtoun, in Glamis	Andrew	Forfar
Wilkie, in Bow	James	Forfar
Wilson, in Glamis	Julian	Forfar
Wilkie, in Bow	-	Forfar
Wishart of Logie	John	Forfar
Wishart	Thomas	Forfar
Young, in Ogil	William	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Balbirnie of Innerntchie	Alexander	Forfar
Blair of Bathyok	William	Forfar
Blair of Bagillo	William	Forfar
Craig, in Pitreuchie	James	Forfar
Erskine, portioner of Auchterforfar	James	Forfar
Fenton of Wester Ogil	David	Forfar
Fotheringham, younger of Fotheringham	Thomas	Forfar
Fotheringham of Fotheringham	Thomas	Forfar
Gardyne, younger of Leyis	David	Forfar
Gardyne of Leyis	David	Forfar
Gray of Lour	Andrew	Forfar
Guthrie, younger of Kincladrum	Alexander	Forfar
Guthrie, in Craquhymilne	Alexander	Forfar
Guthrie of Halkerton	Alexander	Forfar
Guthrie of Muirton	Alexander	Forfar
Guthrie of Balnabrieck	Andrew	Forfar
Guthrie of Kincladrum	David	Forfar
Guthrie, in Craichie Mill	John	Forfar
Guthrie of Pitmeweis	Patrick	Forfar
Guthrie	William	Forfar
Haliburton, younger of Pitcur	George	Forfar
Haliburton of Pitcur	George	Forfar
Haliburton of Pittarthie	George	Forfar
Haswell, in Kirriemuir	John	Forfar
Hay of Meginch	Peter	Forfar
Ker, in Bonnyton	Alexander	Forfar
Kinnaird of Kinnaird	Patrick	Forfar
Lambie of Dunkenny	John	Forfar
Lyal, younger of Murthill	Alexander	Forfar
Lyal of Murthill	Patrick	Forfar
Lyon of Bagillo	David	Forfar
Lyon of Easter Ogil	James	Forfar
Lyon, younger of Cossins	John	Forfar
Lyon of Cossins	John	Forfar
Lyon of Rochelhill	John	Forfar
Lyon, in Glamis	Mike	Forfar
Lyon, in Dundee	Patrick	Forfar
Lyon of Scroggerfield	Robert	Forfar
Lyon, in Kirriemuir	Thomas	Forfar
Lyon, in Nether Bagillo	William	Forfar
Maule of Panmure	Patrick	Forfar
Maxwell of Tealing	David	Forfar
Moncur of Moncur	Andrew	Forfar
Nevay, in Foffarty	Alexander	Forfar
Nevay, younger of Nevay	John	Forfar
Nevay of Nevay	John	Forfar
Ogilvie	David	Forfar
Ogilvie of Ogilvy	Gilbert	Forfar
Ogilvie	Gilbert	Forfar
Ogilvie of Inverquharney	John	Forfar

Last Name	First Name	Shire
Ogalvie, younger of Inchmartine	Patrick	Forfar
Ogilvie of Inchmartin	Patrick	Forfar
Pigott, in Kirriemuir	-	Forfar
Rhind, in Fouah	Richard	Forfar
Rhind, in Wester Dod	Richard	Forfar
Rollock, tutor of Duncrub	Walter	Forfar
Scryngeour of Glasswell	John?	Forfar
Sturrock, in Wester Dod	Robert	Forfar
Thorton of Thorton	John	Forfar
Walker, in Drumgley	Walter	Forfar
Wedderlic, in Pettreuchie	John	Forfar
Wilson, in Glamis	Julian	Forfar
Wishart, younger of Bogy	John	Forfar
Wishart of Bogy	John	Forfar
Wood, younger of Bonnyton	James	Forfar
Wood of Bonnyton	Patrick	Forfar
Wood of Latoun	William	Forfar

3.0 The lands and property

3.1 The lands and property of Glamis himself

1568

March, 10 *Presentation* – chaplainry of **St. John the Baptist at Baikie** (OS 319493), i.e. lands of **Lenros** and 10 acres of Baikie, in Forfarshire, by his bro. (Strathmore MSS. box 14, bundle 5).

