

**The Douglas Earls of Angus:
A Study in the Social and Political Bases of Power
of a Scottish Family from 1389 until 1557**

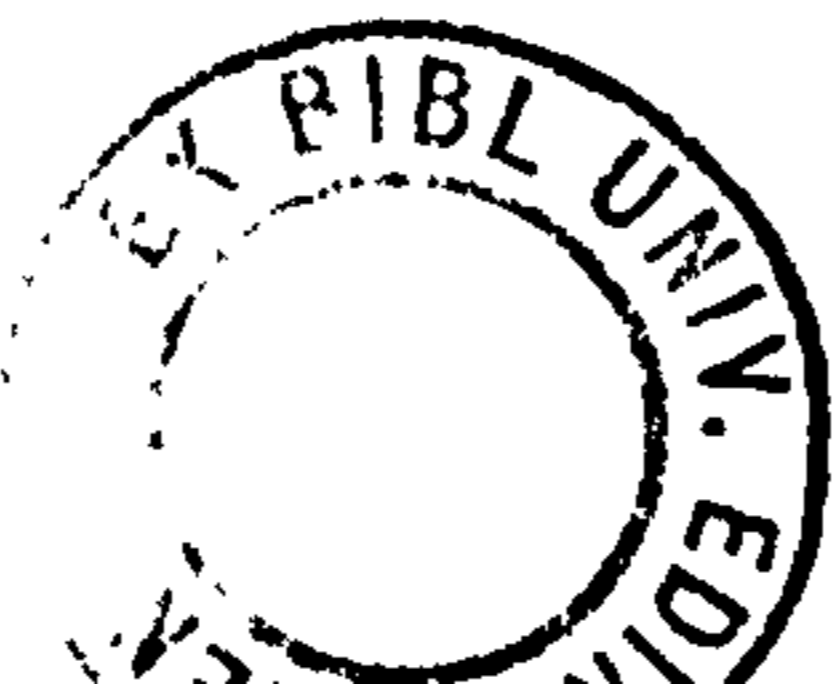
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Chapter VIII

Angus in Exile

Angus's entry into England in 1529 presented the Tudor government with an undesired *fait accompli*. From the persistence with which the English requested James the fifth to forgive and receive Angus, his brother and his uncle into royal favour, it is evident that Henry the eighth envisaged the exile of the Douglasses to be of short duration. In their assumption, however, neither the English monarch nor his ministers had taken into account the depth of animosity which the King of Scots felt towards the fugitives. The repeated overtures of Henry on behalf of Angus only increased James's determination that the proscribed magnate should not return.¹ As it became obvious with the passage of time that the Scottish king would never allow his former captor to be rehabilitated, the attitude of the English government towards Angus underwent a subtle change. Instead of being seen in the role of a political agitator or as the leader of an Anglophile faction among the Scottish aristocracy, the erstwhile "regent" of Scotland was considered fit only to be a border administrator. Angus was given a generous gift of £333, 6s. 8d. in the summer of 1529² and was allowed a pension of 1,000 merks per annum until he was restored to his Scottish estates.³ He was sent to Berwick to assist the English warden, Northumberland, who regarded the Scottish

1. SPH, IV, Pt. IV, no. CCII, p. 547.

2. LPH, V, p. 315; cf. Ibid., IV, Pt. III, no. 5844.

3. Ibid., V, pp. 317, 320, 324.

earl and his associates as effective agents for maintaining order along the frontier.⁴ For the remaining years of his exile, Angus was to be chiefly employed^o in the occupation of policing the borders between the two kingdoms.

The reception and maintenance of Angus in England meant that relations between that country and Scotland were to be encumbered with the troublesome problem of the restoration of the exiles, notwithstanding the new treaty of peace between the realms. In the complaints registered by the Scots against the English, it was implied that English marauders on the borders were encouraged by Angus and his brother.⁵ But Henry ignored these indirect aspersions and when Sir Thomas Clifford was sent into Scotland as an English emissary in the autumn of 1529 to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the disputes between the two realms, the restoration of Angus was among those topics which were to be discussed. James replied to his uncle's overture by defending the justice of Angus's exile.⁶

However, Angus never lost his interest in Scotland and he was accused by foreign observers⁷ and the Scottish government of being involved in raids and forays along the marches.⁸ To the King of Scots all depredations along the borders emanated from Angus and his supporters, and James desired the earl's removal from that area. At first the English monarch demurred in obliging James in his demand,⁹ but eventually

4. *Ibid.*, IV, Pt. III, no. 5886; *SPH*, *ibid.*, no. CCX, p. 568.

5. *Op. cit.*, appendix, no. 239.

6. *SPH*, *op. cit.*, no. CCXXIII, p. 572.

7. *LPH*, *op. cit.*, no. 6078.

8. Cf. *CSP Span*, IV, Pt. I, no. 366, p. 618.

9. *SPH*, *op. cit.*, no. CCXIX, pp. 588-9; cf. *LPH*, V, no. 1367.

Henry acceded and Angus was recalled from the Anglo-Scottish frontier in November 1531.¹⁰ However, the disorders along the borders continued unabated¹¹ and although Angus could not possibly have been the instigator of all of these outrages, he became a useful scapegoat upon which all such disturbances could be blamed.

Within six months after he was removed from Berwick, Angus was sent back to the borders and as he was "sworn Inglismen hes it was said becaus he cowth nocht get grace at the king,"¹² led a force which burned Coldingham and Dunglass at the very moment when a new treaty of peace was being negotiated between the two realms.¹³ His participation in such raids only increased James the fifth's obduracy to prevent the fugitive magnate from ever returning to Scotland. But Angus and his associates were prisoners of circumstance. On the one hand, they were denied any hope of restoration by their native sovereign; on the other, they were expected to aid their new protectors in raids of intense ferocity against their former countrymen. By the summer of 1532, Angus realised the improbability of being restored by James and became the subject of Henry the eighth. The earl recognised the English king's claim to be "Supreme Lord of Scotland" and promised to aid Henry in any future wars between England and Scotland. In return, the English monarch increased Angus's pension from 1,000 marks to £1,000 per annum and obligated himself never to make peace with the Scots until Angus had been rehabilitated.¹⁴ The origins

10. CSP Venetian, III, no. 697, p. 302.

11. LPH, op. cit., no. 443.

12. Abell MS., f. 119.

13. Cf. Lesley, History, p. 145. Lesley asserted that Angus was captured on this raid but there is no confirmation from either English or Scottish archives.

14. SMH, op. cit., no. CCXXX, p. 615.

of that policy of hypocrisy and deception which was practised with such adeptness by Angus and Sir George Douglas in the following decade, and which was to exert an important influence in Scottish history, began in the period of their exile. The exigencies of the situation had compelled Angus to become a denizen of his country's hereditary enemy, although undoubtedly neither he nor his brother ever intended to remain in England indefinitely.

The new commitment of the Douglasses towards abetting the English was demonstrated in the autumn of 1532. Angus undertook to suborn the inhabitants of the Merse and Teviotdale to become his allies¹⁵ while George Douglas began a campaign of looting Coldingham and other towns in the Merse.¹⁶ But further encroachments by the English into Scotland were repulsed by the border kindreds, the Scotts and Kers,¹⁷ while official pardon was extended to all his subjects by the Scottish king except those who gave assistance to Angus.¹⁸ But skirmishes between the English and Scots along the frontier increased in volume and intensity. Many areas of Berwickshire were ravaged in an unprecedented manner and the prime instigator of the new scorched earth policy was believed to have been Angus.¹⁹

The small border castle of Edrington, known better by its colloquial designation of Cawmills was captured from the Scots before the end of December.²⁰ As it was only two miles from Berwick, its strategic importance was considerable. The Scottish council had been concerned

15. SPH, op. cit., no. CCXXXII, p. 618.

16. LPH, V, no. 1460.

17. Ibid., no. 1559.

18. SPH, op. cit., no. CCXXXIV, p. 626.

19. Op. cit., no.s 1635, 1638.

20. Ibid., no. 1655; SPH, op. cit., no. CCXXXVI, pp. 630-31.

about Cawmills for some time but they had virtually ignored the request which its custodian, Alexander Home, the Tutor of Wedderburn, had made in the previous October for more supplies and artillery.²¹ The provocation of the English towards the Scots was further increased when the command of the newly captured castle was given to Angus. This deliberate affront to the Scots symbolised Angus's support of English aggression towards the northern kingdom. When the Scottish emissary, Thomas Scott of Petgorno, complained to Henry about this infringement of the Anglo-Scottish truce, the English king claimed that it had been done without either his knowledge or his consent. Petgorno dismissed this excuse as mere verbiage, for he believed that Henry intended to force the restoration of Angus upon James.²²

However, the question of the rehabilitation of Angus and his kinsmen was not to be utilised by the English to embroil the two kingdoms into a policy of open bellicosity. The activities of Angus and his brother²³ in the war of attrition being waged upon the Anglo-Scottish frontier were not serious enough to provide a casus belli between England and Scotland. Neither James nor Henry wanted war and a truce was negotiated in the spring of 1533²⁴ which was renewed in the following October.²⁵ The King of Scots was anxious to recover Cawmills as he believed that Angus and George Douglas, who were its captains, would use the castle as a base from which they could harass the borders. James's suspicion was not unfounded as throughout the summer of 1533 the Douglas exiles were engaged in desultory warfare against the Scots.²⁶ But the English refused

21. ADC et Sess., I, f. 398.

22. LPH, VI, no. 19. Cf. CSP Span., IV, Pt. II, no. 1041, p. 577; CSP Venetian, IV, nos. 839, 842, pp. 374-5.

23. LPH, op. cit., nos. 51, 143, 160; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXXVIII, p. 633.

24. Op. cit., no. 409.

25. Ibid., nos. 1196, 1222.

26. LPH, op. cit., no. 722.

to return Cawmills because of its proximity to Berwick although, as a sop to James's pride, George Douglas was removed as its keeper.²⁷ When a treaty of peace was finally concluded in May 1534 between Henry the eighth and James the fifth, to endure for each other's lifetime, Cawmills was dismantled and given back to Scotland.²⁸

Shortly before the successful conclusion of the diplomatic negotiations between the English and the Scots, Angus and his kinsmen displayed a new resurgence of hope that James the fifth would finally permit them to return home.²⁹ The earl and George Douglas sought Henry's aid to negotiate with the Scottish envoy, Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall, whom they had heard was favourably disposed to their restoration.³⁰ Although the laird of Redhall had supported Angus's uncle, Archibald Douglas when he was elected provost of Edinburgh in 1519,³¹ and probably did not approve of Angus's forfeiture,³² Otterburn was too astute to become directly involved in assisting the exiles. By the terms of the new treaty of peace, Angus, George and Archibald Douglas were allowed to remain in England and to be considered as English subjects.³³ These provisions merely reiterated James's avowed policy of uncompromising severity towards Angus and his fellow exiles. Future historians were to castigate Angus and George Douglas for their shameless treachery in being agents of the Tudors in Scotland after James's death. But the King of Scots himself no longer regarded them as his lieges and it can hardly be wondered at

27. *Ibid.*, nos. 802, 1283; *SPH*, op. cit., no. CCXLVI, p. 650; *CSP Span.*, IV, Pt. II, no. 1107, p. 752.

28. *LPH*, VII, no. 911; *Foedera* (o), XIV, pp. 538-9.

29. *Op. cit.*, no. 114; *CSP Span.*, V, Pt. I, no. 7, p. 23.

30. *SPH*, op. cit., no. CCLVII, pp. 666-7.

31. John Inglis, *Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall* (Glasgow, 1935), pp. 8-9. Cited hereafter as Inglis, *Adam Otterburn*. ADCP, p. 147.

32. Inglis, *Adam Otterburn*, p. 34.

33. *LPH*, op. cit., nos. 911, 1031; *Foedera*, op. cit.

that the Douglasses would be grateful to the country that had given them shelter against the virulent animosity of their former sovereign.

Yet, less than six months after the ratification of the new Anglo-Scottish alliance, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy made a quixotic visit to Scotland to solicit James's forgiveness. Godscroft created the legend of the fugitive Douglas, with the colourful soubriquet of "Graysteill" appearing before the king, hat in hand, in the park of Stirling to ask that he be allowed to remain in Scotland.³⁴ The imperial ambassador reported to his master in September 1534 "that the uncle of the earl of Douglas (sic), who was here in exile, has suddenly returned to Scotland, after soliciting and obtaining king James's pardon, though without informing this one, who paid him a pension."³⁵ However, Kilspindy's reception at the Scottish court was somewhat different than Chapuys had indicated. He was in Scotland by the very beginning of September, if not before, as on the third of that month he was ordered by the Lords of Council to leave the realm within a certain unspecified period. He spent his last days in Scotland at the home of Robert Barton in Leith waiting for a ship to take him from the kingdom.³⁶ Although we have no evidence that Archibald Douglas had in fact entered Scotland with the approval of James, the assumption of the imperial ambassador seems plausible. The previous response of James to the request that Angus and his fellow exiles be allowed home had been so severe that his treatment of Kilspindy was remarkable for its clemency. Although Kilspindy was not restored or

34. Godscroft, House of Douglas, p. 262; cf. Diurnal, p. 19 and Lesley, History, p. 142. Lesley wrote that Kilspindy approached the king while he was in the park at Stirling.

35. CSP Span., V, Pt. I, no. 90, p. 263.

36. ADCP, p. 427; W. Stanford Reid, Skipper from Leith: the History of Robert Barton of Over Burton (Philadelphia, USA, 1962)p. 252; ADC et Sess, V, ff. 114-7.

er allowed to remain, he was not imprisoned or executed, which James could have done with impunity as Douglas had been convicted of treason against his sovereign. Within two years, Kilspindy was dead but his widow, Isobel Hopper, who had remained in Scotland despite her husband's disgrace, was restored to her possessions.

Perhaps James's lenient treatment of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy encouraged his nephews Angus and George Douglas in their aspirations that they would be forgiven and restored. But the King of Scots remained adamant. In 1536 when arrangements were being discussed for a meeting between James and Henry, the Scottish monarch categorically refused to even consider the restitution of the Douglasses.³⁷ The English were persistent, however, and when in the following year James went to France, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester was sent by Henry the eighth to the Scottish king to solicit Angus's rehabilitation.³⁸ Perhaps the mysterious Mr John Penven or Penman, who informed George Douglas of the failure of this mission, was a member of Winchester's entourage.³⁹ But continued

37. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCLXXXIX, p. 38; LPH, X, no. 483. Lord William Howard, the English envoy to the Scottish court was specifically instructed to inform^{from} the fifth that Angus and George Douglas were loyal Scotsmen. SPH, op. cit., no. CCLXVI, p. 5.

38. LPH, XI, nos. 1351, 1363; Roger Merriman, The Life and Times of Thomas Cromwell (Oxford, 1902), II, no. 174, p. 41.

39. Pinkerton, History, II, Appendix no. XXIV, p. 490. Unfortunately, there is very little information on the identity of Mr John Penven or Penman. As his letters to George Douglas demonstrated a degree of immense sympathy for the Douglasses and an equal degree of animosity towards the Scottish king, it might be conjectured that he was a supporter of Angus before the earl's forfeiture. One Mr Thomas Penven, M.A., St. Andrews diocese, who may have been a close kinsman to Mr John Penven, drew up a notarial instrument for Angus's vassal, Mr John Symington, in May 1519. SRO, Calendar of Swinton Charters GD 12/94. There is a curious entry of payment of some fine cloth to the laird of Buccleuch in 1530 "for the taking of Penman" which could, perhaps, allude to Mr John Penven's capture. TJ, V, p. 380. If he had been imprisoned by James, Penven's hatred for the King of Scots would be more comprehensible. In October 1539, John Penven, clerk, M.A., a born Scotsman, became a naturalised subject of Henry the eighth and by the spring of 1544 Penven had become Henry's chaplain and possessed the rectory of Burne in Kent. LPH, Pt. I, XIV, no. 435 (XL); XIX, Pt. I, no. 278 (LX).

requests by Henry on behalf of Angus only increased James's obstinacy and he rebuked his English uncle for the latter's incessant solicitations in favour of the proscribed Scottish magnate.⁴⁰

With the death of Queen Madeleine in July 1537, followed closely by the exposure of the "Glamis conspiracy" the hatred of James for his former lieges reached a new depth of virulence. Angus and Sir George Douglas had remained blind to the constant rebuffs which any solicitation in their favour received from their former king. The execution of their sister Lady Glamis and her son-in-law, the Master of Forbes, coupled with the official displeasure shown towards other lairds of the cognomen of Douglas, stripped them of any illusions which they might have retained. Norfolk wrote to Cromwell that "ThErle of Anguyshe and his brother be nowe oute of hope, howe ever to attayne to their heritaunce, unles war be moved. Wherfore I doubte you woll wey George Douglas wordes, as a man desperate."⁴¹ So thorough was the repressive policy which was followed by James against any who showed any inclination to favour Angus and his brother that all sources of information of news which had filtered down to the Douglasses since their exile were no longer available⁴² "Fewe do escape that may be knowan to be frendes to ThErle of Anguyshe, or nere kynsmen, but that they be daylie taken and put in prison. And it is said that suche as have londes of any good vayne shall suffre at this nexte Parliament, and suche as have litle shall refuse the name of Douglas, and be called Stewardes."⁴³ The severity of the campaign which the King of Scots waged against the relatives and would-be supporters of Angus became universally known⁴⁴ as James's antipathy reached a state

40. The Hamilton Papers: Letters and Papers illustrating the political relations of England and Scotland in the XVith Century, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1890), I, no. 37, p. 41. Cited hereafter as HP.

41. LPH, XII, Pt. II, no. 422(1); SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCXXIV, p. 98.

42. Op. cit., no. 369(1).

43. Ibid., no. 696(1); SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXX, pp. 108-9.

44. LPH, op. cit., no. 539.

of almost pathological neurosis. In November 1538 Sir Adam Otterburn, who had been a faithful administrator and diplomat for close to two decades, was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle for suspected correspondence with the exiles;⁴⁵ while Sir James Colville of East Wemyss, Sir ^{James Hamilton} Hamilton of Finnart and the dead Robert Leslie of Inverpeffer were all accused of treason for their "assistance" to Angus.⁴⁶ All of these men had either been forfeited or executed or had fled from Scotland by 1541, except for Otterburn, who was released upon the payment of a large composition.⁴⁷ When the Scottish Estates convened in December 1540, all of the lands and lordships which had pertained to Angus before his forfeiture, with the solitary exception of the lordship of Abernethy, were annexed to the Crown estates, and in the general remission which James granted to all his subjects "the Intelligance with Archibald symtyme erle of Angus George Douglas his broder and unquhile Archbald dowglas of Kilspeindie thare ome sen the tyme of the geving of dome of forfaltour aganis thame"⁴⁸ was the sole exception in this act of royal magnanimity. The Douglasses still remained unpardonable criminals.

Relations between England and Scotland deteriorated markedly during the last five years of James the fifth's reign.⁴⁹ By the summer of 1542 the two nations were on the brink of war and once again Angus and his brother took a prominent part in leading English marauders into the Scottish marches.⁵⁰ In a last attempt to prevent the outbreak of

45. Ibid., XIII, Pt. II, no. 777; Inglis, Adam Otterburn, pp. 68-9.

46. APS, II, pp. 355, 361, 366-7.

47. Op. cit., XIV, Pt. I, no. 1105; XIV, Pt. II, no. 131; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCLX, p. 160; HP, I, no. 57, p. 59.

48. APS, op. cit., p. 363; The New Acts of Parliament printed by Thomas Davidson (Edinburgh, 1540), p. 17.

49. The death of Margaret Tudor in October 1541 removed the last important personage at the Scottish court who was interested in the maintenance of the Anglo-Scottish entente. It was reported that on her death-bed she asked her son to forgive Angus. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCLXXXV, p. 194.

50. LPH, XVII, no. 559.

hostilities, James Leirmonth of Dersie was sent by the King of Scots to the English court.⁵¹ The explosive nature of the crisis was apparent to the Scottish council who informed Leirmonth to send the results of his communications with Henry the eighth "in all the haist you may."⁵² But by the last week of August the English king was expecting almost hourly news that the Scots had crossed the frontier.⁵³

However, the first initiative of overt hostility was made by the English when a force led by Angus and Sir Robert Bowes invaded the Scottish Middle March and was defeated by the Scots on 24 August 1542 at Haddonrig. Bowes was captured and Angus was barely able to make good his escape.⁵⁴ According to one Scottish source seventeen hundred Englishmen were killed and fifteen hundred were captured.⁵⁵ Fortunately, there are extant accounts of the battle which were written by the commanders of the opposing forces. Angus and Sir George Douglas reported that they had led three thousand men (James the fifth was to claim that it was ten thousand), and that upon the approach of the Scottish force led by the earl of Huntly, the English infantry broke into a disorderly retreat. Angus noted bitterly that "it was not that they won the field, but we that lost it with our disorder."⁵⁶ According to the English accounts, Sir Robert Bowes, Richard Bowes, John Davysoun of Dennerlaw, George Davysoun in Teviotdale, John Dyksoun of Beltschester, John Tempest, John Heroun, John Carr, captain of Wark, and Thomas Foster of Edderstoun were taken

51. Ibid., nos. 577, 586, 601.

52. Register House, State Papers SP 13/30(I). There are two other letters sent to Leirmonth in this collection, one of which is printed in LPH, SVII, no. 644.

53. Op. cit., no. 647, 651, 661.

54. HP, I, no. 128, pp. 158-9; LPH, XVII, nos. 662, 663; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXCII, pp. 207-8.

55. Diurnal, pp. 24-5. Cf. Lesley, History, p. 162.

56. HP, op. cit.; LPH, op. cit., no. 673; SPH, op. cit.

prisoner.⁵⁷ The presence of Scotsmen from Teviotdale, i.e. the Davysonns and John Dyksoun, indicate that for many Scottish borderers service under the English was reckoned to be more advantageous than under their own wardens. Huntly's account, which was written to the Scottish ambassador in London, explained the activities of the earl in defending the Scottish realm from the invaders. He informed Leirmonth that on 20 August he left Edinburgh and arrived at Lauder, where he met with the Wardens of the East and Middle Marches and they had proceeded to Melrose. When he arrived there, Huntly sent messages to the English wardens to inform them of his presence on the borders and that he had come to ensure that peace would be maintained upon the frontier and to ask them to follow suit. He went to Jedburgh on the eve of St. Bartholomew as he did not expect any trouble from the English, but he was awakened at four in the morning by a messenger who informed him that an English army was at Kelso. Taking great pity upon the tribulations of the country, he decided to defend his countrymen, met the English at Haddonrig and defeated them which was "ane sueit and honorable victory... noetheless we temereit our selfis and abstenit fra forther persewing bot staid allanerlie at the thing that we haid in our puir defence lyk as we gat chargis or we departit at the kingis grace." Sir John Wedderington, Marshal of Berwick, Mr Lassance, Mr Tempest, John Ker, captain of Werk, James Douglas of Parkhead, "Littel" Heroun, Mr Bowes, Richard Bowes, Sir Cuthbert Radclyff, Lord Howburn, Thomas Foster, lord of Aderstoun, Mr Lossy, William Buktoun, and Mr Slingisby were captured.⁵⁸

The defeat of Haddonrig caused Henry the eighth acute embarrassment,

57. LPH, *ibid.* It was also reported that Angus and George Douglas had been wounded and captured. *Ibid.*, nos. 729, 838.

58. Register House, State Papers, SP 13/31.

but the immediate reaction by both countries was one of caution. The English privy council ordered a complete cessation of hostilities against Scotland while James informed his ambassador in London that, despite the latest provocations, he was anxious to maintain peace.⁵⁹ The English and Scottish wardens, Rutland and Huntly, promised each other support in the preservation of peace along the frontier,⁶⁰ and Huntly informed Leirmonth that "all that we intend heir is defence allanerlie gif Inglan vald invaid."⁶¹ But the protestations of peace between the two kings were hollow, although Angus believed that James did not want war.⁶² The Scottish king even showed himself surprisingly merciful as he pardoned James Douglas of Parkhead, although he had done so only after Parkhead had divulged the plans of Angus.⁶³ Yet by October the English were insisting that members of the Scottish nobility be sent into England as hostages and that James come to London by Christmas; these demands were wholly unacceptable.⁶⁴ That war with Scotland was still very much a part of Henry's policy is evident by the fact that in October 1542 offers were being made to Scottish borderers to assist the English in return for protection of their lands and goods.⁶⁵ By the end of October the English had invaded Scotland.

At the commencement of hostilities, the war was waged furiously in the regions which bordered Berwick. Angus and Sir George Douglas were conspicuous in advancing the prosecution of the campaign in the Merse

59. Ibid., SP 13/32; LPH, op. cit., no. 705.

60. Ibid., nos. 734, 739.

61. Register House, State Papers, SP 13/33.

62. HP, I, no. 197, pp. 253-4.

63. LPH, op. cit., no. 753.

64. Ibid., no. 942.

65. Ibid., nos. 953, 994.

and Henry was informed by Hertford that they "have in this jorney very prayfullye and willingly served your highness in suche wise that in myn opynyn they have deserved your majesties thankes."⁶⁶ Despite the concentration of English activity and military preparations upon the Eastern Marches, it was on the western frontier that the fate of the war was decided by the rout of the Scots at Solway Moss. The Scottish army suffered from a lack of organisation and when the royal favourite, Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairns, was appointed commander, the Scottish nobles refused to obey him. Upon the first onslaught of the English force under the capable direction of Sir Thomas Wharton, the Scots broke and fled. Although Scottish historians have blamed the defeat upon the ineptitude of the Scottish commander,⁶⁷ the defeat itself was only catastrophic in that it triggered the complete emotional collapse of James the fifth. In spite of the fact that he still retained some awareness of the problems which confronted his kingdom (on 29 November he appointed John Johnstone of that ilk warden of the West Marches in place of Lord Maxwell who had been taken at Solway Moss⁶⁸) James spent the last month of his life at Falkland overcome by deep melancholia and was dead by 14 December 1542.⁶⁹

66. HP, I, Preface, no. V, pp. LXIX-LXX; HMC Report on the MSS. of the Marquis of Bath, IV: Seymour Papers, 1532-1686, p. 35.

67. Cf. Lesley, History, p. 165; Pitcottie, I, p. 403; Diurnal, p. 25.

68. Register House, State Papers, SP 13/34.

69. Donaldson, James V, p. 60. According to the Treasurer's Accounts, James died two days later. TA, VIII, p. 141. It was Pitcottie and John Knox who wrote the most descriptive narrative of the last moments of the King of Scots which later became part of the canon of Scottish historiography. Pitcottie believed that James's last words were "fain weill, it came with ane lass, it weill pass with a lass." Pitcottie, I, p. 407. John Knox asserted that the king exclaimed "Oh, fled Oliver. Is Oliver ta'en? Oh, fled Oliver!" John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. W. Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1949), I, p. 38. There is some indication that Knox's account was not entirely apocryphal as a contemporary noted that James made "more moan for Oliver Singular (sic) than for all the great men taken." LPH, op. cit., no. 1209.

Even before the death of James, the position of Angus and Sir George Douglas had improved as they began to offer advice to Hertford on what procedures were to be followed in relation to the captured Scottish nobles.⁷⁰ When the Scots prisoners came to Newcastle, George Douglas entered into conversation with them for the purpose of determining the true state of affairs in Scotland. On 12 December 1542 it was reported that Mary of Guise had given birth to a child,⁷¹ while within a week afterwards, Simon Pennango, a tenant and former servant of Angus, arrived at Berwick to inform ~~that~~ ^{Them} that their implacable foe was dead.⁷² It was reported that James, confronted by death, had finally forgiven Angus and "willed before his death that all the warders or prysoners shuld be sett at libertie, and the Douglasses shuld be called home if they wolde come."⁷³

The position of Angus and his brother, in the event of James's death, had been foreseen by Sir William Eure during the previous summer when he remarked that "if the King of Scottes shulde fortune to dye or to be slayne, ther is noe doubte they wolde go into Scotlande agayne."⁷⁴ Indeed, before the end of the year, it was said that Angus had already returned and had been restored to his estates, but this was premature.⁷⁵ In fact, Tantallon Castle had been seized by Argyll, who had appointed Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains to be its captain before 1 January 1542/3.⁷⁶ Not until the middle of January were George Douglas and Angus back in their

70. Angus warned Hertford not to permit any Scot to return home until Henry the eighth had been consulted. HP, op. cit., Preface, no. XX, p. XC; LPH, op. cit., no. 1136(1).

71. Ibid., no. 1194.

72. Ibid., no. 1214.

73. Ibid., no. 1225; HP, op. cit., no. 263, p. 345.

74. Op. cit., no. 638.

75. Ibid., no. 1230; CSP Span., VI, Pt. II, no. 87, p. 189.

76. HP, op. cit., no. 267, p. 349.

native land.⁷⁷ During the stormy period of the minority of Queen Mary, Angus and George Douglas were to play a political role of the first importance until the emergence of the forceful Mary of Guise. Despite difficulties and various summonses of treason which were issued against them, neither the earl nor his brother ~~were~~^{was} to experience exile again.

The forfeiture of Angus in 1528 did not involve a total eviction of various Douglas lairds and the vassals of the disgraced earl from their possessions. Although his forfeiture was the most serious in the first half of the sixteenth century in Scotland in terms of its duration, the evidence indicates a pattern of tenurial security which differed so radically from the classic conception of proscriptions in Scottish history that a thorough discussion is necessary. Unfortunately there are severe limitations in this analysis as a result of great hiatuses in the historical evidence available. For the tenants of the earl (that is to say, those who held lands from Angus as renters or those who held lands in rent from the free-holders who were vassals of Angus) there is almost no information available, except for an occasional case which appeared before the lords of council, in which several small tenants combined social pressure with economic resources to bring their superiors to heel. For several of the vassals, who were heritable proprietors and lairds in their own right, and who were tenants of the earl of Angus, there is very little evidence because of the lack of the survival of family papers and writs.

Even before the actual forfeiture of Angus was enacted, various vassals of the disgraced earl received confirmation of the possession of their lands. William Carmichael of Crukitstane and his wife received a grant

77. LPH, XVIII, P. I, nos. 56, 88.

under the great seal in July 1528 which ratified the charter made by their immediate superior, David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford, of the lands of Ethiebetoun in the regality of Kirriemuir in Angus. Crawford held these lands as the tenant of the earl of Angus, who was the superior. William Carmichael also received confirmation of his possession of the two parts of the lands of Carpow, from which he later took his designation, in the barony of Abernethy in Perthshire, which he held in fee from Angus.⁷⁸

Peter Carmichael of Dron and his wife, Eufamie Wemyss, received royal confirmation of their possession of the lands of Dron, Galtoquhy, Pettindy, Cragpotty, Erlismure, Collfergy, one half of Mundy, and one fourth of the lands of Nether Aberargy, with the office of chamberlain of the barony of Abernethy in Perthshire, all of which he held from Angus in chief.⁷⁹

Robert Logan of Coitfield received royal confirmation of the two merklands of Cormokhope in the lordship of Douglas and sheriffdom of Lanark, which had been previously held by the late Alexander Turing, burgess of Edinburgh.⁸⁰

When Parliament met in the first week of September 1528 to pass sentence of forfeiture upon the earl of Angus, several persons appeared before the Three Estates and protested that this forfeiture should not prejudice them. The individuals who appeared were divided into two categories: those to whom Angus, his brother or uncle either owed money or had ^{been} given various ^{lands and Crown wards, and Those who were his free} tenants and held lands from the earl. Foremost in the first category was Queen Margaret. Mr Robert Galbraith, her advocate claimed that Angus owed her large sums of money and that he had retained part of her moveable goods. He demanded that she should be given as

78. FMS, III, no. 617. This was granted on 25 July, 1528.

79. Ibid., no. 610.

80. Ibid., no. 629; APS, II, pp. 329-30.

many of the lands of the earl as would reimburse her for her severe financial losses. The king, in consideration that Angus had, so he claimed, intromitted with her goods subsequent to their divorce, granted that Margaret had a legal right to some of the earl's property. The queen was given complete freedom of choice of the lands which pertained to the outlawed magnate that she could control and was to retain possession until she received full financial satisfaction.⁸¹ Lord Methven entered a claim that monies which Angus owed him were not to be prejudiced by the earl's disgrace;⁸² The Archbishop of St. Andrews similarly protested his right to any possessions of the rebels which were a part of his regalities of St. Andrews and Dunfermline;⁸³ the earl of Moray also protested that his right to the warship of the earl of Huntly should not be jeopardised by Angus's proscription;⁸⁴ and Mr William Stewart, the procurator for Elizabeth Douglas, the wife of George Douglas, made a similar protest before the Three Estates that her heritage should not be affected by her husband's crimes.⁸⁵

Among the vassals of the earl of Angus who held estates in his various lordships, only those who possessed lands in either Lanarkshire or in Angus appeared before the Three Estates to claim that their properties should be exempted from their feudal superior's forfeiture. George Knox entered a protest for his annual rent of £10 from the barony of Douglas;⁸⁶ Elizabeth Adamsoun and her daughter Margaret Brown for their half of the lands of the mains of Dunsiar;⁸⁷ Adam Johnstoun, the

81. Ibid., p. 327.

82. Ibid., p. 330.

83. Ibid., p. 328.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid., p. 329.

86. Ibid., p. 328.

87. Ibid.

procurator for Adam Weir, protested for his client's lands of Racleuch in the barony of Crawford Douglas and a similar protest was entered by Robert Tynto of Crymperamp for his lands in the same barony.⁸⁸ Margaret Carruthers and her son John Weir protested for their rights to Haircleuch, the Newtown and a part of Little Clyde; Jonet Taillefeir and her son William Graham protested for their lands of Little Clyde, Corsrig and Bowhouse;⁸⁹ Archibald Hamilton in Akinhead protested for his lands of Easter Akinhead; the earl of Crawford protested for his lands in Lanarkshire and his barony of Ethiebetoun.⁹⁰ All of these estates, with the exception of Ethiebetoun, pertained to Angus's three baronies of Douglas, Crawford Douglas, and Bothwell. These proprietors of lands in Lanarkshire were joined by several vassals of Angus who held estates in the regality of Kirriemuir. James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee, entered a protest on behalf of Lord Glamis that the latter's possession of the lands of Balmuckteis should not be disturbed by Angus's forfeiture,⁹¹ and similar claims were made by John Ogilvy of Inverquharity for his lands of Inverquharity,⁹² William Wood of Bonnyntoun for Thomas Annand of Kinherries for the lands of Kinherries,⁹³ and Walter Ogilvy of Glaswell for his lands of Glaswell and Easter and Wester Torburnes.⁹⁴

Thus in the very parliament which proscribed Angus, several of his major vassals had solidly allied themselves with the king and had renounced

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., p. 329.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid., p. 328.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid., p. 329.

94. Ibid.

their allegiance to their feudal superior. Even Angus's own sister-in-law, Elizabeth Douglas, the heiress of Pittendreich, and his nephew, Lord Glamis, had in effect eschewed their outlawed kinsman. However, the formulation of legal protest did not mean that exemption was automatically given, but James would probably be more receptive to the pleas of these heritable proprietors as they had publicly demonstrated their support against their feudal overlord. In fact, the distribution of Angus's estates in the autumn of 1528 was remarkable in that the king only retained the castle of Tantallon and the superiority of the comitatus of Angus. The earl of Argyll received the regality of Abernethy; the earl of Arran the barony of Bothwell; Lord Maxwell the barony of Crawford Douglas and the lands of Dunsiar; Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch the regality of Jedburgh Forest; the comptroller the lands of Entlaws; and Sir John Stirling of Keir the forest of Dye and the escheat of George Douglas.⁹⁵ The ownership of the superiorities of the baronies and regalities which belonged to Angus changed radically during the years of his exile while a very different pattern of the personnel of the heritable proprietors emerged. A discussion of the individual estates over which Angus had formerly exercised feudal superiority quite clearly demonstrates the conservative character of land ownership in Scotland.

The Regality of Abernethy

After the forfeiture of the earl of Angus, James the fifth granted on 6 December 1528 the superiority of the regality of Abernethy to his

95. SPH, IV, Pt. IV, no. CLXXXIX, footnote, p. 513; LPH, IV, Pt. II, no. 4228. According to these contemporaneous reports, Argyll and Mr John Campbell of Lundy received the escheat of the laird of Kilspindy, Moray the regality of Bonkle, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart and the Sheriff of Ayr the barony of Douglas, and Mark Ker of Littledean the lands of Preston. However, these Scottish magnates and nobles did not acquire these estates of the outlawed Douglasses. Cf. RSS, I, II; RMS, III, passim.

faithful supporter, Colin, Earl of Argyll.⁹⁶ After Argyll's death in the following year,⁹⁷ his son and successor, Archibald Campbell, did not receive sasine until 2 November 1533, over three years after the death of his father.⁹⁸ This was followed by a regrant of the regality of Abernethy to Archibald, Earl of Argyll on 9 June 1537 after the general revocation of all grants which automatically occurred upon a monarch's reaching his twenty-fifth year of age.⁹⁹ Further royal confirmations of the possession of Abernethy by Argyll followed in February 1540/1¹⁰⁰ and in October 1542.¹⁰¹ On the latter occasion, the mill and lands of Aberargy, which had been reserved for the king's household official, John Tennant, were also included in the regality of Abernethy. Throughout the fourteen years of Angus's exile, the lordship of Abernethy remained in the possession of the same family which had received it after his forfeiture. The earls of Argyll were intent upon bolstering their control of this rich lordship as is indicated by the several royal charters they obtained, acknowledging their ownership.

From the available evidence it appears that very few new tenants were given lands in the regality of Abernethy during the period of Angus's forfeiture. The king's "familiar servant" John Tennant and his wife Mariot Atkinsoun, the royal laundress, received in April 1531 for their services, the lands of Mylecroft and the thirl multure of the mill of Aberargy in the lordship of Abernethy.¹⁰² In July 1537, after the king's

96. RMS, III, no. 716.

97. Scots Peerage, I, p. 337.

98. *Op. cit.*, no. 1318; Argyll Muniments, Inverary² Castle, Portfolio 4.

99. RMS, *op. cit.*, no. 1672.

100. *Ibid.*, no. 2277.

101. *Ibid.*, no. 2813.

102. *Ibid.*, no. 1608.

general revocation, the lands of the mylcroft of Aberargy were confirmed to John Tennant and his wife,¹⁰³ while their right to these lands and the mill of Aberargy were specially exempted from the grant of the barony of Abernethy to the earl of Argyll in February 1540/1.¹⁰⁴ However, by October 1542, John Tennant and his wife had resigned the lands of Aberargy in favour of the earl of Argyll for the sum of 600 merks.¹⁰⁵

John Tennant and his wife had been imposed as heritable proprietors of the lordship by the king. Under the rule of the new superiors, the earls of Argyll, there are only extant two grants of lands to other free tenants. In December 1537, James V confirmed a charter which Argyll as lord of Abernethy had granted to Thomas Balmanno of that Ilk, of the lands of Balmanno in the lordship which were to be held in feuferm.¹⁰⁶ His family had already been tenants of the lordship before Angus's forfeiture as one John Balmanno of that Ilk granted the lands of Mundy and Nether Aberargy to Peter Carmichael of Dron before 1528.¹⁰⁷ Three years later, the earl of Argyll granted to William Moncreiff of that Ilk the lands of Pettindy, Caltoquhy, Torlinde, Erlismure, Petblay, Mallabride, Reidinche, and Ferryfield, and the tofts which Robert Geddes occupied, all of which were located in the lordship of Abernethy.¹⁰⁸ The lairds of Moncreiff had been vassals in the lordship since at least the latter half of the fifteenth century,¹⁰⁹ and this laird had assisted Angus against Lennox at the battle of Linlithgow.¹¹⁰ However, William Moncreiff

103. Ibid., no. 1684.
 104. Ibid., no. 2277.
 105. Ibid., no. 2813; Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. II, f. 512.
 106. Op. cit., no. 1733.
 107. Anderson, Oliphants, no.92, pp. 43-4.
 108. RSS, II, no. 3494.
 109. F. Moncreiff and W. Moncreiffe, The Moncreiffs and the Moncreiffes (Edinburgh, 1929), I, p. 44.
 110. RSS, I, no. 3601.

enjoyed the favour of his new feudal superior despite his assistance to Angus. By May 1540 he had replaced Peter Carmichael of Dron as the ^{b7}baillie of the regality and several of the lands which he had received that year had formerly been in the possession of Carmichael.¹¹¹

Of the other charters which were granted to the proprietors of lands within the regality of Abernethy, all were in favour of individuals who had been vassals of the forfeited earl of Angus. Peter Carmichael of Dron had received the gift of the heritable office of baillie of the regality in January 1527/8 from his cousin Angus.¹¹² Despite his close connection with Angus - indeed, at least one historian believed that it was "Peter Carmichael, Baillie of Abernethy" who first informed the Douglases of the escape of James the fifth from their grasp¹¹³ - in July 1528 he was granted the lands of Dron, Caltoquhy, Pettindy, Cragpotty, Erlismure, Collfergy, one half of the lands of Mundy and one fourth of the lands of Nether Aberargy.¹¹⁴ The laird of Dron continued to enjoy his lands although by 1538 he was in serious difficulties with the king. In that year he paid the large sum of £500 as composition for a complete remission of all his crimes.¹¹⁵ What these offences were is not known, although he could have come under the king's ire because of his kinship with Lady Glamis. By May 1540 he had been deprived of his office of baillie and of the lands of Pettindy, Galtoquhy and Erlismure, although he continued to enjoy his other estates. William Carmichael, burgess of Dundee, who was successively designated of Crukitstane and of Carpow, also received

111. ADC et Sess, XII, f. 177.
112. RMS, VI, no. 28.
113. Pitscottie, I, p. 325.
114. Op. cit., III, no. 610.
115. TA, VII, p. 84.

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royal confirmation in 1528 of his lands of Carpow in the regality of Abernethy which he held from the earl of Angus. He had originally received a grant of these lands from Angus in February 1524/5.¹¹⁶ Almost a decade later, in March 1536/7, James confirmed the charter which William Carmichael had made in favour of his grandson and namesake of the lands of Carpow in Abernethy.¹¹⁷ This was followed by two other confirmations in September 1539,¹¹⁸ and in July 1541.¹¹⁹ In September 1528 James the fifth granted to Jonet Graham and her son, David Ogilvy of that Ilk, the two parts of the lands of Carey and Braidwalle in the regality of Abernethy which they held in chief from the earl of Angus¹²⁰ and in the following year, Jonet Graham and her son Alexander Ogilvy paid £100 in composition for a charter of these same lands.¹²¹ In December 1532, James confirmed to William Petgrunze of that Ilk the lands of Petgrunze in the regality of Abernethy which he held in fee from the former earl of Angus.¹²²

Thus in the regality of Abernethy there appears to have been almost no changes made in the composition of the heritable proprietors who had been vassals of the earl of Angus. The major change was in the person of the superior and he seems to have been committed to a policy of non-interference, although his tenacity is proved by the fact that of all the magnates who had received part of the patrimony of Angus in 1528, his family alone were still in possession in 1542.¹²³ Of all the individuals

116. RMS, III, no. 617.

117. Ibid., no. 1649.

118. SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/6/15.

119. Op. cit., no. 2388; SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/6/18.

120. Op. cit., no. 689.

121. TA, V, P. 343.

122. Op. cit., no. 1244; RSS, II, no. 1453; cf. TA, VI, p. 71.

123. In the annexation of the lordships and estates of the earl of Angus to the Crown demesne which was ratified by Parliament in December 1540, the regality of Abernethy was the sole exception to this mass incorporation.

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who received royal confirmations of their lands within this lordship from 1528 until 1542, only one, John Tennant was an "outsider" and he had resigned his lands before the death of James the fifth.

The Regality of Bonkle and Preston

The geographical position of the regality of Bonkle and Preston was of crucial importance because of its proximity to the English frontier and it had been used extensively by Angus during the last months of his residence in Scotland before he was compelled to leave the country;¹²⁴ James was interested in maintaining a strict control of this particular regality. Almost immediately after Angus's disgrace, the king began to parcel out its lands to various members of the administration and to his faithful supporters. On the day following the forfeiture, James Colville of Uchiltre, the comptroller, received one half of the lands of Preston and Lintlaws.¹²⁵ Undoubtedly, the purpose of this grant was twofold: to reward Colville for his help with the running of the financial administration of the kingdom and to ensure that these lands were not controlled by any one who might have an interest in assisting the rebel earl. The superiority of the regality of Bonkle and Preston, however, reverted to James when Angus was forfeited. On 9 October 1528, in order to crush the rebellion of Angus and his supporters which was centred in Berwickshire and the Merse, the king entered into an agreement with the most influential noble of that sheriffdom, George Lord Home, and promised that he would infeft Home in the baronies of Bonkle and Preston, and that Home's brother John, the Abbot of Jedburgh, would receive the lands of Cockburnspath

124. The last letter which Angus wrote while he was in Scotland before the commencement of his exile was dated from Preston. LPH, IV, Pt. III, no. 5565.

125. RMS, III, no. 673.

in tack from its superior, Queen Margaret. In return for the king's obligation, the Homes bound themselves to expel the Douglasses and their adherents from the realm.¹²⁶

But the Homes were not able to quell Angus and James did not implement his promise. In September 1529, Lord Home received the gift of all the moveable and unmoveable goods, tacks and steadings which the exiled earl held in Berwickshire in addition to all of the fermes and duties due from the lands of Bonkle and Preston for the previous Whitsunday term.¹²⁷

Almost two years later, John Home, Abbot of Jedburgh received a tack of the entire barony of Bonkle and half of the lands of Preston and Lintlaws for a term of five years. He was given the right to hold courts of bailiary on these lands which, in effect, gave him complete control of the lands until the termination of his lease.¹²⁸ What these grants to the

Homes obscure is the fact that the superiorities of the baronies of Bonkle and Preston were never granted to any noble after September 1528 and that for the duration of Angus's exile, this remained in the hands of the king. In October 1534, the king invested his eldest illegitimate son James in the barony of Bonkle;¹²⁹ and, following the latter's death, the barony along with the lands of Lintlaws were given to the king's second illegitimate son and namesake.¹³⁰ However, the actual control

of the lands was in the hands of the comptroller by 1537,¹³¹ and in March

126. ADCP, p. 287; HMC 12th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Earl of Home, no. 307, p. 180.

127. Ibid., no. 308, p. 181; RSS, II, no. 339.

128. Ibid., no. 896.

129. RMS, III, no. 1425.

130. Ibid., no. 1620; RSS, op. cit., no. 2170. The two grants to the royal offspring differed slightly in that the first incorporated the barony of Bonkle into the free barony of Douglas, while the second incorporated Bonkle into the barony of Tantallon. The Abbot of Jedburgh enjoyed actual possession of at least the mains of Bonkle until the spring of 1536. Cf. ADC et Sess, VII, ff. 167-8.

131. Exch. Rolls, XVII, p. 160.

1535/6 these lands were leased to Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood.¹³² David Wood of Craig, who succeeded the laird of East Wemyss as comptroller in 1538 received a commission of bailiary of various royal lands in that year. Among the lands which came under his jurisdiction were those of Bonkle and Preston.¹³³ However, he in turn leased these lands to the Berwickshire laird, William Cockburn of Choisely, by August 1539,¹³⁴ and they were under Cockburn's control until the end of the reign.¹³⁵ When various lands in Scotland were annexed to the Crown estates in December 1540, the baronies of Bonkle and Preston were among these so annexed.¹³⁶ This parliamentary act of outright annexation of the superiority of the major Berwickshire estates once held by the earl of Angus only legalised a condition which had existed since 1528.

From the available evidence, it appears that the free tenants of the baronies of Bonkle and Preston remained unchanged during their former superior's forfeiture. When Angus was proscribed by the Three Estates, the king conferred upon George Home of Wedderburn half of the lands of Kimmerghame which his ancestors had possessed in the regality of Bonkle.¹³⁷ Wedderburn's kinsman, Patrick Home of Polwarth, who was the proprietor of the other half of Kimmerghame, received confirmation of his possession when he succeeded to his patrimonial estates in 1532.¹³⁸ In September 1528, Henry Atkinsoun of Sleichishoussis received confirmation of his possession of his lands of Sleichishoussis in the barony of Bonkle which

132. Ibid., p. 121; ADC et Sess, VII, ibid.
 133. Op. cit., p. 763.
 134. Ibid., p. 321.
 135. Ibid., pp. 359, 572-3.
 136. AFS, II, p. 361; FMS, III, no. 2233.
 137. Ibid., no. 641.
 138. Ibid., no. 1232.

his late father, John Atkinsoun, had held in fee from the earl of Angus.¹³⁹ In July 1539, Henry Atkinsoun also received a grant of six husbandlands in Blanerne in the barony of Bonkle,¹⁴⁰ while in May 1541 his mother, Margaret Dunbar, was regranted the lands of Sleichishoussis.¹⁴¹ Although the family papers of the Lumisdens of Blanerne and the Rentons of Billie, who were free tenants of the barony of Bonkle, have not survived, it is quite clear from references in the court of session records that they retained control of their estates without molestation. In October 1534, Alexander Renton of Billie and his wife Meriot Ogill received a charter of the three husbandlands of East Furdlands, which were a tenandry of the barony of Bonkle.¹⁴² These lands had been in the possession of the Renton family since 1508, when they had been resigned by Alexander Cockburn of Newhall in favour of David Renton of Billie.¹⁴³ Confirmation of his possession was granted to the laird of Billie in 1531, whose own estate was a tenandry of the same barony.¹⁴⁴ All of these heritable proprietors had been vassals of Angus prior to 1528 and continued to possess their estates for the duration of their former feudal superiors' exile.

With the lands of Cockburnspath, the situation was slightly different. Although they were never part of Angus's lands in Berwickshire, they had been leased to George Douglas and had been promised to the Abbot of Jedburgh for his help in driving Angus from Scotland. Cockburnspath was, in fact, turned over to Jedburgh, but in November 1529 Queen Margaret and her husband Lord Methven appeared before the council and demanded

139. Ibid., no. 647.

140. Ibid., no. 1994.

141. Ibid., no. 2345.

142. Ibid., no. 1424.

143. HMC Report on the MSS. of David Milne-Home of Wedderburn, no. 388, p. 185.

144. Ibid., nos. 390, 391, pp. 185-6.

that Ninian Home, the keeper of Cockburnspath, should be evicted. Nothing conclusive was determined by the council¹⁴⁵ but on 1 December a solemn bond of renunciation of his lease of the lordship of Cockburnspath was made by the Abbot of Jedburgh, in order that the lands might be given to Lord Methven in feuferm.¹⁴⁶ However, this renunciation by Jedburgh was merely nominal and it was not until January 1534/5 when the queen pursued him before the council, that Jedburgh acquiesced in her demands.¹⁴⁷ Almost immediately after the Abbot of Jedburgh initially resigned his claims to Cockburnspath, Margaret had granted two separate tacks of the lordship of Sir John Stirling of Keir and to Sir Walter Ogilvy of Drumlugus.¹⁴⁸ The Abbot of Jedburgh continued to claim some right to the possession of the lands in November 1535¹⁴⁹ although the lands were controlled by Drumlugus's servants. But Sir Walter Ogilvy was unable to enjoy the peaceable possession of Cockburnspath as members of the Home family molested his servants because they claimed that they had received an assedation of the lands from the laird of Keir.¹⁵⁰ To further complicate matters, Queen Margaret gave another tack of these lands to Mr Bernard Baillie, the parson of Lamington.¹⁵¹ The dispute over the actual control of Cockburnspath dragged on for years and was still unsettled at the time of James's death.¹⁵² What is uncontroverted fact is that, although the king promised Lord Home and

145. ADC, XL, ff. 136-7.

146. Ibid., ff. 147-8; ADCP, p. 319.

147. ADC et Sess., VII, f. 4.

148. Ibid., f. 47.

149. Ibid., f. 20.

150. Ibid., X, ff. 134, 149.

151. Ibid., VIII, f. 112.

152. Ibid., XI, ff. 47, 169-70, 172; XII, ff. 86-7.

his brother that he would grant ^{To Them} various possessions of Angus and his brother, James was unwilling to adhere to his obligation.

The Barony of Bothwell

When Angus was forfeited in 1528, the superiority of the barony of Bothwell reverted to the king. Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, the former wife of the fifth Earl of Angus, had had her right as liferenter of the barony reconfirmed in 1517 against the claims on the barony put forward by Angus.¹⁵³ Surprisingly, when the forfeiture of Angus was debated before the Three Estates, Janet Kennedy did not appoint a procurator to appear before them to protect her right to the barony of Bothwell by a formal protestation of nonsupport for Angus. Perhaps she believed that this was unnecessary as her son James Stewart, Earl of Moray was in the king's favour. It is apparent that she had never supported Angus and it is entirely possible that she regarded that nobleman with distaste as a result of his many attempts to intrude with her lands of Bothwell. Yet two months after Angus's forfeiture, the superiority of the barony of Bothwell was granted to James Hamilton, earl of Arran.¹⁵⁴ Throughout all of the vicissitudes of the Hamiltons, Hepburns and Douglases to maintain their hold on their respective baronies of Bothwell, Janet Kennedy retained her possession of the Angus barony and resided

153. ADC, XXVIII, ff. 134, 139. The question of who possessed the superiority of the barony had been the subject of much protracted controversy between Angus and his grandfather's former wife since the death of the fifth Earl in 1513. Cf. ADC, XXVII, ff. 28, 169-70.
154. RMS, III, no. 707; HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 26, p. 20.

at Bothwell Castle. Actions which appeared before the Lords of Council confirm this. In April 1531, the council ordered Gavin Hamilton of Orbistoun to cease introumetting with Lady Bothwell's town and lands of Bothwell which pertained to her in liferent.¹⁵⁵ In August 1530, Thomas Flegeour entered a protest before the council that he had a tack from Janet, Lady Bothwell of her lands of Akinhead within the barony of Bothwell for the granter's lifetime and yet he had been driven from this by James and John Hamilton.¹⁵⁶ This dispute was not decided in Flegeour's favour until February 1530/1 when the lords gave their decision because he was entered into these lands according to the rental of the barony of Bothwell as "it is the use and consuetude of the said barony of Bothvile that ony persoun beand rentalit in the said ladyis rentale of ony landis sall brouk it and joyse the samin."¹⁵⁷

However important a decision made by the lords of council was, it was the actual implementation which was of primary importance. Thomas Flegeour, having once disposed of the claims of the Hamiltons, was then compelled to bring suit against his superior, Lady Bothwell, for obstructing his right to occupy the lands of Akinhead peaceably; the council decided in favour of the tenant as he had a tack of the lands from the superior.¹⁵⁸ But conciliar judgments had little effect in compelling the Hamiltons into obedience and in October 1532 they still disputed possession of Akinhead with Flegeour. James Hamilton, the son of Gavin Hamilton of Haggis, claimed that he had a tack of the lands in question from Lady Bothwell,

155. ADC, XLI, f. 56.

156. Ibid., ff. 101-2.

157. Ibid., XLIII, f. 38.

158. Ibid., XLIII, ff. 47, 107, 111.

but as Flegeour's tack antedated his, he lost his claim before the council once again.¹⁵⁹ A year later, in 1533, James Hamilton had still not satisfied Flegeour over the right of possession of Akinhead,¹⁶⁰ and by February 1533/4 Hamilton had taken the law into his own hands and had killed his opponent. The laird of Haggis obligated himself to pay 200 marks to Sir James Hamilton of Finnart who became the surety for the future good behaviour of James Hamilton.¹⁶¹ The death of Thomas Flegeour did not deter his widow or his son from proceeding against both their superior and the Hamiltons to have their right to the lands of Akinhead recognised, which was duly done by the council in April 1534.¹⁶²

The case of the Flegeours was not the only instance where Janet Kennedy was involved with her tenants in disputes over the control of various lands of her barony. Robert Dalzell of that ilk claimed in 1535 that he possessed the lands of Knowhoble in the barony of Bothwell by reason of an assedation but as he was unable to produce his letter of tack, the council ordered him to deliver these lands to Lady Bothwell.¹⁶³ Yet Dalzell and Lady Bothwell were disputing over the possession of these lands as well as a fishing on the water of Clyde near Bothwell Castle in 1536, 1538 and 1539 when the case disappears from record still unresolved.¹⁶⁴ What is clearly indicated in all of these cases is that in spite of Angus's forfeiture and the grant of the superiority of the Angus barony of Bothwell to Arran, Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell was in virtual control of this barony throughout the period of Angus's forfeiture.

159. ADC et Sess., I, ff. 379-80; II, f. 4.

160. Ibid., III, ff. 53, 94.

161. Ibid., f. 205. Cf. TA, VI, p. 173.

162. Op. cit., V, f. 114.

163. Ibid., VI, f. 82.

164. Ibid., VIII, f. 132; X, ff. 38, 134; XV, ff. 102-4.

The actual superiority of the Angus barony of Bothwell had been vested in James Hamilton, earl of Arran in November 1528.¹⁶⁵ The control of the Hamilton family over the lands of the ancient lordship of Bothwell was increased by the gift of the lands of the Mure of Bothwell, Mureheid, Gemerscrop, Wester, Over, and Nether Braco, Dewishillis, Pauperthillis, the Hirst Blackmukis, Forestburn, Sterreishaw, Duntelen, and Fortasset to Sir James Hamilton of Finnart in June 1529.¹⁶⁶ Finnart also received the gift of the assedation of the church of Duglar which formed an appendage to the Angus barony of Bothwell, in the following August.¹⁶⁷ When the first Earl of Arran died in 1529, the superiority of the Hamilton and Angus baronies of Bothwell reverted into the king's control. The second Earl did not receive sasine until September 1532 and then only after he had paid £560 for the nononcry of these baronies and £210 for the lands which had formed a part of the Hepburn barony of Bothwell which had been given to Finnart.¹⁶⁸ By October 1534 however, the Angus barony had been separated from the Hamilton barony because James the fifth had invested his eldest illegitimate son (James Stewart) as baron while the nonentries of several lands (Over and Nether Braco, Moffethillis, Condoun, Brinthous, Moffettis, Dunsistoun and 140 acres land between Kirklee, Garvestoun and Carnfyn), which had belonged to both the Hamiltons and the Hepburns, were granted to the laird of Finnart upon the payment of £100.¹⁶⁹

In October 1539, Finnart received sasine of those lands within the

165. RMS, III, no. 707.

166. RSS, II, no. 174.

167. Ibid., no. 294.

168. Exch. Rolls, XVI, p. 556.

169. RMS, III, no. 1425; RSS, II, no. 3228.

Hepburn barony of Bothwell which he had received in 1529 but this grant, unlike the first, had the express approval of the earl of Bothwell.¹⁷⁰

He also received sasine of the lands of the Mure and Forest of Bothwell which had been annexed to the barony of Hailes at the same time.¹⁷¹

After Finnart's forfeiture, the rents and nonentries of these lands were given to Arran.¹⁷²

In September 1540 the Hamilton barony of Bothwell was formally terminated by the annexation of the barony and its pertinents to the barony of Hamilton.¹⁷³

However, only three months later, in December 1540, the barony of Bothwell and the lordship of Dunsiar were annexed to the Crown demesne.¹⁷⁴

When all of the estates of Arran were granted to his heir in October 1542, the Hamilton barony of Bothwell was not mentioned although the lands in the Hepburn barony of Bothwell were included.¹⁷⁵

As Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell was in exile by 1540,¹⁷⁶ this meant that in actuality, James the fifth controlled the Hepburn barony as well.

Commencing in the autumn of 1528, the king granted other lands which pertained to the Angus barony of Bothwell to various nobles. In September Sir John Stirling of Keir received the lands of Kettilscheill, Horshop/Horsopcleuch, Cronkle, Handaxwood, Byreclouch, Trottaneschaw, and the forest of Dye.¹⁷⁷

Robert, Lord Maxwell was given one half of the barony

170. Protocol Books of Sir Thomas Johnson, 1528-1578, eds. James Beveridge and James Russell. Scottish Record Society, vol. 52 (Edinburgh, 1920), no. 201, p. 39.

171. *Ibid.*, no. 202, pp. 39-40. This grant was confirmed by the king on 6 December 1539. Cf. RMS, III, no. 2045.

172. *Ibid.*, no. 2202; RSS, II, nos. 3647, 3648.

173. RMS, *op. cit.*

174. *Ibid.*, no. 2233; APS, II, p. 361.

175. HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Part VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 29, p. 21; RSS, *op. cit.*, no. 4941.

176. Scots Peerage, II, p. 158.

177. RMS, III, no. 635.



of Dunsiar and the lands of Wistoun and Todhillis.¹⁷⁸ Matthew Hamilton, the brother of Archibald Hamilton of Letham, received a grant of the one merkland of Gudokhill;¹⁷⁹ Margaret Brown was given confirmation of her ownership of half of the domineal lands of Dunsiar in February 1539/40;¹⁸⁰ and George Home of Wedderburn received a grant of the lands of Handaxwood in the forest of Dye.¹⁸¹ Of these heritable proprietors, only the laird of Keir, Lord Maxwell and Matthew Hamilton were imposed as new free tenants of the barony. Keir resigned his lands before the summer of 1535 in favour of his nephew, John Home of Inverallon¹⁸² and Lord Maxwell renounced the barony of Dunsiar in exchange for the barony of Buittle in Kirkcudbright,¹⁸³ although his other lands in Bothwell he retained until the death of James the fifth. There is no evidence to suggest that Matthew Hamilton was displaced until after the return of Angus from exile.

Although the documentation of changes in the heritable proprietors of the Angus barony of Bothwell is comparatively meagre, it appears that unlike the regality of Abernethy some of the new free tenants that had been introduced by the king upon Angus's forfeiture, held their lands until the death of James. However, the actual superiority of that barony was in royal possession by 1534 and Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, who controlled more of the estates of the barony than anyone else, had been in possession many years before Angus's disgrace and retained her property even after the earl's return from England.

178. *Ibid.*, no. 642.

179. *Ibid.*, no. 674; Protocol Book of Gavin Ros 1512-1532, eds. John Anderson and F.J. Grant. Scottish Record Society, vol. 29 (Edinburgh, 1907), no. 1158, p. 209.

180. *Op. cit.*, no. 2105; cf. APS, II, p. 328.

181. *Op. cit.*, no. 641.

182. *Ibid.*, no. 1481. Unfortunately the Keir family papers contain no data on this transaction. Cf. Fraser, Keir.

183. *Op. cit.*, no. 2164.

The Barony of Crawford Douglas alias Crawford Lindsay

Among those vassals who publicly proclaimed in Parliament in September 1528 their innocence in giving support to Angus in his rebellion, were Adam Weir of Racleuch, Robert Tynto of Crampcramp, the Earl of Crawford, Margaret Carruthers and her son John Weir, and Jonet Taillefeir and her son William Graham, all of whom possessed estates in Crawford Douglas. The king showed himself amenable to these free tenants of Angus and none of them were dispossessed.¹⁸⁴

However, when the barony of Crawford Douglas was forfeited in 1528 James the fifth granted the superiority of part of the barony to Robert Lord Maxwell, who received the lands of Crawfordmure on the day on which Angus was declared a traitor.¹⁸⁵

In January 1529, the lands of Crawfordmure, Bondington, Hyndford, and Halkschawis in Lanarkshire were combined and erected into the barony of Crawfordmure and were given to Lord Maxwell to hold in chief.¹⁸⁶ By this charter the king had created a barony out of the old barony of Crawford Douglas. However, it is important to note that barony of Crawford Douglas continued to exist and that its superiority remained in the hands of the king. It would appear that James repented of his generosity to Maxwell and wanted to obtain the barony of Crawfordmure as this would give him complete control over the old barony of Crawford Douglas. In June 1535 the king persuaded Lord Maxwell to resign his barony of Crawfordmure into his hands, and in return Maxwell was given the lands and barony of Buittle in Kirkcudbright.¹⁸⁷

184. Although there is no record of charters being granted to the earl of Crawford and to the lairds of Racleuch and Crampcramp, their descendants retained their estates in the barony. Cf. RMS, III, IV passim (Crawford); RMS, III, no. 3246 (Racleuch); RMS, IV, no. 2576; Retours, I, Lanark, no. 141 (Crampcramp).

185. RMS, III, no. 642.

186. Ibid., no. 875.

187. Ibid., no. 1475.

This had the double effect of terminating Lord Maxwell's connection with the barony of Crawford Douglas and of uniting into the king's hands those lands which had been taken from that barony and which became the new barony of Crawfordmure. The superiority of the lordship remained in the hands of the king until the end of his reign, and the barony was among those lands which were annexed to the Crown estates in December 1540.¹⁸⁸

Despite the fact that the barony was virtually under the complete control of James during the period of Angus's exile, only three individuals were introduced as new proprietors into the barony and one of these was Lord Maxwell, whose tenure has been discussed above. The others were William Lord Borthwick, who received a grant of the lands of Hyndford in Lanarkshire in August 1538,¹⁸⁹ and James Lindsay, the king's personal keeper of hawks, who received the lands of Westschaw, Hilhousemedo, Smethisholme and an annual rent of two merks from the lands of Over and Nether Newtown all of which were in the barony of Crawford Douglas and which Elizabeth Lindsay of Carsleuth had resigned.¹⁹⁰ Both of these men were in possession of these lands in 1542.

Apart from the grants made to the new tenants of the barony of Crawford Douglas, the king confirmed to the vassals of the earl of Angus in their properties within the barony. In September 1528 William Graham the son of Jonet Taillefier, received a charter under the great seal confirming to him his lands of Corsrig, Newhall (which were in the barony of Douglas), the fourth part of the lands of Little Clyde, and the fourth

188. APS, II, p. 361; RMS, op. cit., no. 2233.

189. Ibid., no. 1826. These lands were given by his son, John, Lord Borthwick, to Gavin Borthwick of Fentoun in 1544. Ibid., no. 2986.

190. Ibid., no. 1870.

part of the lands of Butheaux, which had been held by the late Robert Dalzell of Butheaux, and which were within the barony of Crawford Lindsay.¹⁹¹ In February 1540/1, after the king's general revocation, this grant to William Graham was reconfirmed.¹⁹² In 1542 Margaret Garruthers and her two sons John Weir in Newton, and Adam Weir, received royal confirmation of their possession of the lands of Nether Newton and one fourth of the lands of Little Clyde.¹⁹³ In August 1536, James Hamilton of Shawfield received a grant of the fourteen merkland of Whitecamp and the six merkland of Kirkhope in the barony of Crawford Lindsay.¹⁹⁴ His family had held these lands since 1449, when his ancestor, John Hamilton, the brother of the first Lord Hamilton, received them from Alexander, earl of Crawford.¹⁹⁵ James Hamilton of Shawfield had, in fact, received sasine of these lands in April 1526 from his former superior Angus.¹⁹⁶ In July 1542, Peter Carmichael of Balmaddy received confirmation of his six merkland of Whelphill in the lordship of Crawford Lindsay.¹⁹⁷ His father, James Carmichael of Balmaddy, had possessed these lands from the fifth Earl of Angus in 1505.¹⁹⁸

The major vassals of the barony were the Carmichaels of Meadowflat, who had held lands anterior to the entry of the earls of Angus as the

191. *Ibid.*, no. 650. The use of the designation Crawford Lindsay was technically incorrect as that barony had been absorbed into the new barony of Crawford Douglas in January 1510/11. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 200-1.

192. *Op. cit.*, no. 2281.

193. RSS, II, nos. 4701, 4702.

194. RMS, *op. cit.*, p. 360 as a memorandum in the register.

195. *Ibid.*, no. 1705.

196. Inventory of Buccleuch and Queensberry Writs at Drumlanrig Castle, National Register of Archives (Scotland), Survey I, nos. 36-7, pp. 20-1.

197. RSS, *op. cit.*, no. 4745.

198. Scots Peerage, IV, p. 565.

superiors of Crawford Douglas. John Carmichael of Meadowflat was the hereditary captain of Crawford Castle and enjoyed the favour of James the fifth throughout his reign. The fact that Meadowflat's daughter Katherine Carmichael was the mistress of the king for a period of time obviously influenced James's attitude towards her father. But even before this affair began, the laird of Meadowflat enjoyed royal favour. Nothing illustrates more the tenacity with which a leading family held on to their lands despite their superior's forfeiture than the example of the Carmichaels of Meadowflat in the barony of Crawford Douglas. John Carmichael had automatically succeeded his father in the captainship of Crawford Castle upon the latter's death in 1523, without opposition from his superior, the earl of Angus.¹⁹⁹ In December 1528 he was granted a remission for all of his past crimes,²⁰⁰ while in 1531 he was appointed deputy marshal of Parliament.²⁰¹ In January 1535/6 he and Ninian Crichton of Bellibocht received the gift of the ward and marriage of the heirs of the late John Charteris of Amisfield.²⁰² On 22 March 1537/8, James the fifth confirmed to Meadowflat all of the lands which the latter had held from the former earl of Angus. These were the following: the dominical lands and lordship of Crawford Lindsay with its castle, the lands of Mudlow, Over Newton, Granys, the wester half of Crymcramp and Threiphalch, one half of Little Clyde, Crukitstane, and Butheaux and the office of bailie of the barony which John and his predecessors had held from Archibald, George, and Archibald, formerly earls and master of Angus. These lands were erected into a free tenendry and were to be held from the king in chief.²⁰³ In March 1538/9,

199. ADC, XXXIV, f. 29.

200. RSS, I, no. 4013.

201. APS, II, p. 334.

202. Op. cit., II, no. 1918; TA, V, pp. 242-3.

203. RMS, III, no. 1753.

Meadowflat was given the lands of Normangill, Southwood, and Qwhitehill in the barony of Crawford Lindsay, in feuferm for the following three years.²⁰⁴ In August 1542 the king reconfirmed to John Carmichael all of the lands and office which he had given to the laird of Meadowflat four years previously and erected these lands into the free barony of Crawford Lindsay with the town of Crawford as a free burgh in barony.²⁰⁵ A vassal of the earl of Angus who had received a remission from the king in the closing weeks of 1528 had, by 1542, become the virtual possessor of almost one third of the former barony of Crawford Douglas which had pertained to the earl of Angus. Bonds of tenure and kinship had not been strong enough to cause Meadowflat to support his former superior in his rebellion against James, and the preferential treatment accorded to John Carmichael indicate that for those important free tenants who were willing to abandon Angus the rewards could be considerable.

The Barony of Douglas

Upon Angus's forfeiture in 1528, the superiority of the barony of Douglas reverted into the hands of the king, who never granted the barony to another magnate during the entire period of Angus's exile. James granted Douglas to his eldest illegitimate son in June and in October 1534, but this did not remove the actual control of the barony from the king's hands.²⁰⁶ The barony of Douglas was annexed to the royal demesne in December 1540.²⁰⁷

The actual administration of the barony was under the control of

204. RSS, op. cit., no. 2954.

205. Ibid., no. 4827; RMS, op. cit., no. 2752.

206. Ibid., nos. 1391, 1425.

207. Ibid., no. 2233; APS, II, p. 361.

comptroller, Sir James Colville of East Wemyss, who was later replaced by the royal servants, Sir David Weir and William Hog.²⁰⁸ In March 1538/9, the new comptroller, David Wood of Craig, was given the office of bailie of various crown estates, and among these was the barony of Douglas.²⁰⁹ However, he appointed William Makmoran of Glaspen to be chamberlain of the barony, and Makmoran rendered accounts from August 1539 until July 1542 of the fermes and duties of the barony.²¹⁰

Several lands of the barony were set in feuferm as appears from the list of assedations compiled in 1539 which was, in fact, a rental of the lordship. As there is no rental extant of the barony of Douglas when it was controlled by either the earls of Douglas or the earls of Angus before the forfeiture of 1528 and as there is no rental extant from 1542 until 1557, it is impossible to state categorically that these individuals had been tenants of Angus prior to 1528. However, as the majority of these lands were not charged nonentry fees, which would indicate either a lapse or change of tenure, it is not implausible that this is an accurate list of the small renters who held lands from the previous feudal superiors.²¹¹

From the date of Angus's forfeiture, the lands of the barony of Douglas were given to more new royal tenants than in any other lordship which belonged to the former earl, except for the regality of Kirriemuir. In September 1528, the king granted to Hugh Crawford, the brother of George Crawford of Leffnoris, the superiority and the lands of Nether Carmichael, while the superiority of the lands of Over Carmichael were

208. Exch. Rolls, XVII, pp. 160, 168.

209. Ibid., p. 763.

210. Ibid., pp. 351-4, 558-61.

211. Ibid., pp. 681-7. In 1532 James the fifth ordered the comptroller to rent the lands of Douglas to "the habitaris, possessouris, tenantis and to thaim havand rycht to the samin." ADC et Sess, I, f. 61.

granted to the comptroller, James Colville of Uchiltre.²¹² These lands were the property of William Carmichael of that Ilk, who was suspected of supporting Angus. In February 1528/9, the king's stirrupman, Robert Gib, received the five merklands of Toftis in this barony in feuferm,²¹³ which was renewed to Gib in May 1538 after the king's revocation.²¹⁴ In November 1529, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart was given the lands of Hesilside and Pomukis in the barony of Douglas.²¹⁵ In December 1532, the king granted to his servant Gavin Hamilton the lands of Drumalbane in the same barony.²¹⁶ Robert, Master of Semple, was appointed keeper of Douglas Castle and was given the lands of Wistoun, Wyndraw, Bregtoun, the mill of Brokkismyln, and the mains of Douglas in October 1533, but he had lost these offices and lands before July 1537.²¹⁷ The Master of Semple was succeeded in the office of Keeper of Douglas Castle by James Gordon of Lochinvar, who was later made bailie of the barony of Douglas for a term of five years beginning in January 1537/8.²¹⁸ His son, John Gordon, was the virtual captain of the castle in 1539²¹⁹ but the keepership of the castle and the office of bailie had reverted back into the hands of the lairds of Symington who had been bailies under the earls of Angus, by March 1540/1.²²⁰ In July 1538 Thomas Richardsoun, indweller in Leith, was given the lands of Sandilands in the barony to be held in feuferm for five years.²²¹ However, of all

212. RMS, III, nos. 671, 672. These lands were restored to Carmichael by March 1528/9. Ibid., no. 761.

213. Ibid., no. 749.

214. RSS, II, no. 2554.

215. Ibid., no. 430.

216. RMS, op. cit., no. 1243.

217. Ibid., nos. 1316, 1315.

218. RSS, II, no. 2440.

219. Exch. Rolls, XVII, p. 686.

220. Op. cit., no. 3907. However, Symington did not receive these estates until after he paid £600 as composition. TA, VIII, f. 3.

221. RSS, op. cit., no. 2642.

new tenants who had been introduced into the barony, only Robert Gib, Gavin Hamilton and Thomas Richardsoun were in possession of their lands in 1542.²²²

Two heritable proprietors of the barony of Douglas compeared before the Three Estates which forfeited Angus and protested that their lands be exempted from the forfeiture. Robert Logan of Coitfield, received confirmation of his possession of the lands of Cormokhope in the barony which he held from Angus even before that nobleman's forfeiture.²²³

This royal confirmation was confirmed by the Estates in September 1528.²²⁴

However, the proprietor of Cormokhope was later involved in a dispute with the laird of Carmichael who claimed that these lands pertained to him. He supported the tenants of the lands in their refusal not to pay the rents which were owed to Coitfield, but in March 1533/4 the lords of Council ordered Carmichael not to give further aid to the tenants of Cormokhope as those lands pertained to the laird of Coitfield.²²⁵

In the rental of the barony of Douglas in 1539, the laird of Coitfield was listed as the proprietor of these lands,²²⁶ and the fermes of these lands were claimed by him in the accounts given by the chamberlain of Douglas in 1539 and 1542.²²⁷

The other proprietor who compeared before the Three Estates was William Graham who possessed the lands of Corsrig and Newhall in the barony of Douglas. These were regranted to him by James.²²⁸ These

222. Exch. Rolls, op. cit., pp. 683, 687. Finnart lost his lands in the barony prior to January 1529/30. Cf. RSS, op. cit., no. 521.

223. RMS, III, no. 629.

224. APS, II, pp. 329-30.

225. ADC of Sess, I, f. 174; IV, ff. 53-4.

226. Exch. Rolls, op. cit., p. 686.

227. Ibid., pp. 373, 560.

228. RMS, op. cit., no. 650.

lands originally had been granted to the Lindsays of Covington in 1462 by the fourth earl of Angus²²⁹ but in October 1510, John Lindsay of Covington had alienated these lands to John Graham, burgess of Edinburgh.²³⁰ By 1517 the laird of Covington and Jonet Taillefeir were engaged in involved litigations over the lands as Covington claimed that he had redeemed the lands which Jonet denied.²³¹ The lords of council in March 1518 ordered Jonet to ward herself in Dumbarton Castle as she had refused to give up the lands of Corsrig, Bowhouse, and Newhall which Covington had redeemed.²³² The laird of Covington received a gift of a letter of regress to these lands in March 1529/30,²³³ although the actual possession of the lands remained with William Graham, the son of the obstreperous Jonet Taillefeir.²³⁴ On 4 November 1531, John Lindsay of Covington and William Graham and his mother entered into an agreement whereby William and his mother agreed to give letters of reversion to Covington of the lands of Corsrig, Bowhouse, and Newhall in the lordship of Douglas, which were to be redeemed upon payment of 800 marks. Covington bound himself that when the lands were redeemed he would give Graham a letter of tack of the lands for five years. William Graham and his mother discharged Covington from all the mails which he had intromitted with from these estates prior to the date of the agreement.²³⁵ In the following month the king granted to John Lindsay of Covington an annual rent of £10 from the lands of Corsrig in the barony of Douglas,²³⁶ which was confirmed in June

229. Hyndford Inventory, Bundle 46, nos. 1, 3, 5.

230. Ibid., no. 7.

231. ADC, XLIX, f. 101.

232. Ibid., XXXI, ff. 22-3.

233. RSS, II, no. 572.

234. Op. cit., XLIII, ff. 124-5.

235. Ibid., XLIII, f. 86.

236. RMS, III, no. 1091.

1542.²³⁷ In February 1540/1 a charter under the great seal was granted to William Graham of the lands of Corsrig to be held from the king in chief.²³⁸

The omission of Covington, who was the immediate superior of the lands meant that his feudal claims over the lands had ended and that this was now vested in the hands of its actual owner, William Graham.

Other vassals of Angus in the barony of Douglas also received confirmation of their possessions which they held from the forfeited earl.

In July 1529, George Bell in Corsrig received a letter of tack of the three Oygang lands of Wester Bregtoun within the lordship of Douglas for nine year.²³⁹

In December 1532, the king granted to William Govan, the son and heir of John Govan of Cardrono, the sixteen merklands of Pollinfeich in the barony of Douglas which his father had held from Angus.²⁴⁰

The Govans had been the proprietors of these lands since the latter half of the fourteenth century when they had received them from the first earl of Douglas.²⁴¹

However, by the end of 1533 John Govan was dead and the nonentries of the lands of Cardrono were granted to Lord Fleming in May 1534.²⁴²

He infefted William Govan in the lands of Cardrono only after Govan had bound himself to Lord Fleming by a bond of manrent.²⁴³

Although the laird of Cardrono, who was a free tenant of Angus's, had practically transferred his allegiance to Lord Fleming by 1536,²⁴⁴ this was probably due to the fact that Cardrono's

237. RSS, op. cit., no. 473.

238. Op. cit., no. 2281.

239. RSS, op. cit., no. 241.

240. RMS, op. cit., no. 1244; Hyndford Inventory, Bundle XIII, no. 6.

241. RMS, I, no. 345; Robertson, Index, no. 269, p. 91.

242. Op. cit., III, no. 1385.

243. Ibid., no. 1420; Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), no. 506, p. 64.

244. William Govan of Cardrono was among the kinsmen and retainers of Lord Fleming who were placed under protection when Fleming went to France in 1536. RSS, op. cit., no. 2167.

main estates and interests were in Peebleshire. In the rental of Douglas compiled in 1539, William Govan's right to the lands of Pollinfeich was recognised,²⁴⁵ and in the accounts of the chamberlain of the barony rendered in 1539 and 1542, he was allowed their fermes and mails.²⁴⁶ In February 1532/3, William Inglis, the brother Robert Inglis in Scrogtoun, received a letter of tack of the merkland of Scrogtoun, Poneill, and Dene, with the mill of Borkkismyln, in the barony of Douglas and which his brother had held from Angus.²⁴⁷ Five years later Robert Inglis was still in possession.²⁴⁸ In November 1537, William Weir of Stanebyres received the gift of the nonentries of the lands of Hesilside which pertained to the laird of Symington.²⁴⁹ All of these landowners had been vassals of Angus prior to 1528 and they continued to possess their estates after his deprivation.

James Douglas of Parkhead, the former Master of the Wine Cellar, was probably a kinsman of Angus and took his designation from the lands of Parkhead in the barony of Douglas. Despite his connections with the forfeited earl, he was able to extricate himself from his former associate sufficiently that he did not find it necessary to obtain a remission for his crimes. However, once his powerful superior had been dispossessed, James Douglas was summoned before the council by Margaret Allan and John Stanehope, her husband, to answer her charges that he had wrongfully occupied the lands of Pollinfeich and one half of the lands of Sandilands for the previous fourteen years.²⁵⁰ The Lords of Council decided in

245. Exch. Rolls, XVII, p. 683.
 246. Ibid., pp. 353, 560.
 247. RSS, op. cit., no. 1507.
 248. Op. cit., pp. 685-7.
 249. RSS, op. cit., no. 2394.
 250. ADC, XXXIX, f. 110.

favour of the pursuers, but as the matter continued to appear before them during the next four years, it would appear that Parkhead did not acquiesce in the council's decision. In August 1530, under the threat of being put to the horn, James Douglas informed the council that he had ceased troubling Margaret Allan in the lands of Pollinfeich and Sandilands, but the lords ordered the process of horning to be executed.²⁵¹ Parkhead was also under summons by Robert Ker, the son of Ferniehurst, for intruding with the farms of the church of Dunsiar, which was decided against Douglas.²⁵² In May 1531 Margaret Allan once more appeared before the council and informed them that James Douglas "trusting to have the kyng's grace hes waiched larg upon the king to haf gotten letteris stoppit" but the king, bearing in mind that she had been vexed in her possession for the previous ten years, had refused to comply with Parkhead's request.²⁵³ However, James Douglas of Parkhead appeared before the court a fortnight later when the council ordered the letters which Margaret Allan had purchased against him to be suspended and restored Parkhead to his property.²⁵⁴ The redoubtable Margaret Allan refused to relinquish her claim, however, and opposed James Douglas in November 1531, notwithstanding that he had received the gift of the nonentries of half of the lands of Sandilands within the barony of Douglas from the king.²⁵⁵ It was not until March 1532/3 that the ownership of the lands of Pollinfeich and half of the lands of Sandilands was decided by the council to pertain to the laird of Parkhead.²⁵⁶ However, despite this

251. Ibid., etc.

252. Ibid., f. 113.

253. Ibid., XLIII, f. 174.

254. Ibid., f. 181.

255. Ibid., XLIII, ff. 76-77.

256. ADC et. Sess, II, f. 118.

favourable treatment of a member of the Angus administration by the king, James Douglas was under suspicion four years later and had fled Scotland.²⁵⁷ His lands of Udingstoun and Parkhead were taken over by royal officials, and they were given to John Gordon, Captain of Douglas Castle in 1538 in feuferm for five years.²⁵⁸

Simon Penango, a servant of Angus was a vassal of the barony of Douglas. In 1531 he was a member of the royal household; in 1533 he received the gift of the ward and marriage of John Carmichael (the son and heir of the late William Carmichael of that ilk); in 1535 he was given livery from the king, and in the following year he was granted the nonentries of the barony of Cumnok in Ayrshire.²⁵⁹ This position of trusted member of the royal household changed abruptly in 1537 as in July of that year he was in ward and his goods were pointed by royal officers.²⁶⁰ Perhaps his tenurial connection with Angus made James suspect Simon Penango of some complicity in the plot of Lady Glamis: he was in difficulty when several other Douglases were at the time of Lady Glamis's death. When Mary of Guise entered the Scottish capital in the following year, Simon Penango was removed from Edinburgh Castle and was sent to Tantallon.²⁶¹ In April 1540 he was still in ward in Edinburgh Castle when George Craufurd of Loffnoris became surety, under the pain of £2,000 that Penango would not break his ward. On this assurance he was allowed to go to Ayrshire to remain there at the king's

257. TA, VI, p. 330.

258. Exch. Rolls, op. cit., pp. 684, 686.

259. Op. cit., pp. 37, 62, 260; RSS, op. cit., nos. 1556, 1974.

260. TA, op. cit., p. 330.

261. Ibid., p. 428.

pleasure.²⁶² Within five months, however, Simon Penango was again in favour with the king. In September, James the fifth granted to him the ten merklands of Glaspen, the forty four shilling land of Hertwood, and the forty shilling land of Blantagart in the barony of Douglas, to be held in feuferm.²⁶³

Three months later, the king confirmed Penango's charter which he granted to Simon Brown of the half of the lands of Hertwood in Douglas.²⁶⁴

Thus at the end of James's reign, Simon Penango had been completely restored to royal favour.

The two most important vassals of the barony of Douglas were the lairds of Symington and Carmichael and their tenure was basically unaltered during the exile of Angus. In January 1529/30, William Symington of that ilk received a charter from the king which confirmed his right to the office of keeper of the castle of Douglas and the lands of Hesilside, Kenok, Little Blantagart, and Pomukisheid in that barony, which the former superior had granted to Symington.²⁶⁵

In March 1540/41, Archibald Symington, the son and successor of the laird of Symington, received a new grant of these estates which were annexed to his other lands and were erected into the free barony of Symington. He also received the office of bailie of the barony of Douglas and keeper of Douglas Castle.²⁶⁶

James was not motivated by any particular favouritism to the laird as the latter paid £600 as composition for this charter.²⁶⁷ However, the possessions of the Symingtons had remained unaffected by Angus's forfeiture.

262. ADC et Sess., XII, f. 134.

263. RSS, II, no. 3645. The lands of Middle Blantagart were leased to one William Penango, who was probably a kinsman of Simon Penango, in 1539. Exch. Rolls, XVII, p. 684.

264. RMS, III, no. 2246. Simon Brown already possessed one half of the lands of Hertwood since 1538. Exch. Rolls, op. cit., p. 686.

265. RSS, op. cit., no. 521.

266. Ibid., no. 3907.

267. TA, VIII, p. 3.

William Carmichael of that Ilk had been suspected of supporting the earl of Angus and was deprived of his lands in September 1528.²⁶⁸ In March 1528/9, he received a complete remission for assisting his former feudal overlord, and his lands of the Overtoun and Nethertoun of Carmichael and Redmyre, were restored to him and incorporated into the barony of Carmichael.²⁶⁹ In January 1529/30, William Carmichael was made squire and gentleman of the king's chamber for his lifetime²⁷⁰ and in September 1532 he received a regrant of his lands of Carmichael and Redmyre with the additions of the lands of Likeliok and the superiority of Corsrig.²⁷¹ Gavin Carmichael of Park, his nephew,²⁷² received a letter of tack of the five merkland of Udingstoun in the barony of Douglas for five years.²⁷³ However, the letters of tack were uncompleted and the lands were given to the laird of Carmichael in June 1532.²⁷⁴ By January 1532/3 William Carmichael of that Ilk was dead and the gift of the ward of his son John was given to Simon Penango. This was the source of much litigation between the new laird of Carmichael and Penango for both men proceeded to poind the tenants of the lands of Carmichael and Redmyre for the mails due from these estates. After the tenants had summoned both these men before the Lords of Council, that body decreed that the tenants should obey the laird of Carmichael as he was heritably infeft in the barony and lands of Carmichael, and he was ordered to pay Penango 200 merks in return for the latter's resignation of all claim which

268. RMS, op. cit., nos. 671, 672.

269. Ibid., no. 761; RSS, I, no. 4111.

270. Ibid., II, no. 492.

271. RMS, III, no. 1221.

272. Scots Peerage, IV, p. 576.

273. RSS, op. cit., no. 955.

274. ADC et Sess, I, ff. 202, 270.

he had to the lands.²⁷⁵ In June 1540, James annulled the charters which he had made to the late William Carmichael in March 1528/9 as they had been made during his minority and not to his full profit. Two days later, upon the payment of a composition, John Carmichael of that Ilk received a new grant of the lands of Carmichael and Redmyre.²⁷⁶ When the laird of Carmichael married Elizabeth Somerville in the following year, he granted the lands of Nethertoun of Carmichael to his wife, and this was confirmed by the king.²⁷⁷ The lairds of Carmichael, who had begun the period of Angus's forfeiture in disgrace because of their support towards their superior had been fully restored by 1540.

The transference of lands in the barony of Douglas is particularly interesting because it appears that James the fifth followed a deliberate policy to reconstruct the composition of the heritable proprietors by several grants to the new tenants of considerable estates within the barony. Despite these grants, however, only three of the new tenants, Robert Gib, Gavin Hamilton, and Thomas Richardsoun retained their lands in 1542. All of the major free tenants of the barony who had held their lands from the earl of Angus prior to 1528 were still in possession in 1542. Even the office of bailie of the barony and the keepership of the castle was in the hands of the family who had enjoyed those offices under the earls of Angus for three generations.

275. *Ibid.*, XIII, f. 228.

276. *Ibid.*, f. 174; *RMS*, op. cit., no. 2191; *RSS*, op. cit., no. 3616; Hyndford Inventory, Bundle III, no. 6.

277. *RMS*, op. cit., no. 2384.

The Regality of Jedburgh Forest

When the regality of Jedburgh Forest reverted into the hands of the king in 1528, it was given to Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch in heritage, although certain free tenants of the lordship, the lairds of Stewartfield, Ferniehirst, and Hundolee, were exempted from Buccleuch's jurisdiction.²⁷⁸ However, Buccleuch's control of the regality was of short duration. By May 1530 he was in ward for not keeping good order along the Borders,²⁷⁹ and his possession of Jedburgh Forest was terminated. In October 1534 the regality of Jedburgh Forest was given by James the fifth to his eldest illegitimate son,²⁸⁰ but within two years this grant had been revoked. The superiority of the regality remained with the king for the duration of his reign and was among those lands which were annexed to the Crown estates in 1540.²⁸¹

Unfortunately, for the regality of Jedburgh Forest, the records of the heritable proprietors and of their lands is extremely meagre and it is impossible to give as detailed analysis of the ownership of lands as we would wish. However, except for the gift of the superiority of the regality to the laird of Buccleuch, there does not appear to have been any influx of new free tenants into Jedburgh Forest whatsoever. In 1528 at the same time that Angus was forfeited, William Kirkton of Stewartfield, who held the lands of Swynny and Claryley in the regality,²⁸² Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst who held the lands and castle of Ferniehirst

278. *Ibid.*, no. 640.

279. *ADCP*, pp. 327-8.

280. *Op. cit.*, no. 1425.

281. *APS*, II, p. 361; *RMS*, III, no. 2233.

282. *Ibid.*, no. 638.

and the lands of Corisheuch and Lymekillwood in the regality,²⁸³ George Home of Wedderburn who held the lands of Wolle and Wolfhoplee in the regality,²⁸⁴ and George Rutherford of Hundalee, who held the lands of Hundalee and Eschetreis in the regality²⁸⁵ all received royal confirmation of their lands from the king. All of these lands were held from the earl of Angus. George Rutherford of Hundalee received a reconfirmation of this grant in July 1542.²⁸⁶ Andrew Ker of Primsideloch, another heritable proprietor of the regality, received confirmation of his estates of Langlee and Gillestongis in 1537,²⁸⁷ which he had inherited in 1526.²⁸⁸

The two families of the Douglasses of Cavers and the Douglasses of Bonjedburgh were also free tenants of the earl of Angus in the regality. The family papers of the Douglasses of Cavers have almost a complete hiatus from Flodden until the latter half of the sixteenth century while the papers of the Douglasses of Bonjedburgh have not survived. From what evidence exists, we can infer that James Douglas of Cavers did not suffer any diminution of his estates. He exercised the office of Sheriff of Roxburgh, which had been hereditary in his family since 1430.²⁸⁹

He was involved in disputes with Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch from 1540 until 1542 in the burning and destruction of the castle of Buccleuch

283. Ibid., no. 638.

284. Ibid., no. 641.

285. Ibid., no. 663.

286. Ibid., no. 2414.

287. SRO, Newbattle Collection GD 40, Portfolio XI, no. 69.

288. Ibid.; RMS, op. cit., no. 1708.

289. HMC 14th Report, Appendix: Pt. III: MSS., of the Duke of Roxburghe, no. 17, pp. 13-4.

by Cavers, but the outcome of the dispute is unknown.²⁹⁰ That James Douglas of Cavers seems to have been regarded by James the fifth as a loyal subject can be inferred by the fact that he was never troubled in his inheritance by the king and he was one of the very few Douglas lairds of importance who was not in some sort of difficulty in 1537 during the crisis of the Glamis conspiracy. In fact, there is no record evidence of the laird of Cavers having any contact whatsoever with the earl of Angus until after the latter's return from England.

George Douglas of Bonjedburgh, unlike his distant kinsman of Cavers, appears to have had personal contact and enjoyed the favour of his former superior, Angus. Before February 1518/9, he had been given a tack of the lands of Farnis in Berwickshire by the earl of Angus but, as these lands belonged to the priory of Colmingham, Bonjedburgh was involved in a long and unsuccessful contest with Mr Patrick Blackadder of Tulliallan.²⁹¹ Bonjedburgh appears to have had no involvement with Angus in the latter's rebellion and he was dead before February 1532/3.²⁹² His son, William Douglas of Bonjedburgh, does not emerge from obscurity until March 1536/7 when he was summoned to compare before the king.²⁹³ In 1538 the laird of Bonjedburgh received a complete remission for "certain crimes" upon the payment of a composition of £500.²⁹⁴ What these crimes were is unknown but he enjoyed the king's favour by July 1540 when he was granted the lands of Wanles-Terras alias Makbranchels-landis in the burgh of Jedburgh which he had held from the former earl of Angus.²⁹⁵

290. ADC et Sess, XII, ff. 60, 142

291. ADC, XXXIV, ff. 27-30, 134-5.

292. RSS, II, no. 1503.

293. TA, VI, p. 311.

294. Ibid., p. 376.

295. RMS, III, no. 2182; RSS, op. cit., no. 3597.

In the following month the king granted to William Douglas all of his paternal estates of Bonjedburgh and the lands of Tympenden, which his father George Douglas had held in chief from Angus. As a mark of special favour he erected these lands into the free barony of Bonjedburgh.²⁹⁶ The laird of Bonjedburgh continued to enjoy James's favour until the end of the reign as in September 1542 he received royal confirmation of the gift which the abbot of Jedburgh had made to him of a tack of the lands of Toftylaws and Paddobuyll for nineteen years.²⁹⁷

The dominant landowner and vassal of the regality of Jedburgh Forest was Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst. However, the number of transactions in which he was involved concerning his lands located within the regality was comparatively small. He appears to have been involved with the administration of the Middle March, of which he was warden, and to have helped negotiate a settlement between Buccleuch and his cousin Walter Ker of Cessford. In fact, even before the forfeiture of Angus had been pronounced, Walter Ker of Cessford, Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst, Mark Ker of Dolphinston and Andrew Ker of Primsidloch, all of whom except Cessford, were vassals of Angus within the regality, appeared before the council in July 1528 and offered to submit their disputes which they had with the laird of Buccleuch to a board of arbiters.²⁹⁸ Although settlement of the feud between the Scotts and the Kers had not been reached by January 1528/9,²⁹⁹ the leaders of these kindred groups promised to reach an agreement during the following Lent. Final accord was not reached until over one year later, on 16 March 1529/30, when Sir Walter Scott of

296. Ibid., no. 3615; op. cit., no. 2189.

297. Ibid., no. 2780; op. cit., no. 4875.

298. ADC, XXXVIII, ff. 127-8.

299. Ibid., XXXIX, ff. 63-63A.

Buccleuch promised to visit the "four trew pilgrimages" of Scotland and to have a chaplain say mass for the following three years for the soul of Andrew Ker of Cessford, who was killed at the battle of Melrose. He also promised that he would marry his son and heir to one of the sisters of the laird of Cessford. The Kers in turn promised to undertake a similar pilgrimage for the soul of James Scot of Eskirk who was killed at that fray also.³⁰⁰ In all of these proceedings, the laird of Ferniehirst had taken an active part, which meant in effect that at least a truce had been established between the leading landowner of Jedburgh Forest and his new féudal superior. When the superiority of the regality reverted once more into the hands of the king because of the disgrace of the laird of Buccleuch, Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst began to play a more prominent role in the actual management of the Jedburgh Forest. In 1537 his son and heir, John Ker, was chamberlain of the regality and as such rendered accounts into the Exchequer for the following three years.³⁰¹ John Ker was replaced by David Wood of Craig, who received the office of bailie of the regality of Jedburgh Forest in March 1538/9.³⁰² But it is to be questioned how effectively the new bailie was able to maintain control, for the laird of Ferniehirst, who regarded the office of bailie as almost his by hereditary prerogative, was firmly entrenched as the major landowner in the regality. Indeed, in November 1540 Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst was granted the office of bailie of Jedburgh Forest, which merely legalised the predominant position

300. SRO, Newbattle Collection GD 40, Portfolio XVI, Addenda I. This is a copy and the original bond appears to be no longer extant.

301. Exch. Rolls, XVII, pp. 129-31. Buccleuch intromitted with the fermes and rents of the lordship at least as late as the autumn of 1537.

302. Ibid., p. 763.

he held in the regality.³⁰³ In May 1540 the king granted the lands of Ferniehirst, Corisheuch, Lymekillwood, Quhortewod, Langlee and Gillestonges in the regality to Andrew Ker and incorporated them into the free barony of Ferniehirst.³⁰⁴ The laird of Ferniehirst was in such high favour with James the fifth in fact that one of the last charters which that monarch granted was in his favour. On 19 November 1542, James the fifth "having consideration that Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst has had and broukit the office of bailliary of the lands of Jedworth Forest for a lang tyme and had maid guid trew and thankful service in the execution thereof," reappointed Ferniehirst as the baillie of the lordship "for the commonweal of the realm and to resist the English."³⁰⁵

The position of the leading free tenants of Jedburgh Forest thus appears to have been unaffected by Angus's forfeiture. Although the superiority had been given to that nobleman's bitter enemy, the laird of Buccleuch, it had been reunited under the control of the king before October 1534.

The Barony of Selkirk

Unfortunately, there is a dearth of material connected with the actual possessions of the free tenants of Angus within the barony of Selkirk. The major family in the barony was the Murrays of Falahill and Phillophaugh whose family papers are no longer extant. After the forfeiture of Angus, James Murray of Falahill was regranted the twenty-

303. RSS, II, no. 4567.

304. FMS, III, no. 2142.

305. SRO, Newbattle Collection CD 40, Portfolio IX, no. 6.

one husband lands within the burgh of Selkirk which he held in chief from Angus.³⁰⁶ He also seems to have exercised the office of sheriff of Selkirk which had been granted in heredity to his father in November 1509.³⁰⁷ His son, Patrick Murray of Falahill, was granted the husband lands within the burgh of Selkirk which his father had held, in January 1528/9³⁰⁸ and he was confirmed in the office of sheriff of Selkirk in March 1540/41.³⁰⁹ He sold the lands of Phillophaugh prior to September 1534 when they were granted to John Edmonstoun of that ilk.³¹⁰ The only other free tenants of Angus in this barony who received confirmation of their lands which were held from Angus were William Ker in The Schaw and his son Adam, who were granted their lands of the east mains of Selkirk and St. Elene-shaw, Capon and Gersland in September 1528.³¹¹ Because of the lack of material, it is impossible to give an accurate description of the ownership of lands in this barony, although it would seem that the security of tenure of the old heritable proprietors who held their lands under Angus was the predominant social pattern. The superiority of the barony was never given to another magnate and remained in James's possession from 1528 until 1542. Its annexation to the Crown estates, although not expressed, was implied in the other annexation of Angus's estates in 1540.³¹²

306. RMS, III, no. 1049.

307. Ibid., II, no. 3388.

308. Ibid., III, no. 740.

309. Ibid., no. 2318. Patrick Murray of Falahill succeeded his father as Sheriff of Selkirk on 7 May 1530. Retours, II, Selkirk, no. I.

310. Op. cit., no. 1419.

311. Ibid., no. 472.

312. APS, II, p. 361; op. cit., no. 2233.

The Barony of Tantallon

Tantallon Castle and its dominical lands comprised a free barony of which the earls of Angus were feudal superiors. James the fifth was determined because of its strategic importance and proximity to Edinburgh that the castle would be under royal control. However, the duration of the siege of this fortress during the closing months of 1528 forced the king to reconsider his policy. In January 1528/9, he gave the lands and barony of Tantallon in feuferm as well as the keepership of the castle to Patrick, Earl of Bothwell.³¹³ Although this was probably done to induce Bothwell to prosecute the siege of Angus's castle with greater vigour, Bothwell's failure to capture the fortress angered James and shortly after Tantallon was surrendered it was wrested from the control of its new feudal proprietor.³¹⁴ The custody of the castle was then vested in Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, who later became Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, the king's secretary.³¹⁵ The grant to Erskine was renewed in August 1531,³¹⁶ but on 23 February 1534/5 Erskine resigned his heritable gift of the keeping of Tantallon Castle and its lands into the hands of the king. In return, James promised to infeft him in the lordship of Brechin and Nevar in feuferm which was done.³¹⁷ Over four years after this transaction, Sir Thomas Erskine received £333, 13s. 4d. for the

313. RHS, op. cit., no. 738.

314. Ibid., no. 801.

315. Ibid.

316. Ibid., no. 1049.

317. Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. II, "The Pittodrie Papers," no. IX, pp. 188-9.

expenses which he had incurred for repairs made on the castle.³¹⁸

Four months before the resignation by Sir Thomas Erskine of the custody of the castle, James granted the lands of Tantallon to his eldest illegitimate son.³¹⁹ This grant was annulled by a new grant of the lands, barony and castle of Tantallon in August 1536 to James Stewart, the second oldest natural son of the king and he received the lands as an incorporated free barony.³²⁰ However, this gift in turn was terminated by the annexation of the lands and lordship of Tantallon to the royal demesne in December 1540.³²¹

In view of the attitude adopted by James towards the possession of this valuable fortress, it is not surprising that only royal household officers were granted various lands which pertained to the barony of Tantallon. In September 1528, the king granted to his personal cook, Hugh Johnstoun, the lands of Reidside and Caldeside.³²² When Hugh Johnstoun resigned these estates less than four years later, they were given to James Akinheid, another trusted royal official,³²³ although it is not known how long he possessed them.³²⁴ The actual management of the barony and castle of Tantallon was done by Mr David Borthwick, yet another royal servant, who remained in charge until September 1539.³²⁵ There is an hiatus of almost six months after Borthwick rendered his last account

318. Exch. Rolls, XVII, p. 121.

319. RMS, op. cit., no. 1425.

320. Ibid., no. 1670.

321. Ibid., no. 2233; APS, II, p. 361.

322. RMS, III, no. 644.

323. Ibid., no. 1110.

324. James Akinheid was captain of the royal castle of Dunbar and was dead prior to 20 February 1540/1. Cf. Ibid., no. 2286.

325. Exch. Rolls, XVII, pp. 132-4, 266-8; ADC et Sess, VII, f. 13; SRO, Wallace-James Notebook; Haddington Burgh Court Book, 1530-1602, GB 4/413, I, f. 47.

of his charge until Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairns was given a commission as keeper of Tantallon Castle in February 1539/40. He retained this post until the death of James the fifth.³²⁶ As Oliver Sinclair was captured at the battle of Solway Moss, the captainship of the castle was left virtually vacant. The custody of Tantallon was regarded as a matter of national security and in the beginning of January 1542/3, Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains was appointed to be its captain.³²⁷ The grasp of the Crown upon Tantallon and its demesne lands was not relinquished until the return of Angus from exile.

The Regality of Kirriemuir

When the sentence of forfeiture was pronounced upon Angus in September 1528, several of the free tenants of the regality of Kirriemuir appeared before the Three Estates. In fact, more heritable proprietors who hold lands in Kirriemuir appeared in Parliament to protest their abhorrence for their superior's actions than from any other lordship which pertained to Angus. The forfeiture of Angus terminated his earldom and the king was legally entitled to consider the regality as now estates which could be disposed of at will. Although no major vassal of this regality supported the earl in his rebellion,³²⁸ the treatment meted out to the free tenants by James the fifth was harsh in comparison with that given in Angus's other lordships. However, even James was willing to show favour to at least one vassal, William

326. RSS, II, no. 3410; EXCH. ROLLS, op. cit., pp. 389-90, 601-2.

327. RSS, III, no. 24.

328. Cf. RSS, I, II passim. Only one major vassal, William Graham of Fintry, received a remission from not being present at the siege of Tantallon. Ibid., II, no. 505.

Carmichael of Crukitstane, who held half of the lands of Ethiebetoun in this regality. Carmichael held the lands immediately from the earl of Crawford who, in turn, held them in chief from the earl of Angus. The king granted these lands to William Carmichael and even renounced what claims might accrue to him by the sentence of forfeiture which was to be passed upon Angus. This gift of extraordinary generosity was granted in July 1528, two months before Angus's forfeiture was legalised.³²⁹

The policy of James towards the lands and free tenants of the regality of Kirriemuir was very similar to that which was followed regarding the lordship of Douglas. From the very beginning of Angus's forfeiture, the ^{superiority of the} regality of ~~superiority~~ was never given to any other individual for the duration of James's life. As the question of the superiority of the regality was connected to the dissolution of the earldom of Angus, the king's advocate, Mr Adam Otterburn, appeared before the Lords of Council in March 1528/9 and demanded that they render a judgment upon the matter. The council ordained that that the superiority of Kirriemuir was the property of the king because of the former superior's forfeiture.³³⁰ The declaration of the council is obscure as there appears to have been no court proceedings brought before them by the free tenants of the regality, either as a group or individually. Perhaps the free tenants were questioning the right that James had exercised in his massive grants of various properties which pertained to them to his supporters. The council's decision by ratifying the position of the king as superior of Kirriemuir further legalised those grants which had introduced a large

329. RMS, III, no. 617; SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/6/9.

330. ADC, XL, f. 7.

group of new royal tenants into the regality..

Immediately after the dispossession of Angus, the king began his policy of rewarding his supporters from the lands of the regality of Kirriemuir. James Akinheid, the royal servant who had received lands in other Douglas lordships, was given the lands and mill of Balmuir which had belonged to Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie;³³¹ Sir John Stirling of Keir was given the lands of the barony of Ethiebetoun as he had lost £4,000 by his pretended forfeiture passed upon him in the previous year;³³² William Wood of Bonnyntoun, the king's familiar servant, was given the lands of Kingennie which belonged to Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie as well as the lands of Easter and Wester Petmowe which belonged to William Dempster of Carraldston,^{and} the lands of Balnagarro and Chapelton and eight acres of Whitefield which belonged to John Ogilvy of Inverquharity;³³³ David Wood of Craig, a brother of the laird of Bonnyntoun received the lands of Whitefield which John, Lord Forbes held from Angus;³³⁴ Henry Kemp of Thomaston received the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes, which belonged to Walter Ogilvy of Glaswell;³³⁵ and Andrew Wood of Largo received the lands of Ballindarg and Drumsched which belonged to John Wishart of Logie Wishart.³³⁶ Later in the same year, the king granted to William Wood of Bonnyntoun the lands of Over and Nether Ballinsho³³⁷ and to his secretary, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun, the lands of Lawis, Baldovy,

331. RMS, III, no. 648.

332. Ibid., no. 651. The lands of Ethiebetoun were possessed by the earl of Crawford, James Scrimgeour of Dudhope and William Carmichael of Carpow.

333. Ibid., nos. 653, 654.

334. Ibid., no. 655.

335. Ibid., no. 656.

336. Ibid., no. 657.

337. Ibid., no. 668.

Ummochoquhy, (Omachie), the third part of the lands of Monifieth, the lands of Panlathy and the third part of the lands of Petconra.³³⁸ Probably about the same time, although the original grant is lost, James granted the lands of Finlary to Sir John Campbell of Lundy,³³⁹ who was the last new royal tenant introduced to the regality.

From the extent and numbers of the grants which the king had made to his servants and supporters of the lands in the regality, it appears that James had been unimpressed by the protestations which had been offered before the Three Estates on 5 September 1528 by various free tenants of the regality. At that convention James Scringour of Dudhope, himself a tenant of the regality, had appeared in behalf of Lord Glamis and protested that Glamis's lands of Balmuckie in the regality should be exempt from the forfeiture of Angus.³⁴⁰ A similar protest had been entered by William Wood of Bonnyntoun for Thomas Annand of Kinwherries;³⁴¹ John Ogilvy for his lands of Inverquharity;³⁴² Walter Ogilvy of Glaswell for his lands of Glaswell and Easter and Wester Torburne;³⁴³ and David, Earl of Crawford for his lands of Ethiebetoun.³⁴⁴ Only the lands which pertained to Lord Glamis and to Thomas Annand of Kinwherries had not been affected by the king's generosity towards his supporters.

As many of the new vassals were close associates of the king, we

338. Ibid., nos. 662, 702. These lands belonged to Henry Ramsay of Lawis (Lawis and Baldov), Robert Lauder of Bass (Ummochoquhy), John Arbuthnott of Brichty (Monifieth), and Robert Maule of Panmure (Panlathy and Petconra).

339. Ibid., no. 776.

340. APS, II, p. 329.

341. Ibid., p. 328.

342. Ibid., p. 328.

343. Ibid., p. 329.

344. Ibid., p. 328.

might expect that these new free tenants of the regality who had no previous connections with the former superior - and, indeed, owed their recent acquisitions to his forfeiture - would introduce a sizeable body of heritable proprietors who would retain control of their estates until the end of James's reign. However, this was not the case. Of all the new tenants introduced as free tenants into the regality after Angus was forfeited, only three still possessed their lands in 1542.

An analysis of what happened to the lands of the regality of Kirriemuir which were granted to the new royal tenants will show that, almost without exception, those lands which had been taken away from the original proprietors in 1528 had reverted back into their possession before the death of James the fifth. In May 1529 the king confirmed the grant of half of the lands of Ballinshoe which William Wood of Bonnyntoun made to his cousin, David Garden of Leys in exchange for other lands which pertained to Garden.³⁴⁵ The other half of the lands of Ballinshoe were the heritable property of the laird of Bonnyntoun and were a tenantry of the barony of Fynnevin which was not included within Kirriemuir.³⁴⁶ The lands of Ballinshoe which did belong to the regality of Kirriemuir were included in the newly incorporated barony of Leys which was granted to David Garden in July 1532 and were retained by him until the end of the reign.³⁴⁷ Bonnyntoun resigned the lands of Easter and Wester Petmowe before May 1529 when the king granted the lands back to William Dempster of Carraldston, the original proprietor who had held them from Angus.³⁴⁸ William Wood also resigned his right to the lands of Kingennie

345. RMS, III, nos. 782, 783.

346. Ibid., nos. 1056, 1057.

347. Ibid., no. 1200.

348. Ibid., no. 792.

by September 1529 when they were regranted to their original owner, Ninian Guthrie.³⁴⁹ In December 1540, William Wood of Bonnyntoun received a grant of the lands of Finlarg in the regality of Kirriemuir.³⁵⁰ These had been the property of William Sinclair of Finlarg, who had regained his lands in April 1529 from Sir John Campbell of Lundy, but Sinclair had died a rebel at the king's horn.³⁵¹ In fact, these lands were the only ones of all those granted to the laird of Bonnyntoun within the regality of Kirriemuir which he still retained in 1542.³⁵²

David Wood of Craig received the lands of Whitefield in the regality of Kirriemuir which John, Lord Forbes held as a tenant of Angus's, in 1528.³⁵³ Less than one year later, by July 1529, he had resigned these lands to his brother, the laird of Bonnyntoun, who in turn had sold them to Walter Ogilvy in Glaswell, one of the original vassals of the regality.³⁵⁴ However, these lands were once again in the possession of the laird of Craig by December 1540 and were incorporated into the free barony of Huntoun which James created for David Wood in January 1541/2.³⁵⁵ The lands of Whitefield were still held by David Wood of Craig when Angus returned from exile.

Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, the royal secretary, received more lands in the regality of Kirriemuir than any other new tenant. In 1528

349. Ibid., no. 832.

350. Ibid., no. 2222.

351. Ibid., no. 776; TA, VI, p. 7.

352. Cf. TA, X, p. 328. The lands of Balnagarro and Chapelton were in the possession of a cadet family of the Ogilvies of Inverquharity before August 1548. SRO, Inverquharity Writs, GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 111.

353. RMS, III, no. 655.

354. Ibid., no. 811.

355. Ibid., nos. 2225, 2539.

he received the lands of Lawis, Baldovy, Umchoquhy, the third part of the lands of Monifieth, the thirdpart of the lands of Petconra and the lands of Panlathy.³⁵⁶ Erskine was given the lands of Ethiebetoun in February 1531/2 after they had been resigned by Sir John Stirling of Keir.³⁵⁷ Even before he acquired the additional lands of Ethiebetoun, however, Thomas Erskine began to dispose of the lands which he had already received. In January 1528/9, he resigned his right of the third part of the lands of Monifieth which were then given to their former owner, John Arbuthnott of Brichty,³⁵⁸ while in the following month he resigned the lands of Panlathy and Petconra to their original possessor, Robert Maule of Panmure.³⁵⁹ In July 1535, Erskine sold the lands of Umchoquhy to Robert Lauder of Bass, their original proprietor,³⁶⁰ and in August 1538 he granted the eastern half of the lands of Ethiebetoun to the laird of Bass.³⁶¹ William Carmichael of Carpow had a claim to the lands of Ethiebetoun as he had held these lands from Angus in chief. In July 1536 he agreed to pay Sir Thomas Erskine the sum of 800 marks as he had alienated his lands of Ethiebetoun to the royal secretary and then had infefted his grandson, William Carmichael, in the lands without the consent of Erskine. In return for this sum of money, Sir Thomas Erskine bound himself to renounce all claim which he had to the lands and promised to pay to William Carmichael of Carpow 300 marks if the lands were not

356. Ibid., nos. 662, 702.

357. Ibid., no. 1132.

358. Ibid., no. 724. Cf. no. 646.

359. Ibid., no. 702.

360. RSS, II, no. 1724.

361. Op. cit., nos. 1823, 1824. There is no evidence to suggest how or when the lairds of Bass acquired lands in Kirriemuir. However, they do not appear to have possessed these estates prior to the sixteenth century. Cf. Chapter IV, Group I, *passim*.

included in the forthcoming general revocation to be made by the king.³⁶²
 This agreement was not recognised by the king as the lands of Ethiebetoun were included among Erskine's estates in August 1537.³⁶³ By his gift to the laird of Bass of the lands of Ethiebetoun, Sir Thomas Erskine had divested himself of all of his lands which he held within the regality except for the lands of Lawis and Baldow. Two years later in September 1540 these lands had reverted to John Ramsay, the son of Henry Ramsay of Lawis, who was the original proprietor.³⁶⁴

Of the remainder of the new royal tenants, James Akinheid, Henry Kemp of Thomaston, Sir John Stirling of Keir, and Andrew Wood of Largo, not one retained their estates until the end of the reign. James Akinheid, who had received the lands and mill of Balmuir in 1528 had resigned these estates which were then given to Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, the original owner, by the king in March 1529/30.³⁶⁵ The laird of Thomaston was granted the lands of Torburnes and Glaswell in 1528, but had resigned them before 1 March 1529/30, at which time they were granted to their former proprietors, Walter Ogilvy in Glaswell and his wife, Elizabeth Scringecour, and Walter Scringecour of Glaswell and his wife, Katherine Murray.³⁶⁶ The laird of Keir had received the lands of Ethiebetoun in 1528 but as discussed above, had resigned them prior to February 1531/2 when they were given to Sir Thomas Erskine, while

362. ADC et Sess, VIII, ff. 110-111.

363. RMS, III, no. 1700.

364. Ibid., no. 2206.

365. Ibid., no. 913.

366. Ibid., nos. 902, 903.

Andrew Wood of Largo, who had received the lands of Ballindarg and Drumsched in 1528, had resigned them before October 1529 when these lands were in the possession of John Wishart of Logie-Wishart, the original owner.³⁶⁷ Thus, of all of the new tenants in the regality of Kirriemuir who were introduced by James the fifth, only ^{David Garden of Leys,} David Wood of Craig, and William Wood of Bonnyntoun, held lands in the regality at the time of James's death.

The position of the original heritable proprietors of the regality of Kirriemuir, apart from the closing months of 1528, appears to have remained constant throughout the period when the Douglas earldom of Angus had ceased to exist. Even when the king appears to have been most determined to parcel out the lands of the regality of Kirriemuir to new men, he was willing to ratify the possessions of a few of the original proprietors. In September 1528, John Arbuthnott of Brichty received confirmation of his possession of his lands of Easter Brichty and one third of Monifieth which he held from Angus.³⁶⁸ Andrew Oliver received confirmation of his lands of Easter Gagie in the regality which he held from Angus,³⁶⁹ while William Carmichael of Carpow received confirmation of his lands of the western half of Ethiebetoun.³⁷⁰ William Ochterlony of Kelle received confirmation of his lands of the two parts of Potconra,³⁷¹ and James Scryngeour of Dudop, Constable of Dundee, received confirmation of his lands of the Strathdichty-comitis.³⁷² All of these grants to

367. Ibid., no. 657; RSS, II, no. 381.

368. Ibid., no. 655.

369. Ibid., no. 676.

370. Ibid., no. 660; SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/6/11.

371. Op. cit., no. 678.

372. Ibid., no. 714; Scryngeour Inventory, no. 716, p. 44.

men who had been vassals of Angus were given before the end of 1528. John Arbuthnott's heirs, his two daughters Margaret and Katherine, had no difficulty in being entered as heirs to their father in the lands of Easter Brichty and Monifieth in 1533, two years after his death.³⁷³

Alexander Ochterlony, the son and heir of William Ochterlony of Kelle, inherited his paternal estates in 1530, almost immediately after his father's death.³⁷⁴

Thomas Annand of Kinwherries, whose right to his paternal estate had been registered before Parliament in 1528, appears to have been untroubled in his possession. In June 1532 he was so designated when he pursued James Cramond of Auldbar over the mails of the lands of Cramond Inch which were also a part of the regality of Kirriemuir.³⁷⁵ Sir Henry Lovell of Ballumbie received royal confirmation in May 1529 of the lands of Eglismonechto, Balmossy, Brachan, the two parts of Monifieth, Justingleis, all of which he held from the former earl of Angus.³⁷⁶ The patrimony of the Lovells was protected from alienation when Andrew Lovell, the fiar of Ballumbie, promised not to alienate any lands which would prejudice his grandson, Henry, who was the heir of entail.³⁷⁷ When the elderly laird of Ballumbie died in 1538, his estates in the regality of Kirriemuir were inherited by his son.³⁷⁸ William Dempster of Carraldston, whose lands of Easter and Wester Petmowe within the regality had been given to William Wood of Bonnyntoun, had been restored to him by May 1529, although the composition which he paid for this was expensive since he

373. Exch. Rollis, XVI, pp. 554-5.

374. RMS, op. cit., no. 948. Cf. RSS, II, nos. 2776, 2901.

375. ADC et Sess, I, f. 207.

376. RMS, III, no. 780.

377. ADC et Sess, VI, f. 136.

378. Register House, Calendar of Charters, VI, no. 1246.

had to sell some of his other lands in the sheriffdom of Angus to pay for his recognition as proprietor.³⁷⁹ Three years later, the laird of Carraldson sold these lands to James Guthrie, the Parson of Kirkbotho, who retained them despite disputes with other members of Carraldston's family.³⁸⁰ In May 1529, John Lyon, the son of the late David Lyon of Kinblathmont, obtained confirmation of his possession of the lands of Kintirie within the regality which he had held from Angus.³⁸¹ James Lundy of Balgony, whose right to the lands of Wester Gagie in the regality had been confirmed in the spring of 1517,³⁸² received a charter under the great seal of these estates in March 1535/6.³⁸³ All of these proprietors had their possessions confirmed to them by James with comparative ease.

Although certain lands which pertained to the lairds of Logie-Wishart, Panmure and Powrie were taken by the king and distributed among the new royal tenants, all of these men had re-established their claim and possession of the lands within four years after the forfeiture of Angus. The lands of Ballindarg and Drumsched belonged to John Wishart of Logie-Wishart and after being under the control of Andrew Wood of Largo for one year, were restored to him in October 1529.³⁸⁴ At the same time that this was done, the laird of Logie-Wishart received the lands of Logie-Wishart, Wester Logie, the Powis, and Lokertstoun which he also held from the earl

379. RMS, op. cit., no. 792. Carraldston sold to Patrick Garden of that ilk the lands of Preciok and Frecok in the same month. Ibid., no. 794.

380. Ibid., nos. 1104, 1331; ADC et Sess, IV, f. 104; VI, f. 6.

381. Op. cit., no. 739.

382. ADC, XXIX, ff. 185-6.

383. RMS, op. cit., no. 1561. Cf. Retours, I, Forfar, no. 3.

384. RSS, II, no. 381. Cf. supra, p. 485.

of Angus.³⁸⁵ In January 1531/2, the king confirmed John Wishart's charter to George Bell whereby he sold to Bell the lands of Lokertstoun, Drumsched and Dairsie,³⁸⁶ while in May 1532, the laird of Logie-Wishart was granted the superiority of various tenements within the burgh of Kirriemuir which Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie had resigned.³⁸⁷ Wishart began to dispoise some of his estates within the regality as in March 1534/5 he sold to Thomas Duncan, burgess of Dundee, one third of the lands of Ballindarg in the regality of Kirriemuir.³⁸⁸ The laird of Logie-Wishart enjoyed royal favour as in the summer of 1538 he and his family were granted special royal protection,³⁸⁹ and two years later, in May 1540, all of his lands within the regality (Easter Wishart alias Logie-Wishart, the hall of Logie, Dane, Damesard, Wester Logy with the Powis, Powlands, Foisbauk, Rigging, Rigging-gait, Lokertstoun, the Bankcroft, Haldenheid, Drumsched, Duse, Ballindarg, Acheleg, Stokfauld, Braid-Grene, Wester and Easter Moss, Peithillok, Cawlestripe, Rescheserik of Ballindarg, and the superiority of various tenements within the burgh of Kirriemuir) were incorporated into the free barony of Wishart. The king at the same time renounced in favour of the grantee any claim which he might have over the lands as a result of the forfeiture of Angus.³⁹⁰

Robert Maule of Panmure, who was the superior of the lands of Panlathy and Petconra within the regality of Kirriemuir, was dispossessed of these estates in November 1528 but by the following February he had

385. RSS, op. cit., no. 381.

386. RMS, III, no. 1117.

387. Ibid., no. 1160.

388. Ibid., no. 1459.

389. RSS, op. cit., no. 2660.

390. Op. cit., no. 2150; APS, II, pp. 379-80.

regained possession.³⁹¹ The laird of Panmure was untroubled during the rest of the reign in his possession of these lands and they were inherited by his son.³⁹² Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, who was the superior of the lands and mill of Balmuir, lost possession temporarily in September 1528 when they were given to James Akinheid, but by March 1529/30 he was regranted them by the king following Akinheid's resignation.³⁹³ However, Isabel Liddel, who was the daughter and one of the heiresses of the late Robert Liddel of Panlathy, claimed that she held one fourth of the lands of Balmuir in heritage and that her ancestors had held them in chief from the earl of Angus. She pursued the laird of Powrie before the council and demanded that he infeft her in these lands. The case was presented to the lords of council in March 1532/3 and one year later, in March 1533/4. The council ordered Thomas Fotheringham to infeft Isabel in her lands since, after the forfeiture of Angus, she had intended to obtain a new infeftment of her lands from the king but did not do so because the laird of Powrie had promised that he would infeft her in her patrimony if she would permit him to obtain a new infeftment of all the lands of Balmuir. She had paid Powrie her share of the composition which he had paid for his new infeftment but she had not received sasine to her lands. Powrie was ordered to comply with her demand without delay.³⁹⁴ However, it was not until almost two years later under threat of being put to the horn that the laird of Powrie gave infeftment of one fourth of the lands of Balmuir to Isabel Liddel.³⁹⁵ The immediate

391. RMS, op. cit., nos. 702, 750; SRO, Dalhousie Muniments GD 45/27/87.

392. Acts and Decrees, XIII, ff. 482-3.

393. RMS, III, nos. 648, 913; RSS, II, no. 595.

394. ADC et Sess, II, ff. 143; IV, f. 74.

395. Ibid., VIII, ff. 54-5.

superiority remained in the hands of Thomas Fotheringham who, in February 1540/41, for his good services, received all of his lands of Balmuir which were incorporated into the free barony of Bawmure.³⁹⁶

The three major vassals of the regality of Kirriemuir were William Graham of Fintry, John Graham of Ballargus, and John Ogilvy of Inverquharity and the first two of these lairds enjoyed the distinction of not suffering any loss of possessions during the entire period of Angus's forfeiture. In January 1529/30, the laird of Fintry was given possession of all his lands which he held in the regality of Kirriemuir. These were the following lands: the mains of Strathdichty-comitis, the outfield of Kirriemuir, Inchbrachty, Inchemyllu, Glennowik, Balnabothy, Daldano, Pitcarity, the forest of Glenprossin, Dahuch, Balloch, and the Kirkton of Kirriemuir, which were incorporated into the free barony of the mains of Strathdichty.³⁹⁷ Two days later, on 10 January 1529/30, he was given a remission for not attending the siege of Tantallon.³⁹⁸ In October 1530, William Graham and his wife, Katherine Beaton, the sister of David Beaton, the future cardinal, received another grant of the dominical lands of Strathdichty-comitis in the regality of Kirriemuir.³⁹⁹ In view of his close relationship to the rising favourite, David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, it is hardly surprising that when the later was sent on embassies in 1533, 1536 and 1537, both Fintry and his cousin, John Graham of Ballargus, were included among the kinsmen and friends who were placed under protection until the abbot returned.⁴⁰⁰ In July 1541, after the king's general

396. RMS, op. cit., no. 2284; RSS, op. cit., no. 3861.

397. RMS, op. cit., no. 885; HMC Report on MSS. in Various Collections, V: MSS. of Sir John Graham of Fintry, p. 226. These papers are now deposited in the Scottish Record Office but there are very few papers prior to 1560 in the collection.

398. RSS, op. cit., no. 505.

399. Ibid., no. 758.

400. Ibid., nos. 1518, 2166, 2307.

revocation, William Graham of Fintry entered into an obligation with his wife's brother, Cardinal Beaton, who promised that he would obtain from the king a new infeftment of all of Fintry's lands, which had been resigned by the laird, to David Graham, his son. The liferent of the lands ^{was} ~~were~~ to be reserved to Fintry. In return for this help, William Graham promised that his son should not marry without the cardinal's advice and that the profits of his marriage should pertain to Beaton. If either Fintry or his son failed to comply with this agreement, they promised to pay £1,000 to the cardinal.⁴⁰¹ The persuasion of Cardinal Beaton was very effective as on the same day in which this contract was drawn up, James the fifth granted all of William Graham's lands to his son and incorporated them into two free baronies: the barony of Strathichty-comitis, which included all of his lands within the regality of Kirriemuir, and the barony of Bochlivy Graham which included all of his lands within the sheriffdoms of Perth and Stirling. His possessions in Kirriemuir had been increased from those lands reiterated in the grant of January 1529/30 to include the lands of Over and Nether Lifty and the forest of Glenprossin was now erected into a free forest.⁴⁰² On the same day when these baronies were granted to David Graham, fiar of Fintry, his cousin John Graham, fiar of Claverhouse, received his lands of Claverhouse, Ballargus and the Muretoun, all of which were in the regality of Kirriemuir, in free tenantry.⁴⁰³ The influence of James's leading adviser, Cardinal Beaton, had opened the doors of royal patronage for the lairds of Fintry and Ballargus despite their tenurial bonds with the earl of Angus.

401. This contract was drawn up on 13 July 1541. ADC et Sess, XVI, ff. 42-3.

402. RMS, op. cit., nos. 2402, 2403.

403. Ibid., no. 2404.

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, the largest heritable proprietor within the regality, had succeeded to his lands of Inverquharity, Crieff, Little Migvie, Ludeinch, Wester and Easter Lednathie, Newton, Hirdhill, Balbryde, and Kinnordy Mains in December 1524 and January 1524/5 when he received sasine from his feudal superior, the earl of Angus.⁴⁰⁴ He was present in the parliament which forfeited his superior and protested his allegiance to the king. Inverquharity also asked that his lands be exempt from the forfeiture of Angus, but as we have seen, the lands of Balnagarro and Chapelton were taken from him and given to William Wood of Bonnyntoun although they were back in his possession before the death of James the fifth.⁴⁰⁵ During the period of Angus's exile, the laird of Inverquharity was involved in a protracted dispute with his neighbour the laird of Fintry over the ownership of the lands of Over and Nether Lifty and the common mure between them. The disagreement caused so much discord that in 1535 Inverquharity was ordered to ward himself in Blackness Castle.⁴⁰⁶ However, in July 1536, an inquest was held by various lairds of Angus which decided that the lands belonged to Inverquharity⁴⁰⁷ but the dispute raged unabated to such a degree that in August 1538 the king himself intervened. James ordered the laird of Fintry to appear before the council to answer the summons which the laird of Inverquharity had raised against him.⁴⁰⁸ Fintry proved reluctant to obey the royal mandate as it was not until another two years had passed that the Lords of Council, in July 1540, decreed that the lands belonged

404. SRO, Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle III.

405. Ibid.

406. ADC et Sess, VII, ff. 143-4.

407. Op. cit., GD 205, Box 13, Bundle XXXVI.

408. Ibid.

to Inverquharity.⁴⁰⁹ In the grant to the fiar of Fintry in July 1541 of his paternal estates within the regality, David Graham was given the lands in dispute,⁴¹⁰ although a part of the lands of Nether Lifty were among those which were given to Elizabeth Fotheringham, Lady Inverquharity in February 1541/2. By the terms of the latter grant, James the fifth granted the lands of Inverquharity, Wester and Easter Lednathie, Newton, Hirdhill, Kinnordy, Balbryde and Nether Lifty to Elizabeth Fotheringham, and incorporated them into the free barony of Inverquharity.⁴¹¹ He also granted to John Ogilvy the lands of Ludeinch, Corstalbit, Colhawauk, Little Migvie and Crieff which were within the regality, and incorporated them into the barony of Crieff.⁴¹² All of the major heritable tenants of the regality of Kirriemuir who had held their lands from Angus had been fully restored.

The pattern of ownership and land transfers in the various regalities, lordships, and baronies which pertained to the earl of Angus indicates quite clearly that the earl's forfeiture did not cause a mass deposition of vassals from their lands. Upon payment of the requisite composition, it appears that all the heritable proprietors who held lands from the forfeited earl were able to remain in possession. Almost two thirds of the new royal tenants who were introduced into the former possessions of the earl had lost their new estates before the death of James the fifth.

409. ADC et Sess, XIII, f. 175; SRO, Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 13, Bundle XXXVI.

410. RMS, III, nos. 2402, 2403.

411. Ibid., no. 2601; RSS, II, no. 4502.

412. Ibid., no. 4503. In April 1545, the laird of Inverquharity summoned James Kirkcaldy of Grange, who was the Treasurer in 1542, to warrand him in the composition which he paid for these charters. Acts and Decrees, II, ff. 49-50.

Excluding the superiorities of the individual lordships, there were thirty-two new royal tenants: one in Abernethy, three in Bonkle and Preston, five in the Angus barony of Bothwell, three in Crawford Douglas, two in Tantallon, eight in Kirriemuir and nine in Douglas. Of these only the following were in possession of their lands in 1542; Lord Maxwell, John Home of Inveralloun and Matthew Hamilton in the barony of Bothwell; Lord Borthwick and James Lindsay in the lordship of Crawford Douglas; Robert Gib, Gavin Hamilton, and Thomas Richardsoun in the lordship of Douglas; James Akinheid in the lordship of Tantallon and William Wood of Bonnyntoun and David Wood of Graig, in the regality of Kirriemuir. Thus, out of thirty-two new tenants who had received their lands from 1528-1536, only twelve, or thirty-seven per cent, remained as proprietors at the end of the reign.

The ownership of the superiority of Angus's lordships shows in full measure the ruthlessness with which James exerted his aim to consider them as part of the royal demesne. Although a contemporary account mentioned that very few of the lordships which pertained to Angus were retained by the king after the earl's forfeiture,⁴¹³ within two years this assumption was anachronistic. The superiority of the regalities, lordships and baronies of Kirriemuir, Bonkle and Preston, Crawford Douglas, Douglas, and Selkirk never left the possession of the king. The grants of several of these to his two illegitimate sons in 1534 and in 1536 did not alter James's control as the grantees were both infants and cadets of the royal house. The superiorities of the regalities and barony of Abernethy, Jedburgh Forest and Tantallon were the only ones which were granted other Scottish nobles, and of these only the superiority of

413. SPH, IV, Pt. IV, no. CLXXXIX, footnote, p. 513.

of Abernethy remained outwith direct royal possession during Angus's exile. When all of these lordships, with the exception of Abernethy, were annexed to the Crown estates (in 1540) by parliamentary decree, it merely legalised a situation which had existed for a decade.

However, in one important respect, James altered the basic structure of land ownership of the major free tenants of the earl of Angus. Before Angus's forfeiture, it appears that none of his free tenants held their lands as free baronies either from the earl or the former superiors of some of these lordships, except perhaps the laird of Symingtoun.⁴¹⁴ Yet from 1528 until 1542, James incorporated the lands of Carmichael into the free barony of Carmichael in favour of the lairds of Carmichael in March 1528/9 and in August 1540;⁴¹⁵ the dominical lands and others which pertained to the old Douglas barony of Crawford Douglas into the free tenantry and, later, the barony of Crawford Lindsay in favour of the laird of Meadowflat in March 1537/8 and August 1542;⁴¹⁶ the dominical lands of Bonjedburgh into the free barony of Bonjedburgh in favour of William Douglas in August 1540;⁴¹⁷ the lands of Ferniehirst and its pertinents into the free barony of Ferniehirst in favour of Andrew Ker in May 1540;⁴¹⁸ the lands of Logie-Wishart and its pertinents into the free barony of Wishart in favour of John Wishart in May 1540;⁴¹⁹ the lands of Balmuir into the free barony of Bawmure in favour of Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie in February 1540/41;⁴²⁰ the mains of Strathdichty-cumitis and

414. RSS, II, no. 3907.

415. RMS, III, nos. 761, 2191.

416. Ibid., nos. 1753, 2752.

417. Ibid., no. 2189.

418. Ibid., no. 2142.

419. Ibid., no. 2150; APS, II, p. 379-80.

420. Op. cit., no. 2284; RSS, op. cit., no. 3861.

other lands in Kirriemuir into the free barony of the Mains of Strathdichty in January 1529/30 for the laird of Fintry, which was changed into the barony of Strathdichty-comitis in July 1541;⁴²¹ and the lands of Inverquharity, Ludeinch and Crieff into the free baronies of Inverquharity and Crieff in favour of John Ogilvy and his wife in February 1541/2.⁴²² All of the grants to these newly incorporated baronies were either renewed or given initially following the king's general revocation. The favour shown by James to the major free tenants of Angus elevated them from the status of mere heritable proprietors to that of feudal barons. It must be remembered that when these charters were given, it seemed unlikely that either Angus or his brother would ever return to Scotland. Thus the new baronies were incorporated without any reference to the former superior. In effect, what happened was the creation of an entirely new series of superiors who were given complete jurisdiction over their estates, and who would not be inclined to welcome any control which their former feudal superior would try to impose upon them. When the earl of Angus returned from exile, his legal control over his free tenants was, initially at least, severely restricted because of James's generosity.

The treatment accorded to Angus's vassals differed in degree from that which was accorded to members of the earl's immediate family. An analysis of James's relations ^{with} ~~towards~~ Elizabeth Douglas, the wife of George Douglas; Isobel Hopper, the wife of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy and her son Andrew Murray of Blackbarony; and of the major Douglas

421. RMS, OP. cit., nos. 885, 2402.

422. Ibid., no. 2601; RSS, op. cit., no. 4503.

families of the realm reveals that ties of kinship and bonds of tenurial obligations did not at once implicate members of the Douglas kindred group in the disgrace of Angus.⁴²³

On 5 September 1528, in presence of that parliament which passed sentence of forfeiture upon Angus, Archibald Douglas and George Douglas, Mr William Stewart appeared and protested that this parliamentary decree should not prejudice the rights of Elizabeth Douglas, George's wife.⁴²⁴ As she was the presumptive heiress of the Douglasses of Pittendreich and as both she and her husband had received infeftment of these estates prior to April 1524,⁴²⁵ this was an attempt to prevent the reversion of her estates from being invested into the hands of the king. By the customary law of Scotland, however, the conviction of her husband for the crimes of treason would automatically result in Elizabeth Douglas's estates reverting to the Crown. On the same day in which Mr William Stewart entered his protest, the king granted to Sir John Stirling of Keir the escheat of all the moveable goods of George Douglas, and the lands of Duffus, Pittendreich, Caldcottis, Darkle, Levingschaw, one half of Surestoun, in the sheriffdoms of Elgin and Forres, and the lands of Balcarres in the sheriffdom of Fife, which George Douglas possessed.⁴²⁶ All of these estates, except Balcarres, were in actuality the patrimony of Elizabeth Douglas, whose father, David Douglas of Pittendreich, still had a liferent interest.⁴²⁷ The laird of Keir's possession of these

423. Cf. Donaldson, James V, p. 12.

424. APS, II, p. 329.

425. TA, V, p. 173.

426. RMS, III, nos. 635, 636. The lands of Balcarres had belonged to Keir before his forfeiture and had been given to George Douglas in November 1526. Ibid., no. 396. They remained in the possession of Keir's family until 1540. Ibid., no. 2424.

427. TA, V, p. 173.

lands was of extremely short duration as on the following day James granted to his brother, the earl of Moray, one third of the lands of Duffus, the lands of Pittendreich, Caldcottis, Darkle, and one half of Surestoun, and the houses and tenements within the burgh of Elgin which pertained to George Douglas.⁴²⁸

David Douglas of Pittendreich, the father of Elizabeth Douglas, appears to have been unmolested by his son-in-law's disgrace. He remained upon his estates and in February 1530/31 he was able to reach an agreement with John Kinnaird of that Ilk over their disputes which had lasted for almost a decade.⁴²⁹ The profits and mails of the lands of Duffus were granted by James the fifth to William, Earl Marischal in September 1531,⁴³⁰ but David Douglas was resident upon these lands one month later when he appeared, along with other lairds of Moray, on an inquest to determine what lands the late Andrew Hay of Ury had held within the sheriffdom of Elgin.⁴³¹ The laird of Pittendreich, who was also an alderman of the burgh of Elgin, was involved in a dispute with William Gaderar, a burgess of the same burgh, over the ownership of certain tenements within Elgin, but the outcome of the case is unknown.⁴³² By 2 February 1535/6 David Douglas was dead, and Elizabeth Douglas, despite her husband's forfeiture and the king's grants which disposed of her lands to the earl of Moray and to the laird of Kair, received none of her paternal inheritance. This did not occur,

428. Op. cit., no. 665.

429. ADC, XLII, ff. 30-1.

430. RSS, II, no. 1009.

431. An Account of the Familie of Innes compiled by Duncan Forbes of Culloden, 1698, with an Appendix of Charters and Notes, ed. Cosmo Innes. Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1864), p. 94.

432. ADC et Sess, III, f. 106.

however, until she had paid large sums of money to Moray and Keir for their resignation of their claims to the lands in question. The lands in which she and her younger son, James Douglas, were infeft were those of Pittendreich, one third of Duffus, one half of Surestoun, Levingschaw, Darkle and Caldcottis which were in the sheriffdoms of Elgin and Forres.⁴³³ A comparison of this with the grants of lands which had been given to Stirling of Keir and the Earl of Moray reveal that no diminution of the patrimony of the Douglasses of Pittendreich had occurred.

However, James the fifth held George Douglas in especial loathing and although neither the latter's wife or children were imprisoned during his exile, their legal control over their estates was short-lived. Barely two years after sasine had been given to Elizabeth Douglas, her lands were given once more to the earl of Moray. To clarify the earl's position, the king revoked the grants which he had made to Sir John Stirling of Keir and to Elizabeth Douglas.⁴³⁴ Despite this second deposition from the proprietorship of her ancestral estates, it is probable that Elizabeth Douglas remained resident upon them. In September 1538 she was summoned, as was the earl of Moray, to pay the ferms, mails and duties of the third part of the lands of Duffus for the nineteen years preceding 1533 and also the same rents from them for the years 1533 to 1537. Elizabeth Douglas proved before the council that she had paid the requisite ferms and mails to the earl of Moray for the years in question. Moray acknowledged that this was true and he was ordered to pay the sums outstanding to the king.⁴³⁵ This is conclusive proof that despite her

433. RMS, III, no. 1541; RSS, II, no. 1948 (the privy seal precept is dated 25 February 1535/6 rather than 2 February as given in the great seal charter).

434. Op. cit., no. 1768.

435. ADC et Sess, X, f. 182.

husband's forfeiture, Elizabeth Douglas had resided on the lands of Duffus from 1528 until 1538 and it seems probable that she continued to do so until the death of the king. Although James was unwilling to restore her to legal possession of heritable properties, he did not pursue her with the vindictiveness displayed towards her husband's sister, Lady Glamis. Elizabeth Douglas was not forfeited or forced into exile - she was merely ignored.

The treatment of Isobel Hopper, the wife of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, was more generous than that accorded George Douglas's wife. When Parliament forfeited the former Treasurer of Scotland for his aid to his nephews, the escheat of all his lands and goods were given to the new Treasurer, Mr Robert Cairncross, Provost of Corstorphine.⁴³⁶ Hugh, earl of Eglinton received the ten merkland of Wodhall and the one merkland of Little Fordall in the lordship of Robertson in Ayrshire, and Hugh Johnston, the king's principal cook, was given the lands of Reidside and Caldside in the lordship of Tantallon, all of which had pertained to the former laird of Kilspindy.⁴³⁷ In November 1528 several burgesses of Edinburgh protested before a notary that their right as the heirs at law of the late Alexander Barcar, the first husband of Isobel Hopper, should not be prejudiced by the gift which Archibald Douglas and his wife had made of Alexander Barcar's tenement to Mr Francis Bothwell,⁴³⁸ while the escheat of Archibald Douglas's goods in the lordship of Ballincrief was given to Adam Dundas in the same month.⁴³⁹

436. APS, II, p. 328; RMS, II, no. 649; Prot. Bk. of John Foular, abstracts. IV, Pt. I, pp. 10-2, city archives, Edinburgh.

437. RMS, op. cit.; nos. 643, 644.

438. Prot. Bk. of John Foular, op. cit., pp. 162-3.

439. ADC, XXXIX, f. 7.

The displacement of Isobel Hopper from the lands and heritages which pertained either to her husband or to herself continued unabated in the year following the former's forfeiture. In February 1528/9, Gavin Hamilton received a gift of the six merkland of Staneburne in the sheriffdom of Linlithgow;⁴⁴⁰ in March 1529/30, John Mundy and Walter Scott were given the mails and profits of six acres of land lying at Tollcross in the west end of Edinburgh;⁴⁴¹ in April 1529 Sir James Sandilands of Calder was given the mails, farms and profits of the five merkland of Torfin, the two merkland in Muristoun, and the two merkland of Murishill, which were in the barony of Calder;⁴⁴² in August 1529, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart was given the assedation and profits of the church of Dunsiar in the sheriffdom of Lanark.⁴⁴³ All of these properties had belonged to Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy. On 2 September 1529, the lords of council decreed "it is devisit and ordanit that Isobell Hopper the spouse of Archibald Douglas sall remuf furth of Edinburgh to Sanct Johnstoune (Perth)...but langar delay."⁴⁴⁴

The pressure exerted against her by the king undoubtedly induced Isobel Hopper to join her husband in England. There is no actual evidence as to when she left Scotland, but the implication behind the grant of the mails and farms of the lands of Over Menzean in Peeblesshire to Lord Fleming in February 1532/3 is that she had, in fact, left the kingdom.⁴⁴⁵ Royal

440. RSS, I, no. 4060.

441. Ibid., II, no. 4.

442. Ibid., no. 57. Sandilands was the feudal superior.

443. Ibid., no. 294.

444. ADCP, p. 315; ADC, XL, f. 115. The manuscript entry implies that despite her husband's forfeiture, Isobel Hopper had actually been allowed to live in Edinburgh for an entire year after Archibald Douglas's disgrace.

445. RSS, op. cit., no. 1494.

anger had increased against her as the king was now disposing of estates such as Over Menzean which belonged to her son Andrew Murray of Blackbarony.⁴⁴⁶ During Isobel Hopper's probable absence in England, Thomas Spens, the son of the late Peter Spens of Kilspindy, re-established his right before July 1533 to the lands of Kilspindy which she and Archibald Douglas had held in liferent.⁴⁴⁷ Whether Isobel Hopper returned with her husband when he visited Scotland in the early autumn of 1534 is unknown, but a perceptible change occurred in the fortunes of the close relatives of the former treasurer after this event. In February 1534/5, Jonet Douglas, the daughter of Archibald Douglas was able to bring suits before the council,⁴⁴⁸ and on 2 January 1535/6, James the fifth, having pity on the great trouble and skaith which Isobel Hopper, the widow of Archibald Douglas had suffered because of his forfeiture, granted to her the lands of Wodhall and Little Fordall in Ayrshire which she had held in conjunct fee.⁴⁴⁹ Isobel Hopper had been officially rehabilitated.

Within a few months after her partial restoration, Isobel Hopper began to display a forcefulness and persistence which, although it would involve her in lawsuits which dragged on for several years, would regain for her most of the lands which she had lost during her husband's disgrace. In February 1535/6 she instituted proceedings to regain the lands of Torfin and Muristoun in the barony of Calder and in the following June her right of possession was recognised.⁴⁵⁰ A year later, in May 1537, the king granted an exemption to Isobel Hopper from answering all summonses which were raised against her as the widow of Archibald Douglas to fulfil contracts entered into before his forfeiture because "all his and hir

⁴⁴⁶. The lands of Over Menzean remained in the possession of the Fleming family. Cf. Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 497, 509, 539, pp. 63-5, 68.

⁴⁴⁷. ADC et Sess, III, ff. 12-4.

⁴⁴⁸. Ibid., VI, ff. 41, 76, 85-6, 92.

⁴⁴⁹. RSS, op. cit., no. 1903.

⁴⁵⁰. ADC et Sess, VII, f. 98; VIII, ff. 1, 33, 59.

gudis movebill and unmovabill, dettis and uthiris quhatsumever, being in thare possessionis thetyme of the said forfaltour became in our soverane lordis handis or his escheit be rescoun tharof and his hienes disponit the sammyn to sindry personis, and gaif giftis tharof, quhilkis tuk effect and denudit hir of the sammyn.⁴⁵¹ This was followed by an even more generous grant by the king. On 2 July 1537, less than a fortnight before the execution of her husband's niece, Lady Glamis, Isobel Hopper received the lands of Wodhall and Little Fordall in Ayrshire, the tacks of the teind sheaves of the churches of Aberlady and Abercorn and of the lands of Cramond, and the escheat of her husband's moveable goods. These had been given to the earl of Ginton, Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, and Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchtoun, upon Douglas's forfeiture, but the king annulled these gifts because Isobel was innocent of her husband's crimes.⁴⁵² This grant virtually restored all of the possessions which Isobel and her late husband had held except for the lands of Kilspindy and the tenement in Edinburgh which had been given to Robert Cairncross.⁴⁵³

James's grant, however, did not mean that she was restored to her former possessions without opposition. Four months later she commenced a long series of attempts to obtain her rights to the teind sheaves of the churches of Aberlady and Cramond from George Crichton, Bishop of

451. RSS, op. cit., no. 2265.

452. Ibid., no. 2301.

453. On 14 December 1538, William Cairncross of Colmislee was granted the lands and tenements which had belonged to the late Philip Forester and the late Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy. Cf. RMS, III, no. 1875; RSS, op. cit., no. 2798; Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose and from the Manuscripts of the Earls of Haddington, ed. Charles Romanes. Scottish History Society, 2nd series, vol. XIII (Edinburgh, 1917), p. 374.

Dunkeld.⁴⁵⁴ This dispute was also before the council in 1539 and was not settled until after the death of James.⁴⁵⁵ James Spens, the son and heir of Thomas Spens of Kilspindy, resolutely opposed Isobel Hopper's claim to his paternal estates. He enjoyed the king's favour to the extent that James informed the Lords of Council on 20 December 1538 that they were not to proceed in the matter between his "lovit servitour" James Spens and Isobel Hopper until he had considered the case.⁴⁵⁶ This inhibition quashed the proceedings and the disputes between James Spens and Isobel Hopper were not solved until April 1543. However, except for the lands of Kilspindy and the teind sheaves of the churches of Aberlady and Cramond, Isobel Hopper had been restored to all her possessions which she had lost as a result of her husband's forfeiture. She and her son Andrew Murray of Blackbarony were among the very close relatives of the exiled earl who were unaffected by the vindictive policy followed by James the fifth during the period of the Glamis conspiracy.

The extremely favourable treatment demonstrated to Isobel Hopper was so marked that it may have been due to her kinship with Mr Francis Bothwell, a leading burgher of Edinburgh and member of the court of Session, and with the royal favourite, Oliver Sinclair of Pitcairns. Among the leading burgher families of Edinburgh who were emerging into national prominence in the first half of the sixteenth century were those of the the Bellendens, the Bothwells, and the Hoppers. Adam Hopper,

454. ADC et Sess, IX, f. 19. Isobel Hopper also sued the laird of Loudoun and Robert Barton of Over Earnton, both of whom had been given tacks of these churches teind sheaves. Loudoun and Barton resigned their rights in favour of the Bishop of Dunkeld before the end of 1538. Ibid., XI, ff. 40, 52.