1571

September, 28 *Charter* – lands of **Scroggerfield** (OS 415473) and **Hayston** (OS 414464), in Forfarshire, which had been forfeited from David Seton of Parbroath (*RMS*, iv, 1971; Strathmore MSS. box 14, bundle 5)

September, 29 *Charter* – lands of **Banchory** (OS 261884), **Pitkinnie** (OS 211896), **Nether Pitteadie** (OS 252898), and **Balbairdie** (OS 227895), near Kinghorne in Fife, which had been forfeited from William Kirkaldy of Grange, and John Kirkaldy, and, before that, from his father John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis (*RMS*, iv, 1972; Strathmore MSS. box 32, bundle 1).

1574

March, 28 *Gift* – ward and non-entry lands of the lands of **Henderston** (OS 328407), **Edertie**, and **Sillesait**, with its temple-land, mill and mill-lands, all in Forfarshire, which had belonged to the late John Scrymgeour of Dudhope (*RSS*, vi, 2423; *Inventory of Documents Relating to the Scrymgeour Family, 1611*, ed. J.M. Thoms (Scottish Record Society, 1912), 668).

1575

September, 6 *Charter* – lands of **Baldoukie** (OS 466588) in Forfarshire granted by John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, his bro. (Strathmore MSS. box 33, bundle 3)

1576

October, 30 *Exemption* – thirds of benefits on revenue from **Holyrood Abbey** (OS 269739), with the bairns of Robert Stewart, fiar of Orkney (NAS - Thirds of Benefices, E45/10/111v-111r) – date 1576

Gift – non-entry of the lands of **Pethkenno**, **Powiak**, Kirkton of **Tealing** (OS 403380), **Balgay** (OS 270274), **Shielhill** (OS 425367), **Powgavie** (OS 288260) and the mill of Tealing, in Perthshire and Forfarshire, which had belonged to the late John Campbell of Lundie (*RSS*, vii, 744,760).

December, 28

Exemption – thirds of benefits on revenue from **Holyrood Abbey** (OS 269739), with the bairns of Robert Stewart, fiar of Orkney (NAS - Thirds of Benefices, E45/10/111v and r) – date 1576

Charter – lands and manor of **Balumbie** (OS 444337), in Forfarshire, in wadset purchased with his bro. from John Lovell of Balumbie (*RMS*, iv, 2878 – crown confirmation 20 June 1579; NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xv, 423)

1578

July, 17 *Charter* – the lands of **Lenros** to George Gray of Shielhill and his spouse Helen Gary (Strathmore MSS. box 14, bundle 5, and box 15, bundles 1 and 2 (x2); NAS - PS1/51/184v).

1579

April, 20 and 30 *Contract* – lands of **Pitteadie** and others in wadset to Robert Strang of Kylrinnie by Glamis, engrossing an obligation by Strang to John Campbell of Lundie dated 1567 (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xix, 372)

May, 12

Charter – the whole of the lands and manor of **Balumbie** to Glamis and Agnes Gray (*RMS*, iv, 2878 - crown confirmation 20 June 1579)

June, 10

Charter – wardship of lands of **Nether Gogar** (OS 168727), in the sheriffdom of Edinburgh, and the lands and barony of **Grougar** (OS 467387), in Ayrshire, purchased from his steps, Robert Logan of