455. Ibid., XI, ff. 206, 221.

456. Ibid., f. 57; ADCP, p. 476.

Isobel's brother, enjoyed the trust of the king and retained his position as customar of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross even after his brother-in-law's forfeiture.⁴⁵⁷ Indeed, only three months after Kilspindy's forfeiture, the king intervened directly in a legal dispute in favour of Isobel's brother.⁴⁵⁸ Adam Hopper had married Katherine Bellenden, who was the sister of Mr Thomas Bellenden of Auchnoul, an important member of the royal administration in the 1530s. After Adam Hopper's death, in 1529,⁴⁵⁹ Katherine Bellenden married Mr Francis Bothwell before February 1529/30.⁴⁶⁰ Francis Bothwell had close mercantile dealings with his wife's late husband and had been a supporter of Archibald Douglas in the dispute over the provostship of Edinburgh in 1520.⁴⁶¹ He was an assiduous attender of the council, was elected one of the lords of Articles in 1531,⁴⁶² and was one of the original members of the Court of Session. After his death in January 1535/6,⁴⁶³ his widow married Oliver Sinclair who later acquired the lands of Pitcairns in Perthshire. ~~Although~~ ^{Because} he was well connected, Oliver Sinclair was employed as an officer of the royal household. In 1536 he received livery from the king,⁴⁶⁴ and he was employed in disbursing funds to other royal servants.⁴⁶⁵ He accompanied James to France in 1536⁴⁶⁶ and after this his rise was

457. Exch. Rolls, XV, pp. 513-4.

458. ADC, XXXIX, f. 50.

459. Prot. Bk. of John Foular, abstracts, IV, Pt. II, pp. 393-4, city archives, Edinburgh.

460. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

461. ADCP, pp. 146-7.

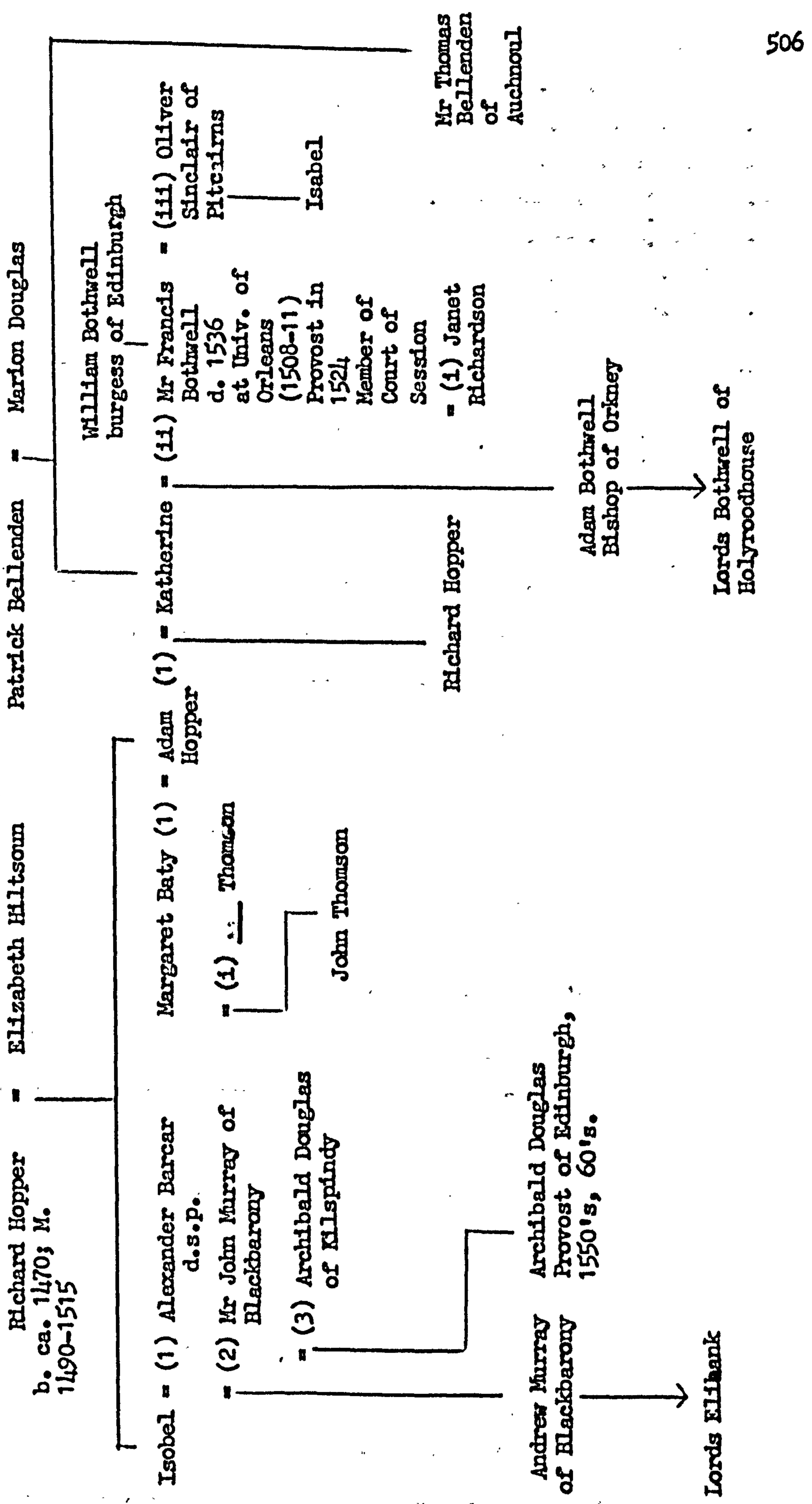
462. APS, II, p. 333.

463. ADC et Sess, VII, f. 85.

464. TA, VI, p. 289.

465. *Ibid.*, p. 450.

466. *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 16, 18-9, 21-2.



Bellenden-Hopper-Bothwell Connections

almost meteoric: he was made captain of Tantallon in February 1539/40,⁴⁶⁷ and commanded the Scottish army at Solway Moss.⁴⁶⁸ It is entirely possible that her connections with both Mr Francis Bothwell and Oliver Sinclair who were much trusted by the king, could have prompted James in exempting her from the taint of Angus and his kindred.

Andrew Murray of Blackbarony, the stepson of Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, was involved in similar difficulties as his mother during the years immediately following his stepfather's forfeiture. In December 1528 he was in dispute with Adam Dundas over certain goods within the lands of Ballincrieff, as Dundas had been given the gift of Archibald Douglas's goods there. Although the lordship of Ballincrieff had been held in feuferm both by Mr John Murray of Blackbarony and by Andrew Murray, the council declared in February 1528/9 that Adam Dundas was entitled to the goods which he had intruded with.⁴⁶⁹ In February 1528/9, Sir Patrick Hepburn of Wauchton received the gift of all the moveable goods which pertained to Isobel Hopper in the barony of Blackbarony and the lands of Purro, which she had in tack from the abbot of Newbattle.⁴⁷⁰ Almost immediately afterwards, Sir Patrick Hepburn also received the mails and profits of the lands of Blackbarony which pertained to Andrew Murray's mother in conjunct fee.⁴⁷¹

The gift of Isobel Hopper's goods within the lands of Blackbarony to the laird of Wauchton inevitably led to disputes between him and Andrew Murray. In May 1529, Sir Patrick Hepburn was successful in obtaining

467. RSS, II, no. 3410.

468. Lesley, History, p. 165.

469. ADC, XXXIX, ff. 44, 86.

470. RSS, I, no. 4077.

471. Ibid., no. 4082.

possession of the flocks of sheep and oxen which had belonged to the forfeited laird of Kilspindy and were grazing upon the lands of Blackbarony, although Andrew Murray's heritable right to the lands was upheld.⁴⁷² In the same month, Andrew Murray, with the help of his curators, Mr Francis Bothwell and Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, disproved Adam Dundas's claim that the lordship of Ballincrieff was forfeited, as he and his father held it in feuferm and his mother Isobel Hopper only had terce rights to the same. Andrew Murray was allowed to enjoy two-thirds of the lordship while Adam Dundas was allowed to possess one-third.⁴⁷³ However, Robert Borthwick the master of the royal artillery, had been given a tack of the lordship of Ballincrieff and he began a lawsuit against Andrew Murray over the possession of its estates. The gift of the lands of Ballincrieff to Robert Borthwick had been ratified by parliamentary decree,⁴⁷⁴ although Andrew Murray claimed to possess the lands as well. When the case was brought before the Lords of Council for adjudication in February 1530/1 James commanded them not to proceed in the matter.⁴⁷⁵ However, the council replied to the king's request on 13 February that they "sayand that thai war commandis be the Kingis grace to minister Justice equelle to all his Regis nochtwithstanding ony writ which may stop justice" and annulled the king's letter of prohibition which he had granted in favour of Robert Borthwick.⁴⁷⁶ The council by their rebuke to James reminded him that although he was their sovereign he could not dispense with the consuetude and practick of the realm with impunity. It is interesting

472. ADC, XL, f. 26.

473. Ibid., ff. 35, 58.

474. APS, II, p. 330.

475. ADC, XLII, f. 44.

476. Ibid., f. 48.

that this formulation of the principle that the king was not the originator of the Law but only its guardian was issued in the defence of a close kinsman of Angus. The authority of the council was such that James did not revoke its decision. He issued an order to the effect that Andrew Murray of Blackbarony was to enjoy the lands which his father had held in heritage.⁴⁷⁷

The dispute over the lands of Ballincrieff did not end with this decision, however, as Katherine Borthwick, the widow of Robert Borthwick, persistently tried to obtain possession. The council consistently pronounced in Andrew Murray's favour in March and July 1531,⁴⁷⁸ December 1532,⁴⁷⁹ and June 1533.⁴⁸⁰ Actual control of the lordship remained with Andrew Murray as he rendered accounts of the exchequer as bailie of the lordship of Ballincrieff from July 1527 until August 1542.⁴⁸¹

Apart from the disputes connected with the ownership of the lands of Ballincrieff, Andrew Murray of Blackbarony appears to have controlled his other estates throughout the reign of James the fifth without difficulty.

In February 1530/31 he granted letters of bailiary of his barony of Blackbarony to William Stewart of Traquair,⁴⁸² while in the following November he gave certain lands within that barony of Thomas Dudingstoun of Southouse.⁴⁸³

During the period of his mother's probable sojourn in England, Andrew Murray lived with the king's advocate, Mr Adam Otterburn of Redhall.

Apparently a controversy arose between them as to what Andrew Murray owed

477. Ibid., f. 89.

478. Ibid., f. 159; XLIII, f. 16.

479. ADC et Sess, II, ff. 17A-8, 23.

480. Ibid., f. 205.

481. Exch. Rolls, XVI, pp. 222-4, 439-41, 476-7; XVII, pp. 25-6, 85-6, 202, 316-7, 602-3.

482. Inventory of Traquair Charters, National Register of Archives (Scotland), Survey 54, Charter 106.

483. SRO, Calendar of Writs belonging to Major A. Erskine Murray, GD 1/44/33.

to the laird of Redhall for his assistance. In July 1533 a decret arbitral was given by the abbot of Cambuskenneth which ordered the laird of Blackbarony to pay 200 marks for the food and drink which had been given to him and his servants by Adam Otterburn and for the legal advice which Otterburn had given him over disputes which involved his lands.⁴⁸⁴ After his mother had returned to Scotland and was received into the king's favour, Andrew Murray received infeftment of the steads of Floro, Priesthope and Glenpoit in Ettrick Forest which his father had held.⁴⁸⁵ He appears to have enjoyed royal favour in spite of James's heightened animosity towards the relatives of Angus as in 1539 he received a tack from the abbot of Newbattle of the lands of Pureheuch and Fentoun,⁴⁸⁶ and in the same year became a tenant of Cardinal Beaton as he was given the lands of Torquhen in the regality of St. Andrews in feu.⁴⁸⁷ In April 1542 Andrew Murray received a full remission for his assistance to his stepfather and mother when they were in rebellion,⁴⁸⁸ although this was granted only after he paid £333, 6s. 8d. as composition.⁴⁸⁹ Isobel Hopper and her son had been reconciled to the king. Although it is probable that this was in part due to their close ties with Oliver Sinclair and his wife, James genuinely trusted them. Whether this trust was unique in their case or whether it was also displayed towards other members of the Douglas kindreds will be discussed below.

There were several important Douglas families in the realm who, in many instances, shared a relationship with the earl of Angus which was

484. SRO, Elibank Papers GD 32/6/9.

485. Ibid., GD 32/13/3.

486. Ibid., GD 32/17/2.

487. Rentae Sancti Andree: being the Chamberlain and Granitor Accounts of the Archbishopric in the time of Cardinal Beaton: 1538-1546, ed. R.K. Hannay. Scottish History Society, 2nd series, vol. IV (Edinburgh, 1913), pp. 36, 39, 90-1, 95.

488. RSS, II, no. 4591; Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, Appendix, p. 258.

489. TA, VIII, p. 16.

extremely remote. From the response of the chiefs of the various Douglas families, it can be seen that there was no united effort by the Douglasses to support the earl of Angus in his rebellion. No other Douglas family was forfeited in 1528 other than the Douglasses of Kilspindy and Pittendreich, and the willingness of James to accept the other Douglas lairds and the earl of Morton as his loyal subjects indicates that the king did not consider himself threatened by Douglas kindreds in general. Not until nine years after Angus's forfeiture, with the trial and execution of Lady Glamis, did James the fifth begin to pursue a policy of draconian severity and vindictiveness even towards remote kinsmen of the exiled Angus. However, certain Douglas families still managed to retain their possessions without much difficulty while others were dispossessed. In the first category were the families of Glenbervie, Bonjedburgh, Borg, Cavers, Whittingham and Lochleven, and in the second were the families of Parkhead, Drumlanrig and James Douglas, Earl of Morton.⁴⁹⁰

Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie was the nearest heir male to the earl of Angus apart from George Douglas and his sons but he received permission to be excluded from the royal army which was to besiege Tantallon because he was "tender of blude" to Angus.⁴⁹¹ Perhaps the support of the royal secretary, Thomas Erskine of Haltoun,⁴⁹² was helpful in obtaining Glenbervie's exemption from the royal host.

Throughout the period of Angus's forfeiture, the laird of Glenbervie appears to have dwelt upon his estates and was engaged in re-acquiring various lands which had been alienated by his parents. In 1533 he began

490. The position of the Douglasses of Bonjedburgh, Cavers and Parkhead during Angus's exile has already been discussed in the analysis of the vassals of the regality of Jedburgh Forest and the barony of Douglas.

491. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 228.

492. Cf. Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. II, "The Pittodrie Papers," no. I, p. 177.

proceedings against John Cumming of Culter over various lands within the barony of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire which Glenbervie's mother had alienated.⁴⁹³ The case was brought before the council in July and December 1535,⁴⁹⁴ but not until the following February was it decided in Glenbervie's favour.⁴⁹⁵ In June 1536 he received a charter of the lands of Craggeyrie in Aberdeenshire from the earl of Huntly,⁴⁹⁶ and in May 1537 he was granted the lands of Kilduthe, also in Aberdeenshire, from the king.⁴⁹⁷ In July 1537 he, as were several other lairds of the same cognomen, was commanded to appear before the king.⁴⁹⁸ As this occurred just before the trial of Lady Glamis, it appears likely that he was under suspicion because of his consanguinity to the accused. However, there is no evidence that he was imprisoned and in April 1538, he received a charter under the great seal which incorporated his baronies of Glenbervie, Kemnay and Barras into the free barony of Glenbervie.⁴⁹⁹ In the dispute which he had with Mr Robert Erskine over the rectorship of the church of Glenbervie, Archibald Douglas claimed that he had been in the king's ward,⁵⁰⁰ but he appears to have resided on his estates in Aberdeenshire throughout the latter 1530's.⁵⁰¹ He was not out of favour with James as in April 1542 he was granted the barony of Glenbervie, the lands of Drumlethy, Petokaly, Barras, Arbady and

493.. ADC et Sess, III, ff. 20-1..

494.. Ibid., V, f. 72; VII, f. 57..

495.. Ibid., ff. 120, 156..

496.. The Protocol Book of sir John Cristisone 1518-1551, ed. R.H. Lindsay.. Scottish Record Society, vol. 63 (Edinburgh, 1930), nos. 201, 204, p. 64. Cited hereafter as Prot. Bk. Cristisone.

497.. RSS, II, no. 2256.

498.. TA, VI, p. 329.

499.. Op. cit., no. 2530; RMS, III, no. 1772.

500.. Prot. Bk. Cristisone, no. 280, p. 74.

501.. Ibid., nos. 260, 274, 280, 290, pp. 60, 63-4, 66.

Inchmarlyoch in the sheriffdom of Kincardine; the barony of Kemnay in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, and the lands and barony of Braidwood with the tenantry of Hedis in Lanarkshire (which he held from the former earl of Angus), which were re-incorporated into a new free barony designated Glenbervie.⁵⁰² In the following month, James granted permission to the laird of Glenbervie and his wife to uplift the Whitsunday mails from the lands of Glenbervie and Braidwood as they had resigned these lands in order to receive a new infeftment which would not be given in time for them to enjoy the mails.⁵⁰³ Such favourable treatment towards the nearest male agnate of the forfeited earl of Angus belies the commonly accepted view that all of the Douglases suffered severe displacement while James the fifth lived.

For two other Douglas lairds, Hugh Douglas of Borg and William Douglas of Whittingham, there is a paucity of documentary evidence. In 1531, Hugh Douglas received a charter of the lands of Wester Denys which John Tweedy of Drummelzier had given to him,⁵⁰⁴ and was a member of the Edinburgh town council from 1534 until 1537.⁵⁰⁵ Although he was imprisoned in Tantallon and Borthwick Castles in 1537,⁵⁰⁶ he was given a complete remission for his crimes before the end of the year.⁵⁰⁷ In the following year he received from Robert, Abbot of Holyrood, a feu charter of the lands of Little Fawside, which was confirmed by the king.⁵⁰⁸ Thereafter

502. RMS, III, no. 2644; SRO, Ailsa Muniments GD 25/1/424.

503. Laing Charters, Edinburgh University Library, Box I, no. 4.

504. TA, V, p. 397; P.W. Adams, A History of the Douglas Family of Morton in Nithsdale (Dunfriesshire) and Fingland, co. Kirkcudbright (Bedford, 1921), pp. 98-9.

505. Marwick, Extracts, III, pp. 292-4.

506. TA, VI, p. 344.

507. SRO, Register of Privy Seal, XXIII, f. 69.

508. RSS, II, no. 2743; RMS, op. cit., no. 1846.

there is no record of his activities until after the death of James. William Douglas of Whittingham had given assistance to Angus in the autumn of 1528, but had been completely pardoned in April 1529.⁵⁰⁹ There is almost a complete hiatus in his movements until May 1537 when he and his wife received a crown charter of certain lands within the town of Whittingham,⁵¹⁰ but he was summoned to appear before the king in July 1537.⁵¹¹ There is again almost no information on his activities until February 1540/1 when the Lords of Council decided in his favour his dispute which he had with the Master of Hailes over the superiority of the lands of Whittingham.⁵¹² From the available evidence, neither of these lairds suffered unduly from the king's virulent animosity towards Angus.

Among those major Douglas families which enjoyed royal patronage during Angus's exile, that of Lochleven was pre-eminent. This was in no small measure due to the fact that Margaret Erskine, the wife of Robert Douglas of Lochleven, had been the favourite mistress of the king. This liaison appears to have begun about 1532 when she was given the farms of various lands in Perthshire.⁵¹³ The king's attachment for her increased to such a degree that in 1536 it was commonly believed that he had married her.⁵¹⁴ During part of the time in which the affair was in full bloom, the laird of Lochleven had been sent to England (in February 1533/4),⁵¹⁵ but James's awareness that his marriage to Margaret Erskine would be impolitic

509. *Op. cit.*, no. 30.

510. *Ibid.*, no. 2248; *RMS*, *op. cit.*, no. 1661.

511. *TA*, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

512. *ADC et Sess*, VII, f. 73; XIV, ff. 198-9; XV, ff. 162-3.

513. *Exch. Rolls*, XVI, p. 545.

514. *LFH*, X, nos. 728, 862, 1069; *CSP Span.*, V, Pt. II, no. 96, p. 244.

515. *ADCP*, p. 416.

prompted him to end the liaison. However, royal patronage remained open to Lochleven. In November 1535 and March 1535/6 he was granted the teind sheaves of the churches of Kynnistoun, Urwell, and Brauchlie in the diocese of St. Andrews;⁵¹⁶ in January 1537/8 he was appointed bailie of the lands and baronies of Bishopschyre and Mukartshire by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews,⁵¹⁷ in August 1539 he received the gift of the ward of the lands of Barleoch, Quhoillfad, and Hydstanis in the barony of Cragy in Ayrshire, and the lands of Fossoquhy in Perthshire.⁵¹⁸ His wife, Margaret Erskine, received £666, 13s. 4d. in 1539 from the king.⁵¹⁹

The regard which Robert Douglas of Lochleven enjoyed with his sovereign was evident from the fact that James granted the earldom of Morton to him on 17 October 1540 after the earl had resigned his comitatus.⁵²⁰ Because of his agnatic relationship to the earl of Morton, Robert Douglas of Lochleven undoubtedly hoped to retain the lands of the earldom, but he, in turn, resigned the earldom into the king's hands on 20 January 1540/41.⁵²¹ Only the baony of Aberdour was kept by Lochleven, and in March 1540/41 he promised James that he would resign this if he were given the barony of Tullicultry in Perthshire in exchange.⁵²² Although Lochleven was to claim after the death of James that he had been forced to resign the earldom of Morton, and the king's treatment of the earl of Morton confirms the veracity of that claim, he continued to enjoy James's favour until the end of the reign. In March 1540/41, Lochleven was given the gift of all of the mails and nonentries of all of his estates and was confirmed in

516. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/1729, 1730.

517. Ibid., GD 150/959.

518. RSS, II, nos. 3105, 3187.

519. TA, VII, p. 251.

520. RMS, III, no. 2213; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/9/290.

521. Ibid., GD 150/9/293; Morton Registrum, II, pp. 270-3.

522. Op. cit., GD 150/10/295.

his office of sheriff of Kinross,⁵²³ and in August 1541 sasined his entire patrimony was given to his son William Douglas.⁵²⁴ The case of Robert Douglas of Lochleven, however, is exceptional because of his wife's relations with James. Lochleven's family were cadets of the house of Morton and, apart from a common cognomen, had virtually almost no consanguineous ties with the earl of Angus.

James the fifth's policy towards the lairds of Parkhead, Drumlanrig and the earl of Morton did not differ noticeably from that of other Douglas families until almost the end of his reign. Only the laird of Parkhead was suspected of complicity with the plots of Lady Glamis and by July 1537 he was in exile.

James Douglas of Drumlanrig was Angus's brother-in-law and had been appointed Master of the Wine Cellar when that nobleman was virtual regent of the realm. His close association with the rebel earl caused James to regard him with suspicion and he was a prisoner in 1529 and in 1530.⁵²⁵ By August 1530, Drumlanrig had been restored to his position as a freeholder of the realm as he was allowed to act as surety on behalf of Lord Somerville.⁵²⁶ He also received the gift of the ward of Heirs of Mr Duncan McKee of Larg and of the escheated goods of Thomas Ferguson in Cragdarrach.⁵²⁷ However, Drumlanrig's bellicosity towards various lairds in Dumfriesshire caused him to be placed in ward again by August 1531⁵²⁸ although his rights as superior of his lands were protected by

523. RSS, II, no. 3949.

524. SRO, Protocol Book of John Feyrn, NP 1/168, ff. 106-9.

525. Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, p. 142*; ADCP, p. 328.

526. Ibid., p. 334.

527. HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Part VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle, no. 15, p. 15.

528. RSS, II, nos. 718, 722.

royal intervention.⁵²⁹ Before the end of November he was once again free from ward⁵³⁰ and thereafter his rise was rapid. Drumlanrig received the goods of the rebel William Johnstoun of Knokuscherene in 1532;⁵³¹ he obtained for his tenants and himself exemption from the jurisdiction of Ninian Crichton of Bellibocht, sheriff deput of Dumfries, with whom he was engaged in a feud;⁵³² he was among those noblemen who accompanied the king to France in 1536;⁵³³ he received a gift of the nonentries and mails of the lands and barony of Drumlanrig since the death of his father⁵³⁴ and in April 1538 the council decided in his favour a long-standing dispute which he had with Robert Scott of Howpaslet over certain lands within the barony of Hawick in Roxburghshire.⁵³⁵ James Douglas of Drumlanrig was also a member of the assise which convicted Sir James Hamilton of Finnart.⁵³⁶ As Finnart was convicted for the crime of treasonably assisting and conspiring with the earl of Angus, who had been Drumlanrig's brother-in-law, the king must have believed that James Douglas had no sense of family commitment to the exiles and he was not in any difficulty during the Glamis affair. When Drumlanrig was in exile in England (before the end of April 1541)⁵³⁷ he claimed that his exile had been brought about with the connivance of the king so as to enable him to murder the rebel earl.⁵³⁸ This is, in fact, scarcely credible. As a fellow exile, it would suit Drumlanrig's purpose to pose as a friend of Angus and George Douglas, and in the turmoil of the minority of Queen

529. ADC, XLIII, f. 43.

530. Ibid., f. 93.

531. TA, VI, p. 6.

532. ADC et Sess, II, ff. 182-3.

533. SFH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCV, pp. 59-60.

534. RSS, op. cit., no. 2209; HMC, op. cit., nos. 16, 17, p. 15.

535. ADC et Sess, X, f. 41.

536. APS, II, p. 362.

537. On 27 April 1541, Mr David Balfour was sent to Drumlanrig to compile an inventory of Drumlanrig's goods. TA, VIII, pp. 72-3.

538. HP, I, no. 68, p. 72.

Mary, he did so with great enthusiasm, but from the evidence it is quite clear that he enjoyed favour up until two months before his exile, which was the direct result of his complicity in the murder of Mr Henry Sinclair, Parson of Kirkbride.⁵³⁹

James Douglas, Earl of Morton, and his wife, Katherine Stewart, had enjoyed the favour of the king despite the earl's support for Angus's "regency." Yet his commitment to the "regent" was not strong enough to anger James. Indeed, in the summer of 1528, when Angus was in disgrace, the king granted permission to Morton to contract his daughter in marriage to the Master of Maxwell,⁵⁴⁰ and the comptroller discharged the earl ^{for} from the mails owed for the barony of Buittle.⁵⁴¹ Throughout the autumn of 1528 while Angus was engaged in full-scale revolt against the king, Morton appears to have resided on his estates without hindrance.⁵⁴² In the following year, the earl was given permission to remain from all royal hosts because of his physical infirmities,⁵⁴³ and Lord Maxwell was forbidden to interfere with the lands and rents of the barony of Buittle in Galloway as Morton held them in feu.⁵⁴⁴ In January 1528/9, the Earl and Countess of Morton received a new tack of the lands and barony of Buittle for which they paid rents in December 1529, August 1530 and December 1531.⁵⁴⁵ In 1532 Morton's daughter Margaret Douglas married the Earl of Arran but the support of the powerful Hamilton family does not appear to have been exerted noticeably in favour of the earl.

539. RSS, II, nos. 3963, 4121.

540. Morton Registrum, I, p. 1.

541. Morton Papers, National Library of Scotland, MS. 75, no. 17, f. 5.

542. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150, Box 24, no. 597.

543. Morton Registrum, op. cit., no. 4, p. 3.

544. SRO, Carlops and Abbotskerse Muniments GD 65/1/1.

545. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150, no. 1542.

It was in 1532, in fact, that the relations between James the fifth and Morton underwent a perceptible change. The king ordered Morton to keep his promise to Lord Fleming to alienate some of his lands to that nobleman, and informed the earl that he would be compelled to do so.⁵⁴⁶ Under royal pressure, Morton finally complied and in July 1535 he alienated his barony of Kilbucho in Peebleshire to Lord Fleming under the reversion of 4,000 merks.⁵⁴⁷ To ensure the legality of this transaction the prohibition which had been placed upon Morton from alienating his lands was relaxed.⁵⁴⁸

In February 1532/3 James the fifth annulled the charter which he had made to Morton of the barony of Buittle as this had been made in his minority and to his disadvantage.⁵⁴⁹ During the following two years, the earl was involved in disputes with his vassals John Tweedy of Drummelziar and William Elphinstone of Selmes. In the case involving Drummelziar the council showed extreme reluctance to decide the issue,⁵⁵⁰ while the laird of Selmes obtained conciliar approval to his infeftment into his estates in spite of Morton's protests.⁵⁵¹

Although Morton and his wife were not involved in the general suspicion displayed towards many Douglasses at the time of the trial of Lady Glamis, James embarked upon a deliberate policy of repression towards them by April 1538. He summoned the earl to pay the nonentries of the barony of Aberdour⁵⁵² and when Morton protested that as his wife had

546. Morton Registrum, op. cit., no. 5, pp. 3-4.

547. Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 498, 499, pp. 63-4.

548. ADC et Sess, I, f. 330.

549. Ibid., II, f. 101; Selected Cases from the Acta Dominorum Concilii et sessionis: from 27 May 1532, the Inception of the Court, to 5 July 1533, ed. Ian Shearer. Stair Society, vol. 14 (Edinburgh, 1951), pp. 6-7. Cited hereafter as Acta Sessionis.

550. Op. cit., ff. 138-9; Acta Sessionis, pp. 139-41.

551. ADC et Sess, V, f. 194.

552. TA, VI, pp. 407, 431.

received infertment of the barony she should be also called, his objections were over-ruled and the king's suit was allowed to stand.⁵⁵³ The costs of the litigation in this lawsuit were so expensive that the earl was forced to alienate his lands of Caldorhall in the barony of Caldorclere to Sir James Sandilands of Calder⁵⁵⁴ and the case will still unsettled in March 1538/9.⁵⁵⁵ On 17 October 1540, Morton resigned his entire earldom and all his possessions into the hands of the king,⁵⁵⁶ who then granted the estates to the heir male of the earl, the laird of Lochleven.⁵⁵⁷ We could excuse James of being guided solely by cupidity in the extraordinary proceeding were it not for the fact that, having received the huge sum of 4,000 merks from Robert Douglas of Lochleven for the grant of the lands of the earldom, he forced Lochleven to resign the earldom in the following January.⁵⁵⁸ It is significant, in fact, that the earldom of Morton came into the actual possession of the king shortly after almost all of the estates of the former earl of Angus had been annexed to the royal demesne. It is not unlikely that, had James lived longer, ~~that~~ this would have been the fate of the earldom of Morton as well. Perhaps James believed that the Douglasses were the hereditary enemies of the royal house and had to be annihilated. His vindictiveness towards a physically infirm and retiring man, the earl of Morton, was unwarranted. It is true that on 21 October 1541 James the fifth granted the gift of the

553. Op. cit., X, f. 131.

554. SRO, Torphichen Writs GD 119/196.

555. Op. cit., XI, f. 215.

556. Morton Registrum, II, no. 245, pp. 261-4.

557. Ibid., nos. 246, 247, pp. 264-7.

558. Ibid., no. 252, pp. 271-2. However, Lochleven reserved the rights he and his heirs had to the earldom from his resignation. Ibid., no. 253, pp. 272-3.

marriage of the Master of Home to Morton,⁵⁵⁹ but this was done only after the earl, on 13 September 1541, made the king his assignee to the reversions to the lands of Cowthroppill, Over Lowdown, the barony of Kilbotho, Caldorhall, Meklehop, Flemyntounwod, Langtoun, Bordland, Wester Balbartane, Mordington, Drumkork, Brumerig, Easter Balbartane, Brakanura, one half of Cowden, Baldanisgill, Harleymure, Eschellis, Spittleholme and Calsayend, all of which pertained to the earldom.⁵⁶⁰ Even this did not mollify the king, who in October 1542, revoked his gift of the marriage of the Master of Home which he had made to Morton.⁵⁶¹ Thus, at the time of James's death, the earl of Morton was completely dispossessed.

The hostility of the king towards various members of the leading Douglas families of the realm had been generally thought to stem from his inveterate hatred of Angus and George Douglas. This was not a settled policy, however, nor was it used against Douglasses en bloc. The treatment of close relatives of the exiles, such as Isobel Hopper and her son Andrew Murray of Blackbarony, as well as the lairds of Cavers, Bonjedburgh, Borg, Lochleve, Glenbervie, Whittingham, Parkhead (until 1537), the earl of Morton (until 1532), and Drumlanrig (until 1540), quite clearly indicate that James was not an inveterate enemy to the Douglasses. However, in 1537 there occurred a remarkable change. In the first few days of July, James Douglas of Parkhead, Simon Penango, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, Hugh Douglas of Borg, and William Douglas of Whittingham were all summoned to appear before the king, presumably because of their consanguinity to Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis. The vindictiveness which James displayed towards that noblewoman, coupled with his renewed determination to root

559. RSS, II, no. 4265.

560. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/10/296.

561. *Op. cit.*, no. 4909.

out all who would support the return of Angus and George Douglas to Scotland marked a new period of repression towards ~~kinsmen~~ of the exiles. The Glamis conspiracy touched off what was almost a "crisis of confidence" in the Scottish king.

After the passage of four hundred years, the crimes of Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis, remain an enigma. Her trial and execution aroused partisan feeling among her contemporaries which has been reflected by later historians. George Buchanan believed that she had been done to death because of her kinship to Angus⁵⁶² while two other contemporary accounts record simply that she was brought to Edinburgh in the summer of 1537, was convicted of conspiring to murder the king, and was burned to death for her treason.⁵⁶³ An English official, Sir Thomas Clifford, who was a friend of Angus's, wrote that on 14 July 1537, "The Master of Forboose...was attainted of treason for matters of which he declared at his death he was 'sacheless'. How be it, he was the same day drawn hedyt and quartered in Edingburgh... on Tewsdays next folowinge, the Lady Glams (sic), suster to thErll of Angwish was brynt in Edinburgh, for Treason layd unto hir charge against the Kinges person; as I can perceyve, without any substanciall ground or proyf of mattir."⁵⁶⁴

The question of the guilt or innocence of Lady Glamis in conspiring James's death by means of poison has divided modern Scottish historians since Mr Patrick Tytler attempted to prove conclusively that she was

562. Buchanan, History, II, pp. 316-7.

563. Lesley, History, p. 154; Diurnal, p. 72.

564. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCXLIII, p. 95; Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, p. 198*.

guilty and had deserved her fate.⁵⁶⁵ The fact that she was burned to death, which the common law provided for in the case of a woman convicted of treason, had led to erroneous assumptions that she was executed for witchcraft. Any attempt to understand either the guilt or innocence of Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis must take into account her activities after the forfeiture of her brothers.

On 2 September 1528, only three days before Angus's forfeiture was legalised, Lady Glamis appeared before the Lords of Council and appointed Mr James Foulis, Mr Robert Galbraith, Mr James Carmer, Mr John Lotham and William Drummond, most of whom were Edinburgh lawyers, as her procurators in all future actions in which she would be involved.⁵⁶⁶ This was a precautionary measure as she was well aware that the Parliament which had just convened had been called in order to formalise the proscription of Angus which the king desired. However, she did not appear before Parliament and three months later was summoned, along with John Home of Blackadder, Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, and Patrick Charteris of Cuthilgurdy to compare before the Three Estates to answer the charge of coming to Edinburgh in the last week of the preceding May to assist Angus to attack the king.⁵⁶⁷

565. Patrick F. Tytler, History of Scotland from the Accession of Alexander III to 1603, 3rd edition (Edinburgh, 1845), IV, Letter C, pp. 447-51. Mr Hume Brown agreed with Tytler: P. Hume Brown, A History of Scotland (Cambridge, 1911), I, p. 385, while Mr Hill Burton believed in Janet Douglas's innocence: J. Hill Burton, The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection (Edinburgh 1874), III, p. 169. Mr Andrew Lang remained uncommitted but presented both sides of the controversy: Lang, History, I, pp. 443-4. For a spirited defence of Lady Glamis's innocence, cf. Sir Herbert Maxwell, "The Calendar of Scottish Crime," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, CLXII (October, 1897), pp. 517-20.

566. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 161.

567. APS, II, p. 330.

She was summoned once again to appear before Parliament to answer this charge on 18 January 1528/9, but the accusation had been dropped by the end of the month.⁵⁶⁸

Although the wardship of her son, Lord Glamis, had been given to the earl of Rothes,⁵⁶⁹ she was able to appear before the council in August 1529 and had her right of possession to the castles of Baly and Kinghorn and the teind sheaves of the church of Glamis recognised.⁵⁷⁰

In the following month Lady Glamis and Patrick Charteris of Cuthilgurdy were given special licence to go on pilgrimages into any country except England and the tenants and servants of both were placed under royal protection.⁵⁷¹

Lady Glamis did not, it appears, make immediate use of her licence, as on 9 October 1529 she appeared before the council and began a lawsuit against John Lyon of Knockany for intruding with moveable goods which pertained to her children.⁵⁷²

She was still in Scotland in March 1529/30 and April 1530 when she was involved in disputes with the earl of Rothes and John Lyon of Knockany over the possession of property which belonged to her son.⁵⁷³

As there is no mention of her whereabouts for over a year, it is likely that she went into England and for this crime was outlawed in 1531.⁵⁷⁴

During the same year in which she was in England, respites were granted to Roger, Alexander, John Charteris, and James Aikman for their assistance to Angus, as they promised to prove certain crimes against Lady Glamis. All of these individuals, except Aikman, were among those who had been granted protection when Lady Glamis had been given licence to leave

568. *Ibid.*, p. 331.

569. *TA*, V, p. 464.

570. *ADC*, XL, ff. 102, 106.

571. *RSS*, II, no. 334.

572. *Op. cit.*, ff. 119-21, 129.

573. *Ibid.*, XLI, ff. 38-9, 51, 56.

574. *RSS*, *op. cit.*, no. 951.

Scotland.⁵⁷⁵ They were servants of Lady Glamis and perhaps they had accompanied her on her journey into England. The crime which was levelled against her was not that of giving assistance to her brothers but of poisoning her husband.

It is certain that Lady Glamis had aroused the king's ire for although the first crime of which she was accused, that of aiding her brother is entirely possible - and, indeed, probable - the second, that of poisoning her husband appears to be extremely dubious. The aim of the king seems to have been to obtain a conviction which would permit the execution of Janet Douglas. How she was a threat to James is not apparent, especially as she was rarely in Edinburgh and never attended the court. Her disobedience in visiting her brothers in England perhaps formulated in James's mind the idea that she was an agent of the detested Angus and as such should be punished. However, when she was tried before an assise, many lairds refused to appear.⁵⁷⁶ In January 1531/2, John Drummond of Inverpeffer her near cognatic kinsman, became surety that Lady Glamis would appear again before an assise to answer the charge that she had poisoned her husband. At this second trial she was acquitted.⁵⁷⁷ While she was being tried for murder, her son, Lord Glamis, was judged by the Lords of Council to pay to the Abbot of Jedburgh rents which were due from the baronies of Tannades and Glamis for the previous fourteen years.⁵⁷⁸

575. Ibid., no. 334.

576. Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, p. 157*.

577. Ibid., p. 185. Among those lairds who refused to appear on the assise to convict Lady Glamis were the lairds of Lawis, Moncreiff, Kelle and Ballumbie, who were vassals of the forfeited Angus while Alexander Drummond of Carnock had assisted the earl and suffered proscription as well.

578. ADC et Sess, I, ff. 68-9.

The harassment of Janet Douglas, Lady Glamis by James the fifth appears to have ceased abruptly after her marriage, prior to the summer of 1532, to Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, the great-uncle of the powerful earl of Argyll.⁵⁷⁹ Lady Glamis and her second husband resided upon the estates of Lord Glamis until their imprisonment in Edinburgh in 1537. She gave the lands of Drumgleis to John Charteris of Cuthilgurdy, the brother and successor of her old associate, Patrick Charteris. In July 1532, Lady Glamis and Archibald Campbell instituted proceedings before the council against John Charteris, which were still unresolved at the time of her death. The cause of the dispute was that the lands of Drumgleis had been given to John Charteris in return for the service which was due by custom from the lands. John Charteris, however, had been sent into France on the king's business and could not render the necessary services. Lady Glamis claimed that as John Charteris did not fulfil his obligations the lease of her lands to him was nullified. The case appeared before the council in December 1532, February 1532/3, April 1535 and June and July 1536.⁵⁸⁰ James the fifth intervened directly in the dispute in July 1536 and ordered the council not to proceed in the case as John Charteris was in France at his express command, but the council ignored this request and decreed that John Charteris was not entitled to enjoy the profits of these estates while he was in France.⁵⁸¹

What is clear from the available evidence is that Lady Glamis and her husband were peacefully living upon their estates and that they were

579. *Ibid.*, ff. 203-4; Scots Peerage, I, p. 336.

580. ADC et Sess, II, ff. 32, 49, 70-1, 136; VI, f. 107; VIII, ff. 54, 113.

581. *Ibid.*, VIII, ff. 141-2.

under no suspicion of plotting against the king. Indeed, in August 1536, a special protection was granted to the kinsmen and servants of the earl of Argyll who was going on an embassy to France, and among those included was Archibald Campbell of Skipnish.⁵⁸² The suddenness of the charge against Lady Glamis of conspiracy is proven by a mandate to the Sheriff of Forfar by James the fifth only one month before her trial and execution. On 7 June 1537, the king directed the sheriff that he should compel John Lyon in Knokcany, who had been given the third of the mains of Glamis in assedation by her, to pay Lady Glamis the mails due to her. James ordered the sheriff to administer justice in the matter without delay.⁵⁸³ Yet one month later Lady Glamis and John Lyon of Knokcany were executed for treason.⁵⁸⁴ At the same time, her son-in-law, the Master of Forbes was executed for attempting to kill the king when he came to Aberdeen.

As the trial proceedings against Lady Glamis and the Master of Forbes have not survived, it is impossible to state categorically whether they were innocent or guilty. However, the suddenness with which Lady Glamis her husband, son, son-in-law were arrested and in the case of the two principals, tried and executed suggests that there was another factor present in the uncompromising severity which James displayed towards the "culprits". Queen Madelaine died on 7 July; the Master of Forbes was executed on 14 July and Lady Glamis on 17 July. James was, it appears from contemporary accounts, distraught over his wife's death and there is a hint that perhaps the king believed that Lady Glamis's plots had some

582. RSS, II, no. 2152.

583. Argyll Muniments, Inverary Castle, Portfolio 4.

584. Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, pp. 190-1, 202-3.

connection with Madeleine's death. In the most contemporary account there is a formulation of this idea, which must have been current in Scotland at the time:

"About the nativitie of Sant Iohn lurkand perdycyon aganys the Kyng wes propalit quhow the lady (of Glamys: deleted) and hir complices ordand to destroy the Kyng (be pusoun: deleted) and his wife deid soon aftir... Son efter be a sy... wes condemnit to deid the foirsaid lady glamys with her gud son maister of... for the sam cryme quhilk befoir trasonabley and ondir trowys murdyrist the gentil lard of maldrum and divers othiris gentilmen of the leslies cruellie wes hedit and quartyrie quhilkis wes put in divers placis. Sche wes brynt. Hir son wes condemnit to deid bot yet he bydis the kyngis wil. Her husband Archbald cambel put in ward passand ovr the castal wel of hedynbrouch he fel and deid suddanly."⁵⁸⁵

The connection between the supposed plots of the Master of Forbes and Lady Glamis seems probable. The fact that John Lyon of Knockany, who had been at loggerheads with Lady Glamis only a month before her trial, was executed as an accomplice; that the Master of Forbes's plot was revealed by John Strathauchin, fiar of Lenturk, and Mr David Strathauchin who, seven months before, had been involved in a bitter dispute with Lord Forbes over the possession of certain lands in Aberdeenshire;⁵⁸⁶ and the reference to the Master of Forbes's involvement with the death of Alexander Seton, of Meldrum, indicates that the past crimes or supposed crimes of the accused would weigh heavily against them. As Lady Glamis never

585. Abell MS., f. 126. The underlining is my own.

586. Prot. Bk. Cristisone, nos. 234, 235, 239, 241, pp. 54-6.

frequented the Scottish capital and James rarely went to Aberdeen, we may wonder how the accused intended to execute their supposed devious plans. On balance, the validity of the charges which were levelled against Lady Glamis and the Master of Forbes appears to be unfounded. But James the fifth, perhaps convinced of the truth of the accusations lodged against them by the recent death of his much loved wife, was in no mood to be conciliatory.

In the argument which was expounded by Mr Tytler against the innocence of Lady Glamis and the Master of Forbes, he placed great emphasis on the fact that several close relatives of both the accused were present upon the juries which found them guilty - the earl of Atholl, who had married the sister of the Master of Forbes, Lord Maxwell, who had married the daughter of the laird of Drumlanrig, and the Master of Glencairn who was a first cousin of Lady Glamis.⁵⁸⁷ A comparison of the membership of the two assises reveals that four individuals were common to both: Lord Maxwell, William Master of Glencairn, John Melville of Raith, and John Home of Coldenknowes. Although the Master of Glencairn was closely related to Lady Glamis and Lord Maxwell's wife was the daughter of the late laird of Drumlanrig, neither had any particular reason to remember Angus or his family with fondness as the former had been deprived of the treasurership of Scotland by the exiled earl while Lord Maxwell had resented Angus's interference in border affairs. In the assise which convicted the Master of Forbes, the majority were lairds who came from either the Mearns or Aberdeenshire and of these, four were Leslies whose kin group had been

587. Tytler, op. cit., IV, p. 450.

engaged in a feud with the Forbesees since 1525 and this was still unsettled in 1540.⁵⁸⁸ In the assise which passed judgment on Lady Glamis, there was not one freeholder from Forfar which was most unusual as it was customary for an individual accused of serious crimes to be tried by the freeholders of the shire in which he was resident. Only three members of her assise resided north of the Mounth: the laird of Mathers, the earl of Atholl and the earl of Buchan. All of the other members came from the south eastern and south western regions of the country. The earl of Atholl (who did not marry into the Forbes family until after the trial)⁵⁸⁹ and the earl of Buchan were closely related to James; Lord Scuple's son had been given the office of keeper of Douglas Castle; and the Tutor of Bombie would not have forgotten that his brother's murderers had been pardoned by Angus.⁵⁹⁰ James the fifth had followed a deliberate policy to choose individuals who had grievances either against the defendants themselves or against their relatives. Acquittal for Lady Glamis and the Master of Forbes was neither planned for nor desired by the king.

The execution of Lady Glamis and her son-in-law, the Master of Forbes, marked the beginning of a new policy by James of escalating hostility towards any who, by ties of kinship or personal inclination, were suspected of supporting the return of Angus and George Douglas from England. His vindictiveness towards other Douglases at this time and the earl of Morton later

588. ADC, XXXV, f. 39; ADC et Sess, XIII, ff. 108. Cf. Charles Leslie, Records of the Family of Leslie from 1067 to 1868-9 (Edinburgh, 1869), II, pp. 17-8; A. Taylor, The House of Forbes, Third Spalding Club (Aberdeen, 1937), p. 67.

589. Scots Peerage, I, p. 443.

590. Cf. the lists of the members of the assises given in Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. I, pp. 184, 190*.

undoubtedly increased the fear in which the King was held by members of that King group and it was not Angus and George Douglas alone who were relieved when they heard of James's death.

Chapter IX

Restoration

The Setland to which Angus and George Douglas returned was a country torn by civil dissension and discord. The death of James the fifth, unexpected and unlooked-for, threw the nation into turmoil. The close adviser to the late king, Cardinal David Beaton, attempted to acquire the position of determining who should govern the realm in the name of the infant queen. So persuasive was he, in fact, that many vassals and kinsmen of the exiled earl of Angus refused to communicate with the Douglasses.¹ Although the return of Angus and George Douglas was not an immediate concomitant of the death of James (they were not back in the kingdom until the middle of January 1542/3)² their return was inevitable.

The death of the King of Scots coupled with the fact that his heir was a daughter was viewed by Henry the eighth as almost an act of Divine Providence. He began almost at once to formulate his "godly purpose" for the unification of the two British kingdoms by means of the marriage of the Prince of Wales to the infant Queen of Scots. As a mark of his good will, Henry permitted the prisoners of Solway Moss to return to Scotland almost immediately after James's death, though not without extracting from them solemn promises to do "good service" for him.³ The formation of an English faction among the Scottish aristocracy was noted by the imperial ambassador who believed that "even if there is no bribing, it is thought that out of envy or jealousy some dissension

1. LPH, XVIII, I, no. 4; HP, I, no. 268, p. 352.

2. CSP Span., VI, II, no. 94, p. 228.

3. Ibid., no. 90, p. 193.

or other will spring up among them, and that the minority will look for assistance from this country."⁴ Cardinal Beaton had acted swiftly to place constraint upon those nobles who had been captured at Solway Moss by arresting their nearest relatives and, it was rumoured, had declared ~~them~~ traitors.⁵ From the very outset of the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, the Scottish Cardinal made it quite clear that he was opposed to the domination of Scotland by Tudor England.

Of the Scottish nobles who returned to their country in January 1542/3, none were more anxious to do so than Angus and George Douglas. Angus and his brother realised that in order to facilitate their return it was necessary to commit themselves to following a policy which mirrored that of Henry. Their association with the ambitious Tudor monarch caused many of their fellow countrymen to regard them with suspicion and has led to their great disrepute in the eyes of later Scottish historians. What has escaped general notice, however, is that the policy which Angus and George Douglas pursued was based upon the simple principle of preservation. They were determined to regain control of their estates and they were equally determined never to experience exile or forfeiture again. It is a mark of their singlemindedness that they were successful in both their aims. Although a few important Scotsmen, such as the Cardinal and the earl of Argyll,⁶ were opposed to Angus's return, the exigency of the situation confronting Scotland in the months following James the fifth's death would not permit the indefinite exile of the Douglasses. It was rumoured that James had, on his deathbed, forgiven Angus and asked

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., no. 94, p. 228.

6. LPH, op. cit., no. 7(ii).

that he be recalled,⁷ but whether the king actually did so or not was unimportant. Henry the eighth was in a position to make demands upon the Scots and he would have insisted that Angus and George Douglas be allowed to return to their former country. Although opposition to the return of Angus and his brother was intense,⁸ the position of favour which the Douglasses enjoyed with the English king would become one of the utmost importance in negotiating a peace settlement which would still leave intact the political structure of the Scottish State.

The general consensus among Scottish historians of the political behaviour of Angus and George Douglas from 1543 until the battle of Pinkie Cleuch has been one of extreme reprobation. They have been portrayed as mere puppets, willing agents of Henry the eighth, quite prepared to see their country become a mere appendage of the Tudor kingdom. But the situation which confronted them in 1543 necessitated their co-operation with the English if they were to return to Scotland. In fact, Angus, Bothwell, Cassillis, Marischal, Fleming, Gray, Somerville, the Master of Erskine, and Oliver Sinclair signed articles which not only pledged their support for the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Prince of Wales but also for the accession of Henry to the Scottish throne if the infant queen died without issue.⁹ Angus and his brother had renounced their allegiance to James the fifth in 1533 but they had done this because of their continued exile. Neither they nor many English administrators had forgotten that they were Scotsmen. Angus's and his brother's support of Henry's policies gave them an invaluable ally in

7. HP, op. cit., no. 263, p. 345.

8. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCX, p. 237.

9. HP, op. cit., no. 276, p. 368.

1543, whose influence forced the other members of the Scottish aristocracy to acquiesce in their return. The advice and intelligence given to the English government by George Douglas mollified Henry's belligerence enough to give the Scots valuable time to recoup their losses and to increase their strength. In this, George Douglas was as much a Scottish patriot as his political opponent, Cardinal Beaton.

When James Douglas of Drumlanrig returned to Scotland in early January 1542/3 he obtained possession of his estates without difficulty and informed Angus and his brother that they, too, could enter the northern kingdom.¹⁰ The change in the political situation in Scotland caused by the removal of the earls of Argyll, Huntly and Moray as associate regents with the heir-presumptive, Arran, influenced Henry the eighth to decide upon preparing for a full-scale invasion of the northern kingdom which was to be led by Angus.¹¹ In this, however, he was deterred by the persuasions of the exiled magnate and other Scots who warned Henry that such a warlike policy would drive the Scots into one of stubborn resistance. Indeed, it was essential for Angus that he did not enter Scotland as the commander of an English army. If his restoration were due solely to English military intervention, then its duration would be dependant entirely upon Henry's continuing assistance. This situation was one which Angus and George Douglas studiously avoided. Angus entered into an agreement with Bothwell, Cassillis, Glencairn, Lords Fleming, Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant and the Master of Erskine (many of whom had previously been bitter opponents to the Douglasses) to deliver Scotland's chief fortresses if Henry would promise to forego his intention of direct military intervention.¹²

10. Ibid., no. 272, pp. 357-8; LFH, op. cit., no. 12.

11. Ibid., no. 19; op. cit., no. 275, p. 363.

12. HP, ibid., no. 277, pp. 376-7; LFH, op. cit., no. 37 (ii); Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 234-6.

The English king, sufficiently appeased, agreed to this and George Douglas left for Scotland in mid January 1542/3 promising "with God's help (to) do my Sovereign Lord and Master good service."¹³ In the final arrangements to shelve the plan for an immediate invasion of Scotland. Angus had played a vital role. He had repeatedly stressed to the English the inadvisability of sending troops with the returning Scottish nobles. The earl's warning had been heeded and when he returned to Scotland he was received enthusiastically by his supporters.¹⁴

Even before Angus's arrival into Scotland, a struggle for power had begun between the foremost ecclesiastic of the realm, Cardinal Beaton, and the nearest male agnate to the queen, the earl of Arran. Beaton claimed that the wish of James the fifth had been that a council of regents, of whom he was one, was to govern the realm while Arran insisted that he alone should be regent.¹⁵ In point of fact, the belief that the King of Scots had appointed a board of governors was widespread;¹⁶ it was not until the following April that the Cardinal was accused by Arran of forging a will supposedly made by James and the charge once made was withdrawn almost immediately.¹⁷ The accusation against the Cardinal was made while Arran was resolved to impress the English emissary, Sir Ralph Sadler, of his willingness to further English hopes of a new alliance

13. LPH, op. cit., no. 32.

14. Ibid., no. 58; SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCXIV, pp. 244-5; HP, op. cit., no. 284, pp. 385-6.

15. Andrew Lang, "The Cardinal and the King's will," Scottish Historical Review, III (April 1906), p. 412.

16. CSP Span., VI, IIm no. 97, p. 235.

17. Lang, op. cit., pp. 411-2.

between the two countries. The disagreement between the Cardinal and Arran was of short duration for Beaton became an ally of his kinsman. He advised the new Governor not to allow Angus and George Douglas to return to Scotland as Douglas had "come for no goode to the realme of Skotland, and he and his brother hadde byn solong nourished in England that they wolde never be profitable for their owne country."¹⁸ The earls of Argyll and Moray both supported the Cardinal in the latter's opposition to the return of the exiles but their motivation for this was economic rather than patriotic. Argyll possessed Angus's rich regality of Abernethy while Moray possessed the estates of the Douglasses of Pittendreich and they realised that the return of Angus and his brother would terminate their control of these estates. But control of events was not within the power of David Beaton and when the Douglasses returned, he was publicly reconciled to them.¹⁹ The Scottish council, under the influence of Arran, quashed the cardinal's proposal of allowing Angus's restoration only upon certain stringent conditions.²⁰ The first step towards the formal revocation of Angus's forfeiture had begun.

The political situation which existed in Scotland in the beginning of 1542/3 was an extremely fluid one. Before the death of James the fifth, Scottish politics had been polarised between those who were for the king (i.e. his subjects) and those who were in rebellion against him. His death left a political vacuum in which several individuals attempted to assert political control: Arran, Cardinal Beaton and Mary of Guise. Into this shadowy world of undelineated political parties and continual

18. LPH, op. cit., no. 64; HP, op. cit., no. 285, p. 388.

19. Op. cit., no. 59.

20. HP, *ibid.*

volte-face stepped George Douglas of Pittendreich who showed himself a consummate, if unscrupulous, politician. He enjoyed a unique position because on the one hand, he was a Scot who had many personal ties with several influential members of Scotland's nobility while on the other, he was one of the few Scottish aristocrats trusted by Henry the eighth. In the negotiations which commenced between England and Scotland in January 1542/3, he played a crucial role. Arran, who claimed that the Cardinal was determined to prevent a new Anglo-Scottish entente and to stir up old feelings of family feud between the houses of Hamilton and Douglas,²¹ realised that the support of George Douglas and Angus would be essential if he were to curb Beaton's influence. The Governor's intentions were not unwelcomed by Angus and his brother who were well aware that Beaton had opposed their return from England. In late January George Douglas wrote, to Lord Lisle, that the Cardinal would be imprisoned and that the Scottish church reformed if Arran could have assurances that no invasion by the English would occur.²² On 28 January, Cardinal Beaton was imprisoned and Arran appeared to be under the complete influence of Angus.²³ The ties between the chief beneficiary of this political upheaval, Arran, and his principal assistant, George Douglas, were strengthened by a marriage alliance between a sister of the countess of Arran to Douglas's son.²⁴ Negotiations were begun with the English in earnest and the principal ambassador was George Douglas.²⁵

21. *Ibid.*, no. 285, p. 389.

22. *LPH*, op. cit., no. 81.

23. *Ibid.*, no. 88; *HP*, op. cit., no. 289, p. 397. According to a contemporary Scot, the Cardinal was imprisoned by the counsel of Angus "quh'pais purpois was to destroy the kirkmen and their religion." *Diurnal*, p. 26.

24. *LPH*, op. cit., no. 68; *HP*, op. cit., no. 286, p. 396.

25. *Ibid.*, no. 290, p. 402; op. cit., no. 96.

As chief emissary for the Scots, George Douglas found it expedient to magnify his ability and power to his former protectors. Most historians have accepted George Douglas's role which he played in the events of the time at face value and have assumed that his achievement, however dubious in origin, was considerable. But, in fact, much of what he claimed to have done was mere bombast. For example, in February 1542/3 he informed Suffolk that Henry's plans for Scotland would be accepted by the Scots and that Angus would be given control of Edinburgh Castle.²⁶ George Douglas's appraisal of the situation was completely inaccurate. He knew the national temper of his countrymen and realised that they would never accept Henry's plans for union as formulated to the Scottish prisoners in December 1542, while Angus's control of Edinburgh Castle was out of the question.²⁷ But Henry the eighth and his ministers, dazzled by the prospect of the fulfilment of the centuries-old dream of the Kings of England of uniting the two realms, lost sight of the problems which confronted them. While George Douglas was informing the English monarch that Scotland was at his mercy, such powerful magnates as Argyll, Moray and Huntly were resolute in their opposition to an English alliance and there were rumours that substantial military aid from France^{was} in transit to the northern realm.²⁸ In early February 1542/3, the Governor enjoyed the support of Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, Morton, Marischal, and Lords Fleming, Forbes, Glamis, Gray, Maxwell, Seton and Yester.²⁹

26. Ibid., no. 102.

27. Ibid., no. 104.

28. Ibid., no. 106, HP, op. cit., no. 292, p. 404. The English ambassador in Paris informed Henry that the Duke of Guise was leading a massive expedition to Scotland. LPH, ibid., no. 106.

29. Ibid., no. 129; HP, op. cit., no. 293, p. 406.

Glencairn and Morton were kinsmen of Angus, Glamis and Yester were his nephews, and Maxwell was shortly to become his father-in-law. A more cogent argument for their Anglophilia, however, was the fact that in the preceding month several of them had received substantial bribes from Henry the eighth.³⁰ Argyll, Moray and Huntly were engaged in gathering forces to attempt to capture the infant queen, but extra precautionary measures were taken which prevented this.³¹ On 9 February 1542/3, Henry demonstrated his favour towards the Arran regime by granting a truce for three months to the Scots,³² while his Privy Council wrote to Angus and George Douglas to warn them of the impending arrival of the French-supported magnate, the earl of Lennox; advised them to watch the shifty Bothwell, and to crush Argyll, Huntly and Moray.³³

The existence of nobles who were not only feudal magnates but were also the heads of powerful kin groups in the northern kingdom and who could oppose the central government with impunity was an inherent weakness in Scottish political society which Henry the eighth and his ministers completely overlooked. The English assumed that Arran, as Governor, was in complete control of the kingdom and that their wishes which were conveyed via Angus or his brother would be obeyed. But Arran's authority virtually ended at the Trossachs and south of the Moray Firth until his position as Governor was formally ratified by Parliament in March 1542/3 and Angus's influence was overrated. Suffolk wrote to his associates on the English Privy Council that "the kingis majestie doth thoroughlye

30. LPH, op. cit., no. 436, p. 264.

31. Ibid., no. 124.

32. Ibid., no. 132.

33. Ibid., no. 140; HP, op. cit., no. 295, pp. 409-10.

perceyve the earnest wills and myndes that is in therle of Anguise and his broder to thadvancement of his highness godly purpose," which was indicated by the fact that the earl always took his hat off when Henry's name was mentioned.³⁴ The account of Angus's obsequious behaviour indicates a theatricality which belies its sincerity. Neither the earl nor George Douglas ~~were~~^{was} in a position to adopt a policy of their own choosing until after their formal restitution by the Three Estates of Parliament and their position as trusted allies of England was of capital importance in the spring of 1543 when Scotland was committed to the establishment of a new rapprochement with its hereditary enemy. Indeed, Angus and George Douglas were regarded as the chief instruments of English influence in Scotland.³⁵

The insurgent nobles, Argyll, Huntly, and Moray had attempted to hold a convention at Perth which ended in a fiasco. Arran's request that the Scottish lords who had been captured at Solway Moss be allowed to remain to attend the forthcoming parliament was permitted by the English,³⁶ and his refusal to be intimidated by the rebellious nobles cowed them into submission. Huntly, Moray, and Bothwell personally attended Parliament in March while Argyll sent his procurators.³⁷ At this convention, Arran's position as Governor and as heir presumptive to the Scottish throne was recognised, while the forfeitures of Angus and George Douglas, Lord Glamis and Alexander Drummond of Carnock were formally revoked by the Three Estates. The marriage of Queen Mary to the Prince of Wales was agreed to under conditions which guaranteed the national integrity and

34. Ibid., no. 301, p. 426; LPH, op.cit., no. 161.

35. Ibid., nos. 155, 161.

36. Ibid., no. 204; HP, op. cit., no. 309, p. 438.

37. Op. cit., no. 286; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXXIII, p. 263.

identity of Scotland.³⁸ Henry the eighth was already becoming uneasy about the turn of events in the northern kingdom and sent as an ambassador cum agent provocateur, Sir Ralph Sadler, to the northern capital. However, when Sadler arrived in Edinburgh, the Scottish parliament had been prorogued and he was presented with a *fait accompli*.

The restoration of Angus and George Douglas in March 1542/3 recognised the earl's position as a magnate of the realm and George Douglas's ownership of his estates.³⁹ The political influence of Angus and his brother was further strengthened by the marriage of George's son James Douglas to the heiress of the earldom of Morton who had been granted the earldom under a special reversion and family compact.⁴⁰ The attitude of Angus and George Douglas towards England underwent a subtle change after their restoration. When they had first come back from their exile, Angus and his brother had been firm proponents of Henry's "godly purpose" not merely from personal inclination but also in the hope that their favoured position with the English king would be a further inducement to Arran to support their restoration. When this was accomplished, the Douglasses no longer needed to support the English marriage with quite their original fervour and did not do so. The emphasis of the policy of Angus and George Douglas shifted from one which followed the dictates of the Tudors to one which was primarily concerned with the preservation of the family patrimony. In the tortuous negotiations

38. APS, II, pp. 411-2, 415-9, 422, 593-4; LPH, op. cit., no. 271; HP, op. cit., no. 330, pp. 462-6.

39. Within a week after his restoration, George Douglas was granted the lands of Cockburnspath for his lifetime. RSS, III, no. 198.

40. Morton Registrum, II, pp. 274-5; RMS, III, no. 2901; RSS, op. cit., no. 235.

pursued by George Douglas, deceit and double-dealing were ^{Their} ~~its~~ trademark. The English continued to believe in the sincerity of the Douglasses until the battle of Ancrum Moor and even after that débâcle half-believed their frequent protestations of support until the battle of Pinkie Cleuch. However, although George Douglas's policy was successful, his reliability as a politician was totally discredited and did not permit him to play the important role which he himself had come to believe was his due. Once the threat of English military intervention was removed, to all intents and purposes, by 1549, he found his services in the political sphere unwelcome and unwanted.

It was a characteristic of the policy pursued by the Douglasses that their own political influence should be magnified in their reports of events in Scotland to their English confederates. Indeed, Angus and his brother claimed to have complete control over the governor and that he had only accepted Huntly, Moray and Bothwell at the meeting of Parliament in March 1542/3 on their advice.⁴¹ Such an exaggeration of their own importance was essential if Angus and Douglas were to continue to enjoy financial and moral support from England, but while the Tudor ministers in London confidently believed that all matters in Scotland were being resolved to their advantage, they were unaware that their expectations were built upon sand. The alignment of a Scottish nobility who were neatly compartmentalised into those who favoured the "godly purpose" and those who did not only existed in the minds of English councillors and ambassadors. Of people such as George Douglas who played a double game they did not take account. Indeed, at the very beginning of Sir Ralph Sadler's mission, the demand that a governor should not be appointed

41. SPH, op. cit.

by the Scots had been ignored.⁴² The Queen-Dowager was engaged in an attempt to seize control of the government which, however, proved abortive.⁴³

Sir Ralph Sadler and his superiors in London believed that the account of affairs in Scotland depicted to them by Angus and George Douglas was accurate. The despatch of Scottish ambassadors to England in late March 1543 to conclude the treaty of marriage and peace between the two nations lulled the English into believing that events in Scotland were entirely under their control.⁴⁴ Nothing could have been further from the truth. Whatever precarious pre-eminence ~~which~~ Angus and George Douglas enjoyed in determining the future of Scottish history was effectively ended by 23 March 1542/3 when Cardinal David Beaton was removed from the state prison of Blackness and allowed to "enter in ward" in his own castle of St. Andrews.⁴⁵ From the Cardinal's own account of the affair it appears likely that George Douglas was cognisant of Beaton's plans from the outset.⁴⁶ Indeed, it seems hardly credible that George Douglas naively believed that the Cardinal, once inside the safety of his own castle, would remain a captive, and Douglas himself had relaxed Beaton from the bond which the latter had made with Arran to remain at St. Andrews.⁴⁷ When he informed Sadler that the cardinal was virtually a free agent, George Douglas emphatically laid the guilt at the door of

42. LPH, op. cit., no. 290.

43. The Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, including some Three Hundred Letters from 20th February 1542-3 to 15th May 1560, ed. Anne Cameron. Scottish History Society, 3rd series, vol. X (Edinburgh, 1927), no. IV, p. 8. Cited hereafter as SC.

44. LPH, op. cit., no. 303.

45. The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, ed. Arthur Clifford (Edinburgh, 1809), I, p. 89. Cited hereafter as SSP.

46. Ibid., p. 88; HP, II, no. 30, p. 40.

47. Cf. SSP, pp. 105, 127; LPH, op. cit., nos. 313, 323, 338, 341.

Huntly and Arran and protested his own innocence. The possibility that George Douglas had probably connived at Beaton's escape from confinement did not occur to the English emissary.

The failure of Angus and his associates to implement their promises began to arouse the ire of the English. Henry instructed Sadler to inform them that force would be resorted to if the negotiations for the marriage of the queen ended in failure.⁴⁸ The English king noted that "we fynde so greate a difference between wordes and deedes, as enforceth us to conceyve that litle regardying our purpose or the goodnes which we have extended towardes them, they labour only by our auctoritie and helpe to establishe their owne thingis and to make their owne profit,"⁴⁹ and admonished Sadler to chide Angus, George Douglas, Glencairn and Maxwell to abide by the promises which they had made to him. Henry warned the Anglophile nobles to beware of the machinations of Argyll, Moray and Huntly and Bothwell,⁵⁰ but this advice was outdated as Lennox had arrived at Dumbarton and had formed an alliance with the Cardinal and the Queen-Dowager.⁵¹ What prevented Henry from abandoning his feckless northern supporters was that their assistance was crucial if a peaceful solution to the war between England and Scotland were to be found. At the same time as the Tudor monarch issued his stern epistle to Angus, the Privy Council instructed Sadler to remain on the best possible terms with the Douglasses and their allies.⁵²

After the escape of Cardinal Beaton from his imprisonment it has been generally assumed that the wily prelate outwitted Angus and George

48. HP, I, no. 342, p. 493; SSP, op. cit., p. 101.

49. HP, op. cit., no. 343, pp. 493-4; LPH, op. cit., no. 334.

50. Ibid.; SSP, op. cit., pp. 101-3.

51. Diurnal, p. 27.

52. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCCXXIX, pp. 280-1.

Douglas. This interpretation is based upon the accounts of the activities and policies of the Douglasses found in the English state papers. However, from a careful analysis of these reports and the correspondence of Sir Ralph Sadler, two factors emerge: the unwillingness of Angus, his brother and their allies to commit themselves completely to a policy of English rapprochement and the general vanality and lack of patriotism which was displayed by the Scottish nobility as a whole. Angus and George Douglas were not adverse to giving some support to Cardinal Beaton, for they supported Arran when he refused to send Beaton to England.⁵³ Before the end of the spring of 1543 Sadler was told that Arran opposed the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Prince of Wales and that Angus and George Douglas were untrustworthy.⁵⁴ It is apparent from the varying reports of the activities and aims of Angus and George Douglas at this time that they were determined to maintain manoeuvrability and were not anxious to commit themselves totally to support English aggrandisement. A close adherence to England's plans for the union with Scotland was what the English expected of the Douglasses but this they resolutely refused to do. George Douglas was bent upon a policy of noncommitment which would assure his family's survival. In this paramount concern neither he nor his brother were any less patriotic or venal than the rest of the Scottish aristocracy.⁵⁵

The arrival of Lennox in Scotland coupled with the increased political activity of Cardinal Beaton began to have an important effect upon prospects of a new Anglo-Scottish alliance. The composition of the anglophile

53. SSP, I, p. 110; LPH, op. cit., no. 348.

54. SSP, op. cit., pp. 115-6, 119.

55. Professor Hume Brown in his apologia for the political behaviour of the Scottish aristocracy insists that they were merely following their "natural instincts." P. Hume Brown, "The Scottish Nobility and their Part in the National History," Scottish Historical Review, III (January, 1906), p. 157.

faction among the northern aristocracy remained constant throughout the spring of 1543,⁵⁶ although George Douglas complained ruefully that the Governor was "so unstable and inconstant that I have moche adoo with him." Douglas described the opponents of the English alliance as the magnates Argyll, Moray, Huntly, Bothwell, and the Scottish episcopate.⁵⁷ But this delineation was inaccurate for by mid April 1543 Lennox, Seton and Erskine were gathering forces in Stirling to oppose the Governor; furthermore, Mary of Guise was acting in concert with the Cardinal.⁵⁸ Although it was widely believed in England that Angus and George Douglas still controlled the political situation in Scotland,⁵⁹ their ability to enforce Henry's wishes upon the Scots had ceased. Lord Fleming who unhesitatingly blamed the loss of influence of the English faction on George Douglas, was no friend of the Douglasses: "If Sir George Douglas had not taken upon him to work all things, as he did, after his own fantasy and appetite, your majesty might have had your whole purpose of this time."⁶⁰ The arrival of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, the brother of Arran and an adroit politician, into Scotland made an important addition to the growing Francophile party and he embarked upon a policy of co-operation with Beaton in order to end Angus's and George Douglas's influence with the Governor.

The shifting balance of power between the English and French factions in Scotland was indicated by a change in George Douglas's attitude towards the English. Until the beginning of April, he had advocated to Henry

56. SSP, op. cit., p. 127.

57. LPH, op. cit., no. 374; HP, op. cit., no. 350, p. 505.

58. LPH, *ibid.*; Lesley, History, p. 173; Buchanan, History, II, p. 330.

59. LPH, op. cit., no. 390; CSP Span., VI, II, no. 127, p. 303.

60. Op. cit., no. 391; SSP, op. cit., p. 134.

the eighth a policy of moderation and patience with the Scots.⁶¹ In view of the growing strength of Lennox and the Cardinal, Douglas advised Henry that the only possible way in which his "godly purpose" could become operative would be to employ force.⁶² George Douglas also informed Sadler that he was not as deeply committed to England's policy as was his brother and the prisoners of Solway Moss. Henry denied Douglas's allegations, informed his emissary that "no man (his brother excepted) hath made so large promesses unto Us, as he hath doon, who hath heretofore bounde himself without condition, to be and remayn for ever our true and faithful subject...that (although) he maye conveniently saye that he hath not promised so largely as the rest, where indede his promesses be fare larger;" and urged Sadler to stir the Douglasses to fulfil their repeated promises.⁶³ George Douglas's change of posture was undoubtedly deliberate. If the English invaded Scotland, it would provide him with an ideal excuse to pose as a Scottish patriot without abandoning his lip-service support for England. The intentions of George Douglas were completely misunderstood by Henry and by Sadler.

From the inception of the English plan for the union of the two crowns, its appeal had been limited to a few important magnates and nobles whose centres of power were in the south and southwest areas of Scotland. In the spring and summer of 1543, when voluntary collaboration with the English was engaged in by members of the Scottish aristocracy, we are confronted with the same names constantly: Angus, George Douglas, Cassillis, Glencairn, Marischal, Gray, Maxwell, Somerville, the Sheriff of Ayr,

61. Cf. LPH, op. cit., no. 364; HP, op. cit., nos. 347, 348, pp. 498, 503.

62. Ibid., no. 350, p. 506.

63. SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXXVIII, p. 273; LPH, op. cit., no. 402.

Drumlanrig, and the Governor.⁶⁴ The inability of Henry's "godly purpose" to gain the popular support of the majority of the Scottish nobility made its rejection inevitable. In view of this, there is an aura of unreality about the English king's continued reliance upon Angus and his brother to influence the government of Scotland in his favour.⁶⁵ Angus, for his part, made incessant demands for financial assistance which were dutifully forwarded by Sir R alph Sadler.⁶⁶ However, changes of political ideology and commitment by Angus and George Douglas and their allies continued unabated.⁶⁷ In fact, Douglas had overplayed his hand as the English king, who still trusted Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, Maxwell, and Somerville, advised Sadler to "give them speciale warning of George Douglas, least by overmoche trust he should deceive them."⁶⁸ Thus in late April 1543 when the English faction in Scotland was faced with a combination of the Governor and the Cardinal against them, its chief architect was under a cloud of suspicion.

The inconstancy of Arran re-established George Douglas's credibility with the English. The Governor in the early spring of 1543 almost changed his political attitude to become a firm ally of the Francophile party, but the persuasiveness of Sir George Douglas was instrumental in retaining Arran's support for the policy of co-operation with the English.⁶⁹ Lennox, Moray, and Argyll were reconciled to the Scottish government and the last-

64. Cf. LPH, XVIII, I, and II, SSP, I, and HP, I and II passim.

65. HMC Calendar of MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, Part I, no. 22, pp. 16-7 (This is misdated by one year).