- December, 19 Restalrig (*RMS*, iv 2879, 3015)
Assignment – **Home Castle** by Glamis and Agnes Gray to her s Alexander Home (*RPC*, iii 250).
- 1580
 April, 3 *Charter* – lands and barony of **Melgund** *alias* **Aldbar**, in Forfarshire, including the Mains of Aldbar (OS 573578).
Clarebanie or **Clatterbene**, half of **Balnacake** (OS 558577).
Wood, **Woodend** (or Woodlands), forest of **Killauchschaw** and the lands of **South Melgund** in favour of Glamis and Agnes Home (*RMS*, iv 3008, 3009 – crown confirmation 6 May 1580).
 May, 13 *Contract* – renunciation of reversion of the lands and barony of **Grougar**, in favour of Glamis and Agnes Gray by her s Robert Logan of Restalrig, and infeftment of him in the lands of **Nether Gogar** (*RMS*, iv 2879, 3015; *NAS* - Calendar of Deeds, xix 115).
Contract – exchange lands and barony of **Grougar** for the lands of **Muir**, **Catherine Wood** and **Henwood** or **Dod** (OS 493499), including the manor of Dod, near Restennet, in Forfarshire, between Glamis and Agnes Gray and John Graham of Knokdoliane (*RSS*, viii 165; *RMS*, v 111 – confirmation 18 Feb 1581, *NAS* - Calendar of Deeds, xix 117b).
- 1581
 October, 13 *Escheat* – for not appearing to answer the charge concerning the slaughter of two followers of David Lindsay of Edzell and other crimes, to be held by Esmé Stewart, 1st duke of Lennox (*RSS*, viii 556).
 December, 16 *Charter* – lands of **Easter Dod** and **Wester Dod** sold under reversion to Robert Strang in Kilrinne and his wife Agnes Beaton, by Glamis, with consent of Agnes Gray, (*RMS*, v 592 - crown confirmation 29 July 1583).
- 1582
 February, 27 *Charter* – lands and town of **Woodhead**, and **Easter Fonah**, near Dod, sold under reversion to Mr John Sharp, advocate, by Glamis, with consent of Agnes Gray (*RSS*, viii 2109; *RMS*, v 611 - crown confirmation 24 Oct 1583).
 March, 1 *Escheat* – to be held by George Douglas of Helenhill (*NAS* – RD1/41/341b).
 March, 1 *Renunciation* – lands of **Nether Gogar** assigned by Robert Logan of Restalrig to John Logan of Cortfield (*NAS* - Calendar of Deeds, xix 212).
 April, 20 *Contract* – lands of **Easter Dod** and **Wester Dod**, with two pendicles of **Easter Dod** called Gallowsfields and **Foresterseat** (OS 495508), in the barony of Dod, in wadset to Robert Strang in Kylrinne by Glamis, with consent of Agnes (20 Apr. 1582 - *NAS* - Calendar of Charters, vi 2692).
 October, 23 *Respite* – all lands and property forfeited 10 Dec. 1581 (*RSS*, viii 965).
- 1583
 May, 1 *Charter* – lands of **Woodhead**, and **Easter Fonah**, in Forfarshire, granted to Mr John Sharp, advocate (*RSS*, viii 2109; *RMS*, v 611).
 July, 19 *Charter* – lands of **Balumbie** to Gilbert Gray of Mylnhill, the second son of Patrick Gary, 5th lord Gray, by Glamis, with consent of Agnes Gray (*RMS*, v 598 - crown confirmation 22 Aug 1583).
 August, 25 *Resignation* – chaplainry of **St. John the Baptist at Baikie** (OS 319493), and feud the lands of the chapel – the lands of **Lenros** and 10 acres of **Baikie**, in Forfarshire, from the assignee of the next chaplain. John Lyon of Cossins acted as the tutor dative for Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis, for the purposes of this resignation (Strathmore MSS, box 15, bundle 1 (x2)).
 September, 1 *Mandate* – to deliver the castles of Glamis, Baikie, Aldbar, and Dod within 48 hours (*RPC*, iii 595).