66. SSP, I, p. 151.

67. Ibid., pp. 158-60; LPH, XVIII, I, nos. 435, 448.

68. HP, I, no. 364, pp. 527-8.

69. SSP, op. cit., p. 176; LPH, op. cit., no. 482.

named magnate agreed to a compromise with Angus over the question of the ownership of the regality of Abernethy.⁷⁰ Glencairn, Cassillis, Maxwell, and Somerville received substantial sums of gold as an inducement for their continued support to England, while at a meeting of the Estates on 4 May 1543, it was decided to send George Douglas and Glencairn to England as ambassadors to conclude the new treaty of alliance and peace.⁷¹

The decision to send George Douglas to England at this juncture was of momentous importance in view of his supposed control over the wavering Governor.⁷² Godscroft asserted that George Douglas urged his countrymen to acquiesce in the demands of the English in 1543 in order to gain valuable time for the Scots to build their defences, but this assumption endows Douglas with more foresight than appears to have been the case.⁷³ There is no reason to suppose that Douglas was unalterably opposed to an alliance with the nation which had sheltered him during his exile. After all, the English had not invaded Scotland and they were willing to recognise the national identity of the Scottish people in their scheme of union. But while he and Glencairn were bringing to a successful conclusion the negotiations between the two kingdoms, which were to be embodied in the Treaty of Greenwich, George Douglas was unable to maintain his influence upon Arran. The support of the Governor for the English alliance was undermined sufficiently so that when George Douglas and his associate ambassadors signed the Treaty of Greenwich it was almost inoperative from the start.

The political situation in Scotland remained in a state of flux as

70. Diurnal, p. 27; SSP, op. cit., p. 161; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230-2.

71. APS, XII, pp. 42-3; HP, op. cit., no. 369, p. 532.

72. LPH, ibid.

73. Godscroft, House of Douglas, p. 265.

Lennox, who was regarded by France as the legitimate heir-presumptive to the Scottish throne, refused to acknowledge Arran as Governor of the realm. Lennox enjoyed the support of Cardinal Beaton and the Scottish queen-dowager, but Arran, with the help of Angus and his associates (Cassillis, Marischal, Maxwell, and Somerville)⁷⁴ forced the rebel magnate to flee into the Highlands for safety.⁷⁵ Peace negotiations were successfully concluded by George Douglas and Glencairn which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Greenwich on 1 July 1543. This agreement provided for the marriage of Queen Mary to Prince Edward and the legal union of the two kingdoms.⁷⁶ Yet Arran's commitment to the new Anglo-Scottish entente was not completely assured and a substantial group of Scottish magnates refused to be converted to the new direction in Scotland's foreign policy. Argyll, Moray, Huntly, Lennox, and the Cardinal were all opposed to their sovereign's marriage to the Prince of Wales while Bothwell, the Homes, the Kers, and the Scotts were hostile to the Governor.⁷⁷ In addition, the English government showed a singular lack of diplomacy as at the very same time when the treaty of alliance was concluded, they produced a schedule of ransoms which were to be paid by those nobles captured at Solway Moss. Cassillis, Glencairn, Maxwell, and Somerville who were the most consistent supporters of Angus and George Douglas, were expected to pay the largest ransoms.⁷⁸ Such demands were not conducive

74. LPH, op. cit., no. 510.

75. Ibid., no. 572; SSP, op. cit., pp. 201-2.

76. APS, II, pp. 425-6; Foedera (o), XIV, pp. 786-96.

77. LPH, op. cit., no. 670; HP, op. cit., no. 379, p. 536. Arran was dependent upon Angus's support in order to strengthen his administration. HP, ibid., no. 307, p. 547.

78. LPH, op. cit., no. 805.

to encourage other Scottish nobles to entertain much confidence or regard for their new allies.

Although the importance of Angus and his brother in assisting Arran to implement the new Anglo-Scottish alliance was recognised by the Tudor government,⁷⁹ at least one English administrator had the perception to see the instability of his country's supporters in the northern kingdom. Lord Parr wrote that "the success of the matter rests in the wit of George Douglass, 'who is reported by the Scots to be practised with both parties,' and able to shift for himself though his promises fail. The Scots take their fees from the Governor and Angwishe as only for party matters, and will desert and resist them if they incline to the King against the other lords."⁸⁰ It is ironic that this acute analysis went virtually unnoticed. Henry the eighth was well aware of the disorders in Scotland and he continued to instruct the Governor via Sadler in the correct management of affairs. He even suggested to Arran that a new council should be chosen in which Angus, George Douglas, Glencairn, Maxwell and Somerville should be given prominent posts.⁸¹ But the unreality of Henry's suggestions is obvious. Regardless of what directives the English king or his council might issue in London, the control of political events in the northern realm lay outside their power.

Opposition to the Anglophile policies of Arran continued to grow until

79. Ibid., no. 765. Angus received £618 sterling from the end of May until the end of June 1543 from the English government for his "necessary expenses." Ibid.
80. Ibid., no. 827, p. 464; HP, op. cit., no. 397, p. 556.
81. Op. cit., no. 835 (11). An analysis of the membership of this list clearly demonstrates that in spite of English inducement, there had been no new major converts among the magnates of Scotland to the new alliance.

an attempt was made by the insurgents, who were led by the Cardinal and Lennox, to seize the child Queen of Scots.⁸² Although their efforts were unsuccessful, the rebels enjoyed substantial support, even from such kinsmen and vassals of Angus, Glencairn and Cassillis as Lord Drummond, Robert Douglas of Lochleven, John Cunningham of Caprington, and James Kennedy of Blairquhan.⁸³ Even John Charteris of Cuthilgurdy, "the trusted servant of Angus" supported the French faction.⁸⁴ In fact, support for Arran and the new Anglo-Scottish alliance was steadily decreasing and, in the face of such determined opposition, the promise of £1,000 which Henry made to the Governor was of little effective use.⁸⁵

An open clash was avoided by the willingness of both sides to negotiate. The important position which Angus and George Douglas occupied among the Governor's allies was recognised by the supporters of the Auld Alliance, who demanded that Angus be dismissed from the council and that George Douglas be required to live in retirement upon his wife's estates.⁸⁶ Although the Douglasses had aroused the special opprobrium of the Cardinal, when a formal reconciliation between the factions was effected on 26 July Angus and George Douglas were present. Sir Ralph Sadler believed that all opposition to England had ceased but in actuality the new agreement was merely a mock truce.⁸⁷ It appears that even George Douglas believed in the sincerity of the promises made by Arran's opponents,⁸⁸ but by the

82. HP, op. cit., no. 397, p. 554; LPH, op. cit., no. 897; SSP, op. cit., p. 233; SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCCLIII, p. 326; Diurnal, p. 28, Lesley, History, p. 174.

83. W.B.D.D. Turnbull, "Selections from the Papers of the Family of Boyd of Kilmarnock 1468-1590," Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1837), I, no. IV, p. 12.

84. HP, op. cit., no. 438, pp. 616-7.

85. SSP, op. cit., nos. 238.

86. LPH, op. cit., nos. 944, 950.

87. Ibid., no. 951; HP, op. cit., no. 426, p. 597. Only the day after this compromise between the two factions was negotiated, Robert Kincaid wrote to Lord Fleming, who was an ally of Cardinal Beaton, that Glencairn, Cassillis, Maxwell and the Sheriff of Ayr remained hostile to the Cardinal. SC, no. XII, p. 15.

88. LPH, op. cit., no. 966; HP, op. cit., no. 433, pp. 615-6.

beginning of August no one could have been under any illusions as to the refusal of Cardinal Beaton to approve of the marriage of the Queen to the Prince of Wales.⁸⁹ Henry the eighth warned Arran and Angus to beware Beaton's machinations and George Douglas doubted the sincerity of the conversion of the prelate.⁹⁰ The adamant refusal of the Cardinal and his associates to either ratify or approve the Treaty of Greenwich made it impossible for it to be implemented.

The crisis of July 1543 marked the apogee of the influence which Angus and George Douglas exerted over the Governor. It was becoming apparent to Arran that the majority of the Scottish aristocracy would never accept the Anglo-Scottish alliance although he had it ratified by Parliament on 25 August 1543. Only two magnates, Angus and the Earl Marischal, and four lords, Seton, Sample, Ochiltree and Methven, were present at the confirmation of the treaty.⁹¹ Throughout the summer Mary of Guise had received promises of support from several important nobles (Huntly, Bothwell, and Drummond)⁹² while the Cardinal suggested to Arran the possibility that the latter's son could marry the infant Queen.⁹³ The Governor was receptive to this suggestion and began to seek means to dissolve the Treaty of Greenwich. He knew that, if he supported Beaton and France, Lennox's position as his potential rival would be undermined. The refusal of Henry to ratify the Treaty of Greenwich within the stipulated time and the seizure of Scottish ships gave Arran an excuse with which he could renounce his earlier commitment.

89. Cf. LPH, op. cit., no. 974; SSP, op. cit., pp. 242-5.

90. LPH, XVIII, II, nos. 2,4.

91. Ibid., no. 79; Foedera (o), XV, p. 4; SSP, op. cit., pp. 270-3.

92. SC, nos. XVI, XVII, XX, pp. 19-21;24; Register House, State Papers, SP 13/42.

93. LPH, XVIII, I, no. 976.

Although Sadler informed his government that George Douglas dominated the Governor (a belief carefully fostered on the English envoy by Douglas),⁹⁴ this appraisal was inaccurate. Arran still possessed the initiative in political affairs and continued to negotiate with the Cardinal in spite of Douglas's opposition.⁹⁵ It was rumoured that the Governor, disgusted with the intransigence of Beaton, issued in early September proclamations against him⁹⁶ but this was not carried out. While Angus and the other leaders of the English faction were sent to their estates to collect their forces in anticipation of any moves by the French faction,⁹⁷ and George Douglas was at Berwick presenting to the English lists of his lands and vassals for which he sought immunity from attack,⁹⁸ Arran met Cardinal Beaton at Stirling on 4 September and effected a political volte-face.⁹⁹ The Cardinal and Mary of Guise had wooed Arran so successfully that he was never again the tool of Henry the eighth. The defection of the Governor isolated Angus and George Douglas politically from the rest of the Scottish nation.¹⁰⁰

Arran's change of political attitude surprised Angus and George Douglas and caused great consternation to Sir Ralph Sadler.¹⁰¹ Angus and his brother were not the only Scots who pursued a policy of deception vis-à-vis England. Henry the eighth had been outwitted by the indecisive

~~93. LPH, XVIII, I, no. 978.~~

94. HP, op. cit., no. 443, p. 625.

95. But cf. LPH, XVIII, II, no. 48; SSP, op. cit., p. 260; SC, no. XIX, pp. 23-4.

96. SSP, op. cit., p. 278; SC, op. cit., no. XXIII, p. 27.

97. LPH, XVIII, II, no. 94; SSP, op. cit., p. 279.

98. HP, II, no. 2, p. 2.

99. Ibid., nos. 10, 12, pp. 14, 16; LPH, op. cit., nos. 127, 131, 132.

100. Lesley, History, pp. 174-5.

101. SSP, op. cit., pp. 282-3. However, there is a possibility that George Douglas may have suspected Arran's political coup. Cf. HP, op. cit., no. 10, p. 14.

Governor and the determined Cardinal. The policy which was followed by Angus and George Douglas in the autumn of 1543 is perhaps the most complex and difficult to comprehend during their entire career. Although they had very strong ties with England, it would not have been unusual if they had joined with their compcers in spurning the English alliance. It was inevitable that war between the two kingdoms would follow Arran's departure from the Anglo-Scottish alliance and all supporters of England would be treated as enemies of the State. Perhaps Angus and his brother believed that Scotland would be defeated as she had been in 1542 and hoped that a policy of collaboration would preserve their lands and kindred from conquest. It is probable that when Angus and George Douglas protested their willingness to serve Henry there was some veracity in their assertions at least until the commencement of Hertford's campaign of the "Rough Wooing" in May 1544. Angus's dogged refusal to abandon the English in September 1543 is even more remarkable as both the Governor and Cardinal Beaton were willing to accept him as a member of their government.¹⁰²

The conversion of the Governor altered the political power of the Douglasses almost overnight. Angus and George Douglas had primarily been able to exert influence on the political affairs of the realm because they had enjoyed the support of the government. When Arran allied himself with the Francophile party their role as spokesmen for the Scottish government ended and they were reduced to mere leaders of a small and unpopular minority. In September 1543 only Cassillis, Glencairn, Maxwell, Gray, Somerville, Drumlanrig and the Sheriff of Ayr were allies of the Douglasses.¹⁰³ Angus called a convention of the English faction

102. LPH, op. cit., no. 139; SSP, op. cit., pp. 284-5.

103. Ibid., p. 289; LPH, op. cit., no. 174.

to meet at Douglas and, when they did so, promised their support to enforce Henry's policies.¹⁰⁴ George Douglas wrote to his English associates and told them that gold was a necessary prerequisite to entice other Scots nobles to join their party. The Governor and Cardinal Beaton showed great sagacity in attempting to wean Angus and his allies from the cause of England. In mid September a new council was chosen by Arran and Angus was designated to be a member, but the earl refused to accept this position.¹⁰⁵ Both the Governor and Henry the eighth had miscalculated. Arran believed that when he had demonstrated his unwillingness to implement the Treaty of Greenwich that his former allies, Angus and George Douglas would give him their support. Henry, on the other hand, imagined that in spite of Arran's defection, Angus could rally enough support to enact a sudden seizure of Stirling Castle and the infant queen.¹⁰⁶ But neither event occurred in the autumn of 1543. Sadler ruefully informed his king that the only means of realising his goal was to "extend his force... (and) send no less power to repress and daunt the untruth of this nation, than as if his majesty had no friends here at all, for there is none assurance to be made of their assistance."¹⁰⁷

In the months that followed the coup de grâce to the Anglo-Scottish entente, the Governor continued to make promises to the English government which were based upon duplicity and deceit. He informed the English

104. SSP, op. cit., p. 288.

105. Ibid., pp. 290-91; LPH, op. cit., no. 188; HP, op. cit., no. 33, p. 46.

106. LPH, op. cit., nos. 153, 154.

107. SSP, op. cit., p. 291. Sir Thomas Wharton, one of the English wardens, advised Henry not to resort to force as it would unite the Scots in their determination not to fulfil the Treaty of Greenwich. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. CCCLXVI, p. 341.

envoy resident in Edinburgh that the Scots still hoped to maintain the peace between the two kingdoms.¹⁰⁸ But Arran's promises were no longer respected or believed by the English. However, the position of Henry's supporters in the northern realm was far from hopeless as factionalism and family rivalry, the salient features of Scottish political life, were responsible for the conversion of Lennox to ^{The} Anglophile party. Lennox's possessions, influence, and dynastic claim to the Scottish throne inevitable placed him among the foremost magnates of Scotland. He regarded Arran as an usurper whose claim to be heir-presumptive was inferior to his own and had not forgotten that his father had reportedly been killed by Arran's father and uncle.¹⁰⁹ Cardinal Beaton and the Queen-Dowager tried all of their persuasiveness to retain Lennox's allegiance but the latter categorically refused to serve Arran. Indeed, by the beginning of October 1543 Lennox was committed to England by the promise of his marriage to Margaret Douglas,¹¹⁰ although he continued to carry on negotiations with his erstwhile allies.¹¹¹

Affairs for the English faction in Scotland had deteriorated rapidly. George Douglas complained of the insincerity of his fellow Scots,¹¹² yet he remained on his estates and did nothing. Indeed, a Scottish rebel told his English captors that "if you truste any of the Duglassys woll be assuryd and trewe to Englande, you be farr blynd(ed), for er it be longe they woll manyfestly abandon Englande,"¹¹³ and Sadler, in exasperation,

108. SSP, op. cit., p. 288.

109. Ibid., pp. 295-8; LPH, op. cit., no. 202; Fraser, Lennox, II, pp. 236-40.

110. HP, II, no. 56, p. 93.

111. Ibid., no. 73, p. 123; LPH, op. cit., nos. 302, 323.

112. HP, op. cit., no. 61, p. 101.

113. Ibid., no. 74, p. 124.

wrote that Angus and his allies were following a wait and see policy.¹¹⁴ The initiative had been wrested from Angus by the forceful activities of Arran and Cardinal Beaton. In mid October while Angus, Cassillis and Maxwell had gone to Glasgow to confer with Lennox,¹¹⁵ Arran was preparing to launch an attack upon Henry's supporters. He gained the help of Robert Boyd of Kilmarnock, an opponent of Glencairn;¹¹⁶ his brother, the Abbot of Paisley, captured Lords Maxwell and Somerville who were being sent as emissaries by Angus and George Douglas to England;¹¹⁷ Dalkeith Castle was seized along with George Douglas's son, the Master of Morton;¹¹⁸ and pressure was exerted upon Sadler to leave the Scottish capital and he went to Tantallon for his safety.¹¹⁹ Towards the end of November, the Governor and Cardinal Beaton wrested control of Perth from Angus's ally, Lord Gray, who was imprisoned, while they received the submission of Lords Ogilvy and Glamis.¹²⁰ On 8 December 1543 summons of treason were raised against "the lordis and utheris persons that subscrivit the writing direct furth of Douglas with the lord Somerville to the king of England";¹²¹ three days later the Treaty of Greenwich was abrogated; Angus, Lennox, Glencairn and Marischal were removed from the Council and were replaced

114. Ibid., no. 99, pp. 162-3; LPH, op. cit., no. 378, p. 208; SSP, op. cit., p. 339.
115. LPH, op. cit., no. 288; SSP, op. cit., pp. 319-20; SC, no. XXX, p. 37.
116. Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton, vol. III (Edinburgh, 1882), "The Boyd Papers," no. 34, pp. 171-2.
117. LPH, op. cit., nos. 328, 343; Diurnal, p. 29.
118. Morton Registrum, I, no. 8, p. 5; TA, VIII, p. 235.
119. SSP, op. cit., p. 329; The author of the Diurnal wrote that he left the Scottish capital on 3 November and this is confirmed by the Treasurer's Accounts. Diurnal, p. 29; TA, VIII, p. 237.
120. Diurnal, ibid.
121. RPS, II, p. 429.

by loyal supporters of the government;¹²² and before the end of the year Sadler had been compelled to leave the kingdom.¹²³ A strange inertia had gripped Angus and his brother which had made their position all but impossible by January 1543/4.

The renewal of the Auld Alliance with France had, in effect, made Angus and his supporters collaborators of the national enemy and Cardinal Beaton was reported to have remarked that "though it shall cost (him) his life,... he will drive all the Douglases with their friends and partakers out of this realm, or destroy them."¹²⁴ However, the Cardinal and Arran in spite of the fact that they enjoyed the support of the majority of the Scottish aristocracy, was unable to reduce Angus and George Douglas to submission. In their continued defiance, Angus and his brother were immeasurably aided by English moral support and English gold.¹²⁵ More importantly, they enjoyed the assistance of Lennox. His power and influence in western Scotland meant that his disaffection coupled with that of Angus and his associates, made it impossible for Arran to control the entire kingdom. Troops and supplies were collected by the insurgents who took possession of Leith in the first week of January 1543/4.¹²⁶ Almost at once negotiations, under the direction of George Douglas and the Governor, were begun and culminated in the Agreement of Greenside on 13 January. Representatives of the two factions met to reach an agreement

122. *Ibid.*, p. 442.

123. *LPH*, op. cit., no. 483.

124. *Ibid.*, no. 349, pp. 195-6; *HP*, II, no. 86, p. 143.

125. *Ibid.*, no. 104, p. 169; op. cit., nos. 394, 407, 408.

126. *Diurnal*, p. 30; Lesley, *History*, pp. 175-6.

which would unite all Scots against English imperialism. Angus and Lennox swore to defend the queen against the English, George Douglas entered into ward, and the lairds of Loudoun, Drumlanrig, Buchanan, Luss, Langton, Blackadder, Wedderburn, Calder, and Tullibardine entered pledges as sureties for their support.¹²⁷ Even Cardinal Beaton believed that Angus and George Douglas had finally agreed to break with the English.¹²⁸ The capitulation of the supporters of England was insincere - indeed, Lennox left almost immediately afterwards for the comparative safety of Glasgow.¹²⁹ Three days after the compromise between the English and French factions had been reached, George Douglas wrote to Suffolk that he and his brother had been compelled to submit and the sincerity of the Douglasses was not impugned.¹³⁰ The opposition of Lennox in view of his family's feud with the house of Hamilton is quite understandable, but the continued reliance of Angus and George Douglas on the English is not. The Douglasses had been offered positions of importance in the Privy Council and they had had their estates restored by the Governor. They knew that the Scots were not yet ready to accept a new approach and orientation towards their hereditary foe. But Angus believed that, in the ensuing war, co-operation with his former allies was the only way in which his estates could be free from despoliation.¹³¹ Henry, however, was becoming wary of the promises of men who had sworn to do so much and had actually done so little. The lands of Angus and George Douglas were not exempted from the destruction which was to be meted out to the Scots in the forthcoming campaign and

127. LPH, XLX, I, nos. 24, 30; SPH, V, Pt. IV, nos. CCCLXXVIII, CCCCLXXX, pp. 355-9.

128. SC, no. CCCII, pp. 446-7; Register House RH 1/2/36.

129. Lesley, History, ibid.

130. LPH, op. cit., no. 33; HP, op. cit., no. 149, p. 250.

131. Ibid., no. 157, pp. 261-2; op. cit., no. 58.

all financial subsidies to them ceased.¹³² Their associate, the Master of Maxwell, had also promised his support but this had not prevented his lands from being ravaged by the English to punish his father's insincerity.¹³³ English patience with their allies among the Scottish aristocracy was at an end.

Despite their failure to follow through in their promises, however, Angus and his brother still carried on a correspondence with the English and before the end of February amicable contact between them had been re-established.¹³⁴ Angus's father-in-law, Lord Maxwell, informed the Queen-Dowager of his continued support,¹³⁵ while the earl himself was corresponding with Henry the eighth and assuring the English of his allegiance.¹³⁶ Angus and his associates, Cassillis, Glencairn, and Maxwell, were exhorted by Henry to engage the Governor in battle¹³⁷ but Arran, spurred on by Cardinal Beaton, began offensive measures against the rebels. Before the end of March 1544, a national army had been levied to march upon Glasgow and wrest the city from Lennox's control,¹³⁸ while Angus, through the mediation of Lord Maxwell, was negotiating a reconciliation with the Governor.¹³⁹ He wrote to the Queen-Dowager to inform her that "at thutermost of my power truly to serve my soverane the Quene your grace and my lord governour for the commonwealth and libertie of this

132. *Ibid.*, no. 41 (1-11); *HP*, op. cit., no. 154, pp. 254-5.

133. *LPH*, op. cit., nos. 60, 92.

134. *Ibid.*, nos. 98, 99, 103, 136; *HP*, op. cit., no. 170, pp. 282-3.

135. National Library of Scotland Adv. MS. 19/1/25, f. 3.

136. *SPH*, op. cit., no. CCCLXXX, p. 359.

137. *LPH*, op. cit., nos. 216, 225, 226; A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, from 1542 to 1570, left by William Cecil Lord Burghley and now at Hatfield House, ed. Samuel Haynes (London, 1740), pp. 8-9, 18-9. Cited hereafter as Haynes.

138. *LPH*, op. cit., no. 235.

139. *Ibid.*, no. 228; *HP*, op. cit., no. 195, p. 313.

realme as forther I have send instructiouns to my Lord Maxwell of my desyris."¹⁴⁰ Thus Lennox's chief supporters were intending to desert him at just the moment when he needed their assistance. Angus left Glasgow shortly before the government forces attacked and aided the Governor in the expulsion of Lennox and Glencairn from the city.¹⁴¹ However, after the conclusion of the campaign, Angus and Maxwell were imprisoned.¹⁴²

The activities of Angus at this juncture are of some importance as they shed light upon the policy which he and his brother pursued throughout the minority of Mary Queen of Scots. A contemporary Scottish historian wrote that Angus, George Douglas, and Lord Maxwell remained in ward "with great feare of thair lyffis continewalie to the cuming of Inglis men with thair army in the nixt maij..."¹⁴³ This interpretation of Angus's

imprisonment was the one propagated by George Douglas and the Master of Maxwell.¹⁴⁴ Lord Maxwell was blamed for having tricked Angus while Lennox and Glencairn scathingly remarked that Angus was "a man of moche simplicitie and easie to be seduced" and that Maxwell, Drumlanrig and the Sheriff of Ayr had been involved in the earl's imprisonment.¹⁴⁵

It was reported that the landing of the English forces in early May 1544 saved Angus and George Douglas, who were scheduled for execution, and restored them to their possessions.¹⁴⁶ An analysis of the events and

140. SC, no. LIII, p. 71.

141. SPH, op. cit., no. CCCLXXXIV, pp. 368-9; LPH, op. cit., no. 299 (111).

142. SPH, *ibid*; cf. Diurnal, p. 31; Buchanan, History, II, p. 337.

143. Lealey, History, p. 177.

144. LPH, op. cit., no. 294.

145. SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXC, p. 381.

146. *Ibid.*, no. DXIII, p. 429; CSP Span., VII, I, no. 91, p. 152; HP, op. cit., no. 229, p. 359; Lesley, History, p. 182.

correspondence which has survived had led us to arrive at a different conclusion. From Angus's letter to the Queen-Dowager and Lord Maxwell's meetings with Arran, we know that both of these noblemen had never completely shunned either the Governor or his allies. Indeed, both men had kept a foot in each camp. Angus and Maxwell undoubtedly agreed to their own imprisonment which in itself would save them some shred of credibility with the English. What they did not count on was the Governor's determination to restrict their movements for a considerable period of time as punishment for their double dealing policies. Lord Maxwell confessed to Mary of Guise that he "had no thocht that tyme I was put heir bot to sewit my lord governour the quenis autori(te) aganis onyman that wald userpit aganis the same."¹⁴⁷ Whether or not the Governor actually intended to execute the Douglasses and Maxwell is uncertain, but the arrival of the English army made this highly impolitic.

While his uncle and his father were imprisoned, James Douglas, Master of Morton began to negotiate with the earl of Hertford, the new English Lieutenant of the Marches. He held out the possibility of delivering Tantallon and Dalkeith Castles to the English and even offered to conduct their army into Scotland.¹⁴⁸ The offers were enthusiastically received by Henry, who ordered Hertford to obtain possession of Tantallon as quickly as possible.¹⁴⁹ Alexander Jardine, Angus's servant who had been left in command of the Douglas fortress, was promised great rewards if he delivered the castle to the English.¹⁵⁰ The aim of the Master of

147. SC, no. LVI, p. 74.

148. LPH, op. cit., no. 306; HMC Calendar of MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, Part I, no. 140, p. 34; Haynes, pp. 24-5.

149. Haynes, pp. 27-9; LPH, op. cit., no. 317.

150. HMC, op. cit., no. 142, p. 34; LPH, op. cit., no. 356; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXC, p. 379.

Morton in promising his help to Hertford appears to have been part of a deliberate plan to entice the English to invade Scotland as soon as possible. What could be gained by this is obvious: an invasion would force the Governor to rehabilitate Angus and George Douglas to their former possessions as their help would be invaluable in the national emergency. When, in fact, the English did land on 4 May 1544, Angus and his brother were released, but Hertford was under no illusions about the value of the promises which had been made in their behalf by the Master of Morton. Although he had written to Morton to retain control of Tantallon and Dalkeith until the invasion commenced,¹⁵¹ Hertford had been instructed that if he did not come to the English before the invasion, then James Douglas was to be imprisoned until Tantallon was given to the English.¹⁵² The oaths and assurances of Angus and his kinsmen were regarded as worthless.

Hertford's sudden descent on Leith in the first week of May was totally unexpected by the Scots, who offered but a token resistance under the uninspired leadership of Arran and Cardinal Beaton.¹⁵³ The Scottish leaders abandoned Edinburgh, which was sacked by the English,¹⁵⁴ and the Governor freed Angus in the face of the common peril.¹⁵⁵ After his release from Arran's castle of Hamilton, Angus went to the residence of his associate, Lord Somerville, Cowthally Castle and from there sent a missive to Hertford telling him that he was still the servant of Henry.¹⁵⁶

151. HP, op. cit., no. 226, pp. 353-4; LPH, op. cit., no. 414.

152. Ibid., no. 348; HP, op. cit., no. 217, p. 340.

153. J.Y. Dalrymple, Fragments of Scottish History, "Expedition in Scotland, 1544," (Edinburgh, 1798), p. 4. Cited hereafter as Dalrymple, Fragments.

154. Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts in the College of Arms and the British Museum illustrating the reign of Mary Queen of Scotland M.D.XLIII-M.D.XLVII, ed. Joseph Stevenson. Maitland Club (Glasgow, 1837), pp. 4-5. Cited hereafter as Stevenson, Selections. Diurnal, p. 31; Lesley, History, p. 181; Dalrymple, Fragments, pp. 6-7.

155. CSP Span., VII, I, no. 89, p. 150.

156. HP, II, no. 235, p. 370.

George Douglas visited the English commander in order to gain assurances that the lands which belonged to him and his brother would be spared, but Hertford refused to consider this unless Tantallon were given to him and Angus came in person to see him.¹⁵⁷ Hertford later relaxed his severity and issued assurances to George Douglas's tenants and lands,¹⁵⁸ but this was countermanded by Henry the eighth who ordered that an attempt be made to capture the two brothers.¹⁵⁹ In fact, the only major Scottish magnates whom the English trusted were Lennox and Glencairn who had retaken Glasgow. On 17 May 1544 these noblemen committed themselves to Henry and Lennox was promised the governorship of Scotland.¹⁶⁰ Arran, undeterred by the sacking of Edinburgh, gathered an army and drove the rebels out of Glasgow on 24 May. By the end of the month the only Scottish magnate who continued to believe in Henry's "godly purpose", Lennox, was an exile.¹⁶¹ Hertford's invasion had ended all hopes of any peaceful understanding with England and had aroused Scottish nationalism to fever pitch.¹⁶²

The onus of the disaster which befell Scotland fell on Arran, who

157. Ibid., no. 237, pp. 371-3; LPH, op. cit., nos. 510, 516.

158. Ibid., no. 576; HMC Calendar of MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield House, Part I, no. 165, p. 40.

159. Haynes, p. 35; HMC, op. cit., nos. 161, 167, pp. 39, 41; LPH, op. cit. no. 594.

160. Ibid., no. 522.

161. Ibid., nos. 531, 575; Haynes, pp. 37-8; Diurnal, pp. 32-3; Lesley, History, p. 183.

162. Lord Home wrote to the Queen-Dowager barely a week after the English invasion and expressed the prevailing sentiment of the resurgent patriotism of the Scots: "Let us tak ane cumfortable curage heirin and put our hail confidence in God, considerand it is in our defence and our ennyne is sa crewellie persecuting us; far bettir it is to us to die with honour than to leif with perpetuall schame." SC, no. LXII, p. 79.

was regarded by many magnates and nobles as inept. Angus and George Douglas had little love for the man who had kept them imprisoned and it is hardly surprising that both were among the leaders of that faction of the nobility which attempted to give the governorship of the realm to Mary of Guise in the summer of 1544. In June 1544 it was rumoured that Arran was involved in quarrels with Argyll and Cardinal Beaton¹⁶³ while George Douglas told his kinsman Glencairn that disaffected nobles were to meet at Stirling to depose the Governor.¹⁶⁴ Two magnates who had heretofore been almost consistently on opposite sides of the political fence, Argyll and Angus, entered into a bond of friendship on 7 June 1544 to unite their kindreds for "resistance to be maid aganis our auld Innem-eis."¹⁶⁵ Three days later, on 10 June 1544, the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Bishops of Dunblane, Moray, Orkney; the Abbots of Coupar-Angus, Culross, Druburgh,^{early} Angus, Argyll, Bothwell, Cassillis, Huntly, Marischal, Menteith, Montrose, Moray, Erroll; Lords Fleming, Erskine, Crichton, Lovat, St. John, Somerville, the Master of Maxwell, Sir John Campbell of Cawdor and Sir George Douglas signed a bond in which they committed themselves to support and to recognise the Queen-Dowager as Governor of the realm.¹⁶⁶ Mary of Guise, although an unknown quantity in the political arena, was of a different temperament from Arran altogether. She was determined, forceful and, above all, French. She had never consented to the marriage of her daughter to Edward Tudor and the major principle of her diplomacy was to strengthen Scotland's ties with France.

163. LPH, op. cit., no. 621; HP, op. cit., Appendix, no. XXIX, p. 739.

164. Ibid., no. 260(1), p. 404; op. cit., no. 662.

165. Argyll Muniments, Inverary Castle, Portfolio 5.

166. LPH, op. cit., no. 664; SPH, op. cit., no. CCCXCIV, pp. 391-4.

In spite of his imprisonment, George Douglas continued his policy of promising his support to all parties and factions concerned. It is a measure of his duplicity that on the day following the initiation of Mary of Guise's regime, he wrote to both the Queen-Dowager and to Hertford. On the one hand, George Douglas advised Mary of Guise to communicate with the French to obtain more substantial military assistance;¹⁶⁷ on the other he informed Hertford that he alone was responsible for the change of government, that a council of regents composed of Angus, Huntly, Bothwell, and Argyll held political power, and that Angus was appointed Lieutenant of the Marches.¹⁶⁸

The English king became less obdurate in his hostility towards the Douglasses, who had reverted to their former policy of promising complete support towards the implementation of Henry's "godly purpose."¹⁶⁹

In fact, the diplomatic overtures pursued by George Douglas in the summer of 1544 were not entirely hypocritical for although he strongly urged the Queen-Dowager to enlist the support of France, he equally urged her to make a serious attempt to negotiate a peace with England.

Douglas's persuasiveness was such that when George Meldrum of Fyvie appeared in London in mid July, he informed Henry that the English had the support of the Master of Rothes, Earl Marischal, Lord Gray, John Charteris "and of Sir George Douglas also, whatsoever report be made to the contrary."¹⁷⁰

His brother, Angus was more deeply committed to a nationalistic policy as he castigated the Armstrongs for aiding the English,¹⁷¹ and prepared forces to resist further encroachments by the English.¹⁷²

167. SC, no. LXX, pp. 88-9.

168. LPH, op. cit., no. 673; HP, op. cit., no. 264(1), pp. 408-11.

169. Ibid., nos. 268, 269, p. 414; op. cit., nos. 744, 745.

170. LPH, ibid., no. 881, p. 548.

171. Ibid., no. 910; HP, op. cit., no. 283.

172. Ibid., no. 280, p. 423; op. cit., no. 904; SC, op. cit., no. LXXVIII, pp. 100-1.

The war embarked upon against France by Henry the eighth in 1544 spared Scotland from another massive invasion which could have been decisive. With two administrations vying for power, each one of which claimed to be the legitimate government, the Scots were completely divided. Neither faction was strong enough to oust the other although Arran possessed the psychological advantage of having received recognition by the Three Estates for his mandate of power. Plans were made to hold a parliament by the Queen-Dowager in order to ratify her position and to legalise Arran's deposition, but his control of Edinburgh made this difficult.¹⁷³ Argyll and Huntly refused to come to the parliament which Mary of Guise had summoned to convene in July,¹⁷⁴ and this meeting was postponed until mid August.¹⁷⁵ During August and September, the partisans of Arran and the Queen Dowager were involved in desultory attacks and counter-attacks upon each other. When Arran seized Lord St. John and the lairds of Calder and Dundas, George Douglas retaliated by capturing Lord Borthwick.¹⁷⁶ Summonses of treason were issued against Angus, Bothwell and George Douglas and a meeting of the Three Estates was scheduled to convene on 6 November.¹⁷⁷

In the confused period from September until November 1544 when Mary of Guise's administration came to an end, George Douglas was deeply involved in intrigue not only in the queen's behalf but also with the English. In

173. LPH, XIX, II, no. 2.

174. Ibid., no. 42(11); Stevenson, Selections, pp. 7-8.

175. Op. cit., nos. 51, 52; HP, op. cit., nos. 310, p. 449.

176. Diurnal, p. 35; SC, no. LXXII, pp. 104-5. Before the end of September, George Douglas was in receipt of a substantial pension from Mary of Guise. Ibid., no. LXXXV, p. 108.

177. Ibid., no. LXXXIV, p. 107.

early October, he wrote to Sir Ralph Sadler to justify his past actions and to demonstrate that he still supported Henry.¹⁷⁸ But his promises of good faith were discountenanced by the English council, who ordered Shrewsbury, the new Lieutenant of the Borders, to annoy the Scots "and therein George Douglas remembered, who has not been behind in working these treasons."¹⁷⁹

Of his two policies of collaboration with the English and involvement in the erection of a new Scottish administration under the direction of Mary of Guise, it was the second which commanded the attention of George Douglas. He counselled the Queen-Dowager to schedule the convocation of the Three Estates before Arran could do so as this would cripple the position of the Governor.¹⁸⁰ Douglas also advised Mary of Guise to support Lord Gray and John Charteris of Cuthilgurdy in their dispute with Lord Ruthven over the provost-ship of Perth,¹⁸¹ and he was engaged in conferences with Glencairn, Fleming and the Sheriff of Ayr to gain their support for the Queen-Dowager.¹⁸² But Arran's parliament met on 6 November which virtually ended Mary of Guise's government. Cardinal Beaton, who had supported Arran throughout this crisis, wrote to Cardinal Carpi at the beginning of November that Arran had been restored and, due to his personal exertions, the Scottish nobles were solidly behind the Governor.¹⁸³ Beaton's appraisal of the situation was premature. When Parliament met on 6 November it outlawed the parliament which was to be

178. LPH, op. cit., no. 376.

179. Ibid., no. 251, p. 130.

180. SC, op. cit., no. LXXXVI, p. 109.

181. Ibid., no. LXXXVII, pp. 111-3.

182. LPH, op. cit., no. 490.

183. SRO, Blairs College Archives: Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, RH 2/7/6, no. 55, pp. 80-1.

held in six days in Stirling by the Queen-Dowager.¹⁸⁴ Angus, George Douglas and Bothwell were summoned for treason on the following charges: invading Scotland at the battle of Haddonrig in August and invading the Merse and Teviotdale in October 1542; sending Sir John Penman, Alexander Jardine and other (unspecified) messengers to England in January, February and March 1543/4; communicating with Hertford in May 1544 (Angus);¹⁸⁵ gathering the barons of the Marches and Teviotdale against the Governor and going into England in October and November 1544 to negotiate with Hertford (George Douglas);¹⁸⁶ going into England in December 1542 and January 1542/3 conspiring against the late King of Scots and accepting bribes from the English (Bothwell).¹⁸⁷ However, sentence of forfeiture was not pronounced against the accused and the earls Marischal, Montrose, Lord Seton the Master of Semple and Sir James Leirmonth were sent as emissaries to the Queen-Dowager and her allies in Stirling.¹⁸⁸

In the face of mounting English belligerence and the firm opposition to her attempted control of affairs, Mary of Guise acquiesced in Arran's retention of the office of Governor and by mid November Scotland, once again, had a single government.¹⁸⁹ In the general reconciliation, Angus and George Douglas participated with Arran in a campaign against Scottish collaborators of England in the Marches,¹⁹⁰ and received substantial pensions in December from the Governor.¹⁹¹ When the Three Estates met on 12 December the summonses of treason which had been raised against

184. TA, VIII, p. 330.

185. APS, II, p. 450.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid. The summonses were continued on 17, 24, 26, 27 November.
Ibid., pp. 448-9.

188. Ibid., p. 448.

189. LPH, XIX, II, no. 636.

190. Ibid., nos. 685, 692.

191. RSS, III, nos. 987, 988.

Angus, his brother and Bothwell (the charges of which were widely known to be true) were simply revoked,¹⁹² and Cassillis, Glencairn and the Sheriff of Ayr received a complete remission for their past offences.¹⁹³ Before the end of December Angus was re-appointed Lieutenant of the Marches; was given a lucrative salary to maintain a force of 1,000 horsemen to police the Merse, Teviotdale, Liddisdale and Lauderdale; was promised half of the escheated goods of any opponent of the government, and was also promised the first bishopric or abbey in the kingdom which fell vacant to be given to his nominee.¹⁹⁴ However, the earl was an ineffectual lieutenant and proved incapable of quelling disorders from occurring on the Marches. A contemporary scathingly noted that, immediately after his appointment, the earl "past to Tamptalloun, and thair held his Yule, and tuik littill heid to the cuntrie, but leit thame lok for thameselfis, quilk causit the cuntrie to be cleane hereit; the cuntrie seand na helpe of the lieutenant maid bandis amangis thameselfis that ilk ane sould help utheris."¹⁹⁵

The role which both the Douglasses had in the reconciliation between Arran and Mary of Guise became known to the English,¹⁹⁶ and they henceforth regarded Angus and George Douglas as enemies. In the beginning of January 1544/5, the Privy Council informed the English wardens that the former enemies and allies were to be captured if possible.¹⁹⁷ There was no longer any illusion on the part of the Tudor government that Angus and George Douglas were sincerely committed to the fulfilment of Henry the eighth's

192. APS, II, pp. 449-51.

193. Ibid., p. 450.

194. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 237-9.

195. Diurnal, p. 37.

196. LPH, op. cit., no. 707; HP, op. cit., no. 381, pp. 525-6.

197. LPH, XX, I, no. 4; HP, op. cit., no. 395, p. 538.

"godly purpose." Although George Douglas continued to communicate with the English through the mediation of his kinsman, William Douglas of Bon-jedburgh and the earl of Glencairn,¹⁹⁸ Douglas's protestations of support were regarded as valueless. Angus and his brother were close associates of Arran and Cardinal Beaton during the winter of 1545,¹⁹⁹ while their former brother-in-law, James Douglas of Drumlanrig, was preparing to resist the expected invasion of the West March by Lennox and Wharton.²⁰⁰ In the new invasion of Scotland which was being planned, the capture of Tantallon was one of the items placed on the agenda²⁰¹ and Shrewsbury was involved in plots to apprehend the Douglasses.²⁰² Any shred of trust or confidence which the English had in the good faith of Angus and George Douglas was completely dispelled by their participation and leadership at Ancrum Moor.

The problem of English collaborators, the "assured Scots," had been of great concern to the Governor for several months. A campaign was planned against them and in late February 1544/5 Arran, accompanied by Angus and George Douglas, led a royal host to Melrose and Jedburgh. An English force at Jedburgh, under Sir Ralph Eure, met the Scots at Ancrum Moor on 27 February 1544/5. Arran and Angus won a complete victory and inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy.²⁰³ All contemporary accounts of the battle

198. *Ibid.*, nos. 396, 406, 407, pp. 539, 552, 554-5; *op. cit.*, nos. 53(1), 218, 219, 220; Stevenson, Selections, pp. 17-8.

199. HP, *op. cit.*, no. 394, p. 538; LPH, *op. cit.*, no. 5; Royal Letters and other historical Documents selected from the Family Papers of Dundas of Dundas, ed. Walter MacLeod (Edinburgh, 1897), no. 3.

200. SC., no. XCIV, pp. 128-9.

201. LPH, *op. cit.*, no. 187 (11).

202. HP, *op. cit.*, no. 406(1), p. 551.

203. The traditional view that Angus fought the English in revenge for their desecration of his progenitors' tombs at Melrose is apocryphal as the earl was present at Ancrum Moor in his capacity as Lieutenant of the Marches. Only three Douglasses were buried at Melrose, Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, the first and second Earls of Douglas, whose relationship to Angus was extremely remote. Fraser, Douglas Book, I, pp. 236, 286, 315; III, pp. 237-9. But cf. Godscroft, House of Douglas, pp. 269-70; Pitcottie, II, pp. 35-7; Buchanan, History, II, p. 346.

concur in Arran's gratitude to Angus,²⁰⁴ while he wrote to Mary of Guise that "quhair your grace desiris ws to persevere in my gude and trew service towart the quenis grace and her realm your grace sall put na dowt bot I sall serve by myself and kyn and freindis at the utirmost of my power for the defence of this realme."²⁰⁵ The defeat was the result of the treachery of the assured Scots, foremost of whom was Angus's kinsman, the laird of Bonjedburgh.²⁰⁶ Although it was not a decisive victory, Ancrum Moor bolstered both the morale of the Scots and Angus's reputation as a patriot.

Yet even after the battle of Ancrum Moor, Angus and George Douglas continued to follow their old policy of promising their support to the English. Henry the eighth received proposals from the Douglasses undoubtedly in the hope that the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Prince of Wales might still be accomplished. When an agent provocateur, one Thomas Forster, was sent into the northern kingdom in the spring of 1545, he was instructed to confer with Angus and George Douglas.²⁰⁷ Although the earl and his brother informed Forster that they desired the implementation of the Treaty of Greenwich,²⁰⁸ this did not prevent the Scottish magnate from accepting a French pension and the Order of St. Michael.²⁰⁹ A campaign was undertaken by the Scots against collaborators with the English and Angus assisted the Governor to suppress them.²¹⁰ However,

204. LPH, XX, I, no. 301.

205. SC, no. XCV, pp. 129-30.

206. HP, op. cit., no. 418, p. 565. The actual slayer of Eure was John Mow of that ilk. LPH, XXI, I, no. 1279, p. 630.

207. LPH, XX, I, no. 502; SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. DX, p. 425.

208. Op. cit., no. 857(1-iii).

209. Ibid., nos. 867, 924(1-ii); SC, nos. CIII, CIV, pp. 139-41; Diurnal, p. 38; Lesley, History, p. 189.

210. Diurnal, p. 40.

the Douglasses, Cassillis and Marischal contacted the English Lieutenant Hertford to inform him of their good will²¹¹ but the English realised that the Scots were hoping to gain time.²¹² George Douglas asked Hertford to spare the lands of Coldingham and Bonkle and advised the earl that "force must be mixed with wisdom, for the King will never recover this country with fire and sword, but with gentle handling of his friends."²¹³ But such sound recommendation coming from one who had completely discredited himself in the eyes of Henry and his council went unnoticed. When southern Scotland was ravaged by the armies of England in September 1545, Angus and George Douglas gave no help whatsoever to the invaders and their lands were not exempted from the general destruction.

The depredations of the English upon their estates and their lucrative French pensions encouraged Angus and his brother to support wholeheartedly Scotland's alliance with France.²¹⁴ In addition, the capture of the earl's father-in-law, Lord Maxwell, by the English and their reluctance to release him, must have angered the Scottish magnate. In order to gain his freedom, Lord Maxwell had his servants turn over the castles of Car-laverock, Lochmaben and Threave to the enemy²¹⁵ but these fortresses were besieged and retaken before the end of November 1545. Angus had been excused from accompanying the royal army in their operations because of his relationship to the Maxwells²¹⁶ but he was disgruntled at Arran's

211. LPH, XX, II, no. 144.

212. Ibid., no. 216.

213. Ibid., no. 414(1 and 11), p. 179.

214. Ibid., XXI, I, no. 322; Foreign Correspondence with Marie de Lorraine Queen of Scotland from the Originals in the Balcarres Papers 1537-1557, ed. Marguerite Wood. Scottish History Society, 3rd series, IV, (Edinburgh, 1923), I, no. XC, pp. 123-5. Cited hereafter as Balcarres Papers.

215. LPH, XX, II, nos. 540, 676.

216. Diurnal, p. 41.

placing these castles in the hands of the lairds of Lochinvar and Garlies who were rivals of the Maxwell family.²¹⁷ Lord Maxwell secured his release from his captors and despite his protest that he had become an ally of the English under duress,²¹⁸ he was not rehabilitated until the beginning of 1546.²¹⁹ Relations between Arran and Angus were not harmonious because of the Governor's treatment of Maxwell and became almost overtly hostile when Arran attempted to marry his son to the child Queen.²²⁰ But family revalries and disputes were relatively unimportant compared to the increasing threat of more massive English retaliation.

Angus continued to display a fervent patriotism and was present in Parliament when measures were enacted against all Scottish collaborators of the Auld Enemy in October 1545.²²¹ He approved of the Governor's plans to invade England in the following year²²² and the earl and his brother were prominent members of the Scottish Privy Council. Despite one contemporary historians assertion to the contrary, there is no evidence to suggest that either Angus or George Douglas were involved in the murder of Cardinal David Beaton.²²³ It is entirely possible that these noblemen were aware of plots against their former antagonist and

217. Ibid.; op. cit., no. 692. The rivalry between these families for political pre-eminence in the West March seems not to have been mitigated by the fact that they had close consanguineous connections. Cf. Scots Peerage, IV, pp. 152-3; V, pp. 104-5; Fraser, Carlaverock, II, p. 461.

218. Fraser, Carlaverock, II, pp. 472-3.

219. Ibid., pp. 473-4.

220. Balcarres Papers, I, no. XLVII, p. 233. Mary of Guise supported Angus in his opposition to an Hamilton ascending the Scottish throne. SPH, V, Pt. IV, no. DLXXX, pp. 550-51; LPH, XX, II, no. 622; SC, nos. CVII, CVIII, pp. 145-6.

221. APS, II, pp. 455, 460. His kinsmen and vassals, the lairds of Buccleuch, Cavers, Ferniehirst and Hundalee committed themselves to a policy of nonappeasement towards the English at this meeting of the Three Estates.

222. LPH, XXI, I, no. 940.

223. John Knox believed that Angus and George Douglas were deeply committed to the removal of the Cardinal by force. John Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, ed. W. Croft Dickinson (Edinburgh, 1949), I, p. 75.

one of the Cardinal's slayers, Peter Carmichael of Balmaddy, was their close kinsman.²²⁴ But it is significant that no other contemporary connected them with Beaton's death, nor were they mentioned in any of the despatches sent by the Cardinal's assassins to England. In fact, the conclusion of the evidence unmistakably points to their firm opposition to these agents of Henry the eighth. In June 1546, George Douglas, Angus, and Lord Maxwell, in the presence of the Privy Council, annulled all their previous bonds which they had made with England;²²⁵ in July Angus became one of the sureties for various Maxwells who had become bound to keep Carlaverock Castle from the English;²²⁶ in August, Angus was present at the Parliament which passed sentence of forfeiture on those who had slain the Cardinal;²²⁷ one week later he, George Douglas and James Douglas of Drumbarrig entered into a bond of manrent with Arran.²²⁸ All these proceedings indicate the willingness of Angus and his brother to repudiate their former policy of collaboration with the English. They gave no support to the "Castilians" during the entire period when the latter held St. Andrews Castle,²²⁹ and in fact Angus played a conspicuous part in conducting the siege against them.²³⁰ The death

224. Scots Peerage, IV, pp. 564-5. Cf. LPH, *ibid.*, no. 990.

225. The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, eds. J.H. Burton and David Masson (Edinburgh, 1877), I, pp. 29-30. Cited hereafter as RPC. LPH, *op. cit.*, no. 1043, p. 520.

226. ADCP, p. 555.

227. APS, II, pp. 469, 471, 479. In fact, another contemporary historian asserted that Angus was among those nobles who urged Arran to forfeit Beaton's assassins. Lesley, History, p. 192.

228. HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Part VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 77(110), p. 37.

229. LPH, XXI, II, nos. 114, 122, 123.

230. *Ibid.*, no. 576; RPC, I, p. 43.

of Henry' removed the one person to whom Angus and George Douglas had felt any attachment and loyalty. For Somerset (the former Hertford), the king's virtual successor, they felt nothing but distaste.

Edward the sixth was bequeathed Henry's "godly purpose" and his uncle and regent felt bound to implement this policy. Somerset was determined to subjugate the Scots by a ruthless and vindictive plan of conquest, although he was not adverse to hiring propagandists to write several tracts which called upon the northerners to unite with England as this was foreordained by God in His divine scheme of History. In the new and final phase of the war between England and Scotland, from 1547 until 1550, Angus and George Douglas played a comparatively minor role. Unlike Henry, Somerset had little use for men whose promises had meant little or nothing. The Douglasses themselves became even more deeply committed the Governor in 1547. Arran supported Angus's claim to the Abbey of Arbroath for the latter's illegitimate son George and several letters were written on his behalf to the Pope²³¹ while George Douglas of Pittendreich's right to the lands of Cockburnspath was recognised by the Privy Council in July 1547.²³² In May both the Douglasses were involved in border raids against Scottish collaborators,²³³ and when the English invaded Scotland in the Autumn of 1547, Angus was among the leaders of the Scottish army which resisted the invaders.²³⁴ When the English

231. SRO, Elairs College Archives: Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, RH 2/7/6, nos. 82, 83, pp. 108-12.

232. RPC, I, pp. 67, 72-3, 76.

233. Ibid., p. 71.

234. William Patten accompanied the English army into Scotland and wrote an account of the campaign. He noted in his journal that in their march from Berwick to Edinburgh, the English were continually harassed by the servants of George Douglas. William Patten, "Expedicioun into Scotland in 1547" in Dalryell, Fragments, pp. 34-7. Cited hereafter as Patten.

confronted the Scots under the leadership of Arran at Pinkie Cleuch, Angus led the vanguard. In the battle which followed the Scots were outmanoeuvred by superior military strategy and by the effective use of artillery, but the section of the Scottish army under the command of Angus gave a creditable performance.²³⁵ However, the flight of Argyll's Highlanders sparked off an exodus which deteriorated into a full scale rout. Angus only managed to extricate himself from the carnage by hiding in a ditch.²³⁶ Within a week after the battle, Dalkeith Castle, which had become George Douglas's principal residence, was sacked.²³⁷

The response of George Douglas to the latest English invasion was to revert to the worn out policy which he had begun in 1543. For all his astuteness, he failed to comprehend that his attempts to support the English and the French against each other was no longer realistic. Throughout the autumn of 1547 he was in contact with Lord Grey of Wilton, one of Somerset's lieutenants, and reiterated all of the old promises which he had made to Henry the eighth.²³⁸ He advised the English to invade Scotland again and submitted for their approval a plan for this.²³⁹ Douglas was not alone in this as Glencairn, Cassillis, and the Sheriff of Ayr were negotiating with the English in a similar vein.²⁴⁰ But Somerset had learned well from his experience with these Scottish nobles two years previously. He regarded George Douglas with especial dislike and wrote an accurate analysis of the latter's whole political behaviour to Lord Grey: "he means nothing but deceit except you see manifest tokens to the

235. Lesley, History, pp. 197-8.

236. Teulet, Papiers, I, no. XXIX, p. 177; Patten, pp. 65-6.

237. Ibid., p. 79.

238. Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots: 1547-1603, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1898), I, no. 57, p. 25. Cited hereafter as CSP Scot.

239. Fraser, Douglas Book, IV, pp. 164-7.

240. CSP Scot., I, nos. 67, 68, pp. 30-1.

contrary, and that not by words but plain deeds only. For if you knew him as well as we do, you would be advised ere you thought of him as you write. When you have weighed on one side his plan for invasion and on the other side his demands you shall find him a good honest body and well meaning for himself, and full unhappily for you and the King's affairs!"²⁴¹

It was reported that Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, Lords Boyd, Crichton, the Sheriff of Ayr and Drumlanrig were engaged in meetings with George Douglas to help the English,²⁴² but it is probable that they intended just the opposite. Angus at first refused to become assured to the English²⁴³ but, before the end of 1547, George Douglas claimed that his brother, Glencairn, Cassillis, and Lord Boyd desired assurance.²⁴⁴ These promises of help did not prevent the English Privy Council from instructing their wardens to despoil the lands of Angus and George Douglas as if they were enemies.²⁴⁵ In fact, at the very time that George Douglas was corresponding with the English, he and Angus were assisting the Governor and the Queen-Dowager to plan defensive measures for the safety of the kingdom.²⁴⁶

By the beginning of 1548, the attitude of the English had hardened towards Angus and George Douglas. Two attacks were to be made upon the earl and his brother during this year which ended the prospect of any

241. Ibid., no. 69, p. 32.

242. Armstrong MS. 6115, National Library of Scotland, f. 228.

243. CSP Scot., op. cit., no. 85, pp. 39-40; Fraser, Douglas Book, IV, p. 174 (which is misdated as 1553 instead of 1547).

244. Op. cit., no. 86, p. 40.

245. Ibid., no. 97, p. 46; Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series, ed. J.R. Dasent (London, 1890), II, pp. 535, 538.

246. CSP Scot., op. cit., no. 129(2), p. 62.

further negotiations between them and the English. When Lennox arrived in Carlisle at the end of January 1547/8 he promised Somerset that he would undertake a campaign against Angus and his supporters who had garrisons at Drumlanrig and Durisdeer.²⁴⁷ He and Lord Wharton invaded Dumfriesshire in early February and he informed the Protector that Angus, Cassillis, Glencairn, Crichton, the Sheriff of Ayr and Drumlanrig were at Douglas and other places with their kinsmen and intended to resist the English.²⁴⁸ William Douglas of Bonjedburgh, an assured Scot and kinsman of Angus, asked the English commanders to disclose their intentions but Lennox and Wharton remained uncommunicative.²⁴⁹ Angus, who had joined his allies at Drumlanrig, unsuccessfully requested Lennox not to molest his kinsmen.²⁵⁰ The English made a forced march, surprised Angus and his associates at Drumlanrig and attempted to capture the earl but failed to do so.²⁵¹ By the end of May 1548, the plans to capture both Angus and George Douglas had been resuscitated.²⁵² George Douglas, unaware of the intense hostility felt towards him by the English,²⁵³ continued to carry on his correspondence with them and hoped that this would give his lands immunity from attack. On 3 June 1548, an English force made a surprise attack upon Dalkeith Castle and almost captured the master plotter himself although the wife and son of George Douglas, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie

247. Ibid., no. 137, p. 65.

248. Ibid., no. 164, p. 79.

249. Ibid., no. 167, p. 80.

250. Ibid., no. 170 (1 and 2), p. 83.

251. Ibid., p. 82.

252. Ibid., no. 233, p. 114.

253. Ibid., no. 213, p. 105.

and George Home of Wedderburn were all taken.²⁵⁴ An ambush was prepared in order to capture Angus, who was in residence at Tantallon, but he escaped by sailing to Edinburgh.²⁵⁵ Both nobles began to negotiate for the release of the prisoners almost immediately,²⁵⁶ but the most important one, the Master of Morton, was not back in Scotland until February 1550/51 after he had been exchanged for Sir John Luttrell, the English captain of the garrison which had held Broughty Craig.²⁵⁷

These attacks confirmed Angus and George Douglas in their determination to support the French in expelling the English from Scotland. Angus consented to the marriage of the child queen to the Dauphin of France,²⁵⁸ and was in command of half of the Scottish forces which were besieging Haddington.²⁵⁹ He played a conspicuous part in the siege of Haddington and was present when the regalia of Scotland were delivered to the French commander.²⁶⁰ In September 1548 Angus received the Order of St. Michael for the second time;²⁶¹ in October English forces stationed in Haddington attacked Tantallon and its neighbouring lands;²⁶² in November he was preparing an army to drive the English out of Dundee;²⁶³ and in December he was occupied in besieging the English garrison at Broughty Craig.²⁶⁴ Angus was fully committed to the expulsion of the Auld Enemy.

Advancing age and the successful conclusion of the campaigns against

254. *Ibid.*, nos. 236-8, pp. 115-6.

255. *Ibid.*, no. 240, p. 118.

256. *Ibid.*, nos. 247, 261, pp. 121, 127-8.

257. *ADC et Sess*, XXVII, f. 47.

258. *Op. cit.*, no. 267, p. 132; *Teulet, Papiers*, I, p. 672.

259. *RPC*, XIV, Addenda, p. 6; *CSP Scot.*, *op. cit.*, no. 271, p. 134.

260. *HP*, II, no. 445, p. 604.

261. *TA*, IX, p. 233.

262. *Teulet, Papiers*, I, p. 197; *CSP Span.*, IX, p. 293.

263. *TA*, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

264. *CSP Span.*, *op. cit.*, p. 321; *Teulet*, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

the English ended the political careers of Angus and Sir George Douglas. George Douglas was engaged in September 1549 in negotiations with Mary of Guise to persuade Arran to go to France²⁶⁵ and accompanied the Queen-Dowager when she visited France in 1550.²⁶⁶ He spent his last years quietly and was dead before 10 May 1552. His testament reveals that he left a considerable estate of £3,582;²⁶⁷ his policy of venality had served him well. The influence of George Douglas upon the political struggles during the minority of Queen Mary was recognised by at least one contemporary. Angus's brother was "sa well knawin in his tyme in France, Scotland and in Inglande, for his politique and wechtie efferis in the oft changes of the gouvernement of Scotlande, quhairver his inventionis and moyens was not the leist."²⁶⁸ Thus the reputation of George Douglas was well served by his fellow countrymen.

During the closing years of his life, Angus played a very minor role in the political affairs of Scotland. In February 1551/2 he and his brother received a complete remission by the Three Estates for their assistance to the English during their exile;²⁶⁹ in June and August 1553 he attended meetings of the Privy Council;²⁷⁰ in February 1553/4 he was one of the signatories of a bond in favour of Arran to receive a full remission for introuetting with the revenues of the Crown while he was governor;²⁷¹ and in January 1554/5 he was one of the cautioners of the earl

265. Stevenson, Selections, pp. 48-9.

266. RPC, I, p. 107. George Douglas is not mentioned with those nobles who attended the Queen-Dowager given in the Diurnal. Cf. Diurnal, p. 50.

267. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/2231.

268. Lesley, History, p. 244.

269. APS, II, pp. 484-5.

270. RPC, I, pp. 141, 143.

271. Acts and Decrees, X, ff. 107-10.

of Huntly who was ordered to go to France by the following April.²⁷²

This was the last public appearance of Angus until his death in January 1556/7.²⁷³

The political career of Angus and George Douglas since their return from exile had not been an exemplary one. Deceit, duplicity and unscrupulous changes of allegiance were the characteristics of the policy pursued by the two brothers. The Douglasses, in fact, promised all things to all men far more frequently than did any of their contemporaries, although their policy was followed by many other Scottish magnates as well. The single paramount factor which governed Angus' and George Douglas's political programme was the preservation of their estates. Despite changes of fortune, English invasions and Scottish hostility, they survive intact. They played a dangerous game and had won. Although later historians have judged them harshly upon the basis of a later historical morality, their contemporaries viewed their behaviour somewhat more dispassionately. A Highlander described the death of Angus thus: "The quhilk wonthyr the erle of...(Angus) decessyt and was bureyd in Obyrnayth (Abernethy)... and nobil lord and valeand and trew til Schotland thoch he was banneyt be Kyng James the fyft lang tym quhill the deces of Kyng James than he com in Schotland and eftyr that wes man in mony feyldis and jepardy of wyer for the weiffayr of Scotland and maniles in the fyeld and battel of Fawsyd nocht far fra Musselbroch quhir mony nobillis and men of God deyd waleayand dedis of armis quhar mony of his kyn and freyndis war slayne..."²⁷⁴ It

272. SRO, Register of Deeds, I, ff. 67-8.

273. Toulet, Papiers, I, p. 278; Acts and Decrees, XVI, f. 432.

274. "The Chronicle of Fortirgall," in The Black Book of Taymouth, with other papers from the Breadalbane Charter Room, ed. Cosmo Innes. Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 126.

is significant that this sixteenth century Scot did not depict Angus as an English spy or Scottish traitor. He remember Angus's victory at Ancrum Moor and his creditable performance at Pinkie Cleuch. Angus, who had earned the especial hatred of James the fifth and who had been an exile and pensioner of Henry the eighth for fifteen years, was eulogised as a loyal Scottish patriot.

During the period of crisis which confronted Scotland from 1543 until 1550, Angus and George Douglas had followed a policy of unscrupulous political manoeuvres, first supporting the English alliance and then reversing their decision to become proponents of the Auld Alliance with France. It has generally been assumed that Angus and his brother in their capacity as feudal overlords to several barons of the realm were able to exert enough pressure upon their kinsmen and vassals to make the latter willing tools of these disparate political alignments. The influence which feudal overlords and superiors had over their vassals and clients was described by the Queen-Dowager and Cardinal Beaton to the French ambassador, Jacques de la Brosse. "The said Lady and the said Cardinal...told us that the custom in this country has always been that the nobles lead to war all their subjects and vassals without giving them any wage or payment, because the said subjects and vassals hold their heritages subject to this obligation, and therefore it is necessary to distribute the King's money among the nobles of this country who can bring a large number of men to war."²⁷⁵ However, the choice of political activity followed by Angus's vassals and kinsmen seems to point to the existence of a different pattern of social cotion.

In the first half of 1543 when Angus was noted for his Anglophile

275. Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse, ed. Gladys Dickinson. Scottish History Society, 3rd series, vol. XXVI (Edinburgh, 1942), p. 33.

leanings his kinsmen and tenants the lairds of Wedderburn, Bonjedburgh, Cavers and Hundalee followed his policy while two others, Buccleuch and Ferniehurst appear to have supported the French faction.²⁷⁶ When a bond was drawn up in June by various magnates and nobles of Scotland to support the English marriage, Angus's nephews Lords Glamis and Yester, and his cousin Glencairn were among those who subscribed to the bond.²⁷⁷ Yet within a few weeks after this, Cardinal Beaton gathered substantial support for his policy of keeping faith with the French and among those who agreed to this were Angus's cognative cousin Lord Drummond and his more distant kinsmen, Buccleuch and Lochleven.²⁷⁸ When Angus had joined with Lennox and Glencairn and arrived in Leith in January 1543/4 to oppose the Governor, only two of Angus's vassals, William MakMoran of Glaspen and Robert Maule of Panmure received remissions for their support of their feudal superior.²⁷⁹ When Sadler wrote to his colleagues in London and informed them that all the Douglasses were united in their support of the Anglo-Scottish alliance, he was in error.²⁸⁰

There were two factors which over-rode all other considerations which faced the vassals of Angus: the unwillingness of the English to curtail their troops from carrying out raids indiscriminately upon all the lands in the Marches, and the threat of invasion and occupation which was especially acute for his vassals of the regalities of Bonkle, Jedburgh Forest and the barony of Selkirk. Even before the invasion of 1544

276. LPH, XVIII, I, no. 592.

277. Register House, State Papers, SP 13/39.

278. LPH, op. cit., no. 945.

279. Register House, State Papers, SP 13/45.

280. HP, II, no. 90, p. 147.

the English had embarked upon a policy of wholesale destruction of all Scottish lands regardless of their ownership.²⁸¹ The English wardens in September 1543 made preparations to attack Jedburgh, the centre of Angus's regality of Jedburgh Forest, Bonjedburgh, Hundalee, Ferniehirst, Selkirk and Cavers which belonged to various tenants and kinsmen of the earl.²⁸² From September 1543 until April 1544, before Hertford's first invasion and during the period in which Angus and George Douglas enjoyed the complete confidence of the English, the lands of Eldyrop, which belonged to Buccleuch; the lands of Blanerne and Blackadder which belonged to the lairds of the same designation; the lands of Coldingham which were held in feu by George Douglas; and the regality of Bonkle which pertained to Angus were looted and harried by the English.²⁸³ After Angus and his brother came into disfavour with the English, such attacks upon their lands and those which belonged to their vassals and kindred became more frequent. Immediately after the Agreement of Greenside was concluded, Henry the eighth ordered a massive campaign against all of the lands and possessions of the Douglasses.²⁸⁴ In June and July 1544, the lands and towns of Jedburgh, Bonkle, Preston and Cockburnspath, all of which belonged either to Angus or to George Douglas were sacked and burned.²⁸⁵ In August 1544, Ferniehirst was captured,²⁸⁶ and in November George Douglas's request that his lands of Bonkle be exempt from English raids was ignored.²⁸⁷ By the end of 1544, the lands of Preston,

281. LPH, XVIII, II, no. 236(11).

282. Ibid.

283. Ibid., XIX, I, no. 33.

284. Ibid., nos. 51, 92.

285. Ibid., no. 684.

286. Ibid., XXIX, II, nos. 99, 128.

287. Ibid., no. 553.

Bonjedburgh, East and West Nesbet, which pertained to Angus's regalities of Bonkle and Jadburch Forest were once again ravaged.²⁸⁸ The English continued their marauding of the earl's lands and by the end of the following year, the lands of Wedderburn, Blackadder, Bonjedburgh, Hundalee, and Kimmerghame had received similar treatment experienced by the regality of Bonkle.²⁸⁹ In view of such depredations, the Scots showed an increasing reluctance to trust the English. Indeed, as early as October 1543, English marauders were being attacked by the servants and tenants of Angus²⁹⁰ to such a degree that the English wardens complained voliferously to the Douglasses.²⁹¹ The wishes of Angus would not force his vassals to comply with his political commitments.

However, the presence of massive English military might allowed the Scots in the East and Middle Marches little option but to become collaborators. A foreign observer aptly depicted their dilemma: "if some of the Scottish lords had temporised with the King of England, it was only done out of sheer necessity and to gain time. Brute force was for the moment on the side of the King of England but Scottish hearts were as far as ever from being subdued."²⁹² In addition, feuds and family rivalries acted as a determinant to political commitment. For example, by the end of 1543 Cessford, who had had bitter disagreements with his kinsman Ferniehurst, had joined with his family's inveterate opponent, Buccleuch, against Ferniehurst, who promptly became an assured Scot in order to obtain English help.²⁹³ Of the lairds of Teviotdale who became assured to the English in June 1544,

288. Ibid., no. 425.

289. Ibid., nos. 432, 456(ii).

290. Ibid., XVIII, II, no. 309.

291. Ibid., no. 443.

292. CSP Span., IX, p. 214.

293. Op. cit., no. 523.

not one was either a vassal or kinsman of Angus.²⁹⁴ But increased military pressure exerted by the English virtually forced the leading feudal barons of the Marches to become assured Scots. By October 1544, Buccleuch, Ferniehurst, Stewartfield, and Hundalee, all of whom were vassals of Angus had become collaborators in order to gain protection from English raiders and not from any promptings from their feudal superior.²⁹⁵ Two months later, the lairds of Cavers, Bonjedburgh, Hunthill, Ferniehurst and Stewartfield had become bound to the English just at the moment when their overlord and kinsman Angus was appointed Lieutenant of the Scottish Marches.²⁹⁶ In the presence of renewed English invasions in September 1545, especially as the Scottish government seemed unable to provide them with security, the lairds of Cavers, Bonjedburgh, Ferniehurst, Hunthill and Hundalee once more became assured to the English.²⁹⁷

The reliance upon other kin groups by lairds who were vassals of Angus but who refused either to support that earl's political policies or who believed that he offered no security was a concomitant of the severity which marked English attitudes towards the Scots after 1544. In April 1544 John Rutherford of Hunthill and Andrew Ker of Ferniehurst bound themselves to defend each other against the common enemy,²⁹⁸ and in October 1545 the lairds of Wedderburn, Blackadder, Coldenknowis and Polwarth, all of whom owed vassalage to Angus, united with their chief, Lord Home, to resist the English.²⁹⁹ All tenurial obligations which they had towards Angus were forgotten or ignored.

294. *Ibid*, XIX, I, no. 641.

295. Armstrong MS. 6115, National Library of Scotland, ff. 147-8.

296. Stevenson, *Selections*, pp. 16-7.

297. *LPH*, XX, II, no. 400.

298. SRO, Newbattle Collection GD 40, Portfolio IX, no. 7.

299. HMC 12th Report, Appendix: Part VIII: MSS. of the Earl of Home, no. 20, p. 94.

An analysis of the respites and remission granted under the Privy Seal to individuals who supported Angus indicates how weak that nobleman's control over his major vassals was in determining their political affiliation. From January 1542/3 until December 1555, two hundred and fifty-three separate remission or respites were granted to all who supported Angus, Lennox or Glencairn from 1543 until the battle of Pinkie Cleuch. Only thirty-five or 13.43% of this total were granted to Angus, his kinsmen or his vassals, and of these only two were granted to any of his vassals whose estates were north of the Forth. The overwhelming majority were for those vassals whose estates were in either Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, or Selkirkshire, which is hardly surprising in view of their geographic proximity to England. Indeed, the two vassals of Angus within the comitatus of Angus who received remissions, Thomas Maule, fiar of Panmure, and Henry Lovell of Ballumbie, had estates near Broghty Craig and gave assistance while the English controlled that fortress. The general pattern suggests that neither Angus nor George Douglas could command the allegiance of their vassals to support Henry's "godly purpose." Ties of tenure and kinship were not strong enough to over-ride the centuries old hatred felt by the Scots towards their hereditary enemy.

When the Three Estates met on 15 March 1542/3 among the most important matters which occupied its attention was the rescinding of the forfeiture of Angus, George Douglas and their uncle the late Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy. There is no undisputed evidence that the royal administration of the various Douglas lordships and estates ceased to be operative upon the death of James the fifth, but it seems probable that even before his actual forfeiture was revoked, Angus was in virtual control of his

estates.³⁰⁰ Oliver Sinclair, the royal favourite who had been granted the captainship of Tantallon Castle, had promised even before he returned to Scotland to turn over the castle to Angus.³⁰¹ The Lords of Council on 15 January 1542/3 enacted an ordinance "for the wele of his grace saule" which allowed everyone who had been deprived of their possessions by the late king to institute proceedings to be re-instated.³⁰² The principal beneficiaries of the government's generosity were Angus, George Douglas and their nephew, Lord Glamis.

At the end of January, Angus summoned Arran, in the latter's capacity as Governor of the kingdom, Mr Henry Lauder, the Queen's advocate, and David Wood of Craig, the former Comptroller, to compare before the next meeting of Parliament to see his forfeiture rescinded.³⁰³ In anticipation of the expected revocation, Angus produced before the Lords of Council on 14 February 1542/3 the bond negotiated in March 1528/9 between himself and James the fifth through the mediation of Robert Barton of Over Barnton.³⁰⁴

300. LPH, XVIII, I, no. 44. The confusion which confronts us on this subject is aptly illustrated by the problem of the ownership of the lands of Cockburnspath. These estates which formed part of the dower lands of Queen Margaret Tudor had been given by her to George Douglas in 1526. His son, David Douglas, rendered an account in April 1554 for all of the ferms and mails of these lands commencing in August 1542. Exch. Rolls, XVIII, pp. 245-6. However, Alexander Sinclair, the former lessee, maintained control at least until 22 October 1542 when he granted a three year tack of the mains of Cockburnspath to Lady Fastcastle. SRO, Forglen Muniments GD 185/1/ Bundle 8.

301. LPH, op. cit., no. 22(1).

302. ADCP, p. 522.

303. APS, II, p. 417.

304. Op. cit., p. 524; Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. I, ff. 210-11.

This agreement provided for the delivery of Tantallon Castle and other fortresses which Angus held in the Merse to royal officials. The late king promised not to demolish them; to appoint only members of his household or royal officials as captains of Tantallon; and to obtain control of Angus's lands without offending his other subjects as soon as conveniently possible. Despite his great hatred for his former stepfather, James had actually fulfilled this contract: Tantallon and other Douglas strongholds had not been dismantled; their keepers had been royal officials and members of the royal household; and the superiorities of all of Angus's lands, with the exception of Abernethy, was in the possession of the king at the time of his death. The registration of this obligation strengthened Angus's position as it demonstrated that the earl, unlike his distant kinsman the earl of Douglas in 1455, had not left Scotland without some recognition of his rights and some hope of restoration. The king had committed himself to a policy of limited disposal of Angus's possessions which was carried out. The confidence of the newly returned earl that his forfeiture would be quashed was so great that when he contracted to marry Margaret Maxwell in February 1542/3, he obligated himself to resign his barony of Bothwell or one hundred merklands to old extent within his barony of Douglas, to his intended bride.³⁰⁵ Although Angus did not legally possess the baronies in question, when he contracted this marriage, the earl's promise was accepted by the bride's father, Lord Maxwell, without cavil.