- 1584
- May, 10 *Charge* – to deliver the two main strongholds Glamis and Aldbar by Glamis and Agnes Gray charged with surrendering the two main strongholds of Glamis and Aldbar (*RPC*, iii, 662-3).
- May, 19 *Sequestration* – Goods and gear sequestered until he put to trial for his attack on Stirling (*LPS*, iii, 295, 296, 306).
- August 1 *Precept* – lands and liv. of Glamis to Patrick Gray, master of Gray (*RSS*, viii, 2242).
- August, 5 *Precept* – annual rent from the lands of **Meikle Coull**, in the barony of Tannadice, in Forfarshire to Mr Richard Strang, advocate, and his wife (*RSS*, viii, 2257).
- August, 24 *Gift* – part liferent of Agnes Gray to Patrick Gray, master of Gray (*RSS*, viii, 2342).
- September, 4 *Letter of Remission* – raid on Stirling (NAS - Calendar of Charters, x, 2745).
- September, 16 *Forfeiture* – gift of goods and lands and property, which were united into a new barony of Aldbar for William Stewart, commendator of Pittenweem. These were listed as the lands of **South Melgund**, **Blibberhill** (OS 553568), and **Balnacake**, near Aldbar, the adjacent lands of Dod, Easter Fonah (OS 518512), and Woodend, the lands and towns of **Meikle Coull** (OS 458592) and **Little Coull**, and the lands and town of **Kincrokat** (OS 568592), also near Aldbar, which was held of John Erskine, 2nd earl of Mar. Excludes lands or rents that had been alienated under reversion – lands of **Woodhead**, and **Easter Fonah** granted to Mr John Sharp, advocate (see above); the lands of **Easter Dod** and **Wester Dod**, with pendicles granted to Robert Strang, in Kyrrinrie (see above); an annual rent of 100 merks granted to Mr Richard Strang, advocate; and an annual rent of 35 bolls of victual granted to Thomas Ogilvy of Wester Pearsie, both annual rents being from the lands of **Little Coull** (*RSS*, viii, 2441, 2614).
- October, 14 *Gift* – part liferent of Agnes Gray to Patrick Gray, master of Gray (*RSS*, viii, 2499).
- 1585
- January, 26 *Precept* – the lands of Lenross to George Gray of Shieldhill and his spouse Helen Gary (NAS - PS1/51/184v, Strathmore MSS, box 15, bundle 2).
- November, 4 *Restoration* – all lands and property of Glamis and Agnes Gray (*LPS*, iii, 383, 406, 413, *RPC*, iv, 30 and 32).
- 1586
- April, 19 *Gift of wardship and marriage* – Glamis and John Maitland of Thirlestane received the gift of wardship and marriage of Hugh Montgomery, newly created 5th earl of Eglinton, aged two to Glamis and John Maitland of Thirlestane (NAS – PS1/53/164r, *CSP Scot.*, viii, 364, 365) – July 1586 date.
- June, 1 *Gift* – the escheat of Andrew Home, commendator of Jedburgh.
- December, 30 *Obligation* – Alexander Home, commendator of Jedburgh, and Glamis (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xxvi, 111).
- 1587
- May, 25 *Contract* – confirmation of contract (Jan 1580) between Glamis and David Gardyne of Leyis, younger, and Mr John Gardyne, his s (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xxv, 132).
- June, 10 *Obligation* – to David Gardyne of Leyis (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xli, 105).
- August, 4 *Escheat* – Glamis and Eupheme Douglas to John Lyon, younger of Cossins, for not paying a stipend to Magister John Ramsay – vicar of Alberlemno (NAS – PS1/55/174r).
- August, 9 *Gift* – lands in Forfarshire that were part of the temporality of the Abbey of Arbroath – the lands of **Tulloes** (OS 510458) and **Crachie** (OS 504474), which were to be held in feu mainly from David Gardyne of Leyis and David Gardyne, younger of Leyis, but