When Parliament convened on 15 March 1542/3, Angus and his brother presented to the Estates new allegations against the validity of their forfeiture in 1528: (1) they could not appear before the Three Estates

305. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 229-30.

in September 1528 without endangering their lives; (2) after the summons was raised on 13 June 1528, the king with displayed banner "invadit the saidis Archibald and George in the moneth of august next thare eftir following and thair noch resisting bot as trew liegis and subiectes to his hienes beand of mynd and will to obey him and fled"; (3) they were not allowed time enough to compear as they were first summoned on Friday and condemned on Saturday; (4) the officers who had been entrusted to summon Angus, bis brother and uncle to compear before Parliament had not verified that they had done so and that the summons was defective in and of itself as it did not state that the case was to be continued to the fifth of September; (5) the summons of treason was issued on 13 June 1528 and that on the following eighth of July, Angus was ordered to go beyond the Water of Spey to remain in ward, which, if he had done so would have made it impossible for him to have appeared in parliament in the following September; (6) they were judged guilty of the crime of lese majesty as they did not enter themselves into ward, but a Prince's command not being obeyed is not a crime of lese majesty nor yet of the "common Law municipale of the realme" sufficient cause to lead to forfeiture "wherefore said sentence of forfaltour decerning said persons to have forfeited their life, lands and goods for non obeying of the said command is evill gevin against all law natural reson and equite"; (7) the decree of forfeiture decerns that the said persons had committed treason for not obeying a command of the king but it did not specify what they were commanded to do; (8) they were accused of convoking the king's lieges eight days preceding the first of July, which is in error as the original sentence of forfeiture was given on 13 June 1528 and that they were panalised for crimes ex post facto; (9) they were summoned for holding the Castles of Tantallon and Newark against the king without mentioning how they held these castles, or if they

were commanded to deliver up these castles to the king, and that any baron of the realm was allowed to victual and furnish his castles without incurring any crime; (10) they were accused of giving assistance to the laird of Johnstone in the latter's dispute with Lord Maxwell without specifying the manner of assistance, the time when this was given, and that the principals involved were never convicted of this crime; (11) they were decerned to have committed treason in holding the king against his will for two years, yet the summons did not specify exactly the two years in question, did not explain how the king was held captive, and did not prove that the king was limited in his freedom of movement.³⁰⁶

On the same day Alexander Drummond of Carnock appeared and demanded that his forfeiture be revoked as he had not been summoned to appear before Parliament in September 1528, that the officers did not prove that they had done so, and that his case had been continued to another day which was illegal procedure.³⁰⁷

John, Lord Glamis appeared and demanded that his forfeiture enacted in 1537 be annulled as he was not summoned upon forty days notice which was the practick of the realm, that he had confessed to crimes against the king when threatened with death, and that the king's justice clerk had promised him that his life and lands would be spared if he confessed.³⁰⁸ The Three Estates, reflecting the policy of the government, revoked these sentences of forfeiture without question.

What is common to all of these pretestations is the great importance which was attached to the correct procedure in cases concerning treason which had been formulated by the consuetude of the realm. In every instance presented by Angus, Glamis and Carnock, their innocence of the crimes imputed

306. APS, II, pp. 415-17.

307. Ibid., pp. 422-423.

308. Ibid., pp. 420-422.

to them was not proven and the successful outcome of their petitions was due entirely to the lack of correct legal procedure followed by the late king and by the desire of the Scottish government in 1543 to assure their legal status within the body politic. Indeed, in the petition presented by Angus there were glaring inaccuracies: he and his supporters had resisted James the fifth in August 1528, the command of the king for him to enter into ward beyond the Water of Spey and for George and Archibald Douglas to enter into ward in Edinburgh Castle was incontrovertably clear in the original sentence, and the two years in which Angus held the king in duress was expressly stated as the two years preceding June 1528.³⁰⁹ In one important aspect, however, Angus's protest differed from those presented by his nephew and his former client. Among the authorities which he presented in his defence, Angus appealed to the "Common law municipale of the realme."

As in 1528 when he had appealed to both the common law of the realm and the Law of Nature to refute the king's accusations, Angus had hoped to utilise every available means in order to claim exoneration. The use of the term "common law municipale" in his second protestation is quite unique in Scottish history. As the term appears only twice in the sixteenth century its precise meaning is unclear although the consensus of Scottish legal opinion is that it is a derivative from the *lex municipalis* of the Roman Republic which formed the basis of the positive or civil law

309. Ibid., p. 323.

of Scotland.³¹⁰ Thus Angus's initial assertion in 1528 that the sovereign powers of a prince were limited by the law of nature was re-inforced in 1543 by an appeal to the customary and civil law of the kingdom. Angus justified his lack of obedience to his king by insisting that the latter's demands had implied danger to his life and that this was in contradiction to "all law natural reason and equity." His insistence that his allegations against the legality of his forfeiture were grounded in the customary law of the kingdom of Scotland as well as the universal Law of Nature went unchallenged by the queen's advocate. Theoretically, the revocation of Angus's forfeiture had established conclusively the principle that the king was not above the law but was himself limited by the law and consuetude of the realm. However, just as in 1528, the revolutionary challenge to the position and authority of the king put forward by the earl of Angus was neither contradicted nor implemented. Amid the legalistic maze of minute refutations of procedural practice which validated Angus's plea for revocation, the formulation of the principle that monarchical power was not absolute virtually passed unnoticed.

The formal annulment of the forfeiture of 1528 created a precarious situation for the earl of Argyll, who held the regality of Abernethy and for all of the major vassals of the earl of Angus. All of the grants which

310. Bell's Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland, ed. George Watson. 7th Edition (Edinburgh, 1890), pp. 184, 733. The phrase "common law municipal" occurred for the first time in 1543 and almost never appeared again. Robert Colville of Cloish also appealed to this category of law to have the forfeiture of Sir James Colville of East Wemuss revoked in December 1543. ^{op. cit.} ~~Ibid.~~, p. 440. A similar phrase was used in 1567 when the civil laws of the realm were compiled but on this occasion the term "municipale lawis" was synonymous with the laws of burghs. *Ibid.*, III, p. 40.

had been made of Angus's lands from 1528 until 1542 were based on the assumption that the superior was forfeited. When that forfeiture was revoked, the legality of the grants ceased. The reaction of Angus to his vassals and the ease with which he was repossessed of his lands differed slightly in detail as the following comparative analysis will demonstrate.

By the parliamentary decree of 15 March 1542/3, the annexation of the comitatus of Angus and the regalities and baronies of Bonkle, Preston, Crawford Douglas, Douglas, Jedburgh Forest, Selkirk and Tantallon to the royal demesne in December 1540 was declared null and void. Thus Angus entered into possession of the superiorities of his properties without difficulty. The regality of Abernethy, however, presented unusual problems as it had been in the possession of the earls of Argyll throughout the period of Angus's forfeiture. Although the decree of the Three Estates automatically invalidated the great seal charters which had been granted to the third and fourth earls of Argyll, Angus believed that it was essential that a personal agreement between Argyll and himself over the regality be reached. At the end of April 1543 Lord Maxwell and James Douglas of Drumpanrig were appointed arbiters by Angus to meet with Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar Angus and Colin Campbell of Arkinglas, the arbiters chosen by Argyll and to arrive at an amicable solution of this dispute. The four arbiters exonerated Argyll from repayment to Angus of the fermes, mails and profits of Abernethy from 1528 until 1542, with the proviso that any part of the crop of 1542 which had not been utilised was to be enjoyed by Angus. The arbiters also issued an injunction to the newly restored feudal superior "we direct and ordanis the said erle of Angus to be curtess and gude to all the tennentes of the said barony that are infest thairintill be the said erle of Ergyllis fader or himself of quhom thai have gottin proffit thairfor."³¹¹ The agreement between the two magnates was an

311. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230-2.

uneasy one as they adopted opposing political views regarding the English alliance. During the following year Argyll reasserted his claim to the regality of Abernethy. Not until 7 June 1544, when both noblemen were partisans of Mary of Guise, did Argyll finally renounce all claims which he had to Abernethy. In addition, a bond of friendship was drawn up between Angus and George Douglas on the one hand and Argyll and Sir John Campbell of Cawdor on the other, as they "thocht (it) weray expedient and necessar and for help herof and that they may be more able with their kyn friends servants and adherents" to serve the Queen.³¹² Angus's possession of the regality of Abernethy was untroubled by Argyll after the conclusion of this agreement. When the regality was forfeited in the latter half of the sixteenth century, in not a single instance was it granted to the earls of Argyll.³¹³

312. Argyll Muniments, Inverary Castle, Portfolio 5.

313. The regality of Abernethy was granted to Margaret Leslie, the wife of the forfeited eighth Earl of Angus, on 29 November 1581. RMS, V, no. 281. Less than one month later, it was given to William, Earl of Gowrie. Ibid., no. 296. He retained control for only a few years as by August 1584 it was in the possession of the earl of Rothes, the father of the Countess of Angus. Ibid., no. 729. However, the regality was given to Jean Lyon, the widow of the eighth Earl of Angus in December 1588. Ibid., no. 1610. Before December 1594, Ludovic, Duke of Lennox, was in possession of Abernethy. Ibid., VI, no. 192. What all these grants demonstrates is that the earls of Argyll, who were faithful servants of the Crown during the latter half of the sixteenth century were not given the regality of Abernethy subsequent to their possession from 1528 until 1542. The assumption that the comital family of Argyll claimed a right to the regality because of their descent from the ancient lay abbots is unproven conjecture. But cf. Iain Moncreiffe, "Origins and Background of the Law of Succession to Arms and Dignities in Scotland," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1958, II, pp. 477-9.

Unlike the other estates which belonged to the earl of Angus, Abernethy was the subject of bitter and protracted disputes following the sixth earl's death in 1556/7. The regality of Abernethy was claimed by Archibald Douglas, the grandson of George Douglas of Pittendreich and heir male of the sixth earl, in March 1557/8. However, the Lords of Council decreed that the regality pertained to the Queen until the lawful entry of the heir to the late earl of Angus.³¹⁴ George Douglas, the Postulate of Arbroath, an illegitimate son of the late earl of Angus, appears to have enjoyed great personal favour with his father. In a charter granted on 26 May 1546, Angus granted the lands and regality of Abernethy to his son.³¹⁵ Although this grant was automatically annulled when the regality of Abernethy was given to the infant Master of Angus in 1547, George Douglas claimed legal possession of the regality after his father's death.³¹⁶ Between March 1557/8 and 1561 George Douglas granted the regality of Abernethy to Patrick, Lord Ruthven, who in the latter year renounced whatever claim he or his descendants might have to the regality in terms of Douglas's charter, in favour of Archibald Douglas, eighth Earl of Angus.³¹⁷ The actual ownership of the regality was still in dispute in February 1561/2 as the Queen ordered her advocate, Mr John Spens of Condy, to intromet with the fermes and mails of Abernethy until it had been decided who owned the lands.³¹⁸ It was not until almost ten years after the death of the sixth earl of Angus that his grand-nephew and successor possessed the regality of Abernethy undisturbed.

314. Acts and Decrees, XVI, ff. 431-3.

315. Ibid., XVII, 93-4.

316. Ibid.

317. SRO, Curle Collection GD 111/3/11.

318. RPC, I, p. 203.

When Angus returned from exile he was confronted by the fact that his free tenants and vassals had received confirmation of their lands and estates during his forfeiture. In addition, for the regality of Abernethy there was the problem of the legality of those charters which had been granted by Argyll, the interim superior. Despite the revocation of his forfeiture in 1542/3, Angus instituted proceedings in July 1546 before the Lords of Council to have all those charters which Argyll had made to the tenants of the regality of Abernethy annulled. The council as a mere formality decided in favour of the restored superior and complied with Angus's request.³¹⁹ Thus all legal connections which the earls of Argyll had to the regality of Abernethy were entirely severed. But Angus showed himself willing to support Argyll in the latter's attempts to regain 600 merks which he had paid to John Tennant (the one royal vassal introduced into the regality by James the fifth). He had possessed the mill and lands of Aberargy from 1531 until 1542 when he had resigned them in favour of Argyll. In April 1543, when Angus and Argyll had reached an agreement over the transfer of the regality of Angus, he had promised support to Argyll in this dispute.³²⁰ In September 1543, Argyll summoned John Tennant to reimburse him in the money which the former had paid for the resignation of the mill of Aberargy as Angus's restoration had nullified Argyll's possession. The Lords of Council ordered John Tennant to restore the 600 merks to Argyll immediately.³²¹ The charters which James the fifth had made to John Tennant of the mill of Aberargy were annulled on 19 July 1546.³²² As both he and his wife were dead before 26 February 1549/50,³²³

319. ADC et Sess, XXI, ff. 82-3.

320. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230-2.

321. Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. II, ff. 512.

322. ADC et Sess, XXI, op. cit.

323. Acts and Decrees, III, f. 240.

the actual connection which they had had with the regality of Abernethy had ceased before Angus's return from exile.

For two other vassals of Angus within the regality, the restoration of their superior created difficulties whether they had received charters from Argyll or from the late king. Alexander Chalmer of Petty claimed that his father and namesake had held the lands of Balnacroch, Fydlarland and Petvergy in the regality of Abernethy from the earl of Angus. During the earl's forfeiture, these lands had been granted by Argyll to John Chalmer, who claimed to be the heir of the laird of Petty. When Angus was restored, he ordered his bailies to infeft Elizabeth Chalmer and her husband Thomas Ross in these lands as she was the heir of John Chalmer. Angus was willing to accept as his vassals individuals whose predecessors had received charters from Argyll, but Alexander Chalmer began proceedings in March 1549/50 to have the charters of the lands issued by both Argyll and Angus annulled.³²⁴ The lands of Balnacroch and Fydlarland had been given to Elizabeth Chalmer in November 1548,³²⁵ and in October 1551, over a year after Alexander Chalmer had raised his summons, Angus directed his bailies to infeft Thomas Ross in the lands of Balnacroch, Fydlarland, and Petversy.³²⁶ Alexander Chalmer entered into an agreement with Mr John Spens of Condy in November 1551 that if and when he received sasine of these lands by means of the latter's legal advice, he would infeft Spens in the lands concerned.³²⁷ Alexander Chalmer in March 1552/3 was able

324. Ibid., III, Pt. II, f. 354. There is no evidence of the lairds of Petty possessing estates in the regality prior to 1528.

325. Ibid., V, f. 206.

326. Protocol Book of Sir Alexander Gaw 1540-1558, eds. John Anderson and William Angus. Scottish Record Society, vol. 37 (Edinburgh, 1910), no. 19, p. 5. Cited hereafter as Prot. Bk. Gaw.

327. Op. cit., VI, f. 22.

to obtain a reduction only of the charters which had been granted to Elizabeth Chalmer by the earl of Argyll.³²⁸ The dispute between the two claimants of the lands of Balnacloch, Fydlarland and Petverse was still being debated before the council in March 1555/6,³²⁹ and was unsettled at the time of Angus's death.

Other vassals of the earl of Angus were more fortunate in obtaining recognition of their right of possession to their lands in the regality of Abernethy. Eufemia Wemyss, the widow of the earl's kinsman, Peter Carmichael of Dron, enjoyed her husband's estates and had her right to the teind sheaves of the lands of Dunberny, Moncreiff, Petty and Balgonie, all of which were a part of the regality, validated by the council in December 1543.³³⁰ Whether she was actually able to enforce this decree is questionable as her opponents Lord Ruthven and the lairds of Moncreiff and Cragie were in possession of the lands in March 1550/51.³³¹ As she died soon afterwards it is probable that she in fact never obtained possession of her teinds. James Carmichael, the brother and heir of Peter Carmichael of Dron, received a charter of the lands of Balmaddy within the regality from Angus in January 1545/6.³³² His son, David Carmichael, retained possession of the lands of Cragpotty, Balmaddy, and Dron, which had belonged to Peter Carmichael of Dron, and received sasine in 1557.³³³ William Carmichael of Carpow had the charters of his lands granted to his grandfather in 1528 annulled in July 1546 at Angus's summons, but Carpow still retained control

328. *Ibid.*, VIII, ff. 111-2.

329. *Ibid.*, XIII, f. 80.

330. *Ibid.*, I, Pt. II, ff. 556-7, 565.

331. *Ibid.*, IV, ff. 407-8.

332. *RMS*, VI, no. 23.

333. *TA*, X, p. 329.

of his estates at the time of the earl's death.³³⁴ William Geddes, burghess of Perth, began a lawsuit in April 1543 against William Moncreiff of that ilk who had illegally occupied his lands of Brodland within the regality of Abernethy for three years and won his case.³³⁵ In January 1545/6 Andrew Pitcairn received sasine of the lands of Innernethy which his father James Pitcairn had held from Angus,³³⁶ and in October 1546 and January 1546/7 John Wemyss, bailie of the regality, gave sasine on Angus's orders to various small tenants of the regality.³³⁷ In October 1548 David Tiry of Drunkilbo, whose father William Tiry had possessed the lands of Petnemwne within the regality of Abernethy, received sasine from Angus's bailie.³³⁸ In February 1550/1 Egidia Leslie and Stephen Arnot (her son) summoned Peter Balvaird and his wife, George Petgrunze alias Orme and Angus (as superior) before the Lords of Council with the intention of having the charter of the third part of the lands of Petgrunze which the earl had granted to Peter Balvaird retracted and annulled.³³⁹ George Petgrunze alias Orme had originally made a contract to infeft Egidia Leslie in these lands in 1550, but had renounced his obligations after he had received sasine of the lands from Angus on 15 July 1550. Thereafter he had given the lands to Peter Balvaird.³⁴⁰ The persistent Egidia Leslie summoned Peter Balvaird before the council during the following decade³⁴¹ and she appears to have retained

334. ADC et Sess, XXI, ff. 74-5.

335. Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. I, ff. 302-3.

336. Prot. Bk. Gaw, no. 49, p. 12.

337. Ibid., nos. 64, 104, pp. 15-6, 24.

338. Protocol Book of sir Robert Rollok 1534-1552, ed. William Angus. Scottish Record Society, vol. 65 (Edinburgh, 1931), no. 176, p. 52.

339. Acts and Decrees, IV, ff. 347-8.

340. Prot. Bk. Gaw, nos. 69-71, p. 17.

341. Acts and Decrees, IV, f. 442; V, f. 260; VIII, ff. 17; 382-3, 411-2.

control of the lands of Petgrunze which were inherited by her son Stephen Arnot.³⁴² The record evidence of the various land transactions of the regality of Abernethy for the period from Angus's restoration until his death is unusually full and demonstrates that security of tenure was enjoyed by Angus's vassals. The record for his other lordships for the same period, is unfortunately extremely exiguous.

The regalities and baronies of Bonkle, Preston, Bothwell, Crawford-Douglas, Douglas, Jedburgh Forest, Selkirk and Tantallon were restored to Angus after his restoration in 1543. The superiority of all these lordships was regranted to Angus, his wife and their son in a new entail which limited the possession of all of the lands and the earldom of Angus to heirs male in August 1547.³⁴³ Except for the superiority of the barony of Bothwell, the repossession by Angus of these various regalities and baronies was unquestioned. Unfortunately, the evidence for the retention of the lands by the earl's vassals of each of these estates after Angus's restoration is such that we can only suggest the pattern of land tenure.

In the regality of Bonkle and Preston, Patrick Sleich of Cumleich, Robert Atkinson of Sleichishousis and Patrick Lummisden of Blanerne retained their lands without difficulty after the restoration of their superior.³⁴⁴ The Sleichs continued to enjoy their lands of Cumleich until 1575 when they became the possession of Archibald Auchinleck, who had married Jeanne Sleich, the heiress of the family.³⁴⁵ Various lands within Blanerne which had

342. Register House, Calendar of Charters, X, no. 2172.

343. RMS, IV, nos. 144-6. The regalities of Bonkle and Abernethy were specifically exempted from the terce lands of the countess of Angus.

344. RSS, III, nos. 108, 178, 1434.

345. RMS, IV, no. 2446.

been held by the late Henry Atkinson of Sleichishousis, had been alienated to John Home of Reston, who thus became a new tenant in the barony of Bonkle. But the laird of Blanerne, the immediate superior, claimed that these lands had been redeemed. He summoned the laird of Reston to compare before the Lords of Council in July 1547, February and March 1547/8 when his claim was vindicated.³⁴⁶ In May 1546, Angus granted to Mr Patrick Douglas the lands of Easter and Wester Brokholes and the lands of Barnyhill, within the barony of Bonkle, but for some inexplicable reason, he cancelled the grant.³⁴⁷ The personnel of the free tenants of the regality of Bonkle virtually remained unchanged.

The situation which confronted the earl of Angus in his reassertion of his control over the Angus barony of Bothwell presented unique problems. In April 1543 shortly after the revocation of his forfeiture, Angus granted to his new wife, Margaret Maxwell, the Angus barony of Bothwell for her lifetime.³⁴⁸ In the regrant of the comitatus of Angus and its appendages to Angus in 1547, the barony of Bothwell, with its annexed lands of Westoun, Todhillis, Trottaneschaw, Byreclouch, Handaxwood, Hoissoip (Horshop), Hartshaw-meadow (Somerscheill), and Kettilscheill, all within the sheriffdom of Berwick, were given to the Countess of Angus in liferent and to the Master of Angus in fee.³⁴⁹ Angus's actual control of Bothwell Castle and its demesne lands was not effective until after the death of Janet Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, which occurred before May 1546.³⁵⁰ Bothwell

346. ADC et Sess, XXIV, ff. 53, 128, 130, 133-4.

347. SRO, Curle Collection GD 111/1/7.

348. RMS, III, no. 2891.

349. Ibid., IV, no. 144.

350. Lady Bothwell possessed Bothwell Castle in December 1544, but by the following May she had resigned her rights to the castle and barony in favour of Angus. ADC et Sess, XXVIII, f. 13; Acts and Decrees, II, f. 68.

Castle was still held by her servants and Angus, in May 1546 summoned James Hamilton, who had been given a lease of the castle by the late Lady Bothwell, to deliver the castle to him.³⁵¹ The final outcome of this case is not recorded but from other evidence it appears that the earl obtained possession shortly thereafter. In November 1554, Sir John Bellenden of Auchnoul received the gift of the nonentries of the Hepburn barony of Bothwell with its appendages: the lands of Easter Dunsiar, Westoun, Todhillis, Trottaneschaw, Byreclouch, Handaxwood, Horshop, Hartschaw-meadow (Somerscheill), and Kettilscheill within the sheriffdom of Berwick.³⁵² As these lands were also an integral part of the Angus barony of Bothwell, it was inevitable that this should become a source of dispute. One year later, in November 1555, Sir John Bellenden summoned Angus and his wife, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervy, David Home of Wedderburn, Robert Lauder of Bass, and Mr Adam Bothwell, who were heritable proprietors of the barony of Bothwell, to pay him as assignee of the Queen the nonentry due from their lands for the preceding forty-one years.³⁵³ Unfortunately, this case only appeared once before the Council, but the fact that the Countess of Angus in January 1557/8 appointed her kinsman, John Maxwell of Pollock as justiciar of her barony of Bothwell;³⁵⁴ that she was residing in Bothwell Castle in 1565 and 1575;³⁵⁵ and that the eighth earl of Angus and the earl of Morton were carrying out land transactions of lands within the barony of Bothwell by December 1560,³⁵⁶ clearly indicates that control of

351. ADC et Sess, IX, f. 135; XXVIII, f. 24.

352. RSS, IV, no. 2844.

353. Acts and Decrees, XII, ff. 287-8.

354. William Fraser, The Cartulary of Pollok-Maxwell, (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 389.

355. Register House, Calendar of Charters, IX, no. 1976.

356. SRO, Register of Deeds, IV, ff. 68-9.

the Angus barony of Bothwell remained in the hands of the Douglas family. For the major vassals of the barony there is no evidence of their tenure of their estates from 1543 until after 1557.

The superiority of the barony of Crawford Douglas alias Crawford Lindsay had been regranted to Angus in August 1547,³⁵⁷ but unlike the regalities and barony of Abernethy, Bonkle and Bothwell, one heritable proprietor who was given lands by James the fifth retained control of his estates in spite of Angus's restoration. William, Lord Borthwick was granted the lands of Hyndford in August 1538.³⁵⁸ In January 1543/4 John, Lord Borthwick, the son of the original grantee, gave the lands of Hyndford to Gavin Borthwick of Fenton,³⁵⁹ but its immediate superiority remained in the possession of the Lords Borthwick for a considerable period. When William, Master of Borthwick received sasine of all the lands and estates which belonged to his father in 1571, the lands of Hyndford were among those included.³⁶⁰ The retention of these lands by the Lords Borthwick was unopposed by Angus.

The personnel of the vassals of Angus within the barony of Crawford Douglas was otherwise unchanged from 1543 until 1557. Adam Weir, the son of that Adam Weir who protested his right of ownership of the lands of Racleuch before Parliament in 1528, was accepted by Angus as his vassal in his lands of Racleuch in May 1543.³⁶¹ The lands of Whilphill, which had been given by James the fifth to Peter Carmichael of Dron in July 1542,³⁶² were granted to the laird of Dron's brother, James Carmichael of Balmaddy

357. RMS, IV, no. 145.

358. Ibid., III, no. 1826.

359. Ibid., no. 2986.

360. Ibid., IV, no. 1974.

361. Ibid., III, no. 3246.

362. RSS, II, no. 4745.

in January 1545/6 by Angus.³⁶³ The most important vassal of Angus in the barony, John Carmichael of Meadowflat, was given in March 1542/3 a new tack of the twenty merkland of Normangill, South wood and Whitehill, which he had originally received in 1539.³⁶⁴ In April 1544, his son, successor and namesake, was granted the nonentries of the barony of Crawford-Lindsay, the castle of Crawford, the lands of Mudlow, Over Newtown, Granys, the westerhalf of Crympcramp, Threiphalch, Crukitstane, Butheaux, one half of the lands of Little Clyde, and the office of Bailie of the barony of Crawford Douglas.³⁶⁵ Thus the lands and possessions of a free vassal of the earl of Angus who had enjoyed the favour of the late king suffered no diminution upon his former superior's restoration. In fact, the laird of Meadowflat, who was a firm supporter of the government, received the escheat of the goods of his distant kinsman, Peter Carmichael of Balmaddy, when he was forfeited for killing Cardinal Beaton.³⁶⁶

The pattern of land tenure in the barony of Douglas was similar to that which prevailed in the neighbouring barony of Crawford Douglas. In Douglas, however, there had been three royal tenants, Robert Gib, Gavin Hamilton, and Thomas Richardsoun who had been introduced into the barony and, presumably, retained their lands at the time of James's death. There is no further record of Thomas Richardsoun after January 1539/40,³⁶⁷ but from a charter of April 1543 it is apparent that both Robert Gib and Gavin Hamilton had been deprived of their lands in the barony of Douglas. On

363. Op. cit., VI, no. 23. Cf. TA, VIII, p. 6.

364. RSS, III, no. 130.

365. Ibid., no. 696.

366. Ibid., no. 2063.

367. Ibid., II, no. 3264.

9 April 1543, Angus granted to his wife one hundred merklands within the lordship of Douglas: the £20 lands of Drumalbano, the twenty merklands of Likeliok, the ten merklands of Wolvcrewikis and Newtown, the five merklands of Toftis, the £10 lands of Edington, the ten merklands of Madingall and Roidschaw, and the ten merklands of Hirdirig.³⁶⁸ The lands of Toftis and Drumalbano had been granted in 1529 and 1532 to Robert Gib and Gavin Hamilton respectively.³⁶⁹ Thus all the tenants who had been introduced by James the fifth into the barony of Douglas were dispossessed within a year after the king's death.

The former vassals of Angus appear to have retained control of their estates after Angus was restored in 1543. John Symington of that Ilk succeeded his father, Archibald Symington, in the barony of Symington and office of bailie of the barony of Douglas before February 1555/6.³⁷⁰ John Lindsay of Covington, who had held the lands of Corsrig in the lordship before 1532, had lost control of these lands to William Graham, burgess of Edinburgh. However, he and his wife, Christian Dalzell, acquired the lands of Tannerland within the barony in January 1550/1 and he agreed to infeft Robert Dalzell of that Ilk in the lands of Bowhouse in the barony of Douglas.³⁷¹ The laird of Dalzell, who thus became a new vassal of the barony, was accepted by Angus without question. In 1552 the laird of Covington's widow had her right to her husband's lands in the lordship recognised by the Lords of Council³⁷² and the new laird of Covington had entered into his patrimonial estates by March 1557/8.³⁷³ Simon Penango, the faithful

368. *RMS*, III, no. 2892.

369. *Ibid.*, nos. 749, 1243.

370. *SRO*, Register of Deeds, I, ff. 271-3.

371. *Acts and Decrees*, IV, ff. 287-8.

372. *Ibid.*, VI, ff. 517-9.

373. *Ibid.*, XVII, ff. 109-110.

servant of Angus, was still in possession of his lands of Glaspen, Hertwood and Blantagart in the barony of Douglas in June 1557,³⁷⁴ while James Douglas of Parkhead had been restored to all of his lands and possessions by Parliament in March 1542/3.³⁷⁵ Marion Douglas, the illegitimate daughter of James Douglas, received sasine of the five merkland of Parkhead in the barony in October 1553.³⁷⁶ The major vassal of the barony of Douglas, John Carmichael of that Ilk, had some difficulty in obtaining a new infeftment of his lands of Carmichael and Redmyre from his superior Angus. On 23 June 1550 the laird of Carmichael summoned Sir James Colville of East Wemyss before the Council to reimburse him in 300 merks which had been paid by the late William Carmichael of that Ilk to the late laird of East Wemyss (the former comptroller) in order to receive sasine of these lands after Angus's forfeiture. The Council ordered Sir James Colville to reimburse this money and ordered his lands to be distrained for the amount.³⁷⁷ The laird of Carmichael was in full possession of his lands in the barony of Douglas before May 1555³⁷⁸ and his son received infeftment of his patrimonial estates in November 1561 from the new earl of Angus.³⁷⁹ The old vassals of the barony of Douglas retained their estates in spite of Angus's forfeiture and restoration.

The documentary evidence for the lands and vassals of the baronies and regality of Salkirk, Tantallon and Jedburgh Forest from 1543 until Angus's death is so meagre that it is impossible to give a detailed analysis. There is, in fact, no mention in the Scottish chancery records for this

374. *Ibid.*, XV, f. 67.

375. *APS*, II, p. 419.

376. *SRO*, Curle Collection GD 111/11/4.

377. *Acts and Decrees*, IV, ff. 41, 50.

378. *SRO*, Register of Deeds, I, f. 133.

379. *Hyndford Inventory*, Bundle III, no. 9.

period for any of the major vassals of Angus in Selkirk and Tantallon. It appears, however, that Patrick Murray of Falahill continued to retain control of his estates in the barony of Selkirk although there is no indication whether laird of Edmonston did as well.³⁸⁰

The lands and castle of Tantallon were regranted to Angus in 1547 and the lands of Reidside, which had been given to the royal servant James Akinhead in 1532, were given to the Countess of Angus in July 1546.³⁸¹

In July 1551 Angus summoned the earl of Bothwell to compare before the Council to see the charter of the castle and lands of Tantallon given to the latter in January 1528/9 annulled.³⁸²

Although there is no further mention of the case, Angus unquestionably possessed the castle and his widow received one third of the lands of Tantallon by right of terce.³⁸³

In the regality of Jedburgh Forest there had been no introduction of any new royal tenants by James the fifth. George Home of Wedderburn, who had held the lands of Wolle and Wolfhoplee in the regality since the very beginning of his uncle's forfeiture,³⁸⁴ retained control and his brother and heir, David Home, received sasine from Angus on 30 October 1550 of these estates.³⁸⁵

Although there is no direct evidence of the lands of William Douglas of Bonjedburgh, from references to him in the correspondence of the period, it appears that he retained control of his patrimonial estates,³⁸⁶ while James Douglas of Cavers succeeded his father and namesake in the barony of Cavers and office of Sheriff of Roxburgh by November

380. RMS, IV, no. 2471.

381. Ibid., nos. 145, 1223.

382. Acts and Decrees, V, f. 198; ADCP, p. 610.

383. Register House, Calendar of Charters, VIII, no. 1725.

384. RMS, III, no. 641.

385. HMC Report on the MSS. of David Milne-Home of Wedderburn, no. 60, pp. 37-8.

386. HMC Appendix to the 7th Report; MSS. of James Douglas of Cavers, no. 34, pp. 730-1.

1545.³⁸⁷ He, in turn, was succeeded by his son William Douglas in the lands of Cott, Eschebank, Denum, Dennumis, Balzehag, Yarlsyd, Cavillange, Langsyd, Blaikbull, Singlee, Stanishoip, Penkris, Dryloch, Morelaw, Elrichill, Stobbes, Little Roulwood, Foullarisland, Fewhauroull, Quhiterig, Caversmyre, Gyislandis, Tillie, and Caldelaich, which were re-erected into the barony of Cavers in August 1558 and in November 1561.³⁸⁸ The leading vassal of the regality, Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst, despite his turbulent relationship with his feudal superior, Angus, also managed to retain control of his estates. On 26 June 1551, Angus summoned John Ker, the new laird of Ferniehirst, to compare before the Council to see the charter which had incorporated the lands into the barony of Ferniehirst in 1540 annulled;³⁸⁹ although this was done two years later, the actual possession of the lands remained unchanged.³⁹⁰ The laird of Ferniehirst entered into an obligation with his kinsman Cessford to serve the Governor in August 1553³⁹¹ and with this added support he was able to receive marks of favour from Angus. On 25 May 1556 Angus granted to John Ker the nonentries of the lands of Ferniehirst, Corisheuch/Choisheuch, and Lyme Killwood,³⁹² with the office of bailie of Jedburgh Forest.³⁹³ Thus the claim which the lairds of Ferniehirst had made in 1520 to be bailies of the regality of Jedburgh Forest had finally been recognised by Angus shortly before his death. The estates of the Kers of Ferniehirst had survived intact.

387. Ibid., no. 35, p. 731; Exch. Rolls, XVIII, pp. 469-70.

388. Ibid.

389. Acts and Decrees, op. cit., f. 122.

390. Acts and Decrees, VII, f. 86; VIII, f. 227.

391. HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Part VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 78, p. 39.

392. SRO, Newbattle Collection GD 40, Portfolio VIII, no. 1.

393. Register House RH 1/2/385.

The regality of Kirriemuir formed the most extensive bloc of lands possessed by the earl of Angus and the transactions connected with its lands involved more disputes than in any other lordship which belonged to the earl. Parliament's revocation of the earl's forfeiture automatically annulled the charters which James the fifth had granted to various proprietors of lands within the regality but Angus was determined that all of these charters should be specifically annulled so as to leave his right as superior unquestioned. In July 1543 he began a long series of cases in which he summoned the vassals of the regality of Kirriemuir to appear before the Lords of Council to have their charters revoked. On 9 July 1543, David Wood of Craig was summoned to produce his charter of the lands of Whitefield, granted to him in September 1528, to be annulled, which was done immediately.³⁹⁴ In September 1543, Angus and his vassal, James Scringecour, Constable of Dundee, petitioned the Lords of Council to annul all of the charters which had been granted to Robert Lauder of Bass, John Stirling of Keir and Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin of the lands of Ethiebetoun in the regality which Scringecour held from Angus.³⁹⁵ Three years later, on 19 July 1546, virtually all of the charters which James the fifth had granted of the lands of the regality of Kirriemuir from 1528 to 1542 were revoked: the charters made to Robert Lauder of Bass, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, and the late John Stirling of Keir of the lands of Ethiebetoun;³⁹⁶ those made to Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin and Robert Maule of Panmure of the lands of Panlathy and one third of the lands of Patconra;³⁹⁷ those made to the late William Wood of Bonnyntoun of the laids

394. SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, Bundle 7.

395. Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. II, ff. 525-6.

396. ADC et Sess, XXI, ff. 76-7.

397. Ibid., ff. 63-4.

of Kingennie, Easter and Wester Petmowe, Balnagarro, Chaptlton, Over and Nether Ballinshoe and Finlarg;³⁹⁸ that made to Andrew Oliver of the lands of Easter Gagie;³⁹⁹ those made to Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie of the lands and barony of Bawmure;⁴⁰⁰ those made to John Ogilvy of Inverquharity of the lands of Wester and Easter Lednathie, Inverquharity, Newton, Balbryde, Kinnordy, Mains, Hirdhill;⁴⁰¹ those made to the late William Graham of Fintry of the lands of the mains of Strathichty-comitis, outfield of Kirriemuir, Inchbrachty, Inchemyln, Glennowik, Balnaloth, Daldene, Pettindy, Halhill, Kirkton of Kirriemuir and the forest of Glenprossin;⁴⁰² that made to John Graham of Ballargus of an annual rent from the lands of the Kirkton of Strathdichty-comitis;⁴⁰³ that made to the late James Scringeour, Constable of Dundee, of the lands of the Kirkton of Erlisstradichty;⁴⁰⁴ and that made to Andrew Wood of Largo of the lands of Ballindarg and Drumsched.⁴⁰⁵ The structure of land ownership within the regality of Kirriemuir had been restored to what it had been in 1528 by parliamentary fiat and conciliar decrees.

However, just as James the fifth had been unwilling to totally dispossess the heritable proprietors of the regality of Kirriemuir, Angus displayed similar restraint and acquiesced not only in his old vassals' retaining their lands but even accepted almost all those new royal tenants who were heritable proprietors in the regality at the time of the king's death. There were three such free tenants: David Wood of Craig, David

398. Ibid.

399. Ibid., ff. 65-6.

400. Ibid., ff. 73-4.

401. Ibid., ff. 77-8.

402. Ibid., ff. 78-9.

403. Ibid., ff. 80-1.

404. Ibid., ff. 79-80.

405. Ibid., XXIII, ff. 157-8; XXIV, ff. 163-4.

Garden of Leys , and William Wood of Bonnyntoun. The annulling of the laird of Craig's charter of the lands of Whitefield in July 1543 terminated his connection with the regality. However, the other new tenants became vassals of the earl of Angus. David Garden of Leys received confirmation of his possession of the lands of Ballinshoe after 1543;⁴⁰⁶ and James Wood of Bonnyntoun whose father William Wood had been given the lands of Finlarg in December 1540, paid a composition for the nonentries of these lands in 1557.⁴⁰⁷ The new royal tenants were fully integrated into the ranks of the heritable proprietors of the regality.

The pattern of land tenure displayed by the old vasaals of the regality of Kirriemuir demonstrates the inherent conservatism and security enjoyed by heritable proprietors who held lands from the earl of Angus. John, Lord Forbes, who had originally held the lands of Whitefield before the intrusion of David Wood of Craig, received a charter of these lands in January 1543/4.⁴⁰⁸ In September 1544, half of the lands of Whitefield were alienated to David Forbes of Fotherbrus with Angus's consent,⁴⁰⁹ and in April 1545 the earl granted to Alexander Newton (who became a new tenant) part of the lands of Whitefield which Henry Whitefield of that ilk had resigned.⁴¹⁰ In August 1546, Angus granted a charter to William Carmichael of Carpow and his wife Elizabeth Ogilvy of the western half of the lands of Ethiebetoun which had belonged to the latter's grandfather,⁴¹¹ and this was confirmed in November 1550.⁴¹²

406. RMS, III, no. 2214.

407. Ibid., no. 2222; TA, X, p. 328.

408. Op. cit., no. 2988.

409. SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, Bundle 8.

410. National Library of Scotland, Charter 5772.

411. Op. cit., Box 6, no. 19.

412. Ibid., Box 6, nos. 16, 20.

Other established vassals of the regality also received confirmation of their possessions. Ninian Guthrie of Kingennie, who had lost his lands temporarily in 1528, had been restored in the following year and was still in possession in December 1562.⁴¹³ In December 1552, Henry Ramsay, the son of John Ramsay of Lawis, summoned John Scrimgeour of Dudhope and Andrew Lundy of Balgony, his immediate superiors, and Angus as over superior, to appear before the Lords of Council to see his right to the lands of Lawis, Gurechenatre and Newtibber, all in the regality of Kirriemuir, recognised. The Lords of Council decided that Ramsay's claim was legitimate and ordered infertment to be made to him at once.⁴¹⁴ John Scrimgeour of Glaister, who had succeeded as heir male to the late James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee, received a charter from the earl of Angus on 8 May 1547 of the lands of Kirktoim of Erlisstradichty and three eighth parts and one quarter of a fourth eighth part of the lands of Ethiebetoun within the regality, which Elizabeth and Agnes Scrimgeour, the daughters of the former constable of Dundee, had resigned.⁴¹⁵ However, John Scrimgeour of Ballergarno, who had married the elder daughter of the former constable was involved in litigation with the new constable over the distribution of the family estates. It was finally agreed in March 1554/5 that the new constable would renounce these lands in the regality of Kirriemuir and that Elizabeth Scrimgeour would receive infertment. This was done with the express approval of Angus.⁴¹⁶ In July 1556 Alexander Lauder of Umchoquy received the gift of the ward and marriage of Andrew Oliver, the grandson of the late Andrew Oliver of Easter Gagie.⁴¹⁷

413. SRO, Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/V/1/1.

414. Acts and Decrees, VI, ff. 38-9.

415. Op. cit., GD 137/VI/1/21.

416. SRO, Register of Deeds, I, ff. 104-6.

417. Register House, Calendar of Charters, IX, no. 1925.

For the Arbuthnotts of Easter Brichty, and the Scrimgeours, Ogilvies and Murrays of Glaswell, the period from 1543 until 1557 was one of long and acrimonious disputes over the ownership of their estates. John Arbuthnott of Easter Brichty had held the lands of Easter Brichty and Deneside alias Monifieth before the forfeiture of Angus in 1528, and, at his death in 1531, they had been inherited by his two daughters Katherine and Margaret Arbuthnott.⁴¹⁸ Margaret Arbuthnott and her husband John Ogilvy had alienated her part of these lands to Alexander Guthrie, fiar of Kingoldrum, prior to January 1535/6 at which time he renounced his right to the lands.⁴¹⁹ One half of the lands of Easter Brichty were sold to Margaret Arbuthnott's son, John Balbirney of Innerychty, who then alienated them to Elizabeth Crichton, the widow of William Dishington, fiar of Ardross, by May 1556.⁴²⁰ Thus one-half of the heritage of the Arbuthnotts had been alienated before the death of Angus in 1556/7. Katherine Arbuthnott, the other heiress, had married George Gorthy of that Ilk. In January 1541/2, the laird of Gorthy's lands were given to Lord Methven,⁴²¹ who in July 1543, also received the escheat of all the goods of George Gorthy and Tristram Gorthy, his son, as they were rebels.⁴²² Tristram Gorthy, fiar of that Ilk, was dead before 6 June 1546 when the ward and marriage of Katherine Gorthy, his daughter and heir, was also given to Lord Methven.⁴²³ The problem of the inheritance of Katherine Gorthy to her grandmother's estates within the regality of Kirriemuir became the subject of much controversy between Lord and Lady

418. Exch. Rolls, XVI, pp. 554-5.

419. ADC et Sess, VII, f. 77.

420. Acts and Decrees, XIII, f. 303; Scots Peerage, I, p. 280.

421. RSS, II, no. 4432.

422. Ibid., III, no. 373.

423. Ibid., no. 1704.

Methven and herself. Angus, in his capacity as superior of the lands concerned, claimed to have a right to the marriage of Katherine Gorthy but he renounced his right in favour of Janet Stewart, Lady Methven.⁴²⁴ s She appeared before the Council on 16 May 1558 and summoned Katherine Gorthy and her husband Mr George Lundy to pay her £1,000 for the single avail of Katherine's marriage.⁴²⁵ Although the final outcome of this dispute is unknown, Katherine Gorthy finally received a formal grant of the lands of Easter Brichty and Deneside (which had belonged to her great-grandfather, John Arbuthnott) in January 1563/4.⁴²⁶

The dispute over the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes originated in the resignation made by Katherine Murray, the wife of Walter Scrimgeour, who had received a grant of her lands of Glaswell and Torburnes in March 1529/30.⁴²⁷ She had inherited these lands from her grandfather, Andrew Murray of Cullow, who had received sasine of them in October 1491, and in December 1504.⁴²⁸ Her possession of the lands was disputed by her uncle, Alexander Murray, who claimed as heir male to the late laird of Cullow that he should receive infeftment of these lands. After appearing before the Lords of Council in November 1550 and March 1551/2, Alexander Murray was decerned to possess one half of the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes.⁴²⁹ However, he was still attempting to obtain sasine of the lands involved in May 1554 when he obtained the support of Angus, the superior.⁴³⁰ Katherine Murray and her son James Scrimgeour of Glaswell countered Alexander

424. HMC 9th Report, Pt. II: Appendix: MSS. of Lord Elphinstone, no. 48, p. 192. Isobel Scrimgeour, the widow of Tristram Gorthy attempted without success to have her terce rights to these lands recognised. Acts And Decrets, VI, ff. 241-2, 472; XVI, f. 289.

425. Ibid., XVII, ff. 232-3.

426. RMS, VI, no. 1337.

427. Ibid., III, no. 903.

428. Laing Chrs., Edinburgh University Library, Box 34, nos. 13, 15.

429. Acts and Decrets, IV, ff. 229, 232.

430. Ibid., X, f. 228.

Murray's claims by summoning Henry Kempt of Thomaston, who had been given these lands by James the fifth in 1528⁴³¹ to warrant her in the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes at the haids of Alaxander Murray.⁴³² In July 1555 the Lords of Council exonerated the laird of Thomaston from the summons of Katherine Murray and her son as he had proven that he had never received the sums of money which she claimed to have paid for his resignation of the lands in March 1529/30.⁴³³ The dispute was complicated further when John Erskine of Dun summoned Katherine Murray and James Scrimgeour of Glaswell to warrant him in the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes, as he claimed that after the forfeiture of Angus, Lord Gray, the Sheriff of Foffar, distrained these lands for a composition of 262 marks which the late laird of Cullow did not pay. Consequently, Lord Gray sold these lands to Dun's predecessor. The Lords of Council dismissed this claim for lack of proof.⁴³⁴ The dispute between Alexander Murray and his niece continued for several years⁴³⁵ and was not settled until February 1545/6 when Alexander Murray received a charter of one half of the lands of Glaswell and Torburnes.⁴³⁶

The other vassals of Angus in the regality of Kirriemuir were Alexander Ochterlony of Kelle, Robert Maule of Panmure, Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie, David Graham of Fintry, John Graham of Ballargus and John Ogilvy of Inverquharity and, in every instance, their retention of their estates was

431. RMS, op. cit., no. 656.

432. Acts and Decrees, XI, f. 122; XII, f. 136.

433. Ibid., XII, f. 218.

434. Ibid., XIII, ff. 147-8.

435. Ibid., XIV, f. 246; XV, f. 96; XVII, ff. 39, 235.

436. Laing Chrs., op. cit., Box 61, no. 196.

uninterrupted. In December 1547 John Ochterlony, the son and heir of the laird of Kelle, received a charter of the barony of Kelle and this was resigned to the latter's son William Ochterlony in July 1551.⁴³⁷ Robert Maule of Panmure had received sasine of the lands of Panlathy in the regality in February 1528/9,⁴³⁸ but this was disputed by Isabel and Katherine Liddle who were also the proprietors of these lands. In August 1549, Thomas Maule, fiar of Panmure was put to the horn for molesting Isabel Liddle and Thomas Douglas, her husband, in the lands of Panlathy,⁴³⁹ while in July 1555 the claim of the Maules to the lands was recognised by the Lords of Council.⁴⁴⁰ However, Isabel and Katherine Liddel and their husbands Thomas Douglas and John Bannerman summoned the laird of Panmure before the Council in June 1556⁴⁴¹ over this matter and, in May 1558, Robert Maule of Panmure agreed to resign his claim to the lands of Panlathy and infeft Isabel Liddel and Thomas Douglas in them.⁴⁴² The contract was finally fulfilled in February 1568/9 when John Douglas, the son of Isabel Liddel received sasine of Panlathy.⁴⁴³ Although the barony of Bawmure, which had been granted to Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie in February 1540/1 had been among those grants which had been annulled in 1546, the lands of Balmuir and their pertinents remained in the control of the Fotheringhams. Alison

437. SRO, RMS, XXX, f. 222; Walter Watkins, The Ochterlony Family of Scotland and Boston in New England (Boston, U.S.A., 1902), p. 6.

438. SRO, Dalhousie Muniments GD 45/27/87.

439. Pitcairn, Trials, I, Pt. II, p. 345*.

440. Acts and Decrees, XII, ff. 101, 211-2.

441. *Ibid.*, XV, f. 31; XIII, ff. 482-3.

442. SRO, Register of Deeds, II, ff. 465-6.

443. SRO, Dalhousie Muniments GD 45/16/2266; Panmure Registrum, II, p. 314.

Charteris, the widow of Thomas Fotheringham, appeared before the Lords of Council in April 1557 and November 1558 when she resigned the lands of Balmuir in favour of her son, the new laird of Powrie.⁴⁴⁴

There is an unfortunate dearth of information on the lands of the three largest landowners in the regality, John Graham of Ballargus, David Graham of Fintry and John Ogilvy of Inverquharity, and none whatsoever on John Wishart of Logie-Wishart. The free tenantry of Ballargus, the baronies of Strathichty-comitis, Inverquharity, and Crieff which had been given to John Graham of Ballargus, William Graham of Fintry and John Ogilvy of Inverquharity were rescinded in July 1546 and in July 1547.⁴⁴⁵ But as was the case in other lands within the regality, actual possession remained in the hands of the original owners. William Graham of Ballargus, who succeeded his father before April 1548⁴⁴⁶ received a precept of sasine from Angus on 20 June 1552 of the lands of Ballargus, Claverhouse, Muirtoun and an annual rent out of the Kirkton of Strathdichty-comitis in the regality of Kirriemuir.⁴⁴⁷ David Graham of Fintry was in possession of his father's lands in the regality before August 1546,⁴⁴⁸ while John Ogilvy of Inverquharity granted an annual rent out of his lands of Ludoinch in November 1544 to his kinsman James Annand of Forsie.⁴⁴⁹ On 30 April 1545, the laird of Inverquharity summoned James Kirkcaldy of Grange of reimburse him for the £80 which he had paid of receive a new infeft ment of his lands of Inverquharity after Angus was forfeited⁴⁵⁰ and Ogilvy's estates of

444. Acts and Decrees, XIV, ff. 299-300; SRO, Register of Deeds, III, Pt. I, ff. 100-2.

445. ADC et Sess, XXI, ff. 77-9; XXII, ff. 157-8.

446. Ibid., XXIV, ff. 163-4.

447. SRO, Scringour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/VII/I/I.

448. Op. cit., XXI, ff. 149-50.

449. SRO, Inverquharity Writs GD 205/13, Bundle XXVIII.

450. Acts and Decrees, II, ff. 49-50.

Inverquharity, Ludeinch, Crieff, Newton, Kinnordy Mains, Hirdhill, Balbryde and Easter and Wester Lednathie were inherited by his heir by the summer of 1548.⁴⁵¹

From March 1542/3 when his forfeiture was revoked until his death in January 1556/7, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus was engaged upon a policy of reconstructing his control of his disparate lordships, baronies and regalities. He did not pursue a policy of vengeance towards his clients and vassals who had refused to aid him in 1528 in his struggle with the king, nor was he determined to dispossess the new royal tenants of his lordships who held their lands in 1542. The one major change which James the fifth had imposed upon Angus's lordships was the creation of several baronies between March 1537/8 and February 1541/2 and these were abolished by the comprehensive judgments of the Lords of Council in July 1546 and July 1547.⁴⁵²

Apart from this, the pattern of land tenure remained unchanged. When Angus bequeathed to his nephew and grandnephew the earldom of Angus, it was identical to the comitatus which he had inherited in 1514. What is even more significant is that all of the major vassals of the sixth Earl of Angus in his lordships in 1514 retained their estates and their descendants were also vassals to his successors.

451. SRO, Inverquharity Writs GD 205/3, Bundle III.

452. There were two exceptions to the general revocation of the baronies erected by James the fifth. Those of Bonjedburgh and Wishart which had been created in August and May 1540 respectively were not included among those grants which were revoked upon Angus's petition. This might be a mere accident owing to an hiatus in the historical record and as the family papers of both these families are not extant, it is impossible to state categorically whether they enjoyed their lands held from Angus unimpaired or not.

Chapter X

Kinship and Social Behaviour among the Douglasses

The matrix of Scottish mediaeval society has generally been described as one which was grounded in the solidarity of the kindred, clan and tribe.¹ Political and social action has been regarded as a result of the ties of 'kinship', whether real or fictitious, which existed among the members of the wider family or clan. In their social behaviour which was expressed by loyalty to the head of the kindred group, the Douglasses were regarded as exceptional by the Scottish historians of the sixteenth century.² But the degree of tribal and consanguineous solidarity, at least that displayed by the Douglas gens, clearly indicates that ties of blood and loyalty were not necessarily a concomitant of social action either towards members of the gens in general or to the Earls of Douglas, Angus or Morton in particular.

1. For a general description of the tribal and kindred system which was operative in Scotland, cf. I.F. Grant, The Social and Economic History of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh, 1930), pp. 7-9; Lang, History, I, pp. 81-2.
2. The description of the struggle between the last earl of Douglas and James the second by John Major is typical of the interpretation adopted by George Buchanan, John Lesley, and Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Major asserted that the entire kingdom was disrupted by civil war. Major, History, p. 383. Cf. Buchanan, History, II, pp. 154-60; Lesley, History, pp. 23-5; Pitscottie, I, pp. 97-9; Dalrymple, Lesley's History, p. 73. This view has been reiterated by innumerable later historians. One recent authority assumed that the earl of Douglas was so powerful that he could command the obedience of "30,000 to 40,000 fighting men." Grant, op. cit., p. 175.

Any attempt at analysis of the role of kinship in late mediaeval Scottish society is limited by the nature of the evidence available which gives some sort of indication of kin solidarity. In the absence of a concise formulation of the exact degrees of kinship, with its accompanying rights and privileges which existed between all members of a kindred group, in the common law of Scotland,³ we must rely on those documents of Feudal Society, charters, precepts and instruments of sasine, to enable us to analyse indications of social behaviour within the kindred. The Douglasses as a tribe or kindred group present a ~~unique~~^{Good} example of being extended to such a degree that their supposed common ancestor, William Douglas, who lived during the latter half of the twelfth century, was virtually an eponymous rather than a consanguineous progenitor.⁴ The blood relationship between the Douglasses of Dalkeith (who later became the earls of Morton)

3. Although there were no legal enactments specifying degrees of kinship in the civil and common law, there were strict prohibitions placed upon all members of society by the canon law in the matter of matrimony. All persons who were related within the fourth degree of consanguinity, i.e. had one great-great-grandparent in common, were required to receive papal absolution before contracting marriage. By the sixteenth century, however, many dispensations granted for the purpose of allowing individuals to marry were either meaningless or inaccurate in their description of the consanguineous bonds which linked the contracting parties. For example, Queen Margaret Tudor obtained a divorce in 1537 from her third husband, Lord Methven, on the grounds that he and her previous husband, the earl of Angus, were related in the fourth degree of consanguinity. Liber Officialis Sancti Andree. Abbotsford Club (Edinburgh, 1845), no. 98, pp. 60-1; Sir Bruce Seton, "The Distaff Side, a Study on Matrimonial Adventure in the fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," Scottish Historical Review, XVII (July 1920), pp. 284-5. However, Angus and Methven were related in the fifth degree of consanguinity and their kinship did not present any impediment to Margaret's marriage with Methven. Cf. Scots Peerage, I, pp. 173-90; II, pp. 448-60; VII, pp. 509-10.
4. In Chapter I, p. 35, I stated that the nearest legitimate heirs male of the earls of Douglas in 1451 were the Douglasses of Dalkeith. This assumption is based upon the standard genealogies of the Douglas family which have unanimously asserted that Sir Andrew Douglas, the ancestor of the Dalkeith family who lived during the mid thirteenth century, was the younger brother of Sir William Douglas, the progenitor of the earls of Douglas. Cf. Scots Peerage, III, pp. 132-6; VI, pp. 337-8. However, in the four extant charters in which Sir William and Sir Andrew Douglas appear together as witnesses, they are not designated as brothers. Fraser, Menteith, II, pp. 207-9, 210-11; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 1-2; Dunfermline Registrum, p. 97.

and the earls of Douglas was, even before the end of the fourteenth century, removed to the ultimate degree of consanguinity needed for papal approval to permit marriages between members of their respective kindreds while the Douglasses of Bonjedburgh, Cavers, Drumlanrig and the first Douglas earl of Angus were even more remotely connected to the lairds of Dalkeith. To suppose that such separate blocs of families who shared only a common cognomen would act in harmony in all social and political activities is to assume that which patently did not happen.

What actually occurred in the case of the Douglasses was that at least three major and distinct kin groups co-existed: the Douglasses of that Ilk and their cadets (the Douglasses of Drumlanrig, Cavers and Bonjedburgh); the Douglas earls of Angus with their cadets (the Douglasses of Glenbervie, Kilspindy and Pittendreich); and, finally, the Douglasses of Dalkeith with their cadets (the Douglasses of Borg, Lochleven and Whittingham).⁵ The consanguineous and social connections between the parent family and its cadets could, and, in the majority of cases did, become quite tenuous. This process of the evolution of the cadet families into different and independent kin groups was hastened by the acquisition of estates which were located in an area of Scotland where the parent stock had ^{few} little or no holdings. For example, the Douglas earls of Angus, who initially were cadets of the

5. A Douglas family which enjoyed some prominence during the fifteenth century but whose antecedents are doubtful were the Douglasses of Leswalt in Wigtonshire. William Douglas, the founder of the family, appeared during the reign of James the first as a vassal of Margaret Stewart, dowager Countess of Douglas and Lady of Galloway. His descendants retained their estates in spite of the forfeiture of the earl of Douglas in 1455, although they had become extinct before 1463. The Douglasses of Leswalt were connected with the Drumlanrig family but their relationship cannot be determined. RMS, II, nos. 87, 183-4, 762; HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Part VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle, no. 5, p. 10.

Douglasses of that Ilk, within the space of a single generation, became the possessors of considerable lands which had never been held by the earls of Douglas;⁶ the Douglasses of Glenbervie had their estates primarily in the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Kincardine in which the earls of Angus (their chief) held no lands whatsoever;⁷ and the majority of the Douglas of Lochleven estates were located in Kinross and Perth and were separate from the lands possessed by their parent family, the Douglasses of Dalkeith.⁸

Social interaction and solidarity between the various Douglas cadets and their parent kindreds can be demonstrated by the number of charters which were granted to or by members of the different families to each other and the frequency of attendance as witnessed to these grants. A careful analysis of the 1,946 charters, precepts and instruments of sasine which were granted by the earls of Douglas, Angus, Morton and the lairds of Bonjedburgh, Cavers, Drumlanrig, Glenbervy, Kilspindy, Pittendreich, Borg, Lochleven, and Whittingham from the beginning of the fourteenth century until 1557 reveals a pattern which belies the widespread belief in Douglas solidarity. Of the six hundred and seventy-five charters granted to or by the earls of Douglas, only one was in favour of an earl of Angus⁹ and nine in favour of the lairds of Dalkeith.¹⁰ Of the 758 charters which

6. APS, I, pp. 565-6.
7. Exch. Rolls, X, pp. 768-9; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 426-7; SRO, Lord Forbes Collection GD 52/1043; RMS, II, no. 1484.
8. Morton Registrum, II, pp. 169-70; 195; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/129, 130, 146, 162-4, 233, 235.
9. HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 128, p. 209. In all of these calculations, charters which were granted by the immediate members of the families of the various earls of Douglas, Angus, and Morton are also included.
10. Morton Registrum, op. cit., pp. 72-4, 89-93, 188-92, 203-5.

were granted to or by the earls of Angus, not one was in favour of either an earl of Douglas or of an earl of Morton, while of the 317 charters granted to or by the earls of Morton (lairds of Dalkeith), only a single charter was made in favour of an earl of Angus.¹¹ The number of charters which were granted to or by the earls of Douglas, Angus and Morton to their cadet families, although slightly more frequent, did not display a proportionally significant increase of kinship solidarity. The earls of Douglas granted only six charters to the lairds of Drumlanrig,¹² two to Cavers,¹³ and one to Bonjedburgh.¹⁴ The earls of Angus granted only five charters to the Douglasses of Glenbervie and did not grant any to either the Douglasses of Kilspindy or the Douglasses of Pittendreich.¹⁵ The earls of Morton issued only fourteen writs in favour of the lairds of Lochleven,¹⁶ two to the lairds of Whittingham,¹⁷ and one to the lairds of Borg.¹⁸ The attendance of collateral Douglas descendants as witnesses to charters which

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-5.

12. Fraser, *Buccleuch*, II, pp. 20-1, 26-7, 29, 146-7; Fraser, *Douglas Book*, III, pp. 371-2; HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle, no. 2, pp. 7-8.

13. Fraser, *Douglas Book*, *op. cit.*, p. 410; HMC Appendix to 7th Report: MSS. of James Douglas of Cavers, p. 727.

14. *Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations*, IV, p. 731.

15. Fraser, *Douglas Book*, III, pp. 136-7, 181-3, 210; RMS, II, no. 3544; RSS, I, no. 2411. However, George Douglas of Pittendreich and Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, the brother and uncle respectively of the sixth earl of Angus, received several gifts of lands and offices when Angus was in power from 1526 until 1528. Cf. RMS, III, nos. 396-7; RSS, I, nos. 3481, 3490, 3520, 3566 (Pittendreich); RMS, III, no. 356; RSS, I, nos. 3534, 3620, 3788, 3878, 4005, 4060, 4077. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie received one grant during his kinsman's hegemony. RSS, I, no. 3735.

16. *Morton Registrum*, I, p. XXXVI; II, pp. 120-1, 174-9, 215-7, 261-8, 294-5; SRG, Morton Papers GD 150/221, 223, 233.

17. *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-6, 333-4.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

were granted by the chiefs of the three kindred groups was even more infrequent than when they were the recipients of the earls of Douglas's, Angus's and Morton's generosity. The lairds of Drumlanrig, Cavers and Bonjedburgh only witnessed eight, two and none of the charters which were issued by the earls of Douglas;¹⁹ the lairds of Kilspindy, Pittendreich and Glenbervie only witnessed three, two and none of the grants made by the earls of Angus;²⁰ and the lairds of Lochleven, Whittingham and Borg only witnessed fourteen, two and one of the charters of the earls of Morton.²¹ Only on very rare occasions did a representative of a Douglas cadet family of one kindred group appear as a witness to a charter granted by the head of another Douglas kindred. In 1482 Hugh Douglas of Borg witnessed a charter granted by the fifth Earl of Angus,²² and in 1520 and 1521, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie witnessed two charters of the earl of Morton.²³ The response of the Douglasses to claims of kinship and unity appears, for the most part, to have been effective only within the smaller structure of single family groups.

The bonds of social and political co-operation between the cadet Douglas families of any one Douglas kindred to cadet families of the other kindreds seems to have been almost nonexistent. There is no evidence to

19. HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle, nos. 103, 110, p. 40; HMC 11th Report Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 129; Yester Writs, no. 47, p. 4c (Drumlanrig); HMC 14th Report, Appendix: Pt. III: MSS. of the Duke of Roxburghe, nos. 41, 45 (Cavers).
20. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 187-8, 203-4, 439 (Kilspindy); *ibid.*, pp. 231-3; HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 77(11)(Pittendreich).
21. Morton Registrum, op. cit., pp. 123-4, 129-30, 170-4; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150, Box 11, nos. 32, 35, 39; Ibid., GD 150/315 (Lochleven); Ibid., GD 150/1912, 1914 (Whittingham); Ibid., Box 5, no. 142 (Borg.)
22. SRO, Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle V.
23. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/788, 840.

suggest that any of the cadet families of the earls of Douglas, Angus and Morton had any noticeable contact with each other. In fact, the relations between cadet families within the separate kindred groups appear to have been of the most sporadic nature. For instance, the Douglasses of Drumlanrig did not grant a single charter to their closest agnates, the lairds of Cavers and Bonjedburgh, although successive lairds of Drumlanrig and Cavers appeared together in three transactions.²⁴ The Douglasses of Bonjedburgh had no contact with their kinsmen of Drumlanrig but were present as witnesses on several occasions, when the head of the Cavers family received sasine of his paternal estates.²⁵ No apparent contact existed between the Douglas^s of Glenbervie, Kilspindy and Pittendreich,²⁶ while of the cadets of the earls of Morton, no close ties of amity existed between the Lochleven, Borg and Whittingham families. Indeed, when the laird of Lochleven and his family were disinherited from the entail which was enacted in 1543 to establish the succession to the Morton earldom, both the Borg and Whittingham families were included in the tailzie.²⁷ As the family papers of the Douglasses of Borg and Whittingham have not survived, it is entirely possible that ties of kinship and co-operation between the Morton cadet families ~~might have~~ been much stronger than is

24. The lairds of Cavers, who were also hereditary sheriffs of Roxburgh, were on inquests which returned various lairds of Drumlanrig into possession of the barony of Hawick within the sheriffdom in 1425, 1450, and 1514. In every instance, Cavers was present in an official capacity and not because of his kinship to Drumlanrig. Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 25-6, 41-2, 65.

25. HMC Appendix to 7th Report: MSS. of James Douglas of Cavers, nos. 12, 28, 34, 35, pp. 728, 730-1.

26. During the troubled minority of Queen Mary, Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie, however, did assist Angus and George Douglas in their opposition to the English plans for conquering Scotland. CSP Scot., I, p. 117.

27. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/300 c.

indicated by the documentary evidence.²⁸ But the general pattern suggests conclusively that the bonds between the various Douglas families were not determined solely by kinship. Only if ties of consanguinity were reinforced by proximity of estates, as was the case of the Bonjedburgh and Cavers families, were contacts maintained between members of the kindred.²⁹

The problem of determining kinship and its effect upon social action is complicated by the two factors of vassalage and marriage alliances. In the charters which were issued from the royal chancery in favour of the earls of Douglas, Angus and Morton, the latter are invariably designated as the king's kinsmen. The custom of applying the term "consanguineous" to their major vassals was indulged in quite freely by the earls of Douglas and has misled many genealogists to assume that the cognatic descendants of the Douglasses of that ilk reached phenomenal proportions. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Cranstons of that ilk,³⁰ the

28. The Douglas family of Mains also claimed to be a cadet of the Douglasses of Dalkeith and to have originated in the fourteenth century. Unfortunately, their family papers and writs anterior to 1500 are not extant, and in the few references to the lairds of Mains in the sixteenth century, they appear to have had close connections only with the earls of Argyll, Lennox and the Colquhouns of Luss. Cf. The Inventory of the Douglas of Mains Writs, National Register of Archives (Scotland), Survey 238; William Fraser, The Cartulary of Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss (Edinburgh, 1873), pp. 245, 247; RSS, III, no. 1755.
29. An exception to the pattern suggested in the text is the negotiations and activities which were carried on between George Douglas of Pittendreich, an Angus cadet, with Robert Douglas of Lochleven, a Dalkeith cadet, from 1543 until 1547. The contracts and agreements which were drawn up between the two lairds were a direct result of Pittendreich's son's marriage to the daughter of the third Earl of Morton. Cf. Morton Registrum, II, pp. 293-8; SRO, Morton Papers, GD 150/315.
30. Scots Peerage, II, pp. 585-90; HMC 14th Report, Appendix: Pt. III; MSS. of the Duke of Roxburghe, nos. 45, 47.

Carmichaels of that Ilk,³¹ the Maxwells of Caerlaverock,³² the Borthwicks of that Ilk,³³ the Kers of Altonburn/Cessford and Ferniehirst,³⁴ the Sinclairs of Herdmanston,³⁵ the Herries of Terregles,³⁶ the Glendinnings of that Ilk,³⁷ the Lords Seton,³⁸ the Hays of Locherwath/Yester,³⁹ the Somervilles of Carnwath,⁴⁰ the Colvilles of Oxnam,⁴¹ the Hepburns of Hailes,⁴² and the Homes of that Ilk⁴³ were all described as kinsmen to the earls of Douglas. However, none of these vassals of the Douglasses had any proven consanguineous connection with their feudal superior, although later genealogists of at least two of these families (those of Herries and Glendinning) fabricated female ancestresses who were daughters of the House of Douglas.⁴⁴ The blood kinship expressed in the charters issued by the

31. Hyndford Inventory, Bundle I, nos. 1-3; Scots Peerage, IV, p. 574.
32. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 469-81.
33. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 94-108; Cal. Docs. Scot., IV, no. 707; HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlairig Castle, nos. 2, 110.
34. Scots Peerage, V, pp. 5-40; VII, pp. 317-21; Cal. Docs. Scot., IV, nos. 1229, 1232.
35. Scots Peerage, *op. cit.*, pp. 578-9; HMC Report on the MSS. of David Milne-Home of Wedderburn, nos. 590-1, p. 259.
36. Scots Peerage, IV, pp. 402-3.
37. Sir Herbert Maxwell, A History of the House of Douglas (London, 1902), I, pp. 171-2; House of Glendonwyn, Part III: Glendonwyn and Parton (unpaginated).
38. Scots Peerage, VII, pp. 574-5.
39. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 423; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 411.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 242; Scots Peerage, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-10.
41. HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlairig Castle, no. 2.
42. Scots Peerage, II, pp. 137-44.
43. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 444-8; Nat. MSS. Scot., II, no. 60; HMC 12th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Earl of Home, pp. 78, 113-4, 146; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 427-8.
44. Scots Peerage, IV, p. 402; House of Glendonwyn, *op. cit.*

earls of Douglas to their major vassals was merely an honorific one which denoted the close connections between feudal overlord and free vassal. These vassals, all of whom had enjoyed the favour and support of the Douglas earls for several generations, deserted their overlord during the crucial struggle between the Douglasses and the monarchy. From January 1449/50 to 1458, fifty-two charters were granted under the great seal by James the second to vassals of the earls of Douglas which insured the former's unquestioned support to the Crown.⁴⁵ Assistance by the vassal "kinsmen" to the earls of Douglas was operative only as long as the earls remained faithful lieges to their sovereign. When the ninth Earl of Douglas embarked upon his policy of rebellion, there is no documentary evidence to indicate that he enjoyed his vassals' support. Indeed, in the Parliament which passed sentence of forfeiture upon the Douglasses in 1455, at least nine of the temporal lords and one bishop who were present, either shared consanguineous or tenurial connections to the fugitive earl.⁴⁶

45. The following charters were granted during the crucial decade of 1450 until 1460 to vassals and kinsmen of the earls of Douglas:
RMS, II, nos. 287, 546 (Murray of Gockpool); 302, 417 (Colville of Oxnam); 309, 388-9, 455, 484-5, 512, 514, 525, 596 (Home of that Ilk); 349 (Home of Wedderburn); 322, 521 (Hay of Yester); 323, 448, 690 (Lord Somerville); 332, 660 (Lord Seton); 399, 436, 532 (Haliburton of Dirlerton); 676 (Lauder of Bass); 364, 401 (Auchinleck of that Ilk); 374, 422, 526, 535 (Ker of Altonburn); 419, 674 (Scott of Buccleuch); 420 675 (Glendinning of that Ilk); 439, 449-50 (Lord Fleming); 513, 557 (Hepburn of Hailes); 452 (Maitland of Thirlestane); 529, 531, 534, (Cranston of that Ilk); 530, 552 (Rutherford of that Ilk); 602 (Ramsay of Dalhousie); 650, 667 (Lord Borthwick); 668, 734 (Herries of Terregles); 601, 682 (Lord Hamilton); 540, 584, 670 (Earl of Angus).
46. APS, II, pp. 41-3, 75-7. The Earl of Angus was an agnate to Douglas while the Earl of Erroll was the latter's brother-in-law. The progenitors of the Lords Graham, Maxwell, Montgomery, Somerville and Borthwick had either witnessed or received charters from the earls of Douglas. Cf. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 355, 401; RMS, II, no. 301; Scots Peerage, III, p. 429; supra footnotes 32, 33, 40. George Schoriswood, Bishop of Brechin, had begun his ecclesiastical career in the service of the eighth Earl of Douglas. Dowden, Bishops, pp. 185-6; Melrose Liber, II, pp. 572-3.

The earls of Angus and Morton, unlike their agnates the earls of Douglas, applied the term kinsman very sparingly when they granted charters to their vassals and, in general, never employed the designation unless an actual consanguineous connection existed.⁴⁷ Among all of the charters issued to their vassals by the earls of Angus, only the Blairs of Ardblair the Scrimgeours of Dudhope, the Lindsays of Covington, the Carmichaels of that Ilk, and the Homes of that Ilk were designated kinsmen to the earls where, in fact, no proven blood relationship existed.⁴⁸ The growth of the comitatus of Angus from estates within that sheriffdom to other lordships in the sheriffdoms of Berwick, Lanark, Perth and Roxburgh, was not accompanied by a parallel expansion of the comital family to include their major vassals. In fact, the vassals of the sixth Earl of Angus displayed a similar lack of commitment as did those of the ninth Earl of Douglas when their feudal superior was in open rebellion against the king. During the period of Angus's exile from Scotland, none of his major tenants lost their lands permanently as a result of their assistance to the earl. Over fifty charters were granted under the great seal by James the fifth which confirmed Angus's vassals in their possessions and left the structure of land ownership in the comitatus unchanged.⁴⁹ In the two

47. The earls of Morton did not designate any of their free tenants as kinsmen unless an actual blood relationship existed. Cf. Morton Registrum passim and SRO, Morton Papers GD 150, especially Boxes 4, 5, 7, 11.

48. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 59-60; RMS, II, no. 1538; HMC 5th Report, Appendix: Pt. I: MSS. of the Earl of Lauderdale, p. 612; Coldingham Corresp., p. 123.

49. Cf. RMS, III, nos. 638-41, 646-7, 650, 652, 659-61, 663, 676, 678, 689, 714, 751, 761, 764, 776, 780, 789, 794, 913, 920, 931, 1091, 1221, 1232, 1244, 1246, 1424, 1541, 1753, 1824, 1868, 2015, 2105, 2150, 2162, 2182, 2191, 2281, 2284, 2345, 2388, 2402, 2404, 2414, 2601, 2686, 2752.

forfeitures which were passed upon the Douglasses in 1455 and in 1528 only the immediate members of the earls of Douglas's and Angus's families were comprehended in the act of deprivation and disgrace.⁵⁰ Other Douglas families were unaffected by the official prescription.

The pattern of cohesiveness and solidarity exhibited by the daughters and sisters of the earls of Douglas, Angus and Morton towards their Douglas kinsmen was not dissimilar to the policy followed by the latter's vassals. The tendency of the female descendants of the three Douglas kindreds to become absorbed into their husbands' kindreds was a common and universal social phenomenon. The Sandilands family of Calder, who were descended from the sister of the first Earl of Douglas, received various grants of land from their cognatic kinsmen only as long as they were closely connected to the Douglasses.⁵¹ The Haliburtons of Dirleton, who stemmed from the marriage of Sir Walter Haliburton to Mary Douglas, the daughter of the third Earl of Douglas, received only three charters from their Douglas kinsmen, and two of these grants were in favour of a younger son who had become the trusted servant of the last earl of Douglas.⁵² William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, who was both the great-grandson of the third Earl of Douglas and the cognatic uncle of the eighth and ninth Earls of

50. APS, II, pp. 42-3, 75-6, 323-8. None of the vassals of Angus accompanied him into exile, and of all of the vassals and kinsmen who had received permission to accompany the eighth Earl of Douglas to Rome in 1450 and to England in 1451 and 1452, only John Douglas of Balvany, Sir James Douglas of Ralston and Archibald Haliburton went with the last earl into exile. Register House, State Papers, SP 6/20. Cf. Cal. Docs. Scot. IV, nos. 1229, 1232; Foedera (O), XI, pp. 284-5; Rot. Scot., II, pp. 343, 346, 354-5, 357, 362.

51. APS, XII, pp. 8-9; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 392-3; SRO, Torphichen Writs GD 119, nos. 148-50, 152-3.

52. HMC 12th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Earl of Home, no. 79, p. 113; SRO, Ailsa Muniments GD 25/1/55, 57.

Douglas, was the chancellor of Scotland during the latter's forfeiture and was actively engaged in suppressing his nephews.⁵³ Orkney, in fact, supported his sovereign even though he had been deprived of lands which he had received from the earl of Ormond, another of his Douglas nephews.⁵⁴ William Hay, the first Earl of Erroll, married Beatrice Douglas, the sister of the last two earls of Douglas, and received various estates from his wife's brother, the earl of Ormond. However, Erroll, too, supported James the second in his policy of crushing the Douglasses.⁵⁵ James, the first Lord Hamilton, was the stepfather of the last Countess of Douglas and was a firm supporter of her husband's family until 1454⁵⁶ when he reversed his commitment and became a loyal servant of the Crown. Janet, Margaret and Elizabeth Douglas, the younger sisters of the ninth Earl of Douglas, married Robert, Lord Fleming, Henry Douglas of Borg and Sir John Wallace of Craigie respectively, but there is no record of any contact or support by these noblemen with their wives' kindred.⁵⁷ The result of the marriage alliances contracted by the daughters and sisters of the earls of Douglas did not create a wider kindred composed of cognates as well as agnates who acted in social and political unison.

The cognate descendants of the earls of Angus and earls of Morton behaved in virtually the same manner as those of the earls of Douglas. Mary Stewart, Dowager Countess of Angus, married Sir James Kennedy of Dumore and, after his death, Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath; although

53. Fraser, Buccleuch, II, p. 53; William Fraser, The Sutherland Book (Edinburgh, 1892), II, pp. 28, 30-1.

54. Register House, Calendar of Charters, II, no. 342.

55. SRO, Erroll Charters GD 175, no. 1451.

56. Cf. HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, nos. 12, 14-7, 19.

57. Cf. Fleming of Wigtown Papers Acc. 3142, National Library of Scotland.

she received gifts of estates during her other marriages, none of her children or grandchildren from her first marriage either benefited from or witnessed these charters.⁵⁸ Elizabeth Douglas, the sister of the second Earl of Angus,, married Sir Alexander Forbes of that Ilk but, apart from a single grant of lands in the regality of Kirriemuir and an obligation by the earl not to alienate any of his lands to the prejudice of his sister, the ties between the Forbes and Douglas kindreds were non-existent.⁵⁹

The Carmichaels of Balmaddy and Dron, who were descended from the mother of the fifth Earl of Angus, received four charters of various estates within the regality of Abernethy and were, in fact, Angus's hereditary bailies. Such favourable treatment, however, did not prevent the Carmichaels from deserting their kinsman and superior in 1528 during his struggle with James the fifth.⁶⁰

The sisters of the fifth Earl of Angus married William, Lord Graham, Robert Graham of Fintry, Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy and David Scott of Buccleuch. Of these new members who had become allied to the comital family of Angus, only the Grahams of Fintry maintained their connections with their Douglas cognates, but this was more a result of their being vassals rather than kinsmen to the earls. The lairds of Fintry received or witnessed ten charters granted by the fifth earl of Angus from 1470 until 1510 although they did not support the latter's grandson in 1528.⁶¹ The laird of

58. SRO, Ailsa Muniments GD 25/1, nos. 28, 31, 73-4, 77; SRO, Duntreath Muniments GD 97/1/5.

59. SRO, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121, Box 9, no. 3; Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations, IV, pp. 194-5; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 415.

60. RMS, III, no. 610; VI, no. 28; TA, X, p. 329; Anderson, Oliphants, pp. 43-4; ADC XIX, ff. 228-9.

61. HMC Report on MSS. in Various Collections. V: MSS. of Sir John Graham of Fintry, pp. 198-9, 276; RMS, II, no. 1560; Armstrong MS. 6118, National Library of Scotland, f. 184.

Dalhousie witnessed only one charter granted by Angus and the Lords Graham had no future contacts with the Douglasses.⁶² The laird of Glenorchy was anxious to receive full payment of his wife's tocher⁶³ but subsequent to the final instalment, no feeling of kinship or of co-operation appears to have been expressed by the two families.⁶⁴ The laird of Buccleuch received four charters from the earl of Angus, all of which were granted before 1488,⁶⁵ but the ties of kinship were potent only as long as Angus retained the superiority of the lordship of Liddesdale. Indeed, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch and his kinsman, the sixth Earl of Angus, were inveterate opponents and consistently supported opposing political factions. The daughters of the fifth Earl of Angus and his son George Douglas, Master of Angus, married Andrew, Lord Herries, Robert, Lord Lyle, Cuthbert Cunningham, first Earl of Glencairn, John, Lord Glamis, John, Lord Hay of Yester, James Douglas of Drumlanrig and Sir David Home of Wedderburn. There were no connections between either the Herries or Lyle families with the earls of Angus,⁶⁶ although Glencairn did retain contact with his wife's kindred until the 1530s. William Cunningham, Master of Glencairn, was given the lucrative post of Treasurer of Scotland after his cousin of Angus had become virtual regent in 1526, but his support for his kinsman was inconstant even before the latter was outlawed in 1528.⁶⁷ Lord Glamis and Lord Hay of Yester

62. HMC 12th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Earl of Home, nos. 157, 159, pp. 135-6.

63. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 110.

64. Cf. The Black Book of Taymouth, with other papers from the Breadalbane Charter Room, ed. Cosmo Innes; Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1855), *passim*.

65. Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 67-8, 70-3.

66. Cf. Acts of Council, I, p. 293.

67. Fraser, Lennox, II, pp. 226-7.

were vassals of the earls of Angus before they married into the comital family,⁶⁸ but neither gave assistance to Angus in his rebellion against James the fifth.⁶⁹ Both families suffered deprivation of either lands or offices during Angus's exile, but, in at least one instance, this was the result of a long-standing debate which had originated at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁷⁰ James Douglas of Drumlanrig (who had married a sister of the sixth Earl of Angus) never received or witnessed a single charter granted by Angus until after Drumlanrig divorced his first wife in 1539. Drumlanrig's later support for Angus and George Douglas in their political manoeuvres with the English during the minority of Queen Mary appear to have been motivated by the geographical vulnerability of his estates to invading English armies rather than to any consanguineous connection with Angus.⁷¹ The exception to the general rule of the absorption of the Douglas cognates into their husbands' kindreds was the solidarity which was displayed by the Homes of Wedderburn towards the earls of Angus. Before the marriage of the sixth Earl's sister, Alison Douglas, to Sir David Home about 1514, the Homes had been vassals of the earls of Angus and had received several grants from their feudal superior.⁷² After the ties between free tenant and overlord had been reinforced by marriage, the

68. Cf. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 124-5, 397-8; Laing Chrs., no. 379(10), p. 98.

69. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 123.

70. The office of Sheriff of Peebles had been a subject of controversy between the Hays of Yester and the Lords Fleming for over a decade before Angus's forfeiture. Yester Writs, pp. 150-4.

71. Cf. HMC 15th Report, Appendix: Pt. VIII: MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry at Drumlanrig Castle, nos. 25-6, 28; HMC 11th Report, Appendix: Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 77(11); RMS, III, no. 3070.

72. HMC Report on the MSS. of David Milne-Home of Wedderburn, nos. 10, 11, 13, 26, 516, 604.

lairds of Wedderburn received even more charters from Angus and maintained close contact with him in spite of their support to James the fifth in 1528.⁷³ The kindred groups who became allied to the Angus comital family, in general, only continued to maintain contact with their Douglas cognates if they were also free tenants of the earls.

Evidence for the ties of kinship between the daughters of the lairds of Dalkeith and earls of Morton and their descendants with their Douglas kinsmen is much less abundant but the pattern of social behaviour was similar to the one followed by the cognates of the earls of Douglas and Angus. From the mid fourteenth until the mid sixteenth centuries, the Douglasses of Dalkeith became allied to the Somervilles of Carnwath, the Livingstons of Callendar, the Hamiltons of Cadzow, the Arbuthnotts of that Ilk, the Hepburns of Hailes, the Lords Maxwell, and the Giffords of Sheriffhall.⁷⁴ The Hamiltons and Hapburns received or witnessed three and two charters respectively granted by the lairds of Dalkeith;⁷⁵ the Livingstons received or witnessed seven, the Maxwells one, and the Somerveilles and Arbuthnotts not one, of the charters issued by the Douglasses of Dalkeith.⁷⁶ However, just as within the Angus Douglas kindred group, there was an exception to the norm of relationships which existed between

73. *Ibid.*, nos. 38, 46-7; *RSS*, I, nos. 3246, 3866-7; SRO, Curle Collection GD 111/1/1; SRO, Home-Robertson MSS., Box X, nos. 641, 647.

74. *Scots Peerage*, VI, pp. 344, 349, 350, 356, 362, 354 respectively.

75. *Morton Registrum*, I, pp. XXVIII-XXIX; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/286, 288 (Hamilton); *op. cit.*, I, pp. XLII-XLV, II, pp. 256-3 (Hepburn).

76. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 123-4, 132-3, 145-6, 170-6, 179-86; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/1/6, 1198, 1210. In 1423 the laird of Dalkeith was appointed one of the attorneys for his kinsman James Livingston of Callendar. HMC Report on MSS. in Various Collections, V: MSS. of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, p. 79; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/285.

two families united by marriage. The Giffords of Sheriffhall were so often active in the affairs of the earls of Morton that they present a unique example of a totally distinct family becoming almost an extension of the Dalkeith kindred. James Douglas, the third laird of Dalkeith, married Elizabeth Gifford prior to 1441,⁷⁷ whose family administered the Dalkeith patrimony for a generation afterwards. The lairds of Sheriffhall became constables and bailies of the baronies of Dalkeith and Aberdour and appeared more frequently than any Douglas agnate in the writs of the earls of Morton from 1441 until 1557.⁷⁸ But the behaviour of the Gifford family was altogether exceptional.

Occasionally members of a Douglas cadet family would become allied either by means of marriage or tenurial bonds to the chief of a separate Douglas kindred group. The Douglasses of Drumlanrig, Bonjedburgh, and Cavers, after the forfeiture of the earls of Douglas, became connected by ties of marriage (in the case of Drumlanrig) and by ties of vassalage (in the case of Bonjedburgh and Cavers) to the earls of Angus. Drumlanrig did not demonstrate more loyalty towards his new agnatic kinsmen than he had for his former ones⁷⁹ although Bonjedburgh and Cavers did witness more charters granted by the earls of Angus than those issued by the earls of Douglas.⁸⁰ Yet Bonjedburgh ignored his blood relationship to Angus

77. Scots Peerage, VI, pp. 352-3; Morton Registrum, II, pp. 207-9.

78. Members of the Gifford family appear in over fifty charters granted by the earls of Morton in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Morton Registrum, II, pp. 216-7, 219-24, 224-35, 240-42, 247-9; Morton Papers GD 150, Box 4, nos. 97, 104, 115-18, 128; Box 5, nos. 131, 135, 139, 141, 144, 155, 156, 171-2, 175-9, 181-2; Box 6, nos. 183-4, 194-5, 201, 204, 208-9, 214-5; Box 7, nos. 243, 256; Box 27, no. 716; Box 46, no. 1206; Box 47, no. 1248; Box 55, no. 1502.

79. The lairds of Drumlanrig refused to assist ^{their} his kinsmen in 1455 and in 1528.

80. HMC Appendix to 7th Report: MSS. of James Douglas of Cavers, pp. 728-31; Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 65, 84-5, 97-8 (Cavers); Ibid., pp. 15-7; HMC, op. cit., pp. 730-31 (Bonjedburgh).

and fought against him at Ancrum Moor in 1545.⁸¹ Although William Douglas of Whittingham, a cadet of the Dalkeith kindred, aided his remote kinsman Angus in the autumn of 1528, his support was probably prompted not by any ties of consanguinity but by the fact that Angus's forces which controlled Tantallon, were a direct threat to his lands.⁸² The Douglasses of Lochleven, who were the nearest legitimate heirs male to the earls of Morton, became involved in a series of disputes with the Douglasses of Pittendreich over the succession to that earldom. The origin of the Pittendreich family is shrouded in mystery and it is impossible to state from what parent Douglas kindred group they owed their derivation. Not until 1469 does one James Douglas of Pittendreich emerge from obscurity, and not until 1524 when his granddaughter and heiress, Elizabeth Douglas married the earl of Angus's brother, did the family become connected with another Douglas kindred.⁸³ George Douglas, who inherited his wife's estates, arranged for his younger son James to marry the youngest daughter of the earl of Morton, and under a special entail became the heir presumptive to the estates of the Dalkeith family. Morton, who had been coerced in 1540 into resigning his comitatus in favour of his nearest heir male, Robert Douglas of Lochleven, viewed his kinsman with great disfavour and enlisted the support of Angus and the laird of Pittendreich to radically change the succession which governed the Morton earldom. By means of a contract drawn up in March 1542/3,⁸⁴ the earl of Morton entailed his estates to his youngest daughter and her husband, whom failing to the lairds of

81. RSS, IV, no. 1149.

82. Ibid., II, no. 30.

83. RMS, II, no. 984; TA, V, p. 173.

84. SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/300c.

Pittendreich and earls of Angus, whom were to have precedence over all other cadets of the Dalkeith kindred. George Douglas's son became earl in 1549,⁸⁵ and, only after the legitimate heirs male of Pittendreich and the sixth earl of Angus failed, did the earldom of Morton revert to the heirs male of the original possessors.⁸⁶ The relations between the Lochleven family, who represented the old kindred, and the Pittendreich family who were introduced into the Dalkeith gens, were marked by disputes and animosity.⁸⁷

In this appraisal of the social and political activities and cohesiveness displayed by the major Douglas families during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we have been dependent upon the documentary evidence which, in many cases by fortuitous chance, has survived. If the writs and charter chests of the Bonjedburgh, Borg, Glenbervie, Kilspindy, and Pittendreich families were still extant, the evidence of the Douglasses acting in concert might have reflected the common assumption that members of these kindred displayed great political and social solidarity.⁸⁸ But the documentary evidence does not confirm this belief; nor

85. Morton Registrum, II, pp. 274-5, 293-8; SRO, Morton Papers GD 150/772; Acts and Decrees, I, Pt. II, ff. 304-7.

86. Scots Peerage, VI, p. 371.

87. Cf. Morton Registrum passim. Disputes over the inheritance of lands could and often did divide members of a kin group. In the only surviving letter written by Margaret Douglas, Countess of Lennox to her father, the sixth Earl of Angus, she casts opprobrium upon her uncle George Douglas of Pittendreich, whom she claimed intended to inherit the comital demesne. Fraser, Douglas Book, IV, pp. 173-4.

88. I.F. Grant, The Social and Economic History of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh, 1930), p. 177; Donaldson, James V, p. 12: "Again and again it is plain that Hamiltons, or Stewarts, or Douglasses, stood or fell, were forfeited or rehabilitated, en bloc."

does it shed much light on such important factors as economic power or personal motivation. Rather than a united array of all the Douglases acting in unison when the heads of the kindred were threatened in 1455 and in 1528, the evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that solidarity to the kindred disappeared when confronted with the prospect of massive retaliation by the king. The wholehearted support of the separate Douglas families for the monarchy in its struggle against the intractable ninth Earl of Douglas and sixth Earl of Angus indicates that the fear of forfeiture and consequent loss of possessions was a far more potent agent of political behaviour than blood relationship. Although the importance of consanguinity as a factor in the relations which existed between individuals cannot be underestimated,⁸⁹ in the case of the Douglases, it appears to have been an effective but not an entirely dominant motive which governed social action.

89. Archibald Douglas of Glenbervie was excused from the siege of Tantallon in 1528 because he was "sa tendir of blude" to Angus. However, no remissions were given to other Douglases to excuse their presence from attending the royal army upon this occasion. Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 228.

APPENDIX I

Grantees and Witnesses of the Charters by the
Earls of Angus 1389-1557

In this appendix, I have given a list of the vassals and witnesses of all the known charters, precepts and instruments of sasine which were issued by Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus, and her descendants, the Douglas earls of Angus, during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All those whose ties with the earls of Angus are known to be consanguineous have a small (c) after their name while all those whose connection was purely tenurial are indicated, similarly, with a (t). The dates given for each individual are the earliest and the latest occasions upon which they appear while the sources listed are complete. For reasons of brevity, all HMC reports are heavily contracted - e.g. HMC Milne-Home, etc. In several cases, the same charter has been published in two or more sources but for purposes of enumeration, I have, of course, counted this only once, although all sources are given.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Witness</u>
Mr John Abercromby Morton Papers GD 150/11/324	5 Dec. 1555		1
William Abernethy of Saltoun (c) Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p.40	15 May 1397		1
David Adamson, Bailie to Earl NLS Charter 5772	21 April 1545		1
Patrick Adamson Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70	27 Feb. 1439/40		1
George Anderson, Bailie to earl John Anderson, ed., <u>Protocol Book of Sir Alexander Gaw 1540-1558</u> , no. 104, p. 24. Cited hereafter as <u>Prot. Bk. Sir Alexander Gaw.</u>	22 Oct. 1546		1
Thomas Anderson Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 190	25 June 1509		1
Thomas Andrew of Threpland Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70	27 Feb. 1439/40		1
David Angus SRO, RH 1/2/267; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 162, p. 42.	15 May 1470		1
Alexander Annand <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 165, p. 43.	11 Feb. 1471/2		1
David Annand, Bailie to earl Laing Chrs., no. 341, p. 87	7 Nov. 1522		1
Thomas Annand of Kinwherries, bailie to earl (t) Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; NLS Charter 8920.	1 July 1511		1
George, Abbot of Arbroath Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, p. 117	26 June 1509		1

John Arbuthnott of
Brichty (t)
Scringeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/10.
5 Dec. 1511 1

Colin, Earl of Argyll
29 Oct. 1489-
15 June 1525 1 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 223; HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118.

Archibald, Earl of Argyll
30 April 1543-
7 June 1544 2
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230-2; Argyll Muniments at Inverary Portfolio 5

Andrew Arnot of
That Ilk
26 Aug. 1511 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 1.

John Arnot
17 Feb. 1509/10 1
RMS, III, no 49.

James, Earl of Arran
22 Aug. 1546 1
HMC Hamilton (1887), no. 77 (II), p. 37.

Thomas Atkinson
(of Bonkle) (t)
7 October 1429 1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 6, Bundle 11

John Auchinleck
of that Ilk
20 Dec. 1424 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 59-60

John Auchinleck,
Parson of Glenbervy
25 Jan. 1495/6 1
Glencairn Muniments GD 39/4/22

Hugh Auchinleck
of that Ilk
1 April 1491 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 21

Andrew, Lord Avandale	24 April 1464	1
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/6		
Robert Ayer of Fastfurdland (t)	ca. 1375	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 24		
Sir Andrew Bachley, Chaplain	18 May 1496- 16 Aug. 1511	3
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , nos. 227-28; no. 284, p. 72		
David Bachetar (?Bachelar)	11 Feb. 1471/2	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 165, 43.		
Patrick Bachelar	11 Nove. 1510	1
Register House Cal. Charters, IV, no. 961		
Alexander Baillie	14 Jan. 1527/8	1
<u>RMS</u> , VI, no. 28.		
Mr Cuthbert Baillie, Parson of Sanquhar	14 December 1500	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 175		
James Baillie	29 Nov. 1474	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 11, p. 23		
John Balearnomth (?Balmanno) of that ilk (?t)	25 June 1509	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 190		
John Bannatyne of Corhouse, Bailie of earl	30 May 1504- 13 Mar. 1506/7	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 181; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Papers from Baldovan House, no. 1a		
Mr John Bannatyne, N.P. M.A.	18 April 1527- 18 Aug. 1548	4

Mr John Bannatyne [cont.]

Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 439; RMS, IV, no. 1223; Curle.

Collection GD 111/1/7; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3

Sir John Bannatyne, Subprior of Newbattle	26 July 1546	1
<u>RMS</u> , IV, no. 1223		
Richard Bannatyne of Corhouse	9 March 1480/1	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1558		
Simon Bannatyne, Baillie to earl	9 May 1543	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 32146		
Sir Robert Barbour, <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539	1 June 1500	1
David Barclay of Cullerny	5 July 1494	1
<u>HMC Home</u> no. 159, p. 136		
Mr William Barclay, M.A.	17 Feb. 1509/10	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 49		
Henry Barry, Parson of Cullace	7 Aug. 1476	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1560; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 169, p. 43.		
William Barre(y)	18 May 1496	2
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , nos. 227-8, p. 58		
Sir James Bassindayne	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
Thomas Bell	ca. 1380	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 397		

- Mr William Bell, 23 Mar. 1438/9 1
 earl's chaplain
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 4
- Sir William Bell, N.P. 6 Aug. 1495 2
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 146-7
- Patrick Bellenden and 4 March 1492/3 1
 Marion Douglas, his wife (t)
 G. Donaldson, ed., Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515, no. 581,
 p. 131; cited hereafter as Prot. Bk. Jas Young.
- David Berry 11 Nov. 1510 1
 Register House, Cal. of Charters, IV, no. 961
- Andrew Blackadder 13 March 1510/11 1
 of that ilk
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 203-4
- Robert Blackadder, 29 Oct. 1489 1
 Bishop of Glasgow
 HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118
- Henry Blackbeard 22 Sept. 1475 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 106
- Thomas Blair of 17 June 1496 1
 Bathiok
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 155
- William Blair of 20 Dec. 1424 1
 Ardblair (t)
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 59-60
- Sir James Bode (?Boyd) 22 Sept. 1475 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 106
- Adam Bonkle (t) ca. 1420 1
Laing Chrs., no. 98, p. 26

Sir William Borthwick
of that ilk 8 April 1389 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 34

Sir William Borthwick 8 June 1424 2
of that ilk (ii)
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, nos. 66-7.

William Borthwick, fiar 8 June 1424 2
of that ilk
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, nos. 66-7

William Borthwick 2 Jan. 1378/9 1
of Caitwood
HMC Milne-Home, no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141

Sir William Borthwick 20 Aug. 1425 1
of Heriotmuir
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 61

William Borthwick of Ligartwood ca. 1375-ca. 1397 4
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 24, 34-6

Thomas Borthwick 23 March 1438/9 1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 4

Adam, Earl of Bothwell 26 June 1509 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 438-9

Patrick, Earl of
Bothwell 29 Oct. 1489 1
HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118

Alexander Boyd 25 Sept. 1498- 2
7 Feb. 1509/10
RMS, II, nos. 2457, 3413

- Elizabeth, Boyd, 21 May 1468 1
 Countess of Angus (c)
RMS, II, no. 945
- Robert Boyd in 24 June 1525 1
 Kilmarnock (c)
 "Boyd Papers" in Archaeological and Historical Collections relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigtown, III, no. 25, pp. 160-61
- Robert, Master of 12 April 1546 1
 Boyd (c)
 Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141
- Mr Thomas Boyd, N.P. and 12 Aug. 1499- 19
 Parson of Carmichael 20 Jan. 1545/6
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 175, 183, 188, 200, 202; RMS, II, nos. 2974, 3389, 3413, 3544, 3664; III, no. 49; VI, no. 23, 28; Fraser, Buccleuch, II, p. 119; Grant, Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 442-3; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 1; Box 9, Bundle 1, no. 3; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Papers from Baldovan House, no. 1a
- John Boyle 31 Jan. 1488/9- 1
 11 Nove. 1510
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 123; Register House, Cal. of Charters, IV, no. 961
- Alexander Boys of 9 March 1480/1 1
 Panbride
RMS, II, no. 1558
- Alexander Boys 11 May 1484-9 May 1491 2
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 5, Bundle 2; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2

John Boys	26 Nov. 1554	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6		
Walter, Lord of Brechin	ca. 1379-89	1
SRO, RH 1/2/143		
Andrew Brown	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
John Brown of Dalgory	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
John Brown of Hartree	27 Feb. 1439/40	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70		
Rolland Brown	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
William Brown, Parson of Hutoun	19 April 1400	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 46		
Sir William Brown	7-17 Feb. 1509/10	2
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3413; III, no. 49		
Alexander Bruce	9 Feb. 1469/70	1
Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, pp. 67-8		
John Bryson	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no 2539		
John, Earl of Buchan (t)	23 Sept. 1506- 31 March 1507	2
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6; Box 6, Bundle 11		
Mr Patrick Huttergask	24 Jan. 1496/7	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 160		
Colin Campbell of Ardkinglas	30 April 1543- 7 June 1544	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 232; Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5.		

- Donald Compbell, 30 April 1543- 2
 Abbot of Coupar-Angus 7 June 1544
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 232; Argyll Muniments at Inverary
 Portfolio 5
- James Campbell of 15 March 1491/2 1
 Bracanside (t)
 HMC Hamilton (1887), no. 53, pp. 28-9
- Sir Henry Cant 1 Feb. 1524/5 1
 RMS, III, no. 617
- Charles Carmichael 23 Nov. 1546 1
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 16
- George Carmichael, 22 Sept. 1475- 5
 Bishop-Elect of Glasgow 11 May 1484
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 101, 106, 436; Inverquharity Writs
 GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2
- George Carmichael 7 Feb. 1514/5 1
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, no. 42(I)
- James Carmichael of 15 May 1470- 3
 Balmaddy (t and c) 28 Jan 1488/9
 Laing Chrs., no. 162, p. 42, SRO RH 1/2/267, HMC Home, no. 100, p. 118
- James Carmichael of 20 Jan. 1545/6 1
 Balmaddy (t and c)
 RMS, VI, no. 23
- John Carmichael of 9 Feb. 1469/70 1
 Balmaddy (c)
 Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 67-8
- John Carmichael of 8 Sept. 1482- 4
 that ilk (t) 4 Jan. 1483/4
 Hyndford Inventory, Bundle I, nos. 4-6; RMS, II, no. 1619

- John Carmichael of that Ilk (t) 30 Jan. 1551/2 1
Douglas Book, III, p. 440
- John Carmichael, fiar 30 Jan. 1551/2 1
of Meadowflat (t)
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 440
- John Carmichael (t?) 26 Nov. 1470 1
HMC Cavers, no. 15, p. 728
- Peter Carmichael in 20-29 Jan. 1545/6 2
Eagbie, bailie to earl
RMS, VI, no. 23; Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 49, p. 12.
- Peter Carmichael of 5 July 1494- 6 14
Dron (t and c) 14 Jan. 1527/8
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 146-7, 175, 190, 200; RMS, II, nos. 3389, 3664, III, no. 610, VI, nos. 23, 28; HMC Home, No. 159, p. 136; Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 119; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3, Box 4, Bundle 6; NLS Charter 8920; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 35, 42(1), 44, Box 6, no. 1, Box 9, Bundle I, no. 3
- Richard Carmichael 20 Aug. 1546- 2
23 Nov. 1546
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3 Box 6, nos. 16, 19
- William Carmichael, 29 Nov. 1474- 3
fiar of Carmichael (t) 15 March 1490/1
HMC Milne-Home, no. II, p. 23, Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 123
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 11
- William Carmichael 1 Feb. 1488/9- 1 2
of Carpow and Crukitstane (t)(1) 1 Feb. 1524/5
RMS, III, no 617, Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 124, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 1.

William Carmichael of Carpow (t) (ii)	20 Aug. 1546- 23 Nov. 1546	3
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, nos. 16, 19-20		
John Carrick	6 April 1508	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 389, p. 185		
John, Earl of Carrick	ca. 1379-89	1
SRO RH 1/2/143		
Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis	7 June 1544- 12 April 1546	2
Fraser, <u>Eglinton</u> , II, p. 141; Argyll Miniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5		
Mr Dionysius Chalmer	29 Jan. 1545/6	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 46, p. 12		
John Chalmer of Gaitgirth	1 Feb. 1488/9	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 124		
Andrew Charteris of Cuthilgurdy	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
John Charteris	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
Walter Chepman, N.P.	16 Jan. 1510/11	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 200		
Alexander Clerk, N.P.	26 June 1509- 4 Dec. 1509	2
Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, p. 119; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3389		
Mr Edward Clerk	25 Jan. 1495/6	1
Glencairn Miniments GD 39/4/22		

Sir George Clerk	26 March 1489-	4
Provost of Abernethy	23 June 1509	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 188; Glencairn Muniments GD 39/4/22;		
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2; Murthly Castle Writs		
GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 3		
John Clerk	15 May 1470-	2
	7 March 1483/4	
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1586; SRO RH 1/2/267; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 162, p. 42		
Thomas Clerk,	14 April 1425	1
burgess of Dundee (t)		
<u>HMC Lauderdale</u> , p. 612		
William Cochrane	1 Aug. 1506	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 185		
Alexander Cockburn	23 March 1417/8	1
of Langton		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 51		
Alexander Cockburn	ca. 1375-	2
	21 Nov. 1389	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 24, 35		
James Cockburn of	22 Sept. 1475	1
Newbigging		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
James Cockburn	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
Patrick Cockburn	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
Sir William Colthurd	26 Nov. 1554-	2
	25 May 1556	
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6; SRO RH 1/2/385		

- Sir Richard Comyn (t) 8 April 1389 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 33-4
- Dionysius Constantine 1 June 1500 1
 Cleric
FMS, II, no. 2539
- Mr Alexander Cornwall 26 March 1489 1
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 3
- Robert Corry ca. 1380 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 397
- Thomas Corry of 7 Feb. 1509/10 1
 Kaldwood
FMS, II, no. 3413
- Alexander Cowper 15 May 1470 1
Laing Chrs., no. 162, p. 42; SRG RH 1/2/267
- Thomas Cramond of that 2 Jan. 1481/2 1
 Ilk and Margaret Garden
 his wife (t)
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 5
- William Cranston (1) ca. 1420- 2
 10 Aug. 1427
Coldingham Corresp., no. CXVI, p. 100; Laing Chrs., no. 98, p. 26
- William Cranston (11) 6 Aug. 1495- 4
 23 June 1509
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 146-7, 188; Newbattle Collection
 GD 40, Box 6, no. 1
- John Crawford 22 Sept. 1475- 4
 25 Feb. 1510/11
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 106, 202; FMS, II, no. 3544; ADC
 XXXII, f. 170

- David, Earl of 9 July 1482/3 1
 Crawford (t)
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 436
- John, Earl of 17 June 1496- 3
 Crawford (t) 26 Aug. 1511
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 155-7; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3;
 Box 6, no. 1, 3
- Adam Crichton of Ruthven (t) 17 June 1496 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 155
- David Crichton of Cranston (t) 16 Aug.-18 Sept 2
 1475
 HMC Rothes, nos. 34-5, p. 496
- Sir William Crichton 20 Feb. 1434/5 1
 of that ilk
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2
- John Crosar 22 Sept. 1475 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 106
- David Cullace 26 Nov. 1554 1
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6
- Adam Cunningham 24 June 1492 1
 of Caprinton
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 134
- Mr David Cunningham, 24 June 1492 1
 Provost of Hamilton
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 134
- Mr Patrick Hamilton, 6 Aug. 1495 1
 Parson of Hiltoun
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 146

Robert Cunningham	25 Sept. 1498	1	
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2457			
Walter Cunningham	3 Aug. 1525	1	
<u>HMC</u> Mar and Kellie (1904), p. 14			
William Cunningham	25 Jan. 1495/6	1	
of Craigends			
Glencairn Muniments GD 39/4/22			
William Cunningham	12 April 1546	1	
of Cunningham head			
Fraser, <u>Eglinton</u> , II, p. 141			
John, Lord Darrley	24 April 1464	1	
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/6			
David Dempster	11 Feb. 1471/2	1	
of Ochterless			
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 21			
Sir John Dickson, N.P.	25 Nov. 1495	1	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 151			
Thomas Dickson	6 Aug. 1495	1	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 147			
John Donying	1 June 1500	1	
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539			
Richard Dorvait	21 Sept. 1514	1	
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 304, pp. 76-7			
Alison Douglas, Lady Wedderburn	7 May 1543	1	
<u>HMC</u> Milne-Home, no. 60, pp. 37-8			
Sir Archibald Douglas of	12 May 1425-	2	2
Cavers (c and t)	24 May 1452		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 70, 78-9; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 195,			
<u>HMC</u> Cavers, no. 6, p. 728			

- Archibald Douglas of
Glenbervy (c and t) 5 Jan. 1550/1 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 66, p. 39
- Archibald Douglas 23 June 1509- 2
of Kilspindy (c) 13 March 1510/11
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 188, 204
- Archibald Douglas 27 May 1509 1
(future 6th earl of Angus) (c)
Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young, no. 1900, p. 414
- Gavin Douglas, 4 Dec. 1509- 7
Bishop of Dunkeld (c) 26 Aug. 1511
RMS, II, no. 3389, 3413, III, no. 49; Inverquharity Writs GD 205
Box 3, Bundle 3, NLS Charter 8920, Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 1, Box 9, Bundle 1, no. 3
- George Douglas, Master 31 Jan. 1488/9- 4 1
of Angus (c) 16 Jan. 1510/11
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 122-23, 155, 187-88, 199-200,
Curle Collection GD III/3/6 (misdated as ca. 1540 - should be ca. 1510)
- George Douglas of 2 July 1439 1
Bonjedburgh (c and t)
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 68-9
- George Douglas 27 April 1510- 7
of Pittendreich (c) 12 April 1546
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 232, 439; Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141;
HMC Buccleuch, no. 25, p. 18; HMC Milne-Home, no. 390, pp. 185-6,
no. 37, p. 30-1; Newbattle Collection, GD 40, Box 6, no. 2
- George Douglas of Wattersyde (?c) 4 Aug. 1543- 4
23 Nov. 1546
HMC Buccleuch, no. 25, p. 18; Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 104,
p. 24; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, nos. 16, 19

- George Douglas 26 Nov. 1554 1
 SRO RH 1/2/385
- Hugh Douglas of Moffat 2 Jan. 1481/2- 3
 and Borg (?c), bailie to earl 11 May 1484
Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young, no. 581, p. 131; Inverquharity Writs GD 205
 Box 4, Bundle 5; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2
- Hugh Douglas of Morton (?c) 6 Oct. 1546 1
Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 104, p. 24
- Mr Hugh Douglas, Dean 7 Aug. 1476- 2 2
 of Brechin (c) 24 Jan. 1496/7
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 108, 139-40, 160-1
- James Douglas of Drumlanrig (c) 8 Feb. 1542/3- 4
 7 June 1544
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230, 232; Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141;
 Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5
- James Douglas in 5 Dec. 1555 1
 Knichtsbridge
 Morton Papers GD 150/11/324
- James Douglas 8 Feb. 1542/3- 3
 of Parkhead (t) 21 April 1545
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 230, 232; NLS Charter 5772
- James Douglas 18 Aug. 1548 1
 of To dhillis (?t)
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3
- Sir James Douglas (c) 12 Aug. 1381 1
HMC Strathmore MSS, no. II, p. 181; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 398
- James Douglas 16 June 1506- 2
 28 Sept. 1509
RMS, II, no. 2974; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 191

John Douglas of Androshan	30 Jan. 1551/2	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 440		
Marion Douglas, dau. of James Douglas of Parkhead (t)	(72) Oct. 1553	1
Curle Collection GD 111/2/4		
Matthew Douglas	20 Jan. 1551/2	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 440		
Mr Patrick Douglas	15 May 1546	1
Curle Collection GD 111/1/7		
Richard Douglas	25 May 1556	1
SRO, RH 1/2/385		
Robert Douglas of Lochleven (c)	14 Oct. 1479- 5 July 1494	1 3
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 110, 124; <u>HMC Home</u> , no. 159, p. 136;		
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 5		
Robert Douglas (i)	11 Feb. 1471/2	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 165, p. 43		
Robert Douglas (ii)	15 May 1546	1
Curle Collection GD 111/1/7		
Mr Thomas Douglas of Clapperton	5 Dec. 1555	1
Morton Papers GD 150/11/324		
William Douglas of Bankhead	26 Nov. 1554- 25 May 1556	2
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6,; SRO, RH 1/2/385		

- William Douglas 30 Jan. 1551/2 1
of Breryards
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 440
- Sir William Douglas 26 Nov. 1470- 3
of Cavers (c and t) 17 April 1472
(also 24 May 1452)
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 78-9; HMC Cavers, nos. 15-6, pp. 728-9
- William, 1st Earl 2 Jan. 1378/9 1
of Douglas (c)
HMC Milne-Home, no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141
- Sir William Douglas 26 June 1509 1
of Drumlanrig (c)
Fraser, Buccleuch, II, p. 119
- Sir William Douglas 30 May 1504- 3 3
of Braidwood and Glenbervy (i) 22 Feb. 1510/11
(c and t)
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 181-3, 202; Fraser, Buccleuch, II,
p. 119; RMS, II, nos. 3544, 3664; ADC XXXII, f. 170.
- William Douglas of 25 May 1556 1
Glenbervy (ii) (c and t)
SRO, RH 1/2/385
- William Douglas 15 May 1546- 2
of Whittingham (?c) 26 Nov. 1554
Curle Collection GD 111/1/7; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6
- Mr William Douglas, 7 Aug. 1476 1
Prebandary of Abernethy
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 108
- William Douglas 29 Nov. 1525 1
Newbattle Collection GD 40, Box 6, no. 2

Alexander Drummond of Carnock	7 June 1544	1
Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5		
David Drummond	--1509-- 21 Aug. 1514	2
<u>RMS</u> , VI, no. 23; <u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 37, p. 31		
James Drummond	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
John, 1st Lord Drummond	1-9 Feb. 1488/9	1 1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 124		
George, Earl of Dunbar (March)	ca. 1379-89	1
SRO, RH 1/2/145		
David Duncan	25 June 1509	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, P. 190		
Gilbert Durham	16 June 1506	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2974		
David Eccles	15 May 1546- 25 May 1556	8
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 66, p. 39; <u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gair</u> , no. 104, p. 24; Curle Collection GD 111/1/7; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, nos. 16, 19		
Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath (c)	29 Oct. 1489	1
<u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
William Edmonstone of Culloden (c)	7 Oct. 1429	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 6, Bundle 11		

- Hugh, Earl of Eglinton 12 April 1546 1
Fraser, Eglinton, II, pp. 139-41
- Mr Robert Ellem 27 May 1509 1
Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young, no. 1900, p. 414
- Alexander, Lord Elphinstone 12 April 1546 1
Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141
- Andrew Elphinstone of Selms 16 Jan. 1510/11 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 200
- William Elphinstone, 29 Oct. 1489 1
 Bishop of Aberdeen
HMC, Home, no. 102, p. 118
- Andrew Emery 19 Nov. 1549
Prot. Bk. Of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 31, p. 7
- Robert Emery (Ymbre) (t) 8 May 1439 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 68
- William, Earl of Erroll 29 Oct. 1489 1
HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118
- John, Lord Erskine 7 June 1544 1
Argyll Muniments at Inverary Portfolio 5
- John Erskine of Dun 17 June 1496- 6.
 6 March 1511/2
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 155; Inverquharity Writs GD 205,
Box 3, Bundle, 3, Box 4, Bundle 6; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3,
Box 9, Bundle 1, no. 3; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/10
- Mr Robert Erskine 1 June 1500 1
RMS, II, no. 2539
- Thomas Erskine of that Ilk ca. 1379-1397 2
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 36; SRO, RH 1/2/143

William Ettail, N.P.	9 March 1480/1	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1558		
Mr William Fairlie	30 May 1504-	5
	25 Feb. 1510/11	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 183, 202; <u>RMS</u> , II, nos. 2974, 3544;		
ADC XXXII, f. 170		
Allan Fergus	19 Nov. 1549	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no 31, p. 7		
James Fethy	16 Aug. 1511	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 284, p. 72		
John Fethy	16 Aug. 1511	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 284, p. 72		
Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith	ca. 1379-89	2
ERO, RH 1/21 143, 145		
George Fleming of Kilmanone	1 Aug. 1506	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 185		
John Fleming of Auchonistray	1 Aug. 1506	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 184-5		
John, Lord Fleming	15 Feb. 1498/9-	3
	1 Aug. 1506	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 184-5; Grant, <u>Wigtown Charter Chest</u> (GD 101), nos. 442-3		
James Fleschour	8 Dec. 1524	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3		
Alexander Folkert	27 Nov. 1470	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 101		

- Sir Alexander Forbes of 4 Nov. 1423- 3
that ilk and Elizabeth 20 Aug. 1425
Douglas (c) his wife
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 60-1, 415; Aberdeen-Banff Illustrations,
IV, pp. 387-8; Lord Forbes Collection GD 52/1039; Murthly Castle Writs
GD 121/3, Box 9, nos. 66-7
- John Lord Forbes 6 March 1511/12 1
RMS, III, no. 2988; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, Bundle 1,
no. 3
- Walter, Lord Forbes 25 Jan. 1495/6 1
Glencairn Muniments GD 39/4/22
- Sir Alexander Forfar, N.P. 22 Jan. 1477/8- 2
22 April 1484
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 117; Laing Chrs., no. 170, p. 44
- Sir John Forrester 20 Aug. 1425 1
of Corstorphine
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 61
- Thomas Forrester 19 April 1400 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 46
- Simon Fortune, bailie to earl 28 March 1525 1
Laing Chrs., no. 349, p. 88
- Andrew Fotheringham 1 April 1491 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 21
- Nicholas Fotheringham 1 April-2 May 1491 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 20, 21
- Thomas Fotheringham of 20 Dec. 1424- 3 3
Powrie (1) (t) 24 May 1484
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 60; RMS, II, no. 111; Murthly Castle
Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 1-2, 5; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box
3, Bundle 2

- Thomas Fotheringham 2 Nov. 1505- 3 4
of Powrie (ii) (t) 5 Dec. 1511
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 22, 27, 35; Box 2,
Bundle 5; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2, Box 4,
Bundle 6; NLS Charter 8920; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/10
- Thomas Fotheringham 7 Feb. 1514/5-6 Nov. 1516
of Powrie (iii) (t) 2
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 42(1), 44
- David Foular 18 May 1496 2
Laing Chrs., nos. 227-8, p. 58
- John Foular 18 May 1496 2
Laing Chrs., nos. 227-8, p. 58
- David Fraser/Fresale 29 Nov. 1474- 5
22 April 1484
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 106, 117; RMS, II, no. 1619; HMC
Milne-Home, no. II, p. 23; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 5
- Sir John Fraser/Fresale, 27 Nov. 1470 1
vicar of Anwith
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 101
- John Fraser/Fresale 27 Jan. 1471/2 1
parson of Dordene (sic)
HMC Var. Coll. V: Fintry, p. 198
- Mr John Fraser/Fresale, 9 March 1480/1- 4
parson of Douglas 20 July 1485
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 117; RMS, II, no. 1558, III, no. 629;
Joseph Anderson, The Oliphants in Scotland, Appendix no. 39, p. 25
- Sir John Fraser/Fresale, Pro- 7 Aug. 1476- 8
vost of Abernethy and Dean of 24 Jan. 1496/7
Restalrig

[cont.]

Sir John Fraser

Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 108, 128, 134, 160, 436; RMS, II, no. 1558, 1560; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 4

Hugh Fynesoun 1 July 1511 1

Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 26

Sir Alexander Gaw, N.P. 21 Sept. 1514

Laing Chrs., no. 304, p. 77

Andrew Gayne 1 Aug. 1506 1

Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 185

Charles Geddes of Rauchin (?) 21 April 1545 1

NLS Charter 5772

David Geddes 14 Jan. 1527/8 1

RMS, VI, no. 28

Gilbert Geddes (i) 15 May 1470- 5

15 March 1490/1

Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 101; RMS, II, no. 1586; Laing Chrs.,

no. 162, SRO, RH 1/2/267; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2

Gilbert Geddes (ii) 28 June 1509- 4

clerk of Collegiate 20 Jan. 1545/6

church of Abernethy

Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 190; RMS, VI, nos. 23, 28; Murthly

Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 26

John Geddes, bailie of earl 9 May 1543 1

RMS, III, no. 3206

Sir John Geddes, 27 April 1510 1

chaplain

HMC Milne-Home, no. 390, pp. 185-6

Mr Matthew Geddes (i)	16 April 1456	1
earl's chaplain		
SRO, GD 1/479		
Mr Matthew Geddes (ii)	--1509--	6
	6 March 1511/12	
<u>RMS</u> , VI, no. 23; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; NLS		
Charter 8920; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 35, Box 6,		
no. 1, Box 9, Bundle 1, no. 3		
Robert Geddes,	22 Sept. 1475	1
burgess of North Berwick		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
Alexander Gibson	6 Aug. 1495	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 146-7		
James Gibson	6 Aug. 1495	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 146-7		
Thomas Gibson	6 Aug. 1495	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 146-7		
William Gifford of	28 April 1426-	2
Balnagarro (t)	14 Dec. 1428	
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 111; Inverquharity Writs, GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
Sir Simon Glado	4 Dec. 1509	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3389		
John Lord Glamis (t)	9 Feb. 1488/9-	1 1
	29 Oct. 1489	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 124; <u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
John Lord Glamis (c and t)	7 June 1544	1
Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5		

- William, Earl of Glencairn (c) 12 April 1546 1
Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141
- Adam Glendomyne 12 Aug. 1381 1
HMC Strathmore, no. II, p. 181; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 398
- Matthew Glendomyne, ca. 1379-89 1
 Bishop of Glasgow
 SRO, RH 1/2/143
- William Govan of 27 May 1544 1
 Cardrono (t)
 Hyndford Inventory, Bundle 13, no. 7
- Andrew Graham 16 Aug. 1511 1
Laing Chrs., no. 284, p. 72
- Sir David Graham of 18 May 1496- 3 3
 Fintry (c and t) (i) 16 Aug. 1511
Laing Chrs, nos. 227-8, 283-4, pp. 58, 71-2; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Bcx 2, Bundle 5; Box 4, no. 26; NLS Charter 8920
- David Graham of 8 May 1547 1
 Fintry (c and t) (ii)
 Scringeur-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/11/1/21
- David Graham 18 May 1496 2
Laing Chrs., nos. 227-8, p. 58
- John Graham of 31 Oct. 1513 1
 Ballargus (t)
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3
- Patrick Graham of ca. 1397 1
 Kincardine
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 36

- Robert Graham of 27 Nov. 1456- 10
 Old Montrose and Fintry (t) 9 Feb. 1488/9
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 88-9, 116-7, 124, 106-8, 433-4;
RMS, II, 1081, 1558, 1560; HMC Var. Coll. V: Fintry, p. 198;
Laing Chrs., nos. 165, 8169-70, pp. 43, 44
- Mr Robert Graham 16 Aug. 1511 1
Laing Chrs., no. 284, p. 72
- William Graham of 20 June 1552 1
 Ballargus (t)
 Scrimgeour-Weddorburn Writs GD 137/7/1/1
- Alexander Gray (i) 10 June 1420- 3
 bailie to earl 20 Dec. 1424
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 60, 414; Inverquharity Writs, GD 205,
 Box 3, Bundle 1.
- Alexander Gray (ii) 29 Nov. 1527 1
 bailie to earl
 Newbattle Collection GD 40, Box 6, no. 2
- John Gray 17 Feb. 1509/10 1
RMS, III, no. 49
- Peter Gray 16 June 1509 1
RMS, II, no. 2974
- Robert Gray 12 May 1425 1
RMS, II, no. 195
- Robert Gudlowe 29 Nov. 1474 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 11, p. 23
- Mr Alexander Guthrie 28 April 1426- 2
 7 Oct. 1429
RMS, II, no. III, Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 6, Bundle 11

- Mr David Guthrie 24 April 1464 1
 Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/6
- Malcolm Guthrie of 22 Jan. 1477/8 1
 Kingenny (t), bailie to earl
Laing Chrs., no. 170, p. 44
- Nian Guthrie of 6 Nov. 1510- 2
 Kingenny (t) 5 Dec. 1511
 Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/9, 10
- Thomas Guthrie 28 April 1426 1
HMS, II, no. 111
- William Guthrie of 22 Jan. 1477/8- 1 2
 Kingenny (t) (i) 5 March 1478/9
Laing Chrs., no. 170, p. 44; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/7
- William Guthrie of 5 Dec. 1511- 2
 Kingenny (t) (ii) 5 Nov. 1512
 Scrimgeour-Wedderburn GD 137/8/4/10,11
- Henry Haultley of 11 Oct. 1484 1
 Mellerstain
HMC Home, no. 99, p. 118
- John Haldane of Gleneagles 20 July 1485 1
 Joseph Anderson, The Oliphants in Scotland, Appendix no. 39, p. 24-5
- John Haliburton of ca. 1375-1397 2
 Dirleton
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 24, 36
- Patrick Haliburton 21 Aug. 1514 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 37, p. 31

- Sir Walter Haliburton 2 Jan. 1378/9- 2
of Dirleton (of that ilk) (?) 14 Dec. 1428
HMC Milne-Home, no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141; Inverquharity Writs
GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2
- William Haliburton 23 March 1417/8 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 51
- Gilbert Hall 14 May 1469 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 9, p. 22
- Robert Hall 14 May 1469 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 9, p. 22
- Sir Alexander Hamilton ca. 1379-89 3
and Elizabeth Douglas (c)
his wife (t)
Register House, Cal. of Charters I, no. 198; SRO, RH 1/2/143, 144
- Christian Hamilton (t) 10 April 1510 1
ADC XXXII, f. 170
- James, Lord Hamilton 9 Feb. 1469/70- 3
24 Feb. 1471/2
Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 67-8, 70-2; RMS, II, no. 1081
- Sir James Hamilton of 27 Jan. 1471/2 1
Fingalton
RMS, II, no. 1081
- Sir James Hamilton 2 March 1515/6- 3
of Finnart (t) 18 April 1527
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 439; HMC Hamilton (1887), no. 149,
p. 217; ADC XXXV, f. 214-5.

Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil	5 Dec. 1555- 4 March 1555/6	2
NLS MS 75, no. 36; Morton Papers GD 15011/324		
John Hamilton of Bardowie	12 Aug. 1499	2
Grant, <u>Wigtown Charter Chest</u> (GD 101), nos. 442-3		
John Hamilton of Shawfield (t)	--Jan. 1498/9	1
Inventory of Buccleuch Muniments, NRA (Scotland) Survey 201, no. 38 p. 21		
Matthew Hamilton	21 Aug. 1514	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 37, p. 31		
Mr Robert Hamilton, Parson of Duplyne	10 April 1510- 25 Feb. 1510/11	4
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 202; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3544, 3664; ADC XXXII, f. 170		
Sir Robert Hamilton of Fingalton	9 July 1482/3	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 436		
William Hamilton of Maknariston	18 April 1527	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 439		
Mr William Hamilton	16 June 1506- 25 Feb. 1510/11	3
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 202; <u>RMS</u> , II, nos. 2974, 3544		
Robert Hardy	2 Jan. 1481/2	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 5		

William Harper, cleric of earl	14 Dec. 1428	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
James Harris	26 July 1546	1
<u>RMS</u> , IV, no. 1223		
Mr James Harris	25 Sept. 1498	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2457		
Sir John Harvy	26 July 1546	1
<u>RMS</u> , IV, no. 1223		
Edmund Hay (c)	23 March 1438/9	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 4		
Gilbert Hay of Mynzet	27 Feb. 1439/40	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70 ¹		
John Lord Hay of Yester	21 Sept. 1514	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 304, pp. 76-7		
William Hay of Yester (Lochorwart)	30 March 1389	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 379, p. 98		
Sir Thomas Hay	ca. 1393-	2 1
of Yester and Lochorwart	12 May 1425	
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 379, p. 99; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 195, 1729		
Mr James Henderson	17 June 1496	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 155		
Richard Henrison	14 May 1469	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 9, p. 22		
Adam Hepburn of Craggis	26 June 1509	1
Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, p. 117		
Adam Hepburn of Hailes	23 March 1417/8-	2
ca. 1420		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 51; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 98, p. 26		

Alexander Hepburn	ca. 1420-	2
	10 Aug. 1427	
	<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 98, p. 26; <u>Coldingham Corresp.</u> , no. CXII, p. 100	
Archibald Hepburn	ca. 1420	1
	<u>Coldingham Corresp.</u> , no. 98, p. 26	
Mr George Hepburn,	26 June 1509	1
Dean of Dunkeld		
	Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, p. 117	
John Hepburn, Prior	26 June 1509	1
of St. Andrews		
	Fraser, <u>Buccleuch</u> , II, p. 117	
John Hepburn of Rollandstone	29 Oct. 1489	1
	<u>HMC</u> Home, no. 102, p. 118	
Patrick Hepburn of	2 Jan. 1378/9	1
Hailes		
	<u>HMC</u> Milne-Home, no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141	
Patrick Hepburn	ca. 1420	1
of Wauchton		
	<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 98, p. 26	
Patrick Hepburn	27 May 1509	1
	<u>Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young</u> , no. 1900, p. 414	
William Hepburn	14 Dec. 1428	1
	Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2	
John Herbert	18 May 1496	2
	<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , nos. 227-8, p. 58	
James Hering of Tulebole	20 July 1485	1
	Joseph Anderson, <u>The Oliphants in Scotland</u> , Appendix no. 39, p. 25	
James Hering	9 July 1482/3	1
	Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 436	

Andrew Herries, 25 Nov. 1495 1
 Master of Herries
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 149-51

Andrew Hethin (?) 11 Feb. 1471/2 1
Laing Chrs., no. 165, p. 43

Sir Alexander Home of that 14 Dec. 1428- 1 2
 Ilk (Dunglass) (t) (1) 27 Feb. 1439/40
HMC Home, no. 293, pp. 174-5; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3,
 Bundle 2

Sir Alexander Home 27 Nov. 1470- 6 2
 of that Ilk (t) (11) 5 July 1494
HMC Home, nos. 98-101, 159, pp. 118, 136; Fraser, Douglas Book, III
 p. 101; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2; Murthly Castle
 Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 13.

Sir David Home 10 Aug. 1427- 1 1
 of Wedderburn (t) (1) 24 July 1436
Coldingham Corresp., no. CXII, p. 100; HMC Milne-Home nos.5, p. 20

Sir David Home 21 May 1514- 6
 of Wedderburn (c and t) (11) 30 Dec. 1522
HMC Milne-Home, nos. 37-8, 46-7, pp. 30-1, 33; Laing Chrs., no.
 341, p. 87

Sir David Home of 30 Oct. 1550- 2
 Wedderburn (c and t) (111) 5 Jan. 1550/51
HMC Milne-Home, nos. 63, 66, pp. 38-9

David Home 15 May 1470 1
Laing Chrs., no. 162, p. 42; SRO, RH 1/2/267

George Home of Ayton 5 July 1494 1
HMC Home no. 159, p. 136

- George Home of
Wedderburn (t) (1) 14 May 1469- 4
12 Jan. 1474/5
HMC Milne-Home, nos. 5, 9, 11, 13, pp. 20, 22-3; Laing Chrs., no. 162, p. 42
- George Home of
Wedderburn (t and c) (ii) 28 March 1525 1
Laing Chrs., no. 349, p. 88
- John Home of Whiterig
(and Cowdenknowes) 24 July 1483- 1 2
29 Oct. 1489
bailie to earl
HMC Home, nos. 100, 102, p. 118; Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2
- Patrick Home of
Fastcastle 29 Oct. 1489 1
HMC Home no. 102, p. 118
- Patrick Home of Polwarth (t) 15 May 1470- 2 1
14 Dec. 1500
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 174-5; HMC Home, no. 100, p. 118;
Curle Collection GD 111/1/1; RH 1/2/267
- Thomas Home of Langshaw 30 May 1504 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 183
- George Hopper 15 May 1546 1
(Parson of Duns?)
Curle Collection GD 111/1/7
- Gilbert Huchonsoun 27 Feb. 1439/40 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 70
- Mr John Idell 20 Dec. 1424 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 60

- Alexander Inglis 20 Jan. 1545/6 1
of Tarvairt
RMS, VI, no. 23
- Alexander Inglis 10 April 1510- 3
25 Feb. 1510/11
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 202; RMS, II, no. 3544; ADC XXXII, f. 170
- Elizabeth Inglis, wife 21 Sept. 1458 1
of William Strachan (t)
Scrinzeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/4
- George Inglis 4 Jan. 1478/9- 5
(i and ii?) 16 Jan. 1510/11
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p.200, 151; RIS, II, nos. 1537, 1586;
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2
- James Inglis 28 Sept. 1482- 2
11 May 1484
RMS, II, no. 1619; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2
- John Inglis 9 Feb. 1469/70- 5
7 March 1483/4
HMC Cavers, no. 15, p. 728; Fraser, Buccleuch, II, p. 68; Fraser,
Douglas Book, III, p. 101; RMS, II, nos. 1081, 1586
- Sir John Inglis, 27 Jan. 1471/2 1
Parson of Soudoune
RMS, II, no. 1081
- Robert Inglis 15 May 1470- 4
7 March 1483/4
RMS, II, nos. 1586, 1619; SEO, RH 1/2/267; Inverquharity Writs GD
205, Box 4, Bundle 5
- William Inglis 18 April 1510 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 202

Andrew Ireland (t)	6 June 1442	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 426		
King James IV	29 Dec. 1491	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2074		
Thomas Johns	14 Dec. 1428	1
Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
Andrew Johnston	5 Aug. 1495	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 147		
Gilbert Johnstone	5 Jan. 1550/51	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 66, p. 39		
James Johnstone	5 Jan. 1550/51	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 66, p. 39		
John Johnstone,	9 May 1543	1
bailie of earl		
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 3246		
Robert	29 Oct. 1489	1
Abbot of Kelso		
<u>HMC Home</u> no. 102, p. 118		
Henry Kempt of Thomaston	18 April 1527	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 439		
David Kennedy,	25 Sept. 1498	1
Abbot of Crosraguel (c)		
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2457		
Sir David Kennedy (c)	25 Sept. 1498	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2457		
Gilbert Kennedy of	24 July 1483	1
Frykwell (?)		
Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		

Thomas Kerpull, chaplain	7 Oct. 1429	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 6, Bundle 11		
Cuthbert, Lord Kilmaurs (later 1st Earl of Glencairn) (c)	24 June 1492-	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 131-4; Glencairn Muniments GD 39/4/22		
Patrick Kincaid of that ilk	12 Aug. 1499	2
Frant, <u>Wigtown Charter Chest</u> (GD 101), nos. 442-3		
William Kyd	23 March 1438/9	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 4		
Andrew Laing	29 Jan. 1545/6	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 49, p. 12		
James Laing	29 Jan. 1545/6	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 49, p. 12		
John Lam(b)/Lame	23-25 June 1509	2
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 188, 190		
John Lamont (Lawmond) of Invernyn	30 April 1543	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 232		
Gavin Langland	26 Aug. 1511	1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 1		
Alan Lauder, Captain of Tantallon	2 Jan. 1378/9- 21 Nov. 1389	5
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 582, p. 257; <u>HMC Strathmore</u> , no. 11, P. 181;		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 35, 398; SRO, RH 1/2/141, 145		
Hector Lauder	16 April 1456	1
SRO, GD 1/479, no. 2		

- Richard Lauder/Lowder 11 Nov. 1510 1
 Register House, Cal. of Charters, IV, no. 961
- Robert Lauder of Bass 23 March 1417/8 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 51
- William Lauder, 8 June 1424 1
 Bishop of Glasgow
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, no. 67
- Walter de Laundellis ca. 1379-89 1
 Bishop of St. Andrews
 SRO, RH 1/2/143
- Sir Henry Lauson 6 April 1508 1
 HMC Milne-Home, no. 389, p. 185
- Robert Lawson of Hieriggs 16 Jan. 1510/11 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 200
- John Lairmond 21 Aug. 1514 1
 HMC Milne-Home, no. 37, p. 31
- John Leirmonth 11 Oct. 1484 1
 of Ersilton (Earlston)
 HMC Home no. 99, p. 118
- John, Earl of Lennox 15 June 1525 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 223
- Mr Robert Lichton 12 Aug. 1499 2
 Grant, Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 442-3
- Walter Lichton of 18 May 1496 2
 Kinnaird/Usan, bailie to earl
 Laing Chrs., nos. 227, 229, p. 58-9
- Sir John Liddel (?t) ca. 1375- 4
 15 May 1397
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 24, 34-5, 40, 43

- Robert Liddel of Panlathy (t) 17 July 1511 1
 Curle Collection GD 111/3/3
- Alexander Lindsay of Dunrode 27 Jan. 1471/2 1
RMS, II, no. 1081
- Sir Alexander Lindsay of 15 Jan. 1369/70- 2 1
 Glensesk (c) 2 Jan. 1378/9
RMS, I, nos. 337, 489, 612; App. II, no. 1603; HMC Milne-Home,
 no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141
- Sir Alexander Lindsay 24 Jan. 1495/6 1
 of Ochtermozie (c and t)
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 58-60
- David Lindsay ca. 1397 1
 of Glensesk (c)
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 36
- David Lindsay of Halch, 26 Aug. 1511 1
 bailie to earl
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 1
- Mr Henry Lindsay 5 July 1494 1
HMC Home, no. 159, p. 136
- Mr James Lindsay 14 May- 3
 of Covington (t) 19 Oct. 1462
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 91; Hyndford Inventory, Bundle 46, nos.
 1, 3
- James Lindsay of Westshaw 18 Aug. 1548 1
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3
- James Lindsay 1 Aug. 1506- 4
 1 Feb. 1524/5
RMS, III, no. 617; VI, no. 23; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 185;
Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young, no. 1900, p. 414

- John Lindsay of
Covington (t) 4 Oct. 1510- 2
25 April 1543
Hyndford Inventory, Bundle 46, nos. 7, 10
- John Lindsay ca. 1397 1
of Wauchop
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 36
- John Lindsay 6 Aug. 1495 2
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 146-7
- Patrick Lindsay (t) 12 May 1425 1
RMS, II, no. 195
- William Lindsay 21 Oct. 1374- 1 3
of Byres (c) ca. 1397
RMS, I, no. 454; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 24, 35-6
- Alexander Lovell 11 Feb. 1471/2- 1 3
of Ballumbie (t) 1 April 1491
bailie to earl
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 124; Laing Chrs., no. 165, p. 43;
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 21; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn
Writs GD 137/8/4/7
- Sir Henry Lovell of 11 Nov. 1510- 2 2
Ballumbie (t) 31 Oct. 1513
RMS, II, no. 3664; Register House, Cal. of Charters, IV, no. 961;
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; NLS Charter 8920
- Thomas Lovell 18 May 1496 2
Laing Chrs., nos. 227-8, p. 58
- David Lummisden 24 Feb. 1453/4 1
of Blanerne (t)
Alexander Nisbet, A System of Heraldry, II, p. 412

- Patrick Lummsden 27 May 1509 1
Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young., no. 1900, p. 414
- William, Abbot of Lundores ca. 1380 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 397 .
- Robert, Lord Lyle 19 June 1493 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 140-2
- Sir John Lyon (t) 12 Aug. 1381 1
HMC Strathmore no. 11, p. 181; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 398
- Thomas McClellan 25 Nov. 1495 1
 of Bombie
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 151
- William McClellan 25 Nov. 1495 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 151
- Richard McDowell 25 Sept. 1498 1
RMS, II, no. 2457
- Mr James McGill 7 June 1544 1
 Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5
- William McLowry 14 Jan. 1527/8 1
RMS, VI, no. 28
- Gilbert Makmoran (?t) 1 July 1511 1
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 26
- Alexander MacNeill, N.P. 30 April 1543 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 232
- John Mack 29 Jan. 1545/6 1
Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 49, p. 12
- John Maitland of Queensberry 11 Feb. 1471/2 1
Laing Chrs., no. 165, p. 43
- Robert Maitland 23 March 1417/8 1
 of Thirlestane
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 51

- Robert Maitland 23 March 1417/8 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 51
- Mr Thomas Marjoribanks 4 Aug. 1543 1
HMC Buccleuch, no. 25, p. 18
- John Maldson 21 Aug. 1514 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 37, p. 31
- Robert Maldson 21 Aug. 1514 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 37, p. 31
- William, Earl Marischal 7 June 1544 1
 Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5
- Gilbert Martin 19 Nov. 1544 1
Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 31, p. 7
- Thomas Maule 31 May 1412 1
 of Panmure (t) (i)
Panmure Registrum, II, pp. 187-8
- Sir Thomas Maule 1500-1511 2
 of Panmure (t) (ii)
 Dalhousie Muniments GD 45/16/2258, 2259
- David Maxwell 20 June 1481- 3
 15 March 1490/1
RMS, III, no. 629; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2;
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 13
- Sir John Maxwell of Maldislie 7 Aug. 1476 1
RMS, II, no. 1560; Laing Chrs., no. 169, p. 43; Fraser, Douglas
Book, III, p. 108
- Sir John Maxwell of Pollock ca. 1550 1
Fraser, Pollok, II, p. 125

Margaret Maxwell,	9 April 1543-	6	
Countess of Angus (c)	31 Aug. 1547		
<u>RMS</u> , III, nos. 2891, 2892; IV, nos. 144, 146, 1223			
Robert, Lord Maxwell	8 Feb. 1542/2-	1	1
	30 April 1543		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 229-30, 232			
Robert, Master of Maxwell	4 Aug. 1543		1
HMC <u>Buccleuch</u> , no. 25, p. 18			
William Maxwell of Tealing	1 April 1491		1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 21			
David Melville,	17 Feb. 1509/10	1	
burgess of Edinburgh (t)			
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 49			
Henry Melville, N.P.	27 Feb. 1439/40		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70			
John Melville1	15 May 1470		1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 162, p. 42; SRO, RH 1/2/267			
Robert Mercer of Ballief	1 June 1500		1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539			
Alexander Merchall	29 Nov. 1474		1
HMC <u>Milne-Home</u> , no. 11, p. 23			
John Merchall	1 June 1500		1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539			
John Mancriff	7 Aug. 1476-		3
of that ilk (t)	9 March 1480/1		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 108; <u>RMS</u> , II, nos. 1558, 1560			
Robert Monfode	30 May 1504		1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 183			

George Montgomery of Skelmorlie	12 April 1546	1
Fraser, <u>Eglinton</u> , II, p. 141		
Sir Neil Montgomery of Langshaw	12 April 1546	1
Fraser, <u>Eglinton</u> , II, pp. 139-41		
John, Earl of Moray	ca. 1379-89	2
SRO, RH 1/2/143, 145		
David Murray	1 Nov. 1548	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 12, p. 3-4		
John Murray of Falahill (t)	10 Dec. 1509	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 192-3		
Richard Murray, burgess of Edinburgh	21 April 1545	1
NLS Charter 5772		
Walter Murray	22 Jan. 1477/8-	2
(?of Glaswell) (?t)	28 Sept. 1482	
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1619; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 170, p. 44		
Alexander Newton (t)	21 April 1545	1
NLS Charter 5772		
Walter Nicholson (t)	ca. 1380	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 397		
Walter Nicholson (t)	?ca. 1440	1
(these two vassals could possibly be the same)		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 424-5		
Adam Nisbet	ca. 1420	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 98, p. 26		

John Nisbet of Dalziel	12 Aug. 1499	2
Grant, <u>Wigtown Charter Chest</u> (GD 101), nos. 442-3		
John Ochiltree	ca. 1379-89	1
SRO, RH 1/2/145		
Alexander Ogilvy	16 Aug. 1511	1
of that Ilk (t)		
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 284, p. 72		
Alexander Ogilvy	20 Feb. 1434/5-	3 1
of Inverquharity (t)		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 67, 423-4; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2, Bundle 4		
Andrew Ogilvy	20 Feb. 1434/5	1
of Inchmartin		
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
Andrew Ogilvy	16 Aug. 1511	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 284, p. 62		
David Ogilvy of Balmallo	20 Feb. 1434/5	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
David Ogilvy	7 Aug. 1476	1
of that Ilk (t)		
<u>HMS</u> , II, no. 1560; <u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 169, p. 43; Fraser, <u>Douglas</u> <u>Book</u> , III, p. 108		
David Ogilvy of	31 Oct. 1513	1
Inverquharity (t)		
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3		
James Ogilvy of Airlie (?c)	29 Oct. 1489	1
<u>HMC</u> Home, no. 102, p. 118		

James Ogilvy, fiar of Balnagarro (t) 26 Nov. 1554 1
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6

James Ogilvy, fiar of Clova, bailie of earl 8 Dec. 1524 1
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3

James Ogilvy 16 Aug. 1511 1
Laing Chrs., no. 284, p. 72

John Ogilvy of Balfour 8 May 1547 1
 Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/6/1/21

John Ogilvy of Ballyndoich (t) 9 Feb. 1488/9 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 124

John Ogilvy of Balnagarro and Katherine Gray, his wife (t) 20 June 1511- 4 1
 15 Aug. 1548
 bailie to earl
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 4, Bundle 6; Box 5, Bundle 8

John Ogilvy of Fingask (?c) 5 July 1494- 2
 24 Jan. 1496/7
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 160; HMC Home, no. 159, p. 136

John Ogilvy of Inverquharity (t) (i) 10 June 1420- 3 2
 28 April 1426
 bailie of earl
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 59-60, 414; RMS, II, No. 111;
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 1

- John Ogilvy of Inverquharinity (t) (ii) 24 July 1483 (as fiar)- 7 6
5 Dec. 1511
- A. Warden, Angus or Forfarshire, IV, frontispiece; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 200; Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundles 2,3; Box 4, Bundle 6; Box 5, Bundle 11; Box 6, Bundle 3; Papers from Baldovan House, no. 1a; NLS Charter 8920; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, nos. 1, 26, 35; Scringecour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/10.
- John Ogilvy of Inverquharinity (t) (iii) 8 Dec. 1524- 2
15 Aug. 1548
Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3
- John Ogilvy 8 June 1424- 3
12 May 1425
RMS, II, no. 195; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, nos. 66-7
- Sir Patrick Ogilvy 8 June 1424 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, no. 67
- Thomas Ogilvy of Clova 24 April 1464 1
Scringecour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/6
- Sir Walter Ogilvy of Balliciane 20 Aug. 1425 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 61
- Walter Ogilvy of Campsy 4 May 1456 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 433
- Walter Ogilvy in Glaswell (t) 8 Dec. 1524 1
Inverquharinity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3

- Walter Ogilvy 24 July 1483 1
of Inverquharity (t)
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 1
- Walter Ogilvy of 20 Feb. 1434/5 1
Lintrathen
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2
- Sir Walter Ogilvy 8 June 1424 1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, no. 67
- James Oliphant of Arquhalzie 20 July 1485 1
Joseph Anderson, The Oliphants in Scotland, Appendix no. 39, p. 25
- Laurence, Lord Oliphant 9 July 1482- 1 2
29 Oct. 1489
Joseph Anderson, The Oliphants in Scotland, Appendix no. 39, p. 24-5;
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 436; HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118
- Walter Oliphant 1 June 1500 1
RMS, II, no. 2539
- David Oliver 11 Nov. 1510- 2
of Gagy (t) 1 July 1511
Register House, Cal. of Charters, IV, no. 961; Inverquharity Writs
GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3; NLS Charter 8920.
- Nicholas Paxton ca. 1420- 2
10 Aug. 1427
Laing Chrs., no. 98, p. 26; Coldingham Corresp., no. CXII, p. 100
- Michael Piersoun 19 Nov. 1549 1
Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 31, p. 7
- Simon Penango (t) 1 Feb. 1524/5 1
RMS, III, no. 617
- Andrew Pitcairn, fiar of 29 Jan. 1545/6 1
Innernethy (t)
Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw, no. 49, p. 49

James Pitcairn	1 May 1454	1
of Invernethy (and of that ilk) (t)		
Yule Collection GD 90/1/41		
Sir John Pitcairn,	--Nov. 1503--	5
chaplain	29 Nov. 1525	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 193; <u>RMS</u> , VI, no. 23; Newbattle Collection, GD 40, Box 6, no. 1,2		
William Pitcairn	29 Jan. 1545/6	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 49, p. 12		
James Porter, chaplain	9 May 1491	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 5, Bundle 2		
William Porteous/Portus	26 July 1546	1
<u>RMS</u> , IV, no. 1223		
John Powrie	ca. 1380	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 397		
David Pringle	16 April 1456	1
(Hoppringle)		
SRO, GD 1/479, no.2		
George Pringle	16 April 1456	1
(Hoppringle)		
SRO, GD 1/479, no. 2		
Robert Pringle	29 Nov. 1474	1
(Hoppringle)		
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 11, p. 23		
John Railton, burgess of Edinburgh	8 Feb. 1542/3	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 230		

- Sir Alexander Ramsay 2 Jan. 1378/9 1
of Dalhousie (1)
HMC Milne-Home, no. 582, p. 257; SRO, RH 1/2/141
- Sir Alexander Ramsay 5 March 1478/9- 6
of Dalhousie (11) (c) 10 Dec. 1509
RMS, II, no. 1537; III, no. 629; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 193;
HMC Home, no. 159, p. 136; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/7
- Michael Ramsay 28 Sept. 1509 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 191
- Robert Ramsay 9 Jan. 1478/9 1
of Coekanne
RMS, II, no. 1537
- Walter Ramsay 5 March 1478/9 1
of Lumbany
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/7
- John Rachan (?), 21 April 1545 1
burgess of Edinburgh
NLS Charter 5772
- John Rattray 1 June 1500 1
RMS, II, no. 2537
- James Reid 26 July 1546 1
RMS, IV, no. 1223
- John Reid 26 July 1546 1
RMS, IV, no. 1223
- Robert Reid, 7 June 1544 1
Bishop of Orkney
Argyll Muniments at Inverary, Portfolio 5

- Alexander Reidpath 13 March 1510/11 1
 (Redpath) of Wyndschelis
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 204
- David Renton of Billie 1 Feb. 1488/9 2 1
 and Elizabeth Lauder, his 27 April 1510
 wife (t)
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 124; HMC Milne-Home, nos. 389, 390,
 pp. 185-6
- William Renton 27 May 1509 1
 Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young, no. 1900, p. 414
- William Reche, N.P. 8 May 1547 1
 Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/6/1/21
- Sir Alan Richardson 21 Aug. 1514 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 37, p. 30
- Andrew Richardson 22 Jan. 1478/9- 3
 18 May 1496
Laing Chrs., nos. 170, 227-8, pp. 40, 58
- Sir Andrew Richardson 11 Feb. 1471/2 1
Laing Chrs., no. 165, p. 43
- Mr Hugh Rig of 8 Feb. 1542/3- 4
 Carberry 8 May 1547
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 230; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs
 GD 137/6/1/21; Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, Nos. 16, 19
- Sir Robert, monk of ca. 1380 1
 Balmerino, earl's chaplain
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 397
- David Robertson, 21 April 1545 1
 bailie to earl
 NLS charter 5772

Mr David Roberti(son)	1 Feb. 1524/5	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 617		
Richard Robson,	29 Nov. 1525	1
bailie to earl		
Newbattle Collection GD 40, Box 6, no. 2		
John Ross	29 Oct. 1489	1
<u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
Thomas Ross and	15 Oct. 1551	1
Elizabeth Douglas, his		
wife (t)		
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 19, p. 5		
John Rutherford	--1503	1
of Hundalee (t)		
Newbattle Collection GD 40, Box 10, no. 1		
Nicholas Rutherford	18 March 1428/9-	3
of Grubet, bailie to earl	27 Feb. 1439/40	
<u>Fraser, Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 70; <u>HMC Cavers</u> , no. 6, p. 72B;		
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> no. 5, p. 20		
William Rutherford	16 Oct. 1546	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 104, p. 24		
Andrew Ruthven	16 April 1456	1
SRO, GD1/479, no. 2		
William Lord Ruthven	29 Oct. 1489	1
<u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
John	29 Oct. 1489	1
Prior of St. Andrews		
<u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
William Lord St. John	29 Oct. 1489	1
<u>HMC Home</u> , no. 102, p. 118		
Sir James Sandilands [cont.]		