- also Andrew Guthrie, in Idvies, and Alexander Guthrie of Craichie Mill (NAS - PS1/55/183r-184v; *RMS*, v. 1344)
- August, 9 *Gift* - lands of **Corston**, in Forfarshire, which were part of the temporality of the Abbey of Arbroath and later held of the king (*RMS*, v. 1345)
- October, 7 *Contract of Marriage* - Glamis and Eupheme Douglas (NAS - RS1/56/91r-92r).
- October, 18 *Precept* - Glamis and Maitland to Alexander Ramsay, rector of Foulden for the lands and town of Foulden (NAS - PS1/56/61r).
- October, 21 *Gift* - as a result of the king's being of a lawful and perfect age, the office of treasurer (NAS - PS1/56/67r-68v).
- November, 1 *Gift* - monks portion of Arbroath (NAS - PS1/56/83v-83r; Strathmore MSS, box 235, bundle 3)
Charter - lands of **Murelethrandwood** and **Dod** of new, and, in addition, the gifts of the lands of **Kingsmuir** (OS 479493), and the patronage of the adjacent parish kirk of **Rescobie** (OS 509521), all in Forfarshire, which were incorporated into a free barony of Dod, with the fortalice and manor of Dod being the main dwelling, to Glamis and his second wife Eupheme Douglas (*RMS*, v. 1409).
- 1588
- November, 20 *Gift* - regarding captaincy of guard ? (NAS - PS1/58/45r)
- 1589
- January, 18 *Contract* - wardship and marriage to Robert Montgomery of Giffen (NAS - PS1/58/144r; NAS - Eglinton Muniments, GD 3/1/20/204)
- January, 28 *Obligation* - tack for 18 years for £22 yearly for tiend shieves of **Mains of Aldbar**, mill lands and lands of **Blibberhill**, half lands of **Balnacake**, **Woodend**, **South Melgund** to James Hering, provost of Methven (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, il. 566 - confirmed 2 Dec 1595).
- February, 19 *Remuneration* - Jean Lyon to Glamis (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xxxii. 370).
- 1590
- November, 9 *Charter* - the shady side of **Nether Tulloes** (OS 507458) to James Fotheringham, rector of Balumbie, and his wife Margaret Lindsay, under reversion for c. £1,550 (2300 merks). The charter listed the other parts of his lands in the barony of Tulloes as **Halton of Tulloes** and **Mynetoun of Tulloes**, **Driffin** (OS 513446), **Myreside** (OS 483523), and **Breusat** (Strathmore MSS, box 22, bundle 4, and box 24, bundle 2 (two versions both dated 9 Nov 1690); *RMS*, v. 2221 - crown confirmation 8 Dec 1592; Strathmore MSS, box 21, bundle 6 - 8 Dec 1592).
- 1592
- September, 26 *Charter* - dilapidations of the abbacy of **Deer**, one of which Glamis, Francis Hay, 9th earl of Errol, Alexander Home, 6th lord Home, William Kerr of Cessford, and Sir James Home of Cowdenknowes were described as having a joint interest in (*RMS*, v. 2175, 2176).
- 1593
- November, 1 *Nasme* - lands of **Halton of Tulloes** by James Fotheringham, rector of Balumbie, and Margaret Lindsay, and John Scrymgeour of Kirkton and his wife Marion Fotheringham under reversion on charter dated 26 Oct 1593 granted by Glamis (Strathmore MSS, box 24, bundle 3).
- November, 11 *Contract* - mails, etc. for crop of 1593 of town and lands of **Easter Muirside** and **Wester Muirside** (Muirside of Aldbar - OS 578560), **Stonybrigs** (OS 569563), **White-milne** (White Myre OS 573570), the manor place of **Drums** (Middle Drums OS 590575), the waird called **Corne-waird**, the gardenerslands, the lands called **Craig-head of Drums**, and half the barnyards of Drums occupied by