- Sir James Sandilands 21 April- 3
of Calder (c) 9 Nov. 1397
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 35-40, 42-3, 49-50.
- Gilbert Scheill 14 May 1469 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 9, p. 22
- Sir Thomas Short (es) 12 Aug. 1499 2
Grant, Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 442-3
- Alexander Scott 9 July 1482 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 436
- David Scott of 9 Feb. 1469/70- 5 1
Buccleuch (t) 12 Nov. 1482
Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 67-8, 70-3, 79-80; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 434-5; HMC Cavers, nos. 15, 16, pp. 728-9.
- Sir Walter Scott 7 Dec. 1457 1
of Buccleuch
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 434-5
- Mr William Scott of Flawcrag 17 June 1496 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 155
- John Scougal 23 March 1417/8 1
of that Ilk
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 51
- James Scrimgeour, Constable 20 Jan. 1444/5- 5
of Dundee (t) (i) 26 April 1459
HMC Lauderdale, p. 612; Scrimgeour-Wedderburn GD 137/11/8/5;
Scrymgeour Inventory, nos. 714, 720, 722, pp. 44-5
- James Scrimgeour, Constable 22 Jan. 1471/2- 2
of Dundee (t) (ii) 9 March 1480/1
RMS, II, nos. 1081, 1558

James Scrimgeour 8 May 1547 1
of Roddgodden (?Rogorton)
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/6/1/21

John Scrimgeour of Glassary, 8 May 1547 1
Constable of Dundee (t)
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/6/1/21

Mr John Scrimgeour 1 Feb. 1488/9 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 124

Walter Scrimgeour 21 Sept. 1514 1
(? of Glaswell)
Laing Chrs., no. 304, pp. 76-7

John Lord Semple 29 Oct. 1489 1
HMC Home, no. 102, p. 118

Robert, Master of Semple 12 April 1546 1
Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141

Sir Alexander Seton 7 Oct. 1429- 2
of Gordon (t) 18 Jan. 1429/30
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 6, Bundle 11; Box 20 (black box
marked "Seton Seals")

George Lord Seton 12 April 1546 1
Fraser, Eglinton, II, p. 141

Sir John Seton 19 April 1400 1
Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 46

Robert Seton 20 Feb. 1434/5 1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2

William Seton 9 Jan. 1478/9 1
RMS, II, no. 1537

- Sir David Sibbald 22 Sept. 1475 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 106
- Isabella Sibbald, 24 Feb. 1471/2 1
 Countess of Angus (c)
 Fraser, Buccleuch, II, pp. 70-2
- Alexander Sinclair 22 Jan. 1478/9 1
Laing Chrs., no. 170, p. 44
- James Sinclair (c) 21 Nov. 1389- 4
 15 May 1397
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 34, 40, 43; HMC Strathmore, no. 11,
 p. 181; SRO, RH 1/2/144, 145
- John Sinclair of 28 July 1511 2
 Finlarg (t)
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 2, Bundle 5
- John Sinclair of ca. 1375- 1 7
 Herdmanston (c and t) (i) 15 May 1397
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 24, 34, 40, 43, 398; HMC Milne-Home,
 no. 582, pp. 256-7; HMC Strathmore, no. 11, p. 181; Register House,
 Cal. Charters, I, no. 198; SRO, RH 1/2/144, 145
- John Sinclair of 15 May 1437 1
 Herdmanston (c and t) (ii)
HMC Milne-Home, no. 583, p. 257
- John Sinclair, bailie to earl 7 Nov. 1522 1
Laing Chrs., no. 341, p. 87
- Sir John Sinclair, 18 Aug. 1548 1
 Provost of Roslin
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3

Sir Walter Sinclair	21 Nov. 1389-	2	1
of Herdmanston (c and t)	17 April 1433 (?)		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 50-1, 64-5, 34; <u>HMC Portland</u> , II, p.2			
William Sinclair	19 April 1400-		2
of Herdmanston (c and t)	13 Feb. 1408/9		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 46, 48			
Mr William Sinclair,	27 Jan. 1471/2		1
Parson of Kilmalcolm			
<u>HMC Var Coll V: Fintry</u> , p. 198			
James Skaldyn of Cogar	13 March 1510/11		1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 204			
Patrick Sleich	19 Nov. 1549		1
and Mariota Cockburn, his			
wife (t)			
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 31, p. 7			
George Smaling	6 April 1508-		3
	10 Dec. 1509		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 188, 193; <u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 389, p. 185			
John Smart, N.P.	1 July 1511		1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 26			
How Lord Somerville (t)	14 Jan. 1515/6-	1	1
	7 June 1544		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 224; <u>Argyll Muniments at Inverary</u> , Portfolio 5			
John Somerville of	2 March 1515/6		1
Cambusnethan (c)			
ADC XXXV, ff. 24-5			

Sir John Spanky, Parson of Banvie	9 March 1480/1	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1558		
Hugh Spens	10 Aug. 1427	1
<u>Coldingham Corresp.</u> , no. CXII, p. 100		
William Spens of Quikiswood	23 March 1417/8	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 51		
William Spens	19 April 1400	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 46		
Patrick Stanhouse, N.P.	28 Sept. 1509	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 141		
Janet Stewart, Lady Methven	ca. 1550	1
Fraser, <u>Elphinstone</u> , II, p. 259; <u>HMC Elphinstone</u> , no. 48, p. 192		
William Stewart of Angus (c)	15 May 1397	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 40		
Katharine Stirling, Countess of Angus (c)	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
William Stirling	13 March 1506/7	1
Inverquharity Writs: Papers from Baldovan House, no. 1a		
Edward Story	7 Nov. 1522- 28 March 1525	2
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , nos. 341, 349, pp. 87-8		
Marjorie Strachan (t)	24 April 1464	1
Scrimgeour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/6		

- William Strachan (t) 9 Jan 1478/9- 4
 --Jan. 1488/9
RMS, II, no. 1537; Scrymgeour Inventory nos. 811, 821, 824, pp. 50-1
- John Swinton of ca. 1379-89 2
 that ilk
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 397; SRO, RH 1/2/143
- John Syme 31 Jan. 1488/9 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 123
- James Symington, fiar 15 March 1490/1- 2
 of that ilk (t) 9 May 1491
 Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2, Box 5, Bundle 11
- John Symington of 9 March 1480/1- 1 9
 that ilk (t) 12 Aug. 1499
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, pp. 124, 151, 155, 160; RMS, II, no. 1558; Grant, Wigtown Charter Chest (GD 101), nos. 442-3; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2, Box 5, Bundle 11
- John Symington 27 Jan. 1471/2 1
HMC Var. Coll. V: Fintry, p. 198
- John Symons 8 June 1424 1
 Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 9, no. 67
- Andrew Tabownar 22 Sept. 1475 1
 Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 106
- Robert Tait 29 Nov. 1525 1
 Newbattle Collection GD 40, Box 6, no. 2
- William Todd 14 May 1469 1
HMC Milne-Home, no. 9, p. 22
- Sir William Torr 22 Jan. 1477/8 1
Laing Chrs., no. 170, p. 44

Adam Tunno of Haircleuch (?t)	13 March 1510/11	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 204		
Alexander Turing, burgess of Edinburgh (t)	20 June 1481	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 629		
David Turnbull of Wauchop (t)	30 Jan. 1551/2	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 440		
George Turnbull of Bedroule (t)	16 April 1456	1
SRO, GD 1/479, no. 2		
Robert Turnbull	1 Aug. 1506- 6 April 1508	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 185; <u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 389, p. 185		
William Turnbull, burgess of Edinburgh	30 Jan. 1551/2	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 440		
Sir William Turnbull	26 Jan. 1546/7	1
<u>RMS</u> , IV, no. 1223		
John Tweedie of Drumalziar	4 Aug. 1543	1
<u>HMC Buccleuch</u> , no. 25, p. 18		
David Urquhart	1 July 1511	1
Murthly Castle GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 29		
Alexander Wardlaw of Warriston	16 Jan. 1510/11	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 200		
George Wardlaw	6 Aug. 1495	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 146-7		

Sir Alexander Watterson	11 Feb. 1471/2	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 165, p. 43		
Sir John Watterson	21 Sept. 1514	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 304, pp. 76-7		
Mr James Watson	5 Jan. 1550/51	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 66, p. 39		
Edward Waugh	7 Feb. 1509/10	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3413		
John Waugh	11 May 1484	1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2		
Henry Wedale	ca. 1379-	1
	12 Aug. 1381	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 398; <u>HMC Strathmore</u> , no. 11, p. 181;		
SRO, RH 1/2/145		
David Wedderburn	11 Feb. 1471/2-	5
	18 May 1496	
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp. 108, 117; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1560;		
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , nos. 165, 229, pp. 43, 59		
William Wedderburn	ca. 1420-	2
	12 May 1425	
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 98, p. 26; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 195		
Adam Weir of Rachech (t) (i)	25 May 1516	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 3246		
Adam Weir of Racleuch (t) (ii)	9 May 1543	1
<u>RMS</u> , III, no. 3246		
Mr David Weir,	11 May 1484	1
Parson of Libberton		
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 4, no. 2		

Robert Weir	28 Sept. 1482	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 1619		
Patrick Wellis, Provost of Perth	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
John Wemyss, burgess of Abernethy bailie to earl	22 Oct. 1546- 30 Jan. 1551/2	5
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 440; <u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , nos. 19, 31, 81, 104, pp. 5, 7, 19, 24		
William Wemyss	4 Dec. 1509- 8 Dec. 1524	2
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 3389; Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 3		
David Wetherspoon	9 March 1480/1	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 155		
Robert Wigtown	19 Nov. 1549	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 31, p. 7		
Mr Henry White	1 June 1500	1
<u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2539		
David Whitelaw	20 Feb. 1434/5	1
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2		
Hugh Wilkie	29 Jan. 1545/6	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Sir Alexander Gaw</u> , no. 49, p. 12		
Henry Wilson, bailie to earl	24 July 1436	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 5, p. 20		
George Winter	15 May 1470	1
<u>Laing Chrs.</u> , no. 162; p. 42; SRO, FH 1/2/267		

Archibald Wishart of Logy (t)	5 Dec. 1511	1
Scringecour-Wedderburn Writs GD 137/8/4/10		
William Wood of	18 April 1527	1
Bonington (later t)		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 439		
William Wood	14 May 1469	1
<u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 9, p. 22		
John Yettane	31 Jan. 1488/9-	2
6 April 1508		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 123; <u>HMC Milne-Home</u> , no. 389, p. 185		
Thomas Yester	22 Sept. 1475	1
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 106		
Sir James Yhat, Chaplain	14 Dec. 1428-	3
20 Feb. 1434/5		
Inverquharity Writs GD 205, Box 3, Bundle 2, Box 6, Bundle 11		
Alexander Young	27 May 1509	1
<u>Prot. Bk. of Jas. Young</u> , no. 1900, p. 414		
James Young, N.P.	24 June 1492-	3
17 Feb. 1509/10		
Fraser, <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, p. 134; <u>RMS</u> , II, no. 2457; III, no. 49		
John Young, N.P.	23 Nov. 1546	1
Murthly Castle Writs GD 121/3, Box 6, no. 16		

APPENDIX II

The Personnel of the Council: 1525-1528

Although it is improper to speak of Angus's "regency" as commencing before the spring of 1526, I have thought it useful for purposes of comparison to begin this analysis of the membership of the Council with the spring of 1525 in order to demonstrate a more accurate perspective of variational changes and patterns. Similarly, I have included in my study the final months of 1528 after the forfeiture of Angus and his closest supporters. The general trend of the composition of the Council is elucidated by Table I.

The membership of the Council has been classified in the following manner: Earls, Lords of Parliament (which also includes their heirs, e.g. the Master of Lindsay), Bishops (which includes the two occupants of the metropolitan sees of Scotland), Abbots and Priors, Other Ecclesiastics (which includes Provosts of Collegiate Churches, Archdeacons, Deans and Officials of the various dioceses), Officers of Administration (e.g. the Comptroller, Secretary, Treasurer), Edinburgh burgesses (which includes the professional lawyers and advocates who did not hold an official post), and Lairds. For the surnames of the clerical members of the Council, as these are not given in the manuscript record, I have relied upon Dr D.E.R. Watt's Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae Medii Aevi. The enumeration of appearances given for each of the above mentioned groups is based upon the total number of times during the course of the three years under analysis in which any member of that group was present at meetings of the Council. If a particular earl, lord, bishop and so on appeared twice during the same day, he has been counted only once.

A basic factor which governed the composition of the Council and which is not indicated by mathematical calculations is the crucial role of geography. Those earls, lords and even bishops who possessed many estates and had extensive interests in the southern regions of the kingdom or whose sees were of the foremost economic and political importance almost invariably appeared on the Council. The sheer matter of travel time combined with the remoteness of their spheres of influence kept such noblemen as the Earls of Mar and Buchan as well as the powerful chiefs of clans such as the Grants, Camerons and the Mackintoshes from participation in the government. Geographical accessibility to the capital was a concomitant of frequency of attendance on the Council.

However, in spite of the geographical factor, an analysis of the attendance record of members of the Scottish aristocracy, both secular and ecclesiastical, is instructive in demonstrating the support, or lack of it, which was given to Angus during his hegemony of the Scottish State. From the compilation of statistics, it is immediately apparent that the attendance of all members of the aristocracy declined dramatically. From the early months of 1525 until the beginning of 1528, the number of times in which earls and lords of Parliament appeared on the Council declined from 305 and 159 to 45 and 42 respectively, although Angus was not without some support from his peers as at least two earls and three lords belonged to the Council until his control was forcibly terminated. The attendance of members of the Scottish episcopate went from 289 times in 1525 to 15 times during the last six months of Angus's rule; once he was ousted from office, the members of this influential group rallied to the support of James, and this pattern was also demonstrated by the abbots and priors whose attendance dropped from 196 to 21 during the same period. But this general unhappiness

with Angus's rule was not displayed by the governmental officers and their allies, the professional lawyers, who were for the most part Edinburgh burghesses, and the holders of minor ecclesiastical benefices. In 1525 members of the administration appeared 216 times and, although their attendance declined to 72 times during the first half of 1528, they appeared more frequently from January until May of that year than any other group. The lawyers and Edinburgh burghesses increased their attendance from 20 times to 209 times in 1527 and were present more often in the beginning of 1528 than any member of the episcopal and abbatial orders. Possessors of minor ecclesiastical benefices, however, did not show the unwillingness to co-operate with Angus displayed by their clerical superiors and enjoyed a marked preponderance upon the Council during Angus's rule. The composition of the Council was reflected in the nature of the business which was transacted before it as judicial cases increasingly outweighed political and diplomatic matters and it is not surprising that during this time reforms in the legal procedure were introduced. The officers of administration and their associates, the lawyers, were indispensable to any government of the realm. They served Angus while he was "regent" and continued to serve James the fifth without interruption after the king had made himself master in his own house. The last group, the lairds, were present so infrequently at council meetings that their influence upon that body was negligible.

A discussion of the leading members of each group is instructive as it particularises the general trend. The earls, in spite of their overwhelming strength in the Council in 1525, were present less frequently than their clerical counterparts, the bishops. Perhaps this was a result of the existence of diocesan administrations which

afforded the bishops both financial wherewithal and more time to devote to conciliar affairs, but in the absence of any existence of similar comital organisations, this can be suggested only as a possible factor. Probably the most important factor which determined whether or not an earl was present when the Council met was the personal one of affinity or distaste for the "regent." It is not unexpected that Angus himself was present at meetings of the Council from March 1524/5 until May 1528 more often than any other magnate. During this period he was absent from conciliar deliberations only from December 1526 until March 1526/7.¹ This was during the apex of his regime after he had crushed all malcontents and enjoyed the unquestioned support of Arran and the Hamiltons. He undoubtedly believed that his presence on the Council was unnecessary,

Aside from the "regent", the most assiduous attenders of the earls were Arran, Cassillis, Lennox, Eglinton, Morton, and Rothes. Arran was present in the summer of 1525, the summer of 1526, and the spring of 1527;² Cassillis, before his death in September 1527, was a regular attender from 1525 until May 1527;³ Lennox, until his opposition to Angus led to his revolt, was among the most consistent members of the Council from March 1525 until July 1526;⁴ Eglinton was present on the Council from November 1526 until May 1527, but did not reappear again

1. ADC, XXVI, f. 117, XXVII, f. 15.

2. ADC, XXV, ff. 42, 132; XXVI, f. 26; XXVII, f. 128.

3. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, 190; XXVI, f. 16, XXVII, f. 217.

4. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, XXVI, f. 65.

until July 1528;⁵ Morton was present in the autumn of 1525, the spring of 1526 and the summer of 1527;⁶ and Rothes was a member of the Council during the summers of 1526 and 1527 and was among the few magnates who were present on the Council in the last week of Angus's rule. But this did not prevent him from being present at James's council in July 1528.⁷

Other magnates of the realm appear to have been reluctant to be present at conciliar meetings while Angus retained control of the government. The earls of Argyll and Moray were present from March until August 1525 and November 1525 until March 1525/6, and from October to December 1526 respectively, but after January 1526/7, they did not attend until Angus was deposed.⁸ Crawford appeared consistently only in the spring of 1525 and the spring of 1528;⁹ Bothwell, who was just emerging from tutelage, appeared from May to August 1527 and in April and May 1528;¹⁰ Huntly, who was also a minor, was present only during the summer of 1527;¹¹ Glencairn, although Angus's uncle and a consistent member up until July 1526, did not attend the Council subsequently;¹² Montrose was present regularly from January until March 1526/7, and appeared briefly in the following August and in May 1528;¹³ The Earl Marischal attended the Council only twice from the

5. ADC, XXVI, f. 102, XXVII, f. 26, XXXVIII, f. 122.

6. ADC, XXVI, f. 78, XXXVII, ff. 89, 170.

7. ADC, XXV, f. 49, XXXVI, f. 21, XXXVIII, ff. 93, 117.

8. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, 155, XXXVII, f. 7; XXXV, f. 196, XXXVIII, f. 89.

9. ADC, XXXV, f. 1, XXXVIII, f. 100.

10. ADC, XXXVII, f. 124, XXXVIII, f. 96.

11. ADC, XXXVII, f. 138.

12. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, 194; XXXVI, f. 16.

13. ADC, XXXV, f. 9, XXXVII, f. 218, XXXVIII, ff. 100-101.

beginning of 1526 until the summer of 1528, while Atholl and Caithness each attended only one meeting during the same period.¹⁴ The earl of Buchan was present in the Council only after Angus had been formally forfeited.¹⁵ When James called upon support from his lieges against Angus and his faction, not a single earl in the kingdom refused their sovereign's call.

The attendance of the Lords of Parliament at the council table was similar to that displayed by the earls. Ties of marriage and blood were not necessarily of prime importance in determining whether a nobleman attended the council or not. For example, Lords Forbes, Hay of Yester and Glamis, who had close consanguineous and tenurial connections with Angus, were only in regular attendance during the winter of 1526 and early spring of 1528, the summer and autumn of 1525, the summers of 1526 and 1527, and the spring and autumn of 1526 respectively.¹⁶ Other members of the aristocracy who had no such ties, e.g. Lords Maxwell and Erskine, were present much more frequently: Maxwell was in attendance from September 1525 until August 1527,¹⁷ while Erskine attended from the spring of 1525 until just a few weeks before Angus's downfall.¹⁸ It is interesting that the most regular members of the Council throughout the entire period were the two Lords St. John, George Dundas and Walter Lindsay; but the latter's attachment to Angus was a purely nominal one as he was an assiduous member of James's council in September 1528.¹⁹

14. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 188, 195; XXXV, f. 196.

15. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 184, 186.

16. ADC, XXXV, f. 196, XXXVIII, f. 94; XXXV, f. 53, XXXVI, f. 45; XXXVI, ff. 14, 109.

17. ADC, XXXV, ff. 18, 196, XXXVI, ff. 121, 141, XXXVII, ff. 159, 241; XXXVIII, f. 96.

18. ADC, XXXV, ff. 18, 196, XXXVI, ff. 21, 141, XXXVII, ff. 159, 241, XXXVIII, f. 96.

19. ADC, XXXVI, ff. 18, 102, XXXVII, f. 5, XXXVIII, ff. 101, 162.

The frequency of attendance of the other nobles at council meetings was less consistent than Lords Maxwell, Erskine or St. John. Hugh, Lord Somerville was present during 1526, 1527 and the spring of 1528;²⁰ Lord Fleming was present during most of 1525, the summer of 1526 and in January and August 1527;²¹ Lord Livingstone in the summers of 1525 and 1527;²² Lord Lindsay of the Eyres in the summer of 1527 and the spring of 1528;²³ Lord Ross of Halkhead in the summers of 1525, 1526, and 1527;²⁴ Lord Semple during the winter of 1527;²⁵ Lord Lyle in the spring and autumn of 1525.²⁶ Lord Seton attended the Council only six times during the period from 1525 until the spring of 1528;²⁷ Lord Avandale only four times;²⁸ Lords Home and Ogilvy twice and Lord Cathcart and the Master of Ruthven only once during the same period.²⁹ Lords Gray, Lovat, Methven and Oliphant did not attend the Council while Angus was in power.³⁰ Although Angus seems to have enjoyed the confidence of some of the Lords of Parliament, those noblemen who were most frequently present on the Council had estates in the south and southwestern regions of the kingdom and, as was the case of the earls, they joined their newly liberated king with alacrity in the summer of 1528.

20. ADC, XXXV, ff. 168, XXXVI, ff. II, 97, XXXVII, ff. 4, 100, XXXVIII, f. 94.

21. ADC, XXXV, ff. 1, 176, 196, XXXVI, f. 87, XXXVII, ff. 4, 195.

22. ADC, XXXV, f. 187, XXXVIII, ff. 2.44.

23. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 160, 207, XXXVIII, ff. 102, 117.

24. ADC, XXXV, f. 69, XXXVI, f. 26, XXXVII, f. 218, XXXVIII, f. 33.

25. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 4, 144, XXXVIII, f. 40.

26. ADC, XXXV, ff. 8, 36, 155.

27. ADC, XXXV, ff. 35, 209, XXXVI, ff. 26, 51, 112.

28. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, 3, XXXVI, f. 141, XXXVII, f. 241.

29. ADC, XXXVIII, ff. 107, 129; XXXVII, f. 188; XXXVIII, f. 100; XXXVII, f. 7 respectively.

30. ADC, XXXVIII, ff. 122, 165; XXXVIII, f. 184; XXXVIII, f. 162, XXXVIII, f. 165.

The members of the Scottish episcopate proportionately declined in frequency of attendance at conciliar meetings less markedly than other groups until the beginning of 1528, which suggests that widespread discontent with Angus's rule was not apparent until after the political eclipse of the two metropolitans. Indeed, the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow were among the most regular members of the council from 1525 until 1527. Archbishop Beaton was present from March 1524/5 until March 1525/6,³¹ but because of his determined opposition to the "regent" he refused to attend until August 1527, and then only long enough to ratify his own deposition from the office of chancellor.³² He withdrew from all participation in governmental affairs and was not attending the Council until after Angus had been formally outlawed.³³ Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow appears to have been willing to co-operate with Angus to a greater extent than was his colleague. He was on the Council from March 1524/4 until August 1526, was present only a few weeks after the battle of Linlithgow,³⁴ and continued to attend until August 1527.³⁵ However, he was sufficiently disgruntled by that time to withdraw from the Council altogether and did not appear again until July 1528.³⁶

The uncle of the Archbishop of Glasgow, Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, was even a more frequent member of the Council than his nephew.

31. ADC, XXXV, f. 1; XXXVI, f. 8.

32. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 188, 197.

33. ADC, XXXIX, ff. 2, 18.

34. ADC, XXXVI, f. 94.

35. ADC, XXXVII, f. 202.

36. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 122.

It must be remembered that he had been clerk register for over twenty years and had been more of an administrator of the government than just a cleric. He was on the Council continuously from March 1524/5 until January 1526/7, was then absent for six months, and then attended until the following December, when he, too, deserted the council table. He did not reappear until July 1528.³⁷ Other bishops who were frequently members of the Council were, in descending order of attendance, George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, who was virtually present from the summer of 1526 until the end of 1528;³⁸ James and William Chisholm, Bishops of Dunblane, who were present from March until September 1525 and during the summer and winter of 1527;³⁹ Henry Wemyss, Bishop of Galloway was in attendance from December 1526 until August 1527. Perhaps he was involved in the Lennox conspiracy as he did not attend the Council until the following December⁴⁰ and, although his record was erratic, he was one of the few bishops who appeared in the Council during the last weeks of the Angus "regency".⁴¹ This did not effect his career adversely, as he continued to be an assiduous member during the summer of 1528.⁴² James Hay, Bishop of Ross attended the Council during the winter and autumn of 1526, made a

37. ADC, XXXV, f.1, XXXVII, ff. 7, 139, XXXVIII, f. 86.

38. ADC, XXXVI, f. 91, XXXVIII, f. 107.

39. ADC, XXV, ff. 1, 132, XXXVII, ff. 4, 42, XXXVIII, ff. 40-4.

40. ADC, XXXVI, f. 104, XXXVII, f. 202, XXXVIII, f. 45.

41. ADC, XXXVIII, ff. 94, 102.

42. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 129, XXXIX, f. 55.

solitary appearance in January 1526/7, and did not reappear until after the removal of Angus.⁴³ John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin attended the council only during the summer of 1525 and the spring of 1528;⁴⁴ Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney attended for only one month while Angus was in power;⁴⁵ while Robert Montgomery, Bishop of Lismore, John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles, and David Arnot, Bishop of Galloway were only present once from 1525 until the summer of 1528.⁴⁶ It could hardly be expected that Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, the former rival of Gavin Douglas for the bishopric of Dunkeld, would have been an enthusiastic supporter of the latter's nephew and, not surprisingly, he did not attend the council until after Angus had lost his pre-eminence.⁴⁷ Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld, who was a regular member from the spring of 1525 until February 1525/6;⁴⁸ and John Beinstoun, Bishop of Orkney, who attended in the summer of 1525,⁵⁰ all died before Angus's deposition.⁵¹ Although the bishops had not shunned the Council during the period of Angus's "new order", none of them were deeply committed to his regime. All of them were present on the new council inaugurated by James the fifth in the latterhalf of 1528.

43. ADC, XXXV, ff. 197, 217, XXXVI, ff. 159, 161, XXXVIII, f. 132.

44. ADC, XXXV, ff. 63, 124, XXVII, ff. 96, 102.

45. ADC, XXXVI, ff. 17, 64.

46. ADC, XXXVII, f. 9; XXV, f. 12.

47. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 132.

48. ADC, XXXV, ff. 17, 209.

49. ADC, XXXV, f. 132, 177; XXXVI, f. 152.

50. ADC, XXXV, f. 39.

51. Robert Cockburn died on 12 April, 1526: Watt's Fasti, p. 99; Robert Shaw was dead by November 1527: Ibid., p. 217; and John Beinstoun was dead prior to February 1525/6: Ibid., p. 253.

The appearance, or lack of it, of the abbots and priors cannot be considered to reflect their political affiliations as strongly as it does for the earls, lords of Parliament and bishops. This is due to the fact that they were often members of the Council in official positions of authority or were employed as diplomats. The absence of an abbot, therefore, did not necessarily indicate that he was disgruntled with the government. Without question the member of this group who was most frequently a member of the Council was Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, who was virtually present at all of the meetings of the Council from April 1525 until December 1527.⁵² He was followed in attendance by William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood (Angus's brother), who was present continuously from the summer of 1526 until May 1528;⁵³ Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews, who was present in the spring and summer of 1526 and the summer and autumn of 1527;⁵⁴ David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, who was present from September 1525 until March 1525/6 and during most of 1527;⁵⁵ and William Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, who was present from July to September 1527 and in March and April 1528.⁵⁶ The abbots of Dryburgh, Kelso and Scone were present from the spring of 1526 until the spring of 1527,⁵⁷ while the abbots of Coupar Angus, Lindores, Melrose, Newbattle and Paisley had extremely erratic records.⁵⁸

52. ADC, XXV, f. 17, XXXVIII, f. 65.

53. ADC, XXXVI, f. 91, XXXVIII, f. 117.

54. ADC, XXXVI, f. 15, XXXVII, f. 137, XXXVIII, ff. 17, 51.

55. ADC, XXXV, f. 1, 182, XXVI, ff. 1, 147, XXXVII, f. 112, XXXVIII, ff. 24-66.

56. ADC, XXXVII, f. 131, XXXVIII, f. 92.

57. ADC, XXXVII, ff. 4, 93, XXXVIII, f. 40; XXXVI, f. 81, XXXVII, f. 15; XXXVII, ff. 15, 197 respectively.

58. ADC, XXV, f. 160, XXXVII, ff. 7, 105; XXXV, f. 155; XXXVII, ff. 117, 188; XXXV, f. 17; XXXV, ff. 18, 131 respectively.

For the last categories of members, the minor ecclesiastics, the officers of administration, the burgesses and lawyers, it is impossible to delineate their political persuasions for their attendance as they formed the backbone of the government throughout the period. The last group, the lairds, were represented by only a few exceptionally prominent ones such as Sir James Hamilton of Finnart and Sir John Stirling of Keir who appeared before the Council on 6 November 1528 in order to affirm their determination never to support the fallen "regent". What is quite clear from the records of the council meetings which have survived is that any great magnate who controlled the king was assured of some support, even if it were only a token one, from the leaders of the Scottish aristocracy. In addition, the actual machinery of government was carried on by a small but useful coterie of bureaucrats whose tenure of office, on the whole, was extremely secure. The attendance of such opponents as the Archbishop of St. Andrews and Lords Maxwell and Erskine at a council table which was dominated by the forceful Angus belies the commonly accepted view that he ruled despotically and without any assistance whatsoever.

TABLE I:

Total Number of Appearances of the Members
of the Council 1525-1528

	1525:	1526	1527	1528	1528
				January-May	June-December
EARLS:	305	187	184	45	178
LORDS OF PARLIAMENT:	159	156	250	42	155
BISHOPS:	289	246	321	15	277
ABBOTS and PRIORS:	196	109	230	21	158
OTHER ECCLESIASTICS:	42	112	270	36	100
OFFICERS of ADMINISTRATION:	216	223	420	72	173
EDINBURGH BURGESSES:	20	49	209	31	105
LAIRDS:	0	4	0	1	6

NOTE ON METHOD

In order to give a concise yet general view of the attendance of the members of the council, I have compressed the time in which members appeared in the following manner. Whenever there is a series of dates which covers an extensive period of time, for example, Sir William Scot of Balweary was present from 9 March-9 December 1525, this indicates that Sir William was present on the council at least twice each month included in that period. The folio references always refer to the exact date given at the beginning and conclusion of the period of time. Absences from the council of two months or less are not indicated. This is because in many instances the meetings of the council were quite irregular and often the council would either meet only once a month or once every two months. The general exception to this rule is the attendance for the year 1528. Angus's last meeting as chancellor was on 28th May; by 6th July, the king had shaken off the earl's domination and a new administration was in operation.

EARLS

<u>Names</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus (Chancellor 6 August 1527- 6 July 1528).	6 March 1524/5-	XXXV, f. 1-
	17 March 1525/6	XXXVI, f. 12
	24 April 1526	XXXVI, f. 11.
	2 May -4 December 1526	" ff. 12, 117
	11 March 1526/7-	XXXVII, ff. 15, 249
	30 October 1527	
	2 December 1527 -	
	28 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 44, 117
Colin Campbell, Earl of Argyll	6 March 1524/5-	
	4 August 1525	XXXV, ff. 1, 124.
	13 November-14 March 1525/6	" f. 155-
	18 January 1526/7	XXXVI, f. 8
	6 July-30 December 1528	XXXVII, f. 7
		XXXVIII, f. 122- XXXIX, f. 55
James Hamilton, Earl of Arran	6 March 1524/5	XXXV, f.1.
	16 June-20 July 1525	" ff. 42, 100
	28-30 September 1525	" f. 132
	4 July-19 October 1526	XXXVI, ff. 26, 98
	29 May 1527	XXXVII, f. 128
	6 July-17 November 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 122, XXXIX, f. 3
John Stewart, Earl of Atholl	12 August 1527	XXXVII, f. 195
	17 July-7September 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 132, 162 and 165
Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell	22 May-12 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 124, 195
	30 April-22 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 96, 102

Patrick Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell	14 July-9 December 1528	XXXVIII, f. 131- XXXIX, f. 20
John Stewart, Earl of Buchan	22 and 23 October, 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 184, 186
John Sinclair, Earl of Caithness	22 January 1525/6	XXXV, f. 196
Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassillis	6 March 1524/5- 13 July 1525 4 November-20 December 1525 26 June-14 July 1526 7 December 1526- 24 August 1527	XXXV, f. 1- " f. 82 " ff. 153-190 XXXVI, ff. 16, 45 " f. 126, XXXVII, f. 217
David Lindsay, Earl of Crawford	6 March 1524/5- 13 May 1525 1-16 December 1525 14, 17 December 1526 18-26 May 1528 7 September 1528	XXXV, f. 1, f. 27 " ff. 168, 189 XXXVI, ff. 141, 147 XXXVIII, ff. 100, 109 " f. 162
Hugh Montgomery, Earl of Eglinton	6 March 1524/5 30 June 1525 28 November-1 December 1526 23 January-5 February 1526/7 26 May 1527 6 July-19 December 1528	XXXV, f. 1 XXXV, f. 63 XXXVI, ff. 102, 109 XXXVII, ff. 8, 11 " f. 126 XXXVIII, f. 122, XXXIX, f. 51

Cuthbert Cunningham, Earl of Glencairn	6 March 1524/5-	XXXV, f. 1-
	8 January 1525/6	" f. 194
	26 June-4 July 1526	XXXVI, ff. 16, 26
George Gordon, Earl of Huntly	1 December 1526	XXXVI, f. 109
	16 June-7 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 138, 189
	1 December 1528	XXXIX, f. 16
John Stewart, Earl of Lennox	6 March 1524/5-	XXXV, f. 1-
	17 March 1525/6	XXXVI, f. 10
	7 May-30 July 1526	" ff. 12, 65
William Keith, Earl Marischal	6,7 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 188-189
	11-18 July 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 131, 133
William Graham, Earl of Montrose	7-28 July 1525	XXXV, ff. 78, 113
	29 January-23 March 1526/7	XXXVII, ff. 9, 46
	26, 28 August 1527	" ff. 218-221
	18-20 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 100-101
	9-31 July 1528	" ff. 129, 144
	22, 23 October 1528	" ff. 184, 186
James Stewart, Earl of Moray	22 January-19 February 1525/6	XXXV, ff. 196-204
	2-22 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 70, 90
	17 October-10 January 1527/8	" , ff. 97; XXXVIII, f. 89
	27 July-17 November 1528	" f. 138, XXXIX, f. 3

James Douglas,
Earl of Morton

7 July-30 September 1525	XXXV, ff. 78, 132
4, 6 November 1525	" f. 153
14, 17 March-31 May 1526	XXXVI, ff. 8, 14
5, 6 April 1527	XXXVII, ff. 89, 93
23 July-8 August 1527	" ff. 170, 190

George Leslie,
Earl of Rothes

6 March 1524/5	XXXV, f. 1
20 June, 19 July 1525	" ff. 49, 96
30 June-17 July 1526	XXXVI, ff. 21, 48
17 October-23 January 1526/7	" f. 97 XXXVII, f. 8
20 May-23 October 1527	" ff. 123, 247
2-20 December 1527	XXXVIII, ff. 44, 80
24 March-28 May 1528	" ff. 93, 117
6 July-30 December 1528	XXXVIII, f. 122;
..	XXXIX, f. 55.

LORDS OF PARLIAMENT

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
Andrew Stewart, Lord Avandale	6, 10 March 1524/5	XXXV, ff. 1, 3
	14 December 1526	XXXVI, f. 141
	6 October 1527	XXXVII, f. 241
	11-17 July 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 131-132
	22, 23 October 1528	" ff. 184, 189
John, Lord Cathcart	19 May 1528	XXXVIII, f. 100
Malcolm, Lord Fleming	6 March 1524/5-	XXXV, f. 1-
	4 December 1525	" f. 176
	22 January 1525/6	" f. 196
	4 July-21 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 26, 87
	5 December-10 January 1526/7	" , ff. 120, XXXVII, f. 4
	26 March-29 May 1527	" ff. 118, 128
	8 July-12 August 1527	" ff. 140, 195
	6 October-8 January 1527/8	" f. 241- XXXVIII, f. 87
	27 March, 18-19 May 1528	" ff. 93, 100
	17 July-9 November 1528	" ff. 132, 188
John, Lord Forbes	6, 10 March 1524/5	XXXV, ff. 1, 3
	12 June 1525	" f. 38
	22 January -13 February 1525/6	XXXV, ff. 196, 203
	5-14 December 1526	XXXVI, ff. 120, 141
	16-24 April 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 94, 95
	22 October - 18 November 1528	" f. 184- XXXIX, f. 2

John Lyon, Lord Glamis	31 May 1526	XXXVI, f. 14
	1, 14 December 1526	" ff. 109, 141
	6, 9 July 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 122, 129
Patrick, Lord Gray	6, 29 July 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 122, 141
	7 September, 22-23 October 1528	" ff. 165, 184-185
John, Lord Erskine	6 May-21 November 1525	XXXV, ff. 18, 161
	22 January-5 March 1525/6	" ff. 196, 217
	30 June-3 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 21, 71
	14, 17 December 1526	" ff. 141, 147
	18 March-28 March 1526/7	XXXVII, ff. 24, 58
	13 July-16 August 1527	" 158, 202
	6 October-8 December 1527	" ff. 241, XXXVIII, f. 50
	30 April-20 May 1528	" ff. 96, 101
	6 July-30 December 1528	" f. 122, XXXIX, f. 55
John, Lord Hay of Yester	6 March 1524/5	XXXV, f. 1
	26 June-9 August 1525	" , ff. 53, 144
	21 November-20 December 1525	" , ff. 161, 191
	22 January-13 March 1525/6	" ff. 196; XXXVI, f. 6
	14 July-20 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 45, 87
	11-15 December 1526	" ff. 132, 141
	9 April 1527	XXXVII, f. 100
	12 July-17 December 1527	" f. 155; XXXVIII, f. 68
	18 April 1528	XXXVIII, f. 94
	8 July-23 October 1528	" ff. 126, 186

George, Lord Home	25, 26 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 107, 109
	6 July-7 September, 1528	" ff. 122, 162
John, Master of Lindsay and Lord Lindsay of the Byres	13 November 1525	XXXV, f. 155
	3 July, 11 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 23, 76
	20 December 1526	" , f. 159
	12 April 1527	XXXVII, f. 108
	15 July-19 August 1527	" ff. 160, 207
	9 October 1527	" f. 244
	22 May-28 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 102, 117
	9 July-23 October 1528	" ff. 129, 186
Alexander, Lord Livingstone	26 June-28 July 1525	XXXV, ff. 53, 113
	15 December 1525	" f. 187
	10 January 1526/7	XXXVII, f. 4
	19 March 1526/7	" f. 29
	5 November-3 December 1527	XXXVIII, ff. 2, 44
	7 September-23 October 1528	" ff. 162, 186
Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat	22, 23 October 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 184, 186
John, Lord Lyle	6 May-7 June 1525	XXXV, ff. 18, 36
Robert, Lord Maxwell	9 March-21 April 1525	XXXV, ff. 2, 17
	19, 22 July 1525	" ff. 96, 103
	18 September-15 November 1525	" ff. 131, 156
	17 March 1525/6	XXXVI, f. 10
	7 May-31 August 1526	" ff. 12, 93

Robert, Lord Maxwell	17 October-1 December 1526 20 April, 16 June 1527 2 August-17 August 1527 6 October 1527 6 July-18 December 1528	XXXVI, ff. 97, 109 XXXVII, ff. 113, 138 " ff. 182, 205 " f. 241 XXXVIII, f. 122; XXXIX, f. 47
Henry Stewart, Lord Methven	7 September-23 October 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 162, 186
James, Lord Ogilvy of Airlie	6, 7 August 1527 7 September-23 October 1528	XXXVII, f. 188 XXXVIII, ff. 165, 186
Lawrence, Lord Cliphant	7 September 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 165 ^o
Ninian, Lord Ross of Halkhead	3 July-3 August 1525 4-16 July 1526 26 August-17 September 1527 27 November-2 December 1527 30 April 1528 11 July, 22 October- 6 November 1528	XXXV, ff. 69, 121 XXXVI, ff. 26, 46 XXXVII, ff. 218, 238 XXXVIII, ff. 33, 40 " f. 96 " ff. 131, 187
Patrick, Master of Ruthven	18 January 1526/7 9 July-30 December 1528	XXXVII, f. 7 XXXVIII, f. 129; XXXIX, f. 55

George Dundas, Lord St. John	6, 10 March 1524/5 6 May-30 September 1525 13, 29 November 1525 19 May-31 July 1526 28 November - 22 December 1526	XXXV, ff. 1, 3 " ff. 18, 132 " ff. 155, 166 XXXVI, ff. 14, 66 " ff. 102, 161
Walter Lindsay, Lord St. John	13 March 1526/7- 20 December 1527 20-28 May 1528 7 September - 19 December 1528	XXXVII, f. 15; XXXVIII, f. 80 " ff. 101, 113 XXXVIII, f. 162; XXXIX, f. 51
George, Lord Seton	31 May, 8 June 1525 26 February 1525/6 4, 19 July 1526 3 December 1526 6, 9, 10 July 1528	XXXV, ff. 35, 36 " f. 209 XXXVI, ff. 26, 51 " f. 112 XXXVIII, ff. 122-130
William, Lord Semple	12 July 1526 10 January-16 March 1526/7 9-11 July 1527 2-20 December 1527 5 August-9 December 1528	XXXVI, f. 43 XXXVII, ff. 4, 22 " ff. 144, 150 XXXVIII, ff. 40, 80 " f. 149; XXIX, f. 20
Hugh, Lord Somerville	6 March 1524/5 13 July 1525 1 December - 22 January 1525/6 2 May-22 August 1526 17 October-10 January 1526/7	XXV, f. 1 " f. 82 " ff. 168, 196 XXXVI, ff. 11, 90 " ff. 97; XXXVII, f. 4

Hugh, Lord
Somerville

9 April-17 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 100, 205
6 October-10 January 1527/8	" f. 241; XXXVIII, f. 89
16 April-25 May 1528	" ff. 94, 107
26 September, 6 November 1528	" ff. 172, 187

BISHOPS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews (Chancellor until 21 July 1526)	6 March 1524/5 14 March 1526 August 1527 November-December 1528	XXXV, f. 1- XXXVI, f. 8 XXXVII, ff. 188, 197 XXXIX, f. 2, 18
Gavin Dunbar (II) Archbishop of Glasgow	6 March 1524/5- 2 August 1526 19 September 1526- 16 August 1527 6 July 1528- 30 December 1528	XXXV, f. 1- XXXVI, f. 70 " f. 90- XXXVII, f. 202 XXXVIII, f. 122- XXXIX, f. 55
Gavin Dunbar (I), Bishop of Aberdeen	6 March 1524/5- 18 January 1526/7 4 July 1527- 23 December 1527 6 July 1528- 30 December 1528	XXXV, f. 1- XXXVII, f. 7 " f. 139- XXXVIII, f. 86 " f. 122- XXXIX, f. 55
John Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin	30 June 1525- 4 August 1525 30 April-22 May 1528 7 September 1528	XXXV, f. 63- " f. 124 XXXVIII, ff. 96, 102 " f. 162
Andrew Stewart (II), Bishop of Caithness	12 July-7 September 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 132, 162

James and William Chisholm, Bishops of Dunblane	6 March 1524/5-	XXXV, f. 1-
	28 September 1525	" f. 132
	10 January 1526/7-	XXXVII, f. 4-
	22 March 1526/7	" f. 42
	29 July-7 August 1527	XXXVII, f. 189
	2-5 December 1527	XXXVIII, ff. 40-46
	29 July-19 August 1528	" ff. 141, 157
Robert Cockburn, Bishop of Dunkeld	21, 26 April 1525	XXXV, ff. 17-18
	3 July-30 August 1525	" ff. 69, 131
	8 January 1525/6-	" ff. 194-
	26 February 1525/6	209
George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld	29 August 1526-	XXXVI, f. 91-
	18 December 1526	" f. 152
	5 January 1526/7-	" f. 161-
	19 December 1527	XXXVIII, f. 76
	31 January-10 February 1527/8	XXXVIII, ff. 91
	25 May-20 June 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 107- 121
	6 July-30 December 1528	XXXIX, f. 55
David Arnot, Bishop of Galloway	27 March 1525	XXXV, f. 12
Henry Wemyss, Bishop of Galloway	31 May-26 June 1526	XXXVI, ff. 14, 16
	1 December-5 January 1526/7	" ff. 104, 161
	23 January-16 August 1527	XXXVII, f. 8, 202
	4 December-11 January 1527/8	XXXVIII, ff. 45, 94
	16 April-26 May 1528	" ff. 94, 102
	9 July-30 December 1528	XXXVIII, f. 129- XXXIX, f. 55

John Campbell, Bishop of the Isles	21 November 1525	XXXV, f. 161
Robert Montgomery, Bishop of Lismore	29 January 1526/7 6 November 1528	XXXVII, f. 9 XXXVIII, f. 187
Robert Shaw, Bishop of Moray	28 September-4 October 1525 29 January-1 February 1525/6 18 December 1526-10 January 1526/7	XXXV, ff. 132, 151 " ff. 197-198 XXXVI, f. 152- XXXVII, f. 4
John Beinston, Bishop of Orkney	14 June-15 July 1525	XXXV, f. 39, 94
Robert Maxwell, Bishop of Orkney	26 June-28 July 1526 6 November-1 December 1528	XXXVI, ff. 17, 64 XXXVIII, f. 187- XXXIX, f. 16
James Hay, Bishop of Ross	29 January-5 March 1525/6 28 November-20 December 1526 5 January 1526/7 15 July-7 September 1528	XXIV, ff. 197, 217 XXXVI, ff. 102, 159 " f. 161 XXXVIII, ff. 132, 162

ABBOTS AND PRIORS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath	6 March 1524/5	XXXV, f. 1
	21 April, 13 May 1525	" ff. 17, 27
	5 July-3 August 1525	" ff. 75, 121
	30 September-11 December 1525	" ff. 132, 182
	2 January-14 March 1525/6	" f. 192; I XXVI, f. 1
	14, 17 December 1526	XXXVI, ff. 141, 147
	18 April-13 May 1527	XXXVII, ff. 112, 118
	6, 7 August 1527	" ff. 188
	4 October-16 December 1527	XXXVIII, ff 24-66
	14 July, 7 September 1528	" ff. 131, 165
	Alexander Myln, Abbot of Cambuskenneth	21 April-1 December 1525
23 February 1525/6-		" f. 208;
14 August 1526		XXXVI, f. 81
14 March 1526/7-		
13 May 1527		XXXVII, ff. 17, 118
7 August-14 December 1527		" ff. 188; XXXVIII, f. 65
6 July-17 December 1528		" f. 122; XXXIX, f. 44
Donald Campbell, Abbot of Coupar Angus	6 March, 21 April 1525	XXXV, f. 1, 17
	21 November 1525	" f. 160
	18 January 1526/7	XXXVII, f. 7
	23, 27 May 1528	" ff. 105, 113
	9 July-9 December 1528	XXXVIII, f. 122; XXXIX, f. 20

William Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel	6 March 1524/5 1-19 December 1526 13 March-10 April 1527 4 July-25 September 1527 20 March-24 April 1528	XXXV, f. 1 XXXVI, ff. 109, 155 XXXVII, ff. 15, 102 " ff. 139, 239 XXXVIII, ff. 92, 95
Thomas Hudry, Abbot of Culross	6 March 1524/5 22 June-22 July 1525 29 November-16 December 1525 8, 10 January 1526	XXXV, f. 1 " ff. 51, 103 " ff. 166, 189 " ff. 194-195
James Stewart, Abbot of Dryburgh	23 October-20 December 1526 10 January-6 April 1527 26 October-2 December 1527 23 May 1528 7 September-30 December 1528	XXXVI, ff. 99, 159 XXXVII, ff. 4-93 XXXVII, f. 248; XXXVIII, f. 40 XXXVIII, f. 105 " f. 162; XXXIX, f. 55
John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrennan	14 May, 6-17 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 119, 205
Walter Malignes, Abbot of Glenluce	12, 13 July 1525 4-20 December 1525 22 January, 8 February 1525/6	XXXV, ff. 81-82 " ff. 176, 190 " ff. 196, 199
Robert Cairncross, Abbot of Holyrood	6 November, 1, 5 December 1528	XXXVIII, f. 187; XXXIX, f. 13

George Crichton, Abbot of Holyrood (see Bishop of Dunkeld)	6 March 1524/5-8 January 1525/6 22 January-21 August 1526	XXXV, ff. 1, 194 " f. 196; XXXVI, f. 87
William Douglas, Abbot of Holyrood	29 August-23 October 1526 4 December-10 January 1526/7 27 March-9 August 1527 9 December-15 January 1527/8 26 March-28 May 1528	XXXVI, ff. 91, 99 " ff. 117; XXXVII, f. 4 " ff. 51, 193 XXXVIII, ff. 59, 93 " ff. 96, 117
John Home, Abbot of Jedburgh	23, 25 October 1526 9 July-9 October 1527 19 December 1527 26, 28 May 1528 9 July-16 November 1528	XXXVI, ff. 99, 100 XXXVII, ff. 144, 244 XXXVIII, f. 76 " ff. 109, 117 XXXVIII, f. 129; XXXIX, f. 1
Thomas Ker, Abbot of Kelso	6 May-3 August 1525 21 November 1525 14 August 1526 11-14 March 1526/7 30 October 1527 9 July-16 November 1528	XXXV, ff. 18, 121 " f. 160 XXXVI, f. 81 XXXVII, ff. 15, 17 " f. 249 XXXVIII, f. 129; XXXIX, f. 1
Henry --- Abbot of Lindores	13, 15 November 1525	XXXV, ff. 155-156
Andrew Durie, Abbot of Melrose	11 May 1527 6-12 August 1527	XXXVII, f. 117 " ff. 188, 195.

Edward Shewill, Abbot of Newbattle	17 May 1525 31 May 1526	XXXV, f. 17 XXXVI, f. 14
John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley	6 May-30 August 1525	XXXV, ff. 18, 131
Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews	29 January-5 March 1525/6 17 June-3 July 1526 11 May-17 August 1527 15 November-9 December 1527 30 April, 22 May 1528 7 September-12 December 1528	XXXV, ff. 197, 217 XXXVI, ff. 15, 23 XXXVII, ff. 117, 205 XXXVIII, ff. 17, 51 " ff. 96, 102 " f. 162; XXXIX, f. 31
Alexander Stewart, Abbot of Scone	6 March 1524/5 13 March 1526/7-11 May 1527 14 August-11 October 1527 27, 28 May 1528 6 July-23 October 1528	XXXV, f. 1 XXXVII, ff. 15, 117 " ff. 197, 247 XXXVIII, ff. 113, 117 " ff. 122, 186

OTHER ECCLESIASTICS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
Thomas Coutts, Official of Lothian	28 November-14 December 1526	XXXVI, ff. 102, 141
	11 March-29 May 1527	XXXVII, ff. 15, 128
	4 November 1527-10 February 1527/8	XXXVIII, ff. 1; 91
	24 April-28 May 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 95, 117
	10 July-12 December 1528	" f. 130;
		XXXIX, f. 31
John Dingwall, Provost of Trinity Collegiate Church and Archdeacon of Caith- ness	13 July-18 August 1525	XXXV, ff. 141, 149
	26 June-20 December 1526	XXXVI, ff. 17, 159
	13 March-23 December 1527	XXXVII, f. 15;
	15 January-26 May 1528	XXXVIII, f. 86
	6 July-19 December 1528	" ff. 90, 109
		" ff. 122;
	XXXIX, f. 51	
Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow	19 May-18 August 1525	XXXV, ff. 30, 149
	11-15 December 1525	" ff. 182, 187
	27 June-9 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 19, 75
	6 October-4 December 1526	" ff. 95, 117
	14 May-30 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 119, 224
	9 October-14 December 1527	" f. 244;
	16-26 May 1528	XXXVIII, f. 65
	8 July-30 December 1528	" ff. 98, 109
		" f. 126;
		XXXIX, f. 55

William Gibson, Dean of Restalrig	17 December 1526	XXXVI, f. 147
	8 July-30 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 140, 224
	5 November-20 December 1527	XXXVIII, ff. 2, 80
	18-26 May 1528	" f. 100, 109
	9 July-15 July 1528	" ff. 129, 132
	11 December 1528	XXXIX, f. 27
Alexander Hay, Rector of Turreff	28 June-7 July 1525	XXXV, ff. 61, 140
	28 November-7 December 1526	XXXVI, ff. 102, 126
Alexander Hay, Official of Aberdeen	23 February-5 March 1525/6	XXXV, ff. 208, 217
George Hepburn, Dean of Dunkeld	12 December 1525	XXXV, f. 183
	29 November 1526	XXXVI, f. 106
	14 May-7 August 1527	XXXVII, ff. 119, 188
James Kincragy, Dean of Aberdeen	5 July-18 August 1525	XXXV, ff. 75, 149
	5 July-14 August 1526	XXXVI, ff. 31, 81
	15 July-2 September 1527	XXXVII, ff. 160, 236
	9 July-21 August 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 129, 169
James Simsoun, Official of St. Andrews	28 June-7 July 1525	XXXV, ff. 61, 140
	28 February-5 March 1525/6	" ff. 210, 217

Henry White,

Official of Dunblane

23 February 1525/6

XXXV, f. 208

11 March-23 March 1526/7

XXXVII, ff. 15, 46

16 November-12 December

XXXVIII, ff. 20, 59

1527

OFFICERS OF ADMINISTRATION

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
The Comptroller		
(from 1516 to 16 August 1525 Robert Barton; from 1525 to 6 March 1528/9 James Colville)	5 July-18 August 1525	XXXV, f. 75, 149
	13-29 November 1525	" ff. 155, 166
	8, 10 January 1525/6	" ff. 194, 195
	26 June-25 October 1526	XXXVI, ff. 17, 100
	4 December 1526	" f. 117
	5,8,18 January 1526/7	" f. 161; XXXVII, ff. 2, 7
	26 March-28 October 1527	" ff. 48, 248
	8 January-18 April 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 87, 94
	6 July-7 September 1528	" ff. 122, 162
The Justice Clerk		
(from 4 December 1524 to 1538 Adam Otterburn of Auldhame and Reid-hall)	10 March-28 December 1525	XXXV, ff. 3, 191
	2 January-22 December 1526	" f. 192; XXXVI, f. 161
	5 January-23 December 1527	XXXVI, f. 161; XXXVIII, f. 87
	8 January-28 May 1528	" ff. 2, 117
	15 June-5 December 1528	" f. 120; XXXIX, f. 18
The Clerk Register		
(from 1501 until 1532 Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen - see under that designation)		
The Secretary		
(from 8 March 1524/5 to 15 June 1526, Patrick Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews; [cont. overleaf])		

The Secretary [cont.]

from 5 October	9-15 March 1524/5	XXXV, ff. 2, 8
1526 to 10 January	6 May-15 November	" ff. 18, 155
1542/3, Sir Thomas	1525	
Erskine of Halton	18 January 1526/7	XXVII, f. 7
and Brechin)	18 March-23 December	" f. 24;
	1527	XXXVIII, f. 86
	8 January-22 May 1528	" f. 87, 102
	19 August-5 December	" f. 157;
	1528	XXXIX, f. 18

The Treasurer

(from 1517 to 24 June
1525, John Campbell of
Thornton; from 25 June
- 16 August 1526

William, Master of Glencairn; from

15 October 1526 - 13 July

1528, Archibald Douglas 14 April-28 December
of Kilspindy; from 19 1525

July 1528 to 8 February 2 January-23 August

1528/9, Robert

Cairncross)

1526

11 December 1526-

24 August 1527

4 October-23 December

1527

11 January-28 May 1528

11 August-30 December

1528

XXXV, f. 14, 191

XXXV, f. 192;

XXXVI, f. 94

" f. 132

XXXVII, f. 217

" f. 240;

XXXVIII, f. 86

" ff. 89, 117

" f. 152;

XXXIX, f. 55

Mr John Campbell

of Thornton

5 July-16 August 1526

1-22 December 1526

7 January-18 April 1527

21 August-13 December

1527

13 July-30 December

1528

XXVI, ff. 31, 84

" ff. 109, 161

XXXVII, ff. 2, 112

" f. 209

XXXVIII, f. 131;

XXXIX, f. 55

Sir William Scot
of Balweary

9 March-9 December 1525	XXXV, ff. 2, 182
29 January-13 March 1525/6	" f. 197 XXXVI, f. 6
26 June-17 August 1526	" ff. 16, 85
28 November-20 December 1526	" ff. 102, 159
23 January-23 December 1527	XXXVII, f. 8; XXXVIII, f. 80
30 April-28 May 1528	" ff. 96, 117
13 July-19 December 1528	" f. 131; XXXIX, f. 51

EDINBURGH BURGESSES

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
Provost of Edinburgh (Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy - see also under Treasurer)	20-25 August 1526 6, 17 October 1526 5 December 1525	XXXVI, ff. 87, 91 " ff. 95, 97 " f. 120
Mr Francis Bothwell	21 April 1525 19 March-29 May 1527 28 August-20 December 1527 10 February, 20 March 1527/8 11-28 May 1528 15 June-19 December 1528	XXXV, f. 17 XXXVII, ff. 29, 128 " f. 221; XXXVIII, f. 80 " ff. 91; 92 XXXVIII, ff. 98, 117 " f. 120; XXXIX, f. 51
Nichol Craufurd	22 June-10 October 1525 2 January-11 May 1526 3 July-19 December 1526 7 January-23 December 1527 8 January-20 May 1528 20 June-19 December 1528	XXXV, ff. 51, 152 " f. 192; XXXVI, f. 14 " ff. 23, 157 XXXVII, f. 2; XXXVIII, f. 86 " ff. 87, 117 " f. 121; XXXIX, f. 51
James Lawsoun	5-20 December 1526 14 March-29 May 1527 21 August-20 December 1527 20 March 1527/8 11-22 May 1528 15 June-17 October 1528 3-19 December 1528	XXXVI, ff. 120, 159 XXXVII, ff. 17, 128 " f. 209; XXXVIII, f. 80 " f. 92 " ff. 98, 102 " ff. 120, 181 XXXIX, ff. 17, 51

LAIRDS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Source: ADC</u>
Hugh Campbell of Loudon, Sheriff of Ayr	6 November 1528	XXXVIII, f. 187
Peter Carmichael of Dron	15 January 1527/8	XXXVIII, f. 90
Sir John Colquhoun of Luss	9, 18 July 1528	XXXVIII, ff. 129, 132
Sir James Hamilton of Finnart	6 November 1528	XXXVIII, f. 187
Sir Alexander Jardine of Applegarth	6 November 1528	XXXVIII, f. 187
Sir John Stirling of Keir	6 November 1528	XXXVIII, f. 187

APPENDIX III

Other Conspiracies Against James the Fifth

The last years of James the fifth's life were marked by indications of a growing dread, fear and animosity towards anyone whom he suspected of plotting against his life and who had contacts with his hated adversary, the earl of Angus. It is evident from the gullibility with which the king listened to rumours against any one whom he suspected of being a supporter of the exiled Douglasses that James's malice had reached illogical and alarming proportions. It was during the last five years of his reign, after the termination of the Glamis case, in which occurred the forfeiture and exile of Sir James Colville of East Wemyss, the forfeiture and execution of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, and the exhumation of the corpse of Robert Leslie of Innerpeffer to be tried for crimes of lese majesty. The accusations and charges against these men had one common factor: they were all presumed to have conspired with the earl of Angus and his brother against their lawful sovereign. An analysis of the careers of these men leads us to the inescapable conclusion that in every single instance, these were trumped charges; Colville and Hamilton, both of whom had been loyal and efficient members of the king's government for over two decades, paid the penalty as a result of their arousing the royal ire.

Sir James Colville of Uchiltree and, later, East Wemyss, was descended from a family which had served the kings of Scots faithfully during the fifteenth century in an administrative capacity.¹ He

1. Cf. RSS, I, no. 1514; Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-1554, ed. R.K. Hannay (Edinburgh, 1932), 215. Cited hereafter as ADCP; ADC, XXXV, f. 5.

virtually inherited the office of Director of the royal chancery,² and, although he was comptroller during Angus's regime, he was stripped of his office as head of the chancery in June 1526 when this was granted to a supporter of the earl of Lennox.³ James Colville was in no way suspected of aiding Angus in 1528 and continued undisturbed in the exercise of the comptrollership after the earl had been forfeited.⁴ Indeed, Colville was given half of the lands of Preston and the lands of Lintlaws in the barony of Bonkle, which were forfeited by Angus.⁵ By early February 1528/9, James Colville had resigned his office of comptroller⁶ but he continued to be a member of the royal administration as he received back the office of director of chancery and was declared by virtue of this office, to be a permanent member of the king's council.⁷ He continued to receive marks of favour from James the fifth, who granted him several estates which had belonged to his kinsman, Sir William Colville of Uchiltree and the escheated goods of several rebels.⁸ James Colville's removal from the office of Comptroller, however, was only temporary,

2. James Colville's father, Robert Colville of Uchiltree, had been Director of Chancery for James the fourth for several years. *CF. Ex. Rolls*, XV, p. 194.
3. The office was given to Patrick Houstoun of that Ilk. *RSS*, I, no. 3758.
4. *TA*, V, p. 281, 332, 393.
5. *RMS*, III, no. 673. An eminent authority asserts that James Colville was deeply committed to the Douglases, but this is not borne out by either contemporary accounts (bar one) or documentary evidence. Athol Murray, "The Exchequer and Crown Revenues of Scotland, 1437-1542", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, (1961), p. 257. The only direct connection which Colville had with Angus was that one of Angus's vassals, John Symington of that Ilk, who was hereditary bailie of the lordship of Douglas, held lands from Colville in the latter's barony of Uchiltree in Ayrshire; *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros*, nos. 426, 428-30, pp. 70-1. However, George Buchanan wrote that James Colville lost his position in the government because of his support to Angus. Buchanan, *History*, II, p. 302.
6. *ADCP*, p. 306.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 306-7, 315.
8. *ADC*, XL, f. 79; *RSS*, II, nos. 265, 307.

as by 9 September 1529 he was reappointed to the office, which he retained until his disgrace in 1538.⁹ From the autumn of 1528 until September 1538, James Colville was knighted, received thirteen charters under the great seal,¹⁰ was chosen to be one of the original members of the Court of Session,¹¹ and attended meetings of the Estates regularly.¹² He was also employed as a diplomat by his king in the latter's negotiations with Henry the eighth¹³ and was such an efficient comptroller that in 1534 and 1535, for the first time in almost twenty years, his revenues exceeded his expenses.¹⁴ From this position of favour and trust he was suddenly removed by the discovery in September 1538 of a transaction in which he was involved. After Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy was forfeited in 1528, Mr John Chisholm, Sir William Broun, and Robert Bruce, who were burgesses of Edinburgh, negotiated with Colville over the wardship of the Laird of Culzean, which had been given to Kilspindy. The comptroller induced Mr John Chisholm and his associates to renounce their rights to Culzean which was then given to the Bishop of Aberdeen, who paid 800 merks to these men; it was later claimed that they converted this sum for Kilspindy's benefit.¹⁵ James showed himself displeased with Colville's conduct in this affair and peremptorily dismissed him from office.¹⁶ In the following summer,

9. Ex. Rolls, XVI, pp. 127, 143; A. Murray, "Exchequer and Crown Revenues of Scotland", p. 248.
10. RMS, III, nos. 672-3, 1508; RSS, II, nos. 255, 307, 408, 726, 783, 789, 1248, 1314, 1772, 2138, 2144, 2615.
11. APS, II, p. 336; Selected Cases from the Acta Dominorum Comitum et Sessionis: from 27 May 1532, the inception of the Court, to 5 July 1533. Stair Society, Vol. 14, (Edinburgh, 1951), p. XIV.
12. APS, II, pp. 332, 334, 336-7, 428, 339-40, 341, 351, 393-4.
13. Cf. Letters of James V, ed. D. Hay, pp. 244-5; TA, VI, p. 154.
14. A. Murray, "Exchequer and Crown Revenues of Scotland," p. 265; Ex. Rolls, XVI, pp. 391-2, 401.
15. APS, II, p. 354.
16. Murray, "Exchequer and Crown Revenues", p. 267.

July 1539, he was summoned to answer an accusation lodged against him which stated that he had committed the treasonable offence of conspiring with the earl of Angus,¹⁷ but Colville placed himself into the king's will and was allowed to retain his estates upon the payment of £1,000 to receive a full remission.¹⁸ James Colville was restored partially to the king's favour as he received letters of regress of various lands in Fife which he had alienated (undoubtedly to enable him to pay the composition exacted from him by James the fifth),¹⁹ but the anger of the king was not easily assuaged and even before the commencement of September 1540, he was an exile in England where he died shortly afterwards.²⁰ In December and January 1540/1, Sir James Colville and his family were forfeited and their lands escheated to the Crown. Sir James Colville, who had been a loyal servant of James's for over two decades, was disgraced and forfeited because of the king's suspicion.²¹

Robert Leslie of Innerpeffer, another individual who was judged to have conspired against the king, had been dead for two years when his corpse was exhumed and judgement pronounced upon it in 1540. The

17. TA, VII, p. 185.

18. Ibid., pp. 248, 375; APS, II, p. 353-4. Mr. John Chisholm also received a remission at the same time upon payment of a similar amount. TA, VII, p. 383.

19. RSS, II, no. 3420.

20. Dr Murray believed that James Colville never left Scotland, but Colville was an exile in Carlisle at the beginning of September 1540, and was alive as late as the following October. Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England, Vol. VII; 32 Henry VIII-MDXL to 33 Henry VIII MDXLII, ed. H. Nicolas, p. 24; LPH XVII, no. 120, p. 60.

21. RSS, II, no. 3651.

laird of Innerpeffer was accused of being a member of a conspiracy hatched by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy and James Douglas of Parkhead at St. Leonard's Chapel on 2 February 1528/9, which aimed at nothing less than the king's death,²² but there is no confirmatory evidence to suggest either that Leslie had any contact with these Douglases or that he was in Edinburgh during the period. Robert Leslie had followed a legal career and by the spring of 1525 he was a successful lawyer,²³ but there is no record that he acted in this capacity for Angus or for any member of his family - indeed, he did not receive a single charter or grant from that nobleman when he was in power. Innerpeffer was accused of being an accomplice with Sir James Hamilton of Finnart in this sinister plot, but there is evidence of only minimal contact between the two supposed conspirators. In October 1530, Robert Leslie received a grant from Finnart,²⁴ and he witnessed a single grant issued by Finnart to Sir James Colville.²⁵ The conspiracy which led to Leslie's and Hamilton's downfall, in fact, appears to have been a simple one of pure fabrication. Indeed, the treatment meted out to Finnart showed that James was capable of rank ingratitude.

Sir James Hamilton of Finnart (whose career aroused the imagination of the historian Andrew Lang, who believed that he deserved his end)²⁶ had played a conspicuous part in the troubles of the minority of James

22. APS, II, pp. 355, 368-69.

23. Protocol Book of Thomas Kene, NP 1/2A, ff. 9-10, Register House.

24. RMS, III, no. 968.

25. Ibid., no. 978.

26. Andrew Lang, History of Scotland, I, pp. 504-6.

the fifth, but had never been a close associate of Angus. He had bitterly opposed the Douglases in their attempts to control the Scottish capital in 1520,²⁷ and actively intervened in the dispute between that nobleman and his vassal, Andrew Ker of Ferniehirst, over the office of bailie of Jedburgh Forest.²⁸ He received a grant of the barony of Cambusnethan which was forfeited by John Somerville in 1522 as a result of the latter's assistance of Angus.²⁹ The animosity between Angus, his brother, and Finnart was such that George Douglas, in writing to the Regent Albany in January 1523/4 to excuse his absence, stated that "the caus was that efter I tuk myself fra your grace: in Edinburgh that sammyn day James Hamilton lay for me till half slane me and of cais I come nocht that way; but my cosing the lard (laird) of Dalwosy (Dalhousie) had been in Edinburgh to have spokin with your grace that sammyn day, and James Hamilton sett apoun hym beleving it was I and had slane him had nocht his hors bur him away throw speid."³⁰ Although Finnart and his father, the Earl of Arran, supported Angus in 1526, they did so only at a price, to which the many grants in the registers of the Great and Privy Seal from 1526 until 1528 bear eloquent witness.³¹ When James the fifth extricated himself

27. HMC 11th Report, App. Pt. VI: MSS. of the Duke of Hamilton, no. 67 p. 33.

28. Ibid., no. 66, pp. 32-3; Lesley, History, p. 115.

29. RMS, III, nos. 228, 276; APS, II, p. 287.

30. ADCP, pp. 194-5.

31. RMS, III, nos. 378, 381, 394; RSS, I, nos. 3498, 3503, 3518, 3523, 3545, 3624, 3742, 3778-9, 3881; Fraser, Douglas Book, III, p. 439; HMC 11 Rep., no. 71, p. 34; Crawford Priory Writs GD 20, no. 609.

from the grasp of Angus in the summer of 1528, Finnart was among the first to join the newly liberated king.³² From the forfeiture of Angus in 1528 until his death in August in 1540, Finnart was without doubt one of the leading figures at the Scottish court and was probably the leading royal favourite. He received enormous numbers of grants; was a member of the lords of Council,³³ was chief cup-bearer to the king,³⁴ was made Master of the Stables in 1530,³⁵ and shortly afterwards was made Master of the King's Works.³⁶ Such positions of trust make it highly dubious that Finnart was engaged in any plot to restore his family's former enemy, Angus, in the winter of 1528/9. In fact, the only plot which Finnart engaged in and for which there is almost no evidence, was an abortive one to gain possession of Berwick for James in 1537.³⁷ Finnart did suffer an eclipse in his influence when his sovereign went to France in 1536, but by the end of 1539 he was again the recipient of grants from James.³⁸ However, by the following summer his fall was swift: in early July he was appearing before the Council pursuing several debtors,³⁹ on 25 July 1540 he was arrested and taken to Edinburgh Castle,⁴⁰ and by the end of August

32. ADC, XXXVIII, f. 126.

33. RH 2/1/8, pp. 24, 257, 261, 271, 274, 283, 287, 289-90; RH 2/1/9, pp. 7, 13, 15, 18, 25-31, 34, 37, 39, 41-2, 46-7, 52, 66.

34. RMS, III, no. 983.

35. Ex. Rolls, XVI, pp. 134, 173.

36. RSS, II, nos. 1935, 2147.

37. LPH XIII, Pt. 1, no. 1252(2), p. 461.

38. RMS, III, no. 1883; RSS, II, nos. 2826, 3144.

39. ADC et Sess XIII, ff. 152, 165,

40. ADC et Sess, XVII, f. 22.

he was executed for his supposed involvement with Angus.⁴¹ Perhaps James had formed a bad opinion of Finnart by reports from his enemies, but it is ludicrous to believe that Finnart died because of his great support and favour which he bore to Angus and his brother. Nothing could be further from the truth.

41. ADC et Sess., XIII, ff. 170-71.

APPENDIX IV

Inventory of Writs produced by William Douglas of Glenbervie in support of his claim to be heir male of talizie to Archibald Douglas, eighth Earl of Angus, before the Lords of Session on 7 March 1588/9.

Source: Register of Acts and Decrets, vol. CXXI, ff. 17-25.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| f. 21 | 28 July 1397
[<u>Douglas Book</u> , III,
pp. 37-8] | Agreement between Margaret, Countess of Angus and Mar, and George Douglas, her son, and Sir James Sandilands of Calder. |
| f. 19 | 9 November 1397
[<u>Douglas Book</u> , III,
p. 40] | A Charter by King Robert of the lands of Cavers, Jedburgh Forest and Bonjedburgh to George, Earl of Angus. |
| f. 22 | 17 November 1397 | Confirmation of the Laird of Calder's obligation by King Robert [III]. |
| f. 24 | 7 March 1398(9) | Instruments agreed between Malcolm Drummond, Lord of Mar and Garioch, and George, Earl of Angus anent certain lands. |
| f. 21 | 30 March 1400(1)
[but cf. <u>Douglas Book</u> , III, pp.
39-40] | Obligation made by the Laird of Calder to George, Earl of Angus anent the tutory of his son and the keeping of his lands. Mr David Trabrouh, N.P. |
| f. 23 | 27 February 1439(40)
[<u>Douglas Book</u> , III,
pp. 69-70] | Indenture between James Douglas, Earl and Sir Alexander Home of Dunglass anent the lands of Preston and Lintlaws. |

- f. 24 18 October 1440 Contract of marriage with the king's daughter and James, Earl of Angus who is content with the sum of 3,000 merks in tocher.
- f. 21 31 July 1452 Charter under the great seal to George, Earl of Angus of the lands and castle of Tantallon.
[but cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 79-80; RMS, II, no. 584]
- f. 23 6 March 1453(4) Precept of resignation made by Alexander Pitcairn of that ilk of the lands of Inernethy (sic) into the hands of George, Earl of Angus.
[Douglas Book, III, p. 431; SRO, Fraser Charters, GD 86, I, no. 15]
- f. 23 20 January 1454(5) Licence to George, Earl of Angus to build a castle at Brichty.
[Douglas Book, III, p. 81]
- f. 20 8 August 1456 Resignation of the lands of "Cochdodis landis" by Lawrence Robertson (?) in favour of George, Earl of Angus.
- f. 22 7 December 1456 Charter under the great seal to George, Earl of Angus, of the lands of Ewesdale.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 84-5]
- f. 22 8 April 1457 Charter under the great seal to George, Earl of Angus, of the lordship of Douglas.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 86-7]
- f. 22 ----1457 Instrument of sasine to George, Master (sic) of Angus, of the lordship of Douglas. Robert Taillefeir, N.P.