- David Whyte, to Glamis and Elizabeth Douglas by David Pitcairne, s. and heir of later David Pitcairne of Wester Drums, and Elizabeth Ogilvy relict of David, redeemable on paying the principal sum of £9,500 (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xlvi. 412 - confirmed 22 Apr. 1594).
- November, 11 *Charter* - lands of **Wester Drums** (OS 585571), near Aldbar, in Forfarshire, in feu from David Pitcairne to Glamis and Eupheme Douglas (RAMS, vi. 138 - crown confirmation 27 July 1594).
- December, 8 *Charter* - lands of **Halton of Tulloes** by James Fotheringham, parson of Balumbie, and Margaret Lindsay, and John Scrymgeour of Kirkton and his wife Marion Fotheringham in favour of Glamis (Strathmore MSS, box 24, bundle 2).
- 1594
- February, 28 or 29 *Escheat* - Alexander Lindsay, 1st lord Spynie, to Glamis (NAS - PS1/66/78v-78r)
- March, 7 *Assignment* - all right, title and claim he might have in an obligation for £10,000 granted to John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis by regent Morton dated from William Douglas, 10th earl of Angus to Glamis (NAS - Calendar of Deeds, xlvi. 141 - original contract 6 June 1577)
- April, 6 *Charter* - the lands and barony of **Dod**, including **Kingsmuir**, with the addition of the gift of the patronage of **Nether Airlie** (OS 314515), in Forfarshire, which formed part of the temporality of the abbey of Coupar that the crown had forfeited from Leonard Leslie, its late commendator, to Glamis and Eupheme Douglas for good service (RAMS, vi. 92).
- 1596
- June, 20 *Charter* - lands of **Milton of Tulloes** and other lands by Glamis in favour of James Fotheringham, rector of Balumbie under reversion (Strathmore MSS, box 23, bundle 2).
- November, 13 *Charter* - lands and barony of **Tannadice** (OS 475581), in Forfarshire, to Glamis by his nephew Patrick, which he exchanged for the whole of Glamis's rights to the lordship of Glamis (RAMS, vi. 709 - crown confirmation 17 May 1598, NAS - RD, Office Hay, 1596).
- 1598
- May, 11 *Charter* - town and lands of **Meikle Coull** and **Little Coull** held of the king sold by Glamis and Eupheme Douglas to John Ogilvy of Colyene (RAMS, vi. 714 - crown confirmation 24 May 1598)
- 1600
- Reclamation* - Monks' portions of the abbacy of **Arbroath** returned to the crown (APS, iv. 247)
- 1604
- March, 14 *Decreet* - court of session Edward Sturrock v Glamis (Strathmore MSS, box 25, bundle 1)
- 1605
- July, 17 *Charter* - lands of **Corston** and **Kingsmuir** sold Glamis and Eupheme Douglas to Robert Carnegie of Dunnichen, reserving for themselves part of the marsh of **Little Lour** (OS 478449) for fuel, and certain rents in kind from the lands of **Corston** and **Drums** (RAMS, vii. 1875 - crown confirmation 23 July 1618)
- 1606
- Ratification* - patronage of the kirk of **Nether Airlie** in Glamis's favour (APS, iv. 306)
- 1608
- August, 6 *Retour* - lands and barony of **Melgund** - the **Mains of Aldbar**, the lands of **Clatterbene**, half the lands of **Balnacake**, lands of **Blibberhill**, the lands of **Woodend**, the lands of **Bellaithschaw**, with **Forrest** - outset, the lands of **South Melgund**, with its community on the moors of **Montreathmont**, the lands and barony of **Tannadice**, and the lands of **Stannochoy** (OS 584589), near Aldbar, in favour of Glamis's eldest s. John Lyon, 2nd of Auldbar (*Retours*, i. no. 64).

3.2 The lands and baronies held on behalf of Patrick Lyon, 9th lord Glamis

a) Barony of Glamis, in Forfarshire

These lands included the town (OS 387468) and lands of **Glamis** (including the mains of Glamis (OS 387481) and the lands of **Little Cossins**), lands of **Balamone**, lands of **Arniefoul** (OS 400445), mill of Arniefoul (OS 394456), lands of **Knockany** (OS 391452), lands of **Wester Rochelhill** (OS 367447), lands of **Easter Rochelhill** (OS 376452), lands of **Holmyln**, lands of **Ewnie** (OS 363464), lands of **Wellflatt**, lands of **Newton of Glamis** (OS 374472), lands of **Bridgend** (OS 378479), lands of **North Cossins** (OS 394492), grain mill of Glamis, fulling mill (**Walkmill**) of Glamis, and lands of **Denhead**.

b) Barony of Baikie, in Forfarshire

These lands included the mains of **Baikie** (OS 318493), and its pertinences and pendicles – lands of **Brewlands**, **Smyddiland**, and **Drumderne**, mill of Baikie, lands of **Bridindton**, lands of **Cardean** (OS 289457), and mill of Cardean, lands of **Buttergask** (OS 208342 – these were adjacent but outside the barony and part of which **Little Buttergask**, and a quarter of **Collace** (OS 205323) were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1540 to James Haliburton and his wife Margaret Ross (*RMS*, iii 2221)), lands of **Newton of Airlie** (OS 322507 – adjacent but outside the barony), lands of **Littleton of Airlie** (OS 337508 – these were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1540 to James Scrymgeour and his wife Marie Dargent (*RMS*, iii 2093)), lands and town of **Lindertis** (OS 337516 – this property together with the mains of Baikie and the lands of **Muirhouses** were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to David Beaton, a natural son of Cardinal David Beaton (*RMS*, iii 1931)), lands of **Kinalty** (OS 350513 – adjacent but outside the barony), the lands of **Bandirran** (OS 207308 – these were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to Andrew Seton of Parbroath (*RMS*, iii 1872)), and the lands of **Drumgeith** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to David Wood of Craigie and his wife Margaret Cullace (*RMS*, iii 1751)).

c) Barony of Balmuckety and Drumgley, in Forfarshire

These lands included the lands of **Balmuckety** (OS 401529), including **Muirhouses** and **Brewlands**, lands of **Drumgley** (OS 423501), the water (*vilerk*) of Drumgley, the lands of **Wester Ballinshoe** (OS 413530 – these were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to David Gardyne of Leys (*RMS*, iii 1977)), and the lands of **Balbegno** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis together with a third part of the lands of Balmuckety in 1539 to William Lyon of Easter Ogl (*RMS*, iii 1929)).

d) Barony of Tannadice, in Forfarshire

These lands included three parts of the lands of **Over Muirhouses**, three parts mill of Overmuirhouses, lands of **Nether Muirhouses**, lands of **Little Mercus** (half of which together with three parts of the town, half and six parts of the mill and mill lands were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to David Lindsay, in Kirriemuir (*RMS*, iii 1920)), lands of **Meikle Balgillo** (OS 487585), lands of **Little Balgillo** (OS 485589), lands of **Baldoukie** (OS 465588), lands of **Wester Coull** (or Mains of Coull – OS 445591), lands of **Easter Coull** (or Meikle Coull – OS 459592), mill of **Tannadice** (Tannadice – OS 476582), **Brewlands** of Tannadice, **Smyddiland**, lands of **Hillhousecroft**, the fulling (*jullonum*) mill of Tannadice, lands **Easter Ogl** (OS 453617 – these were held of the Lords Glamis in blencheferme by the Lyons of Easter Ogl, and were – with the mill and community of **Glen Ogl** (OS 447637), lands of **Glenley** (OS 452633), transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to him (*RMS*, iii 1929)), and lands of **Muirton** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to Walter Mure *alias* Esse and his wife Isobel Arnot (*RMS*, iii 2046)).

e) Barony of Longforgan, in Perthshire

These lands included the lands and town of **Longforgan** (OS 315301 – these included the cottages and their lands, **Smyddiland**, the **Infield**, **Outfield**, and **Meadowlands**, and they with the Mains or **Eastfield** of Forgundenny, and the lands of **Little Kinnaird** were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to John Hay and his wife Grizelda Duncans (*RMS*, iii 1920)), lands of **Rawes**, lands of **Overyards**, lands of **Easter Belloch** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1540 to James

Haliburton and his wife Margaret Ross (*RMS*, iii. 2221)), mains of **Huntly** (OS 302292 – part of this property was transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1542 to Patrick Bruce (*RMS*, iii. 2618)), lands of **Millhill** (OS 293314), mill of Millhill, lands of **Lochside Acre**, part-lands of **Coitland**, lands of **Drone**, lands of **Inchture** (OS 282288), lands of **Holmys**, lands of **Balbunno** (part of which (together with a croft and land in Forfar) was transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to James Wats, and his wife Marion Rollock (*RMS*, iii. 2110)), half the lands of **Balgay** (OS 270272 – these were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine and his wife Elizabeth Kinnaid (*RMS*, iii. 1933)), the lands of **Muirton** and **Garlat** (which were adjacent but outside the barony and were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to Gilbert Gray, s. and heir of Thomas Gray of Shreves (*RMS*, iii. 1911)), the lands of **Wester Fordale** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to Gilbert Moncreiff (*RMS*, iii. 1842)), and the lands of **Culcowther**.
Note – John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis was served heir to his grandmother Elizabeth Gray, countess of Huntly, in 1549, and in her right unsuccessfully claimed lands in the barony of Longforgan. When his granddau Elizabeth Lyon m. in 1577 Patrick Gray, master of Gray, her father John Lyon, 8th lord Glamis, took advantage of this to settle the claim, and obtained two parts of the Mains of Huntly, a third part of Longforgan, and the lands of **Littleton** and **Lawriestoun** (*RMS*, iv. 2505; Strathmore MSS, box 16, bundle 5 – 12 Jan. 1575).

f) Barony of Kinghorne, in Fife

These lands included the lands of **Pitkinnie** (OS 211896), mill of **Kinghorne**, **Inchekeith** (which isle was transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to Andrew Wood of Largo (*RMS*, iii. 1888)), lands of **Balbairdie** (OS 227895), lands of **Trolbanyr**, lands of **Nether Pitteadie** (OS 252898), and lands of **Banchory** (OS 261884), and lands of **Tentismuris** (which were transferred with the lands of Pitkenry and Norther Pettedy by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to James Kirkaldy of Grange (*RMS*, iii. 1989 and 2028)).

Note – The main part of the barony of Kinghorne was returned to the family after the forfeiture of William Kirkaldy of Grange in 1546 (*RMS*, iv. 251).

g) Barony of Belhevie, Courtaston, and Balmedie, in Aberdeenshire

These lands included the whole lands and barony of **Belhevie** (OS 947175), **Courtaston** (OS 847335), and **Balmedie** (OS 965175) was held of the Lords Glamis as superiors on a hereditary basis by William Lyon of Comalegy in return for an annual rent, including the lands of **Ardendracht** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to the "laird of Ardendracht"), the lands of **Collieston** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to the "laird of Collieston", prob. Thomas Reid of Collieston (OS 042286 – Thomas was liv. in 1529 or his s. and heir Andrew Reid (*RMS*, iii. 816)), the lands of **Petens** (OS 970199 – these were previously held by – Lindsay and transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to William Lyon of Easter Ogil (*RMS*, iii. 1929)), the lands of **South Cullane** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to the Andrew Wood), and the lands of **North Cullane** (which were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1539 to John Wood). The superiority of the lands and barony of Belhevie and Courtaston were transferred by the king on a hereditary basis in 1538 to Henry Kempt of Thomaston (*RMS*, iii. 1800).

Note – In 1544, the lands and barony of Belhevies and Courtaston, the lands of **Drumgowan**, **Colpnay**, **Wester Blairton**, **Petens**, **Collieston**, **Ardendracht**, **Brayton**, **Auchleuchries**, with mill, multure, tenancies, etc were granted of new to John Lyon, 7th lord Glamis, and his wife Janet Keith (*RMS*, iii. 2990).

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