- f. 24 12 April 1458 Indenture between George, Earl of Angus, and John Rutherford of Hundalee and Andrew Rutherford his son.
- f. 22 21 September 1458 Instrument of sasine to George, Earl of Angus, of the lordship of Douglas.
- f. 22 21 September 1458 Instrument of sasine to George, Earl of Angus, of the lordship of Ewesdale. George Lauch (?), N.P.
- f. 21 24 March March 1458(9) Charter of the towns of Kirriemuir, Abernethy, and Bonkle creating them free burghs in barony in favour of George, Earl of Angus.
- f.23 14 October 1462 Obligation by James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden to George, Earl of Angus, to grind his corn at Drumalbane.
[Douglas Book, III, p. 91]
- f. 20 19 April 1563 (sic for 1463) [Douglas Book, III, p. 435] Retour of the regality of Abernethy in favour of Archibald, son and heir of the late George, Earl of Angus.
- f. 21 24 October 1464 Obligation by James Lindsay, Provost of Lincluden to resign the lands of Glaspen in favour of David, Earl of Crawford.
- f. 19 5 May 1568 (sic for 1468) Charter to Elizabeth Boyd of the lordship of Abernethy.
- f. 20 9 May 1468 Instrument of sasine granted to Elizabeth Boyd of the lands of Abernethy.
[Douglas Book, III, p. 96-7]

- f. 24 27 November 1470 Indenture between George, (sic) Earl of Angus, George Home of Wedderburn and Patrick Home his brother anent the lands of Kimmerghame.
- Douglas Book, III,
pp. 99-101
- f. 21 7 July 1475: Charter under the great seal to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the lands and castle of Tantallon.
- [but cf. Douglas Book, III, p. 104]
- f. 21 10 October 1479 Charter of the mains of Tantallon and castle to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- [but cf. RMS, II,
no. 1430]
- f. 21 24 January 1487 (sic for 1496/7) Indenture between Archibald, Earl of Angus and Alexander Lindsay of Ochtermonie concerning the lands of Brighame.
- [Douglas Book, III,
pp. 158-9]
- f. 21 1 March 1487(8) Remission under the great seal to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 22 1 June 1488 Instrument of sasine to George, Master of Angus, to Tantallon Castle. John Diksoun, N.P.
- f. 22 31 January 1488 (9) Precept of sasine of the lordships of Tantallon, Douglas, and Liddesdale to George, Master of Angus. Robert Aytoun, N.P.
- f. 21 31 January 1488(9) Charter under the great seal to George Douglas of the lands of Tantallon, Jedburgh Forest and Douglas.
- [Douglas Book, III,
pp. 121-2]

- f. 21 31 January 1488(9) Precept of sasine to George Douglas and Elizabeth Drummond, his wife, of the lands of Bonkle and Preston.
Andrew McBrek, Humphrey Clerk, N.P.
- f. 21 1 February 1488(9) Instrument of resignation made by Archibald, Earl of Angus in favour of George Douglas and Elizabeth Drummond of the lands of Bonkle and Preston.
Andrew McBrek, Humphrey Clerk, NP.
- f. 21 24 February 1488(9) Instrument of sasine to George, Master of Angus and Elizabeth Drummond to the lands of Bonkle and Preston. sir Thomas Broun, N.P.
- f. 23 18 September 1489 Retour of the kirklands of Selkirk retouring Thomas Ker as heir to his father, Adam Ker.
[cf. Douglas Book, III, p. 125]
- f. 24 29 December 1489 Charter granted under the great seal to Archibald, Earl of Angus to the lordship of Kilmarnock.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 127-8; RMS, II, nos. 2072, 2073]
- f. 21 20 December 1490 Remission to Archibald, Earl of Angus and to George Douglas, his son.
- f. 24 ----1491 Gift of the ward of Lord Fleming's lands to the Earl of Angus.
[cf. HMC 11th Report Hamilton MSS (1887), no. 53, pp. 28-9]

- f. 21 6 March 1491(2) Charter under the great seal to
 [Douglas Book, III, Patrick, Earl of Bothwell of the
 pp. 130-31; RMS, II, lordship of Iddesdale upon the
 no. 2092] resignation to (sic) the Earl of Angus.
- f. 20 4 July 1492 Charter made to Archibald, Earl of
 [Douglas Book, III, Angus of the lands of Bothwell,
 pp. 134-5; RMS, II, Uddingston and others.
 no. 2106]
- f. 20 17 July 1492 Instrument of sasine granted to
 [Douglas Book, III, Archibald, Earl of Angus to the lands
 p. 437] of Trottaneshaw.
- f. 21 3 April 1493 Remission under the great seal to
 Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 24 29 May 1493 Indenture between Archibald, Earl of
 [Douglas Book, III, Angus and Mr Hugh Douglas, Dean of
 pp. 139-40] Brechin.
- f. 21 12 June 1494 Charter made by David Scot of Petlour
 of the lands of Petlour to Archibald,
 Earl of Angus.
- f. 24 6 August 1495 Instrument of sasine to Peter Carmichael
 [but cf. Douglas of the lands of Brockholles. Mr Patrick
 Book, III, p. 146] Cunningham, N.P.
- f. 23 22 December 1495 Charter to Janet Douglas, daughter
 [cf. Douglas Book, of Archibald, Earl of Angus, to the
 III, p. 149-51; RMS, lands of Terregles and Kirkgunzeone.
 II, no.2294]

- f. 20 25 January 1495(6) Charter under the great seal made to Archibald, Earl of Angus of the lordship of Crawford Lindsay and the castle of Crawford.
- [Douglas Book, III, pp. 152-3; RMS, II, no. 2298]
- f. 22 17 June 1496 Decreet arbitral between George, Master of Angus [Archibald, Earl of Angus] and John, Earl of Crawford, concerning the lands of Crawford Lindsay.
- [Douglas Book, III, pp. 155-57]
- f. 24 ----1496 Indenture between Archibald, Earl of Angus and John, Lord Kennedy.
- [28 January 1496(7)
Douglas Book, III, pp. 161-4]
- f. 19 31 January 1496(7) Charter of confirmation made to Archibald, Earl of Angus by Margaret Dunbar, relict of Alexander, Earl of Crawford, of the 24 husbandlands of Brighame.
- [RMS, II, no. 2339]
- f. 20 22 September 1498 Instrument of sasine of the lands of Bothwell to Archibald, Earl of Angus. Mr Robert Aytoun, N.P.
- f. 22 5 July 1499 Instrument of sasine granted to George Douglas, son and heir of Archibald, Earl of Angus, to the lands of Douglas and Tantallon. James Blair, N.P.
- [but cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 168-70]
- f. 20 7 February 1500(1) Precept of sasine of the lordship of Bothwell granted by Archibald, Earl of Angus in favour of Janet Kennedy.

- f. 24 27 April 1502 Tack of the teinds of Bonkē set by George, Bishop of Dunkeld to George, Master of Angus.
- f. 22 11 October 1503 Instrument of cognition made by Mr [Douglas Book, III, pp. 180-81] Gavin Douglas, Provost of St. Giles for redeeming the lands of Langlee from Ranulph Ker of Prymsideloch.
- f. 21 24 May 1504 Cancelled charter made by Archibald, [cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 181-3] Earl of Angus to his son William Douglas of the lands of Bothwell.
- ff. 21, 23 30 April 1405 Instrument of protest by George Roule (sic for 1505) concerning his lands of Edmonisfield which are a part of the barony of Bonkle. Thomas Penman, N.P.
- ff. 21, 24 6 August 1405 Discharge granted by George, Bishop (sic for 1505) to George, Master of Angus, and [Douglas Book, III, p. 184] Elizabeth Drummond, for the teinds of the lands of Bonkle and Preston.
- f. 23 10 March 1507(8) Charter under the great seal to [but cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 186-7; RMS, II, no. 3206] George, Master of Angus, of the lordship of Jedburgh Forest.
- f. 21 8 April 1508 Instrument of sasine to George, Master of Angus, of the lordship of Selkirk. Mr Stephen Douglas, N.P.

- f. 22 23 June 1509 Charter made by Archibald, Earl of Angus to George Douglas, his son, of the lands of Horshopcleuch.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 187-8]
- f. 19 7 October 1509 Charter by James V (sic) to John Hay, son and heir to John Lord Yester, and Elizabeth Douglas, his wife, of the £20 lands of Wester Hoprew, Fulzard and others.
[Yester Writs, no. 317, p. 107]
- f. 20 7 February 1509(10) Charter by Archibald, Earl of Angus, to Janet Kennedy of the lands of Bothwell. George Blair, N.P.
[RMS, II, no. 3413]
- f. 20 1 August 1510 Charter under the great seal of the cotlands of Kirriemuir given to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
[cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 195-8]
- f. 24 12 October 1510 Instrument of sasine to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the lands of Kirriemuir. Mr Thomas Boyd, N.P.
- f. 20 16 January 1510(11) Instrument of resignation made by Angus, Earl of Angus of the lordship of Abernethy in favour of his son, George, Master of Angus. James Young, N.P.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 199-200]
- f. 21 25 January 1510(11) Charter under the great seal to George Douglas, son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the lordship of Crawford Lindsay.
[but cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 200-1; RMS, II, no. 3532]
- f. 20 28 February 1510(11) Precept of sasine to George, Master of Angus, of the earldom of Angus. William Lauder and Mr Thomas Boyd, N.P.

- f. 20 20 November 1511 Charter made by Archibald, Earl of Angus to George, Master of Angus, of the lands of Kirriemuir.
- f. 21 10 February 1512(13) Instrument of resignation made by George Roule of Edmonisfield of his lands thereof into the hands of George, Master of Angus. Mr Thomas Boyd, N.P., Christopher Boyd and sir John Pitcairn present as witnesses.
- f. 23 21 July 1521 Obligation made by Archibald, Earl of Angus to William Carmichael for the redemption of the lands of Carpow.
- f. 20 2 March 1525(6) Precept granted to James Hamilton of Finnart of the lands of Uddingstoun and half of Bothwell.
- f. 22 20 February 1526(7) Discharge of contract made between Archibald, Earl of Angus and David, Earl of Crawford.
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 227-8]
- f. 24 9 January 1527(8) Gift of the Sheriffship of Ayr to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 20 20 May 1530 Cancelled charter granted by James Melville, burgess of Edinburgh, to Mr Francis Bothwell and Katherine Bellenden of the eastern half of Dunsiar.
- f. 20 27 May 1530 Cancelled sasine of the lands of Dunsiar to Mr Francis Bothwell. Mr Richard Lawsoun, N.P.

- f. 24 30 September 1540 Charter of half of the lands of Lawis and Baldovie made to John Ramsay.
- f. 24 23 March 1540(1) Transumpt of sasine given to John Ramsay of the Lawis of the half lands of Lawis.
- f. 20 30 April 1443 (sic for 1543)
[Douglas Book, III, pp. 230-3] Decreet Arbitral between Archibald, Earl of Argyll, anent the lands and mails of the barony of Abernethy.
- f. 23 ----1543(?) Letters of tack made by James, Commendator of Kelso, to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the kirk of Inverleithan.
- f. 20 1 April 1546 Cancelled instrument of sasine of the lands of Dunsiar in favour of James Melville. Mr William Watterstoun, N.P.
- f. 18 31 August 1547
[RMS, IV, no. 144] Charter made to Archibald, Earl of Angus, Margaret Maxwell his wife, and James Douglas their son, of the lands and barony of Bothwell, Dunsiar, Wester Todholles, Trottaneshaw, Byreclouch, Handaxwood, Hoissoip, Hairshaw meadow called Sommerschiell, and Kettilshiell.
- f. 18 5 September 1547 Instrument of sasine of the lands of Crawford Douglas to Archibald, Earl of Angus and to James, Master of Angus. James Rae ("Ra"), N.P.

- f. 18 7 September 1547 Instrument of sasine of the lordships of Jedburgh Forest and Selkirk given to Archibald, Earl of Angus and James, Master of Angus. William Rutherford, N.P.
- f. 18 8 September 1547 Instrument of sasine to Archibald, Earl of Angus and James, Master of Angus, of the lands of Abernethy.
- f. 18 9 September 1547 Instrument of sasine to Archibald, Earl of Angus of the lordship of Kirriemuir. Mr Thomas Clerk, N.P.
- f. 18 24 September 1547 Instrument of sasine of the barony of Bothwell to Archibald, Earl of Angus. James Rae, N.P.
- f. 23 2 November 1547 Bond made by Thomas Weir of Blackwood to the "house of Angus."
[Douglas Book, III,
p. 241]
- f. 18 5 February 1547(8) Instrument of sasine of the baronies of Douglas and Crawford Douglas to Archibald, Earl of Angus in liferent and James, Master of Angus, in fee. James Rae, N.P.
- f. 18 7 February 1547(8) Instrument of sasine of the ward lands of the earldom of Angus to Archibald, Earl of Angus in liferent and James Douglas, Master of Angus, in fee. Mr John Bannatyne, N.P.
- f. 18 22 August 1548 Instrument of sasine of the barony of Douglas made to Archibald, Earl of Angus. James Rae, N.P.

- f. 20 22 August 1548 Instrument of sasine of the barony of Bothwell to Archibald, Earl of Angus, Margaret Maxwell, and their son James, Master of Angus. James Rae, N.P.
- f. 23 10 September 1557 Bond made by the Laird of Fintry to the "house of Angus."
- f. 23 4 November 1557 Bond made by James Ochterlony of Kellie to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 9 December 1557 Bond made by Thomas Fotheringham of Powrie to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 6 February 1557(8) Bond made by John Lovell of Ballumbie to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 30 April 1558 Bond made by Alexander Ramsay to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 22 July 1558 Bond made by John Ogilvy of Inverquharlity to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 22 July 1558 Bond made by James Wood of Bonynton to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 28 July 1558 Bond by John Balbirny of Merytyrie (?) to "the said house".
- f. 23 16 September 1558 Bond made by John Lyon of Cossins to the "said house".
- f. 23 19 November 1558 Bond made by Thomas Scot of Petgorno to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 ----1558 Bond made by John Arbuthnott in Potterstoun to the "house of Angus".
- f. 23 ----1558 Charter made by James, Earl of Morton to John Lyon of the Haltoun of Essie of the nonentries of the waulkmill of Ballindarg.

- f. 18 1 January 1558(9) A Licence to Archibald, Earl of Angus to inherit the earldom of Angus notwithstanding his minority.
- f. 18 29 January 1558(9) Retour of Archibald, Earl of Angus as heir to James, Master of Angus, to both the ward and blench lands of the earldom of Angus.
[cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 247-8]
- f. 18 1 April 1559 Instrument of sasine by the Provost and bailies of Haddington of the mains of Tantallon and Reidsyde given to Archibald, Earl of Angus. sir Thomas Steven, N.P.
(transumpt:
24 July 1586)
- f. 18 1 April 1559 Instrument of sasine of the lands of Kirriemuir to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 18 2 April 1559 Instrument of sasine of the lands of Bonkle and Preston to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
(transumpt:
20 May 1579)
- f. 18 9 April 1559 Instrument of sasine of the lands of Bothwell given to Archibald, Earl of Angus. James Rae, N.P.
- f. 18 11 April 1559 Two sasines of the lordships of Crawford Douglas and Douglas made to Archibald, Earl of Angus. James Rae and James Robertson, N.P.
- f. 20 27 August 1560 A cancelled precept of clare constat of the lands of Eastertoun of Dunsiar given by James Melville to Adam Bothwell.

- f. 20 -----1561 Reversion granted by Hector Douglas for the redemption of the lands of Dunsiar and milllands to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 20 16 May 1562 Instrument of redemption of the lands of Eastertoun of Dunsiar from Adam, Bishop of Orkney. Alexander Hay, N.P.
- f. 20 7 August 1562 Cancelled charter granted by Archibald Earl of Angus of the lands of Eastertoun of Dunsiar to Mr Hugh Douglas.
- f. 19 30 November 1562 A letter of tack made by Mr Archibald Douglas, Parson of Douglas, that the teinds of the town and lands of Drummalbane shall remain with "the house of Angus".
- f. 20 2 February 1562(3) Assignation of the lands of Dunsiar made by Adam, Bishop of Orkney, to Mr Hugh Douglas.
- f. 22 11 November 1564 Charter of confirmation under the great seal of various lands (unspecified) to the Earl of Angus.
- f. 19 12 May 1565 Contract made between Archibald, Earl of Angus, James, Earl of Morton on the one part and Matthew, Earl of Lennox, Henry Lord Darnley, and Margaret, Countess of Lennox on the other. The said Countess is retoured heir general to George, Master of Angus, her guidair.
- [Douglas Book, III, pp. 255-61]

- f. 18 28 May 1565 Act of Parliament excepting the infeftment of the earldom of Angus to James, Master of Angus and his heirs male to tailzie from the Queen's general revocation made in June 1557.
- f. 23 31 August 1565 A bond given by Gilbert Ogilvy of that ilk to the Earl of Angus.
- f. 22 22 November 1567 Resignation of the lands of Swynny made by William Kirkton to the Earl of Angus. Alexander Hay, N.P.
- f. 23 ----1567 A bond of surety given by David Tyrie of Drumkelbo to the Earl of Angus.
- f. 18 31 January 1567(8) Cancelled charter by Archibald, Earl of Angus to William Douglas of Whittingham of the lands of Horshopcleuch. James Millar, N.P.
- f. 20 5 March 1567(8) Instrument of sasine of the lands of Abernethy to Archibald, Earl of Angus. James Drummond, N.P.
- f. 18 14 April 1568 Instrument of sasine of the lordship of Solkirk given to Archibald, Earl of Angus. Mr George Douglas, N.P.
- f. 21 13 June 1572
[cf. RMS, IV,
no. 2111] Charter under the great seal made to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the lands of Auldistounhillis, Hillis, Stanypeth and others.

- f. 22 26 March 1573 Instrument of sasine granted to Archibald, Earl of Angus of Dolphinton, Westshaw and other lands. John Forsyth, N.P.
- f. 19 17 May 1573 Sentence interlocutour given by the Lords of Session in favour of Archibald Earl of Angus against Patrick Murray of Fallowhill concerning the redemption of the lordship of Selkirk.
- f. 22 ----1573 Charter by Archibald, Earl of Angus to Mr John Provand of the lands of Ferniehirst.
- f. 22 ----1573 Resignation of the lands of Ferniehirst by Mr John Provand to the Earl of Angus. Alexander Hay, N.P.
- f. 19 18 March 1573(4) Charter made by Mr Archibald Douglas, Parson of Douglas, to Archibald Douglas, natural son of James, Earl of Morton, of the kirklands of the lordship of Douglas.
- f. 20 29 May 1574 Instrument of redemption of the lands of Dunsiar.
- f. 21 31 July 1574 Commission of justiciar of the North made to Archibald, Earl of Angus.
- f. 22 8 March 1574(5) Precept of sasine made by Archibald, Earl of Angus to William Kirkton of the lands of Swynny and Claryley.
- f. 22 14 March 1574(5) Instrument of sasine to William Kirkton of the lands of Swynny and Claryley.

- f. 19 22, 23 June 1575 Charter made by Archibald Douglas, son of the Earl of Morton, to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the kirklands of Douglas.
- f. 19 17 September 1575 [cf. Douglas Book, III, pp. 271-2] Assignation made by James, Earl of Morton to Archibald, Earl of Angus, of the teinds of Bonkle and Preston.
- f. 22 25 May 1576 A nineteen years tack by the Provost of North Berwick to Archibald, Earl of Angus of the mains of Tantallon and Reidsyde.
- f. 19 15 October 1577 A nineteen years tack made by Archibald, Earl of Angus, to the Laird of Ferniehirst of the lands of Lymekillwood and Quhortorwood, in the lordship of Jedburgh Forest. Mr John Provand, N.P.
- f. 19 24 April 1578 Instrument of sasine to Archibald, Earl of Angus of the kirklands of Douglas.
- ff. 19, 23
28 September 1584 A tack made by Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld for nineteen years to Sir John Maitland of Thirlestane of the teinds of the barony of Bonkle and Preston.
- f. 19 23 December 1585 A tack of the teinds of Inverleithan made by James Commendator of Kelso to the Earl of Angus.

- f. 19 22 September 1586 Resignation made by George Home of Wedderburn to Archibald, Earl of Angus of the lands of Kettilshiell and Somerschiell.

UNDATED WRITS

- f. 24 [ante 1389] Charter to Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus of the barony of Ethiebetoun with the Craig and fishing of Brichty.
- f. 24 [24 September 1445] Obligation made by Robert Fleming of Cumbernauld that he shall enter Tantallon.
[Douglas Look, III, p. 427; SRO, GD 1/479, no. 1]
- f. 22 [ca. 1456] Resignation by Robert Graham of Auld Montrose of the lands of Ewesdale.
- f. 23 [ca. 1463] Decreet between Archibald, Earl of Angus and Isabella, Countess of Angus anent the lands and terce of Tantallon.
- f. 24 [ante 1483] Letter from the King making the Earl of Angus steward of Kirkcudbright.
- f. 22 [ante 1503] Reversion made by Alexander Home, son of Patrick Home of Polwarth, for redeeming the lands of Trottaneshaw and Byrecluch. James Millar, N.P.
- f. 20 [ca. 1510] Charter made by Archibald, Earl of Angus to George, Master of Angus, of the lands of Logy Wishart.

- f. 22 [ca. 1510] Reversion made by John Murray of Fallowhill to George, Master of Angus, for redemption of the lands of Selkirk.
- f. 23 [ca. 1526] Precept by Archibald, Earl of Angus to William Carmichael of the lands of Carpow.
- f. 21 [ca. 1543-50] Precept by Queen Mary ordering Archibald, Earl of Angus to infest James Hamilton of Shawfield in the lands of Kirkhope.
- f. 23 [ca. 1543] Archibald, Earl of Angus sets the lands of Bonkle and Preston to Margaret Maxwell.
- f. 23 [ca. 1560] Decreet of redemption of Selkirk against Patrick Murray of Fallowhill.

APPENDIX V

Genealogical Tables

The following tables have been constructed in order to clarify the relationship between members of the comital family of Angus during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In addition, there are tables of other leading Douglas families of Scotland and of the major vassal families of the earls of Angus. The dates given in those tables of the vassals indicate the period when they were connected with the earls by temorial bonds.

The Douglas Earls of Angus

William, 1st Earl of Douglas & Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar

George Douglas - (1397) Mary Stewart
(daughter of Robert III)

1st Earl of Angus
d. ca. 1402

Margaret Hay (ca. 1425) - William
(daughter of Sir William 2nd Earl of Angus
Hay of Yester), d. ca. d. 1437

Elizabeth - (1) Sir Alexander Forbes
(2) Sir David Hay of Yester

Helen = (1) William, 2nd Lord Graham
(2) James Ogilvy

William of Hugh
Cluny (Fife) d. by 1483
d. umm. 1475

(ca. 1445) Isabella Sibbald (daughter of Sir John Sibbald of Balgony, Fife)
d. ca. 1503
= (11) ---
Carmichael
= (11) Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven

George 4th Earl of Angus
d. 1463

James 3rd Earl of Angus
d. umm. ca. 1446

Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus = (1) (ca. 1468) Elizabeth Boyd (daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd)
d. by 1498.

John Isabella Elizabeth
= (1464) = (1476)
Sir Alexander Robert Graham of
Ramsay of Dalhousie Fintry

Margaret = (1479) James Egilda Alison
Sir Duncan = (1) (1472) d.u.(?)
Campbell David Scott
of = (2) (1492)
Glenorchy George, 2nd Earl of Rothes

Archibald, 5th Earl of Angus - (1) (ca. 1468) Elizabeth Boyd (daughter of Robert, Lord Boyd), d. by 1498

- (2) (by 1498) Janet Kennedy (daughter of John, Lord Kennedy) div. d. ca 1545

- (3) (by 1500) Katherine Stirling (daughter of Sir William Stirling of Keir) d. ca. 1513

George, Master of Angus

- (ca. 1488) Elizabeth Drummond (daughter of 1st Lord Drummond) - (1) Sir David Fleming

Sir William of Glenbervie d. 1513

Elizabeth Auchinleck of Glenbervie d. 1522

Archibald of Kilspindie Treasurer of Scotland - Isabel Hopper

Marion Elizabeth - (1492) - (?) Andrew, Lord Robert, Lord (?) Herrie

Archibald 6th Earl of Angus, d. 1557

Sir George of Pittendreich d. ca. 1452-3

William Abbot of Holyrood d. ca. 1495

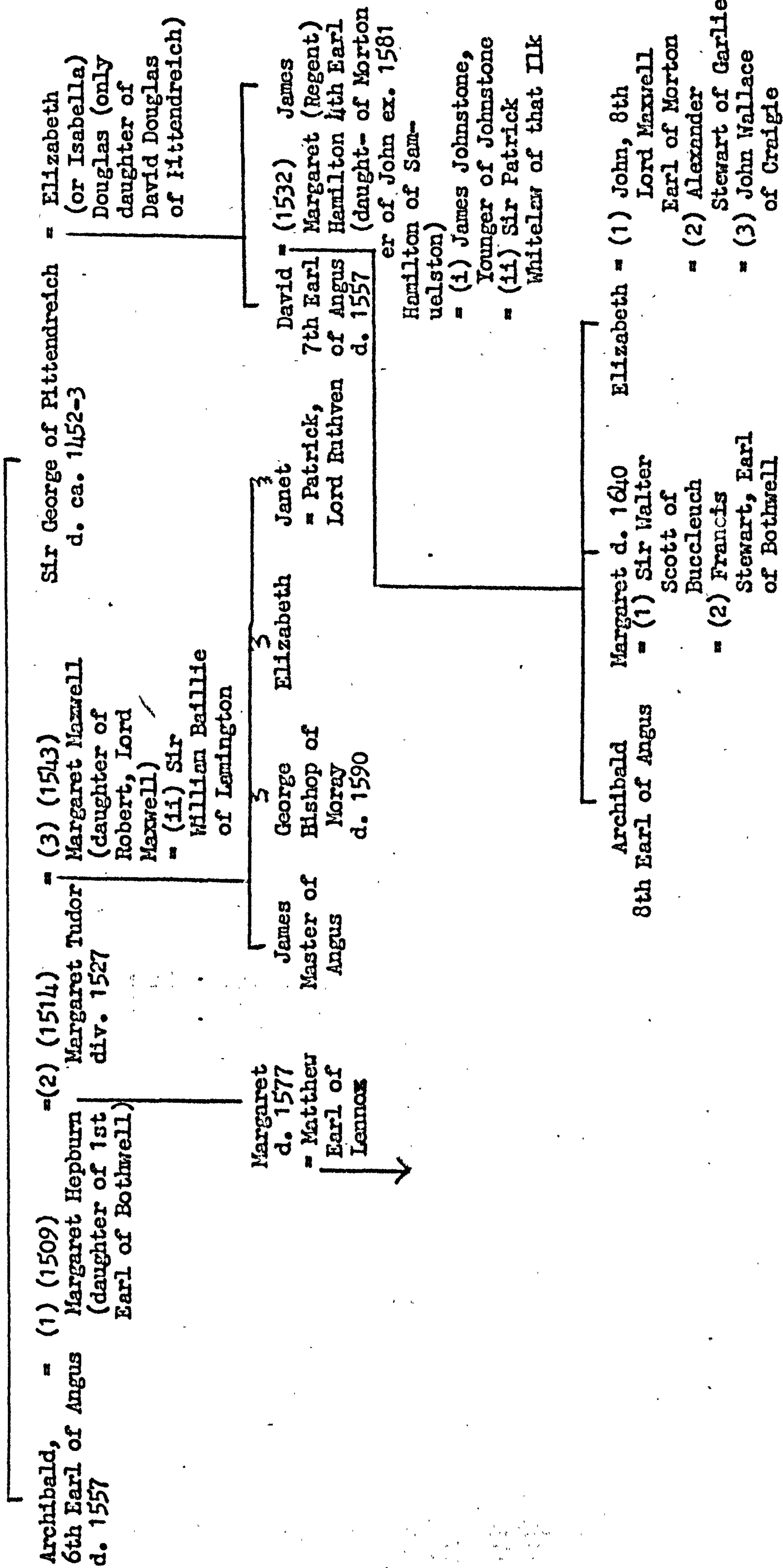
Elizabeth - Sir John Hay of Hoprev

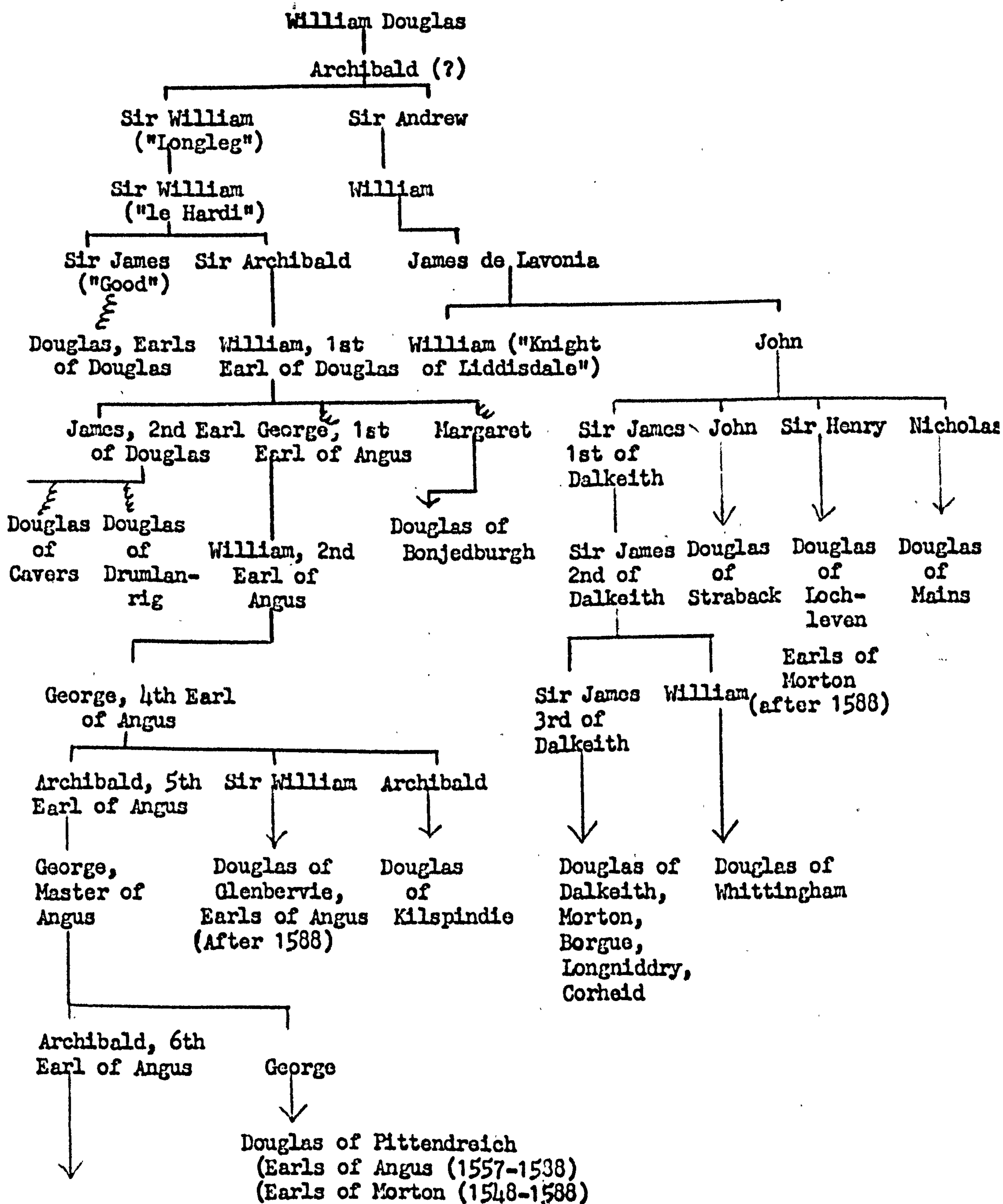
Alison - (1) Robert Blackadder - (2) Sir David Hume of Wedderburn

Janet Margaret ex. 1537 - Sir Robert - (1) John, James Lord Glamis Douglas Drumlaunrig

Archibald - (1) Agnes Keith (daughter of 2nd Earl Marischall)

Elizabeth Irvine (daughter of Alexander Irvine of Drum)





Douglas of that Ilk, Earls of Douglas

Archibald Douglas = Margaret Crawford (dau. of Sir John Crawford of Crawfordjohn)

Sir William = --- (perhaps Custancia Bataille) (?) Sir Andrew, ancestor of Douglas of Dalkeith
 d. ca. October 1274

Willelma = William de Galbraith

Sir William
 ca. 1256-1299
 = (1) Elizabeth Stewart
 (dau. of Alexander,
 High Stewart of Scotland)

= (2) Eleanor de Lovain

Sir James
 "The Good"
 d. 1330

Hugh
 B. 1294-
 d. ca. 1347
 d.s.p.

Sir Archibald = Beatrice Lindsay
 (dau. of Sir Alexander Lindsay of
 Crawford)

William
 d.s.p.
 1333

Sir Archibald,
 3rd Earl of Douglas

= Joanna Moray
 (dau. of Maurice Moray
 of Drumsagard)

John
 William
 1st Earl of Douglas
 d. 1385
 = Margaret of Mar

Eleanor = (1) Andrew
 Bruce

= (2) Sir James
 Sandilands of
 that Ilk

= (3) Sir William
 Towers of Dalry

= (4) Sir Duncan
 Wallace of
 Sundrum

= (5) Sir Patrick
 Hepburn of Hailes

Douglas of that Ilk (cont.)

Isabella, Countess of Mar
 d. 1408
 = (1) Sir Malcolm Drummond
 d.s.p.
 = (2) Alexander Stewart

James, 2nd Earl of Douglas = Isabel Stewart
 (dau. of King Robert II)
 d. 1388

William
 d. ca. 1418

Archibald
 d. ca. 1457

Margaret
 George, 1st Earl of Angus

= Thomas Johnson



Earls of Angus



Douglas of
 Bonjedburgh



Douglas of
 Drumlanrig
 Cavers

(children of Archibald, 3rd Earl of Douglas)

Archibald,
 4th Earl of Douglas

b. ca. 1372
 d. 1424

James, Earl of
 Avandale, later
 7th Earl of Douglas

d. 1443

Mary = David Stewart,
 Duke of Rothesay

d.s.p.

Sir William, Lord of
 Nithsdale.

d. ca. 1392

= Margaret Stewart
 (dau. of King Robert III)
 d. ca. 1452.

= Beatrice Sinclair
 (dau. of Henry, Earl of Orkney)

= Egilda Stewart

(dau. of King Robert III)

Archibald, 5th Earl of Douglas
 b. ca. 1390
 d. June 1439

= Euphemia Graham
 (dau. of Sir Patrick Graham)

Sir James

Elizabeth = (1) John Stewart,
 Earl of Buchan

d.s.p.

= (2) Sir Thomas Stewart
 d.sp.

= (3) William, Sinclair, Earl of Orkney

Lords Sinclair

Douglas of that Ilk (cont.)

William 6th Earl of Douglas
 d. 1440
 = Janet/Jean Lindsay
 (dau. of David Earl of Crawford)
 d.s.p.

David
 d. 1440
 d.s.p.
 Margaret
 "Fair Maid of Galloway"

(Children of the 7th Earl of Douglas)

William, 8th Earl of Douglas
 d. Feb. 1452
 = Margaret Douglas
 "Fair Maid of Galloway"
 d.s.p.

James, 9th Earl of Douglas
 Forfeited 1455
 d. ca. 1491
 = (1) Margaret Douglas
 "Fair Maid of Galloway"
 d.s.p.
 = (2) Anne Holland
 d.s.p.

Archibald, Earl of Moray
 d. 1455
 = Elizabeth Dunbar (dau. of James,
 Earl of Moray)
 James
 alive 1493
 Janet

Hugh, Earl of Ormond
 d. 1455
 = -----
 Mr Hugh Douglas,
 Dean of Brechin
 d. ca. 1510

John of Balvany
 d. 1463
 d.s.p.

Henry
 d.s.p.

Margaret
 d. ca. 1469
 = Henry Douglas of Borg
 Douglas of Borg

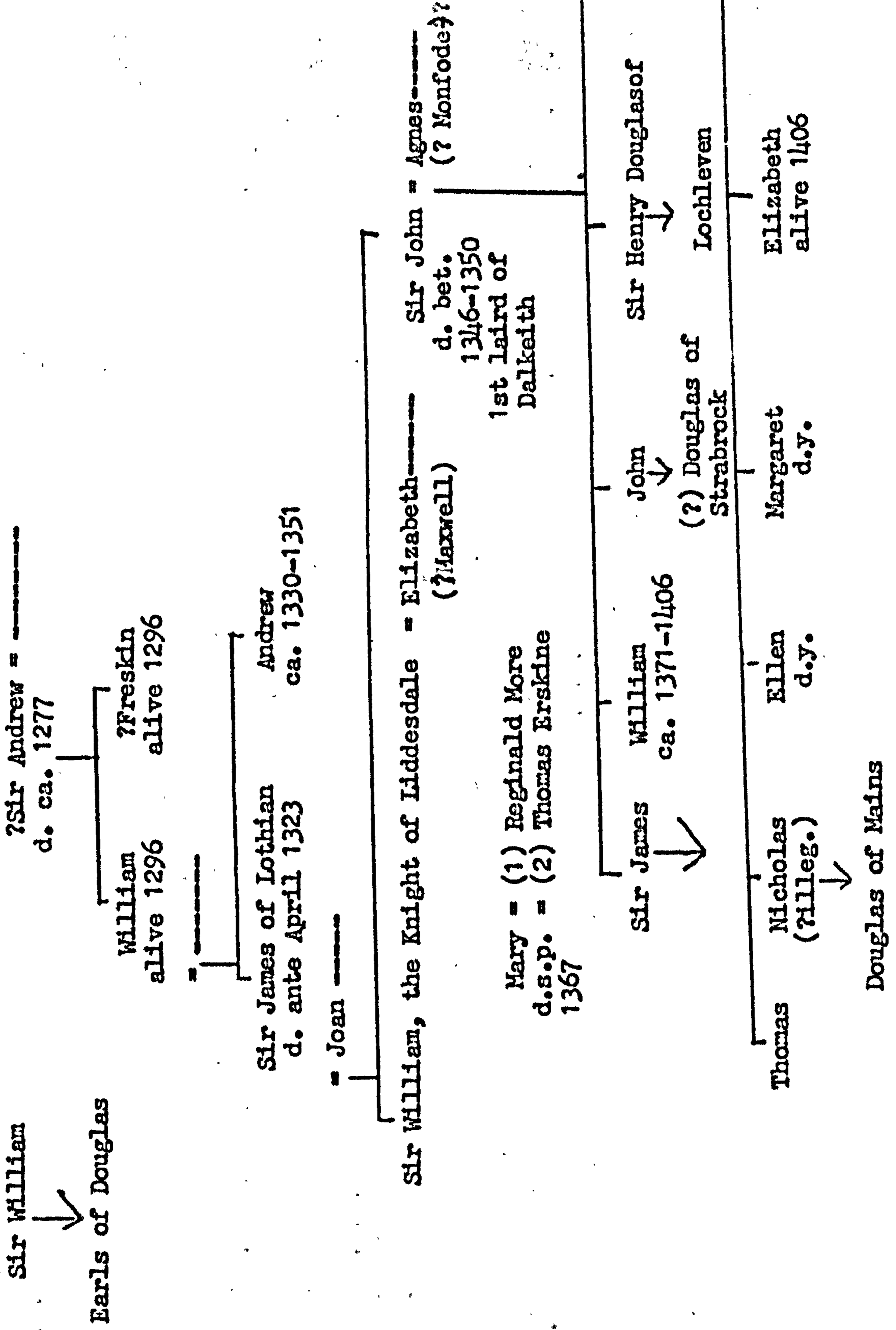
Heatrice = William, 1st Earl of Erroll
 ↓
 Earls of Erroll

Janet = Robert Fleming
 of Biggar
 ↓
 Lords Fleming

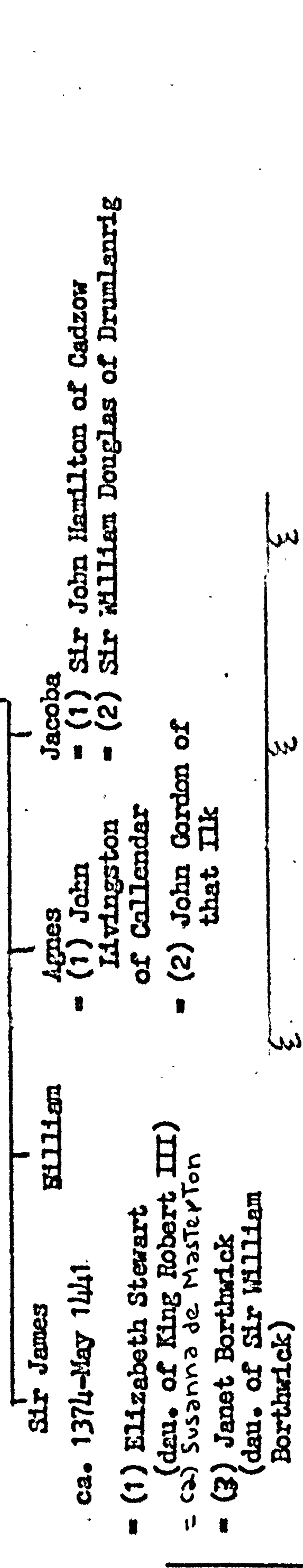
Elizabeth = (?) Sir John Wallace of Craigie

Douglas of Dalkeith, Later Earls of Morton

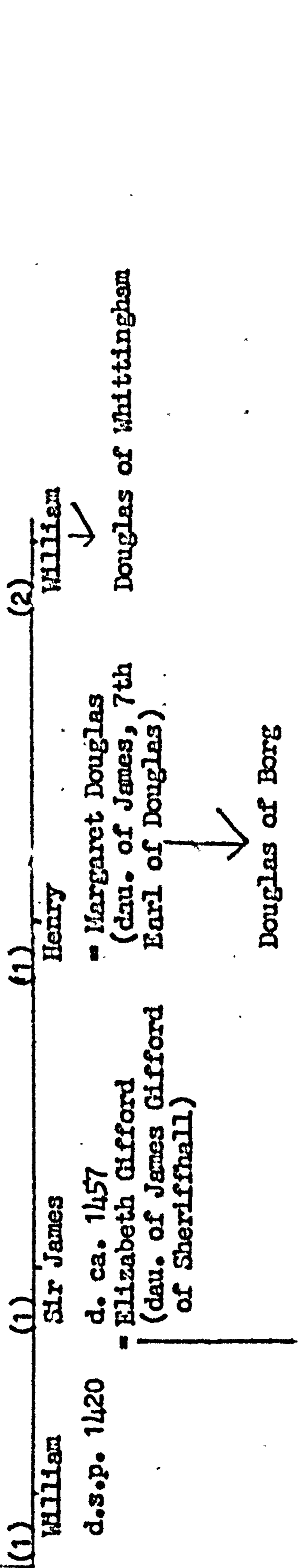
(?) Archibald Douglas = Margaret Crawford (da. of Sir John Crawford of CrawfordJohn)



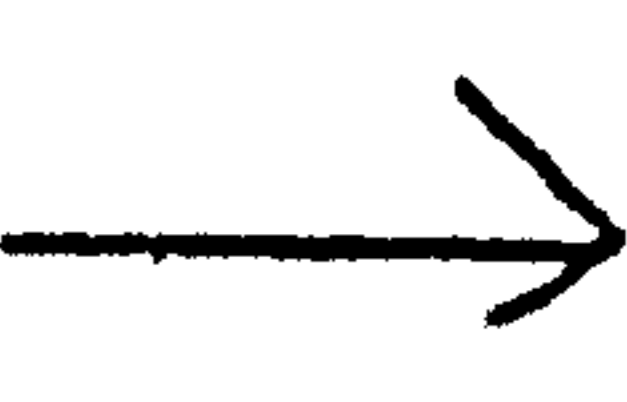
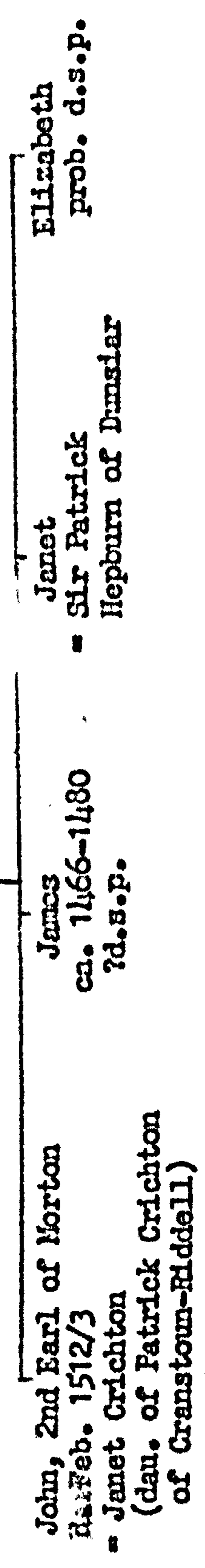
Sir James ca. 1350-1420 = (1) Agnes Dunbar (dau. of Sir Patrick Dunbar)
= (2) Egidia Stewart (sister of King Robert II)

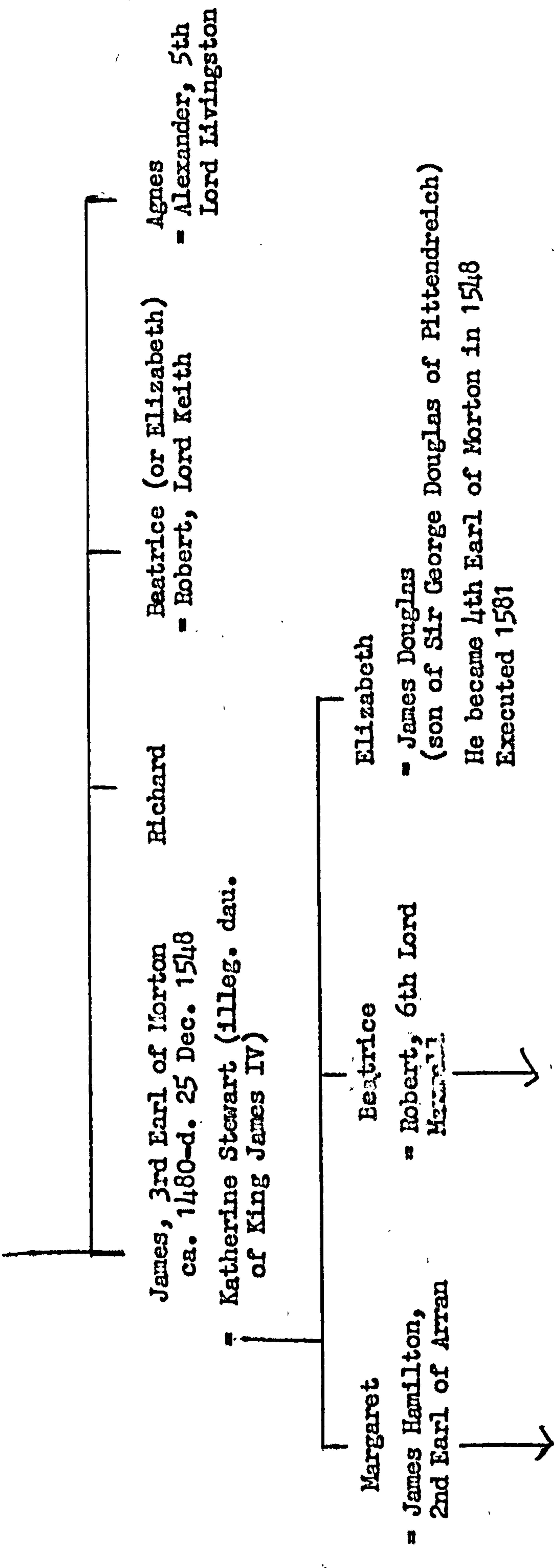


Sir James of Aberdour John Margaret = Phillip Arbuthmott of that Ilk



Sir James, 1st Earl of Morton = Joanna Stewart (dau. of King James I)
ca. 1442-1493





Earls of Arran

Douglas of Drumlanrig

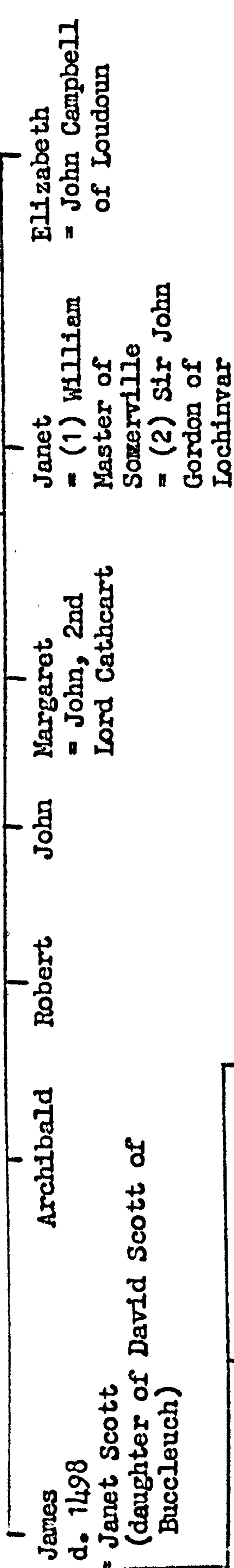
James, 2nd Earl of Douglas

William Douglas = (1) Elizabeth Stewart (2) Jean Murray (3) Jacoba Douglas
 d. bef. 1410 (daughter of Sir James Douglas of Drumlanrig)

Sir William = Janet Maxwell

(daughter of Sir Herbert Maxwell of Cavlaveroch)

William = Elizabeth Crichton
 d. 1484 (daughter of Sir Robert Crichton of Sanquhar)



Sir William d. 1513 = Elizabeth Gordon (daughter of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar)

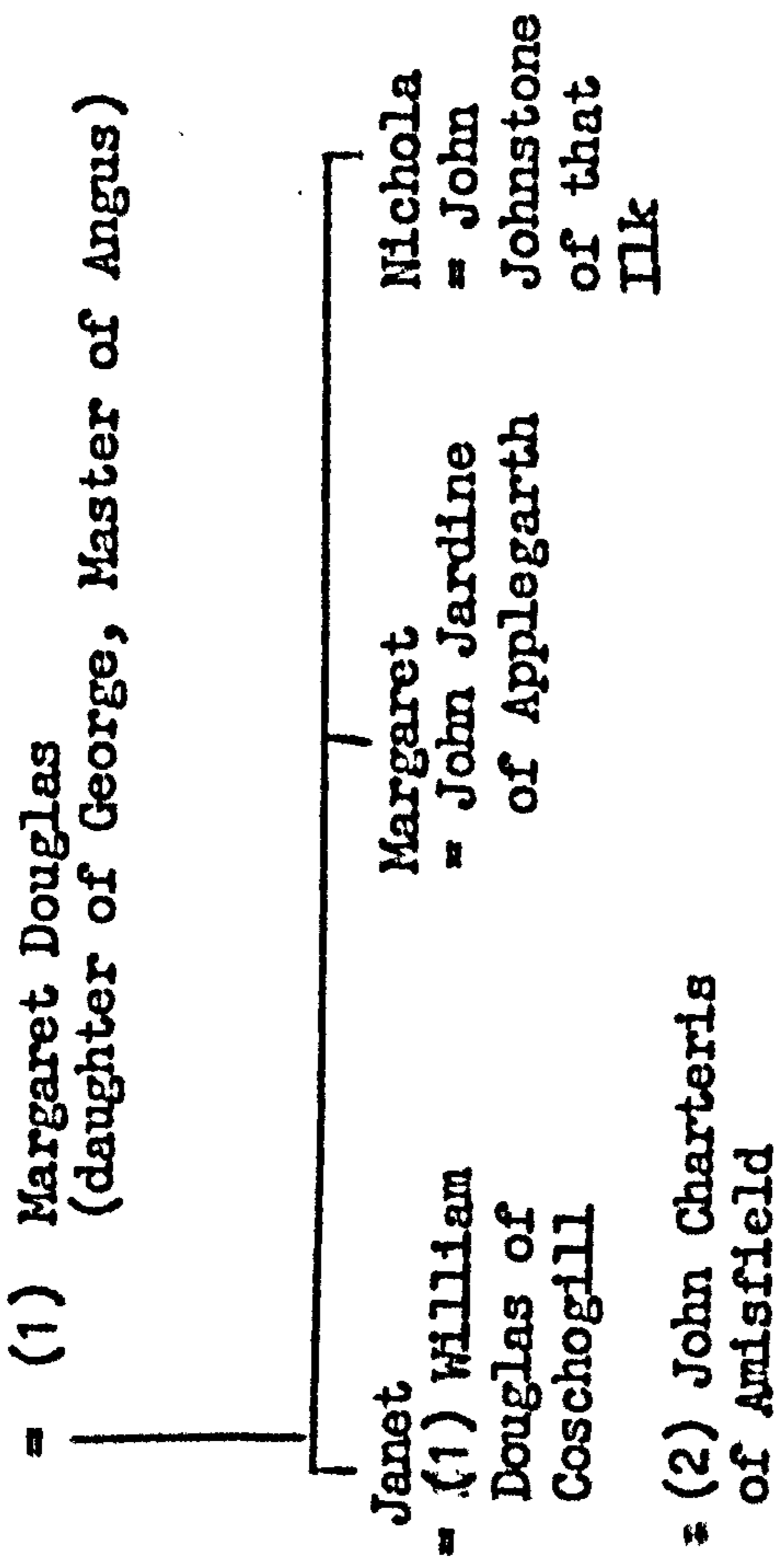
Gavin alive 1489 = Roger Grierson of Lag

Sir James John = Robert 5th Lord Maxwell

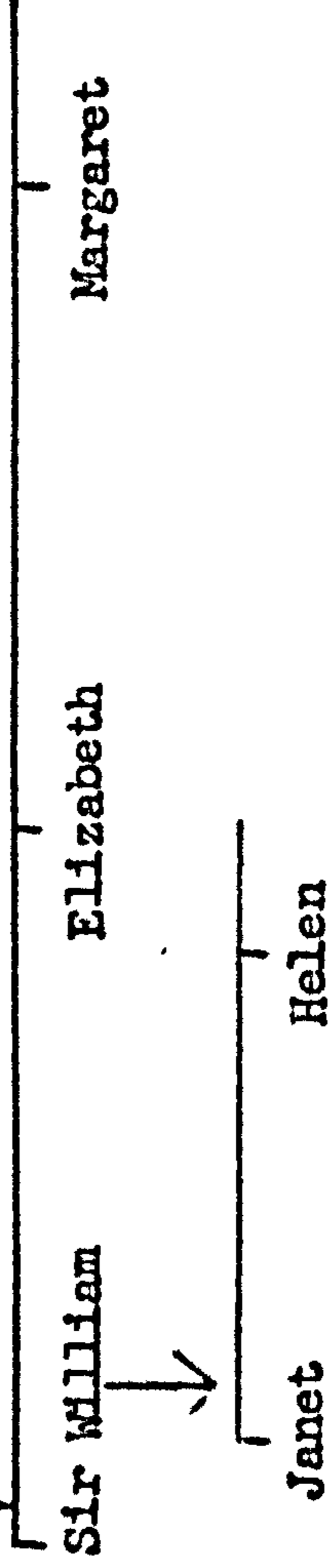
Agnes = Andrew Cunningham of Birkshaw

Douglas of Drumlanrig (2)

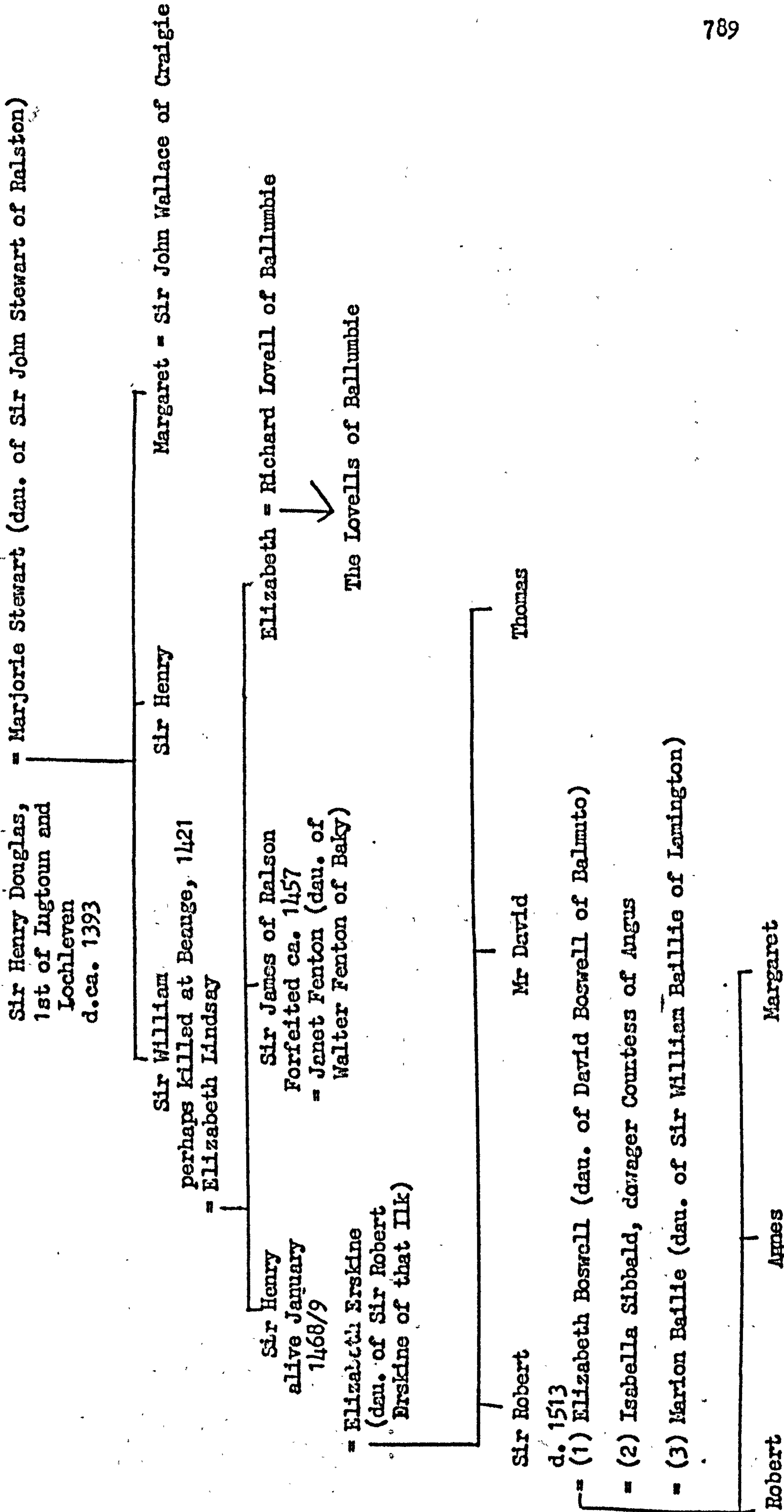
Sir James
d. 1578

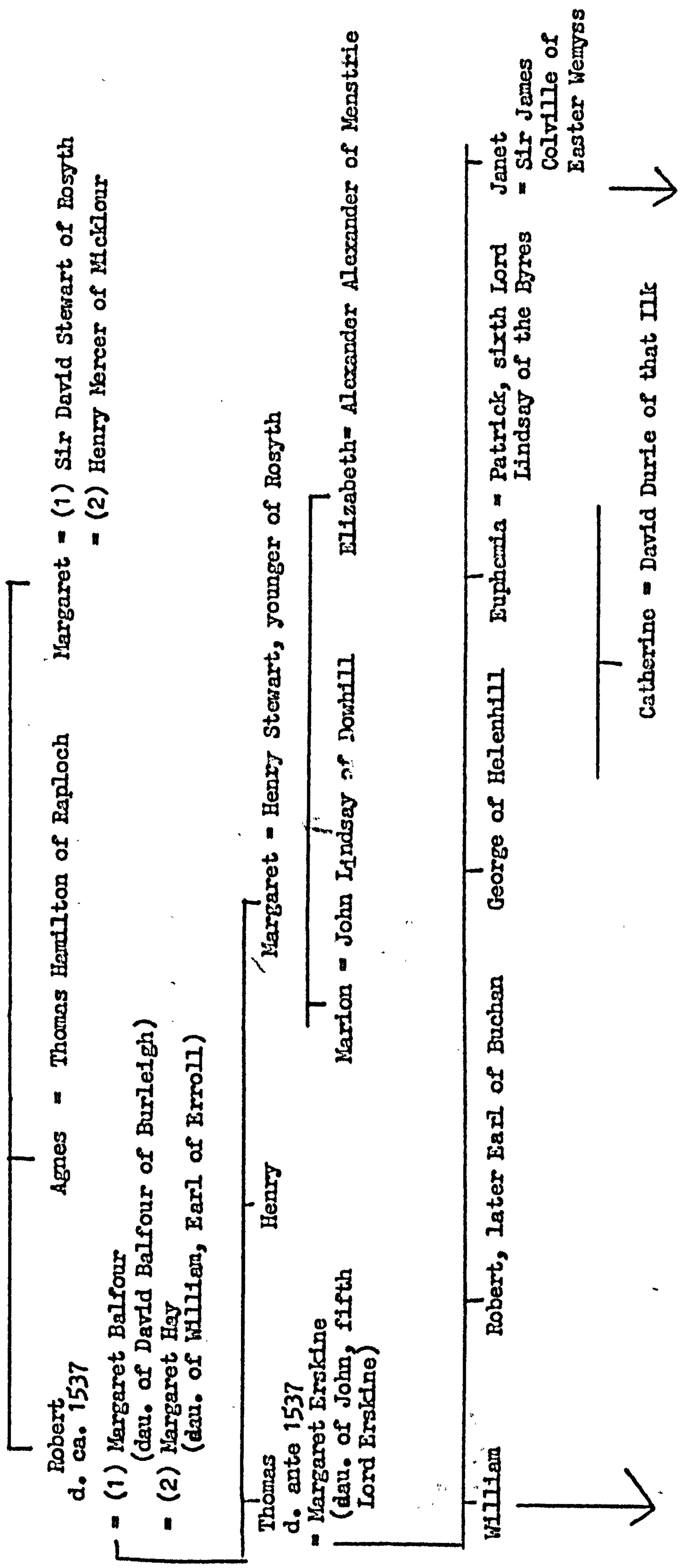


= (2) Christian Montgomery (daughter of John, Master of Eglinton)



Douglas of Lochleven





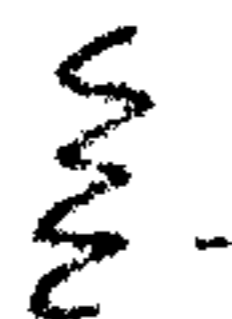
Genealogical Tables

of the

Major Vassals of the Earls of Angus

Douglas of Bonjedburgh 1404-1557

William, 1st Earl of Douglas
d. 1385



Margaret Douglas = Thomas Johnson
Alive 1404

John Douglas = _____
d. 1439

George = _____
? d. ca. 1488

? William
Alive 1476

George = _____
d. bef. May
1536

John
Alive 1507

William
d. after 1561

Robert
Alive 1513

John
Alive 1555

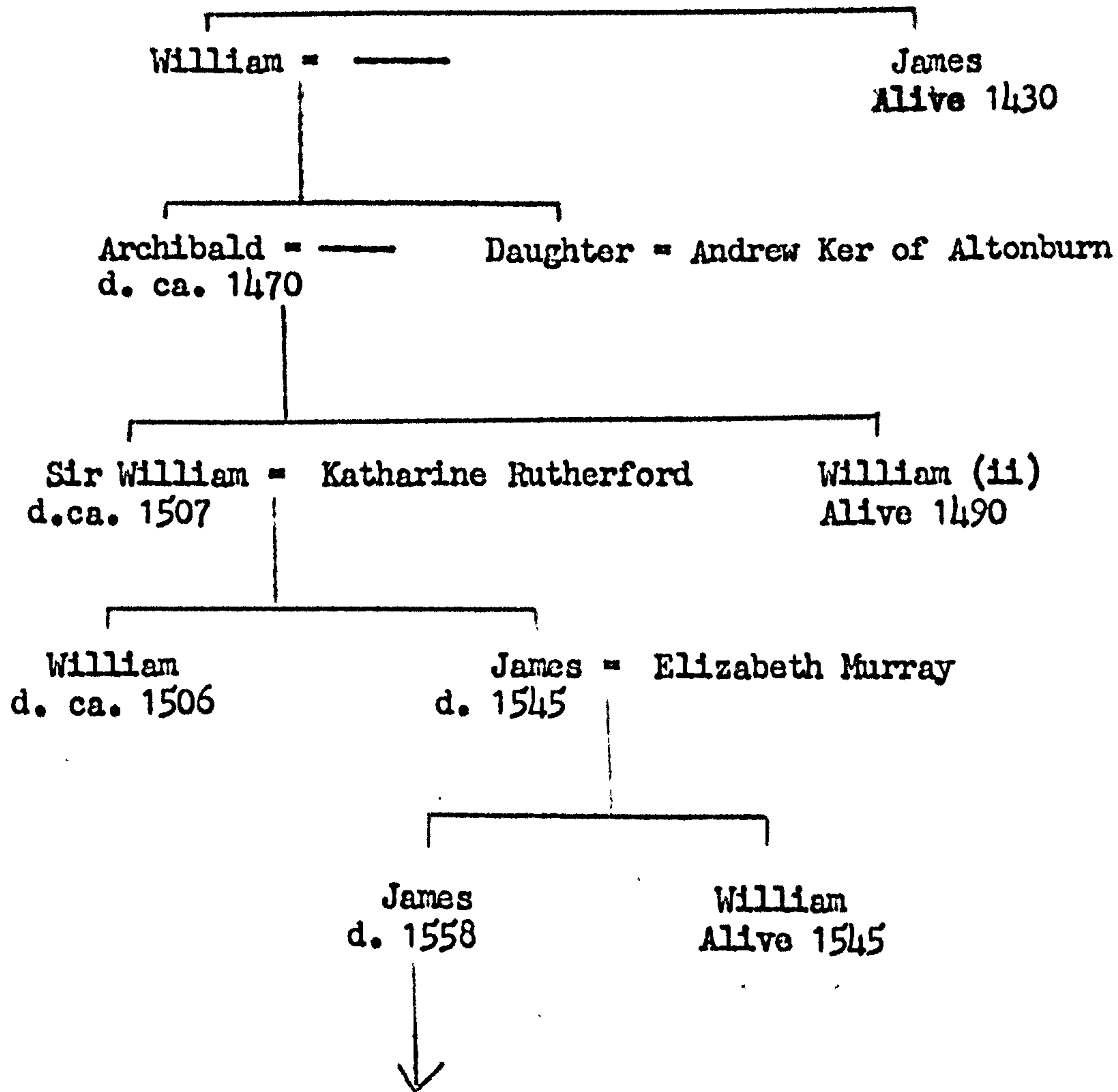
Isabel
Alive 1532

Douglas of Cavers 1429-1491

James, 2nd Earl of Douglas
d. 1388

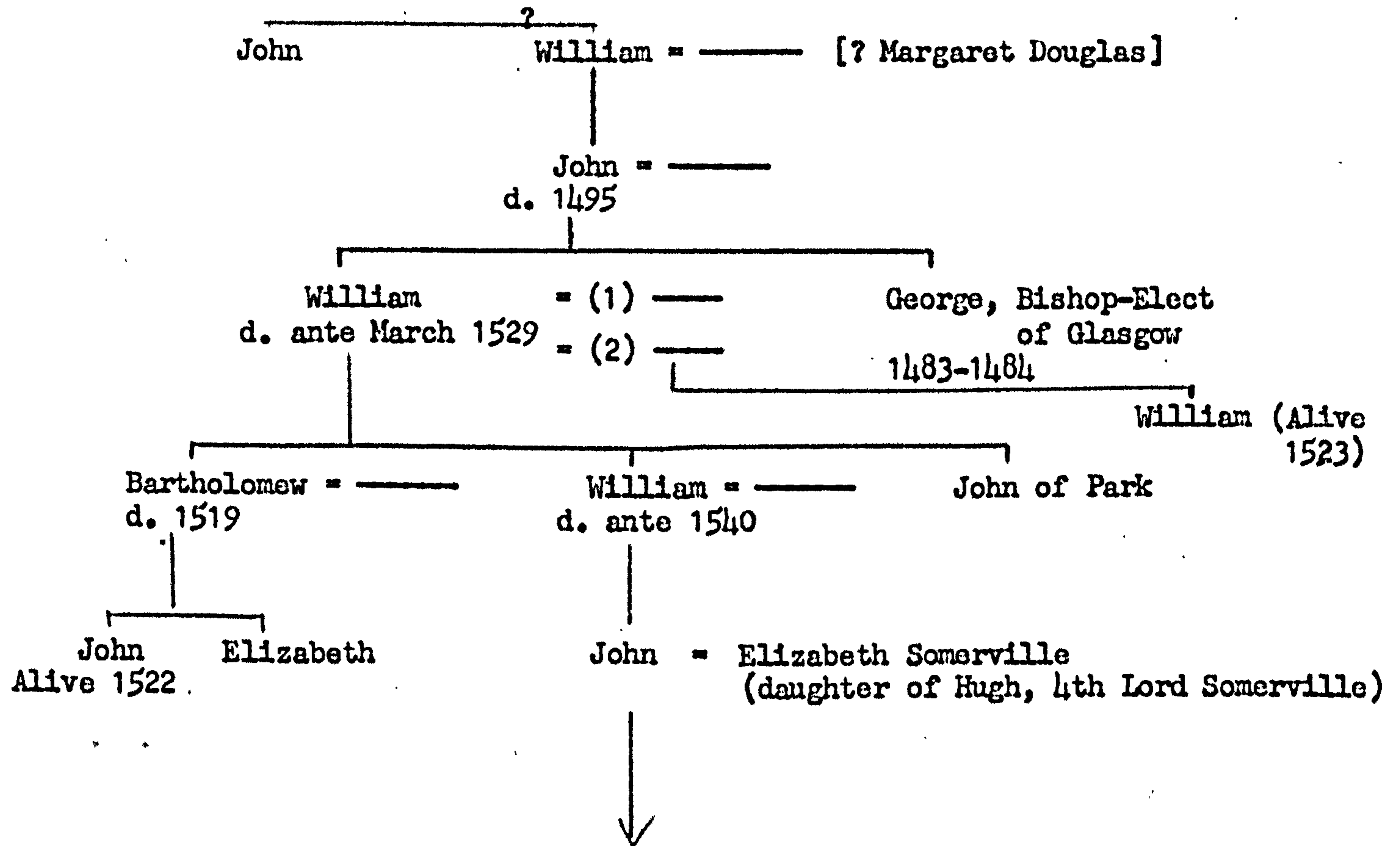


Sir Archibald Douglas = Margaret _____
of Cavers
d. ca. 1455

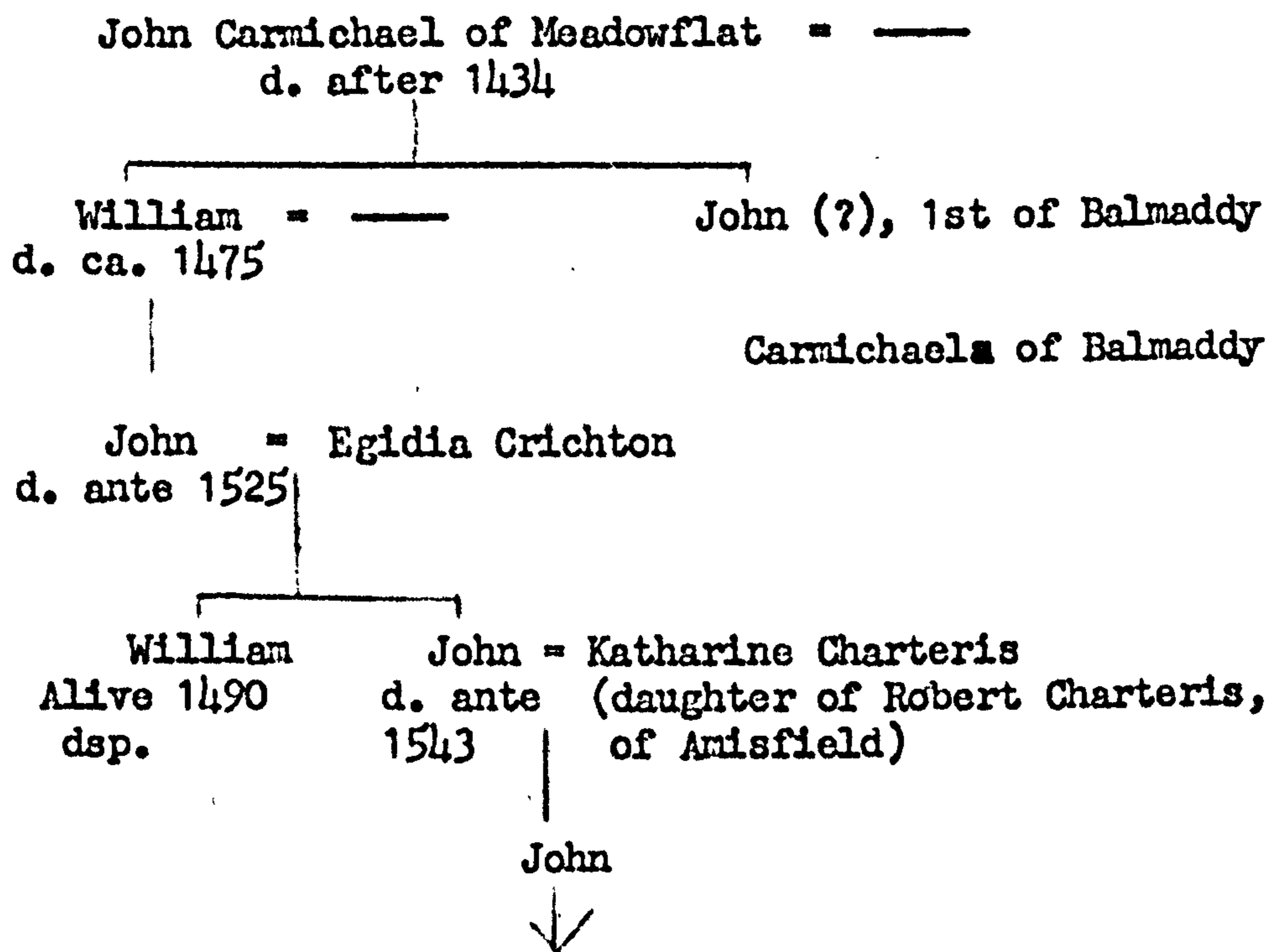


The Carmichaels of that Ilk 1455-1557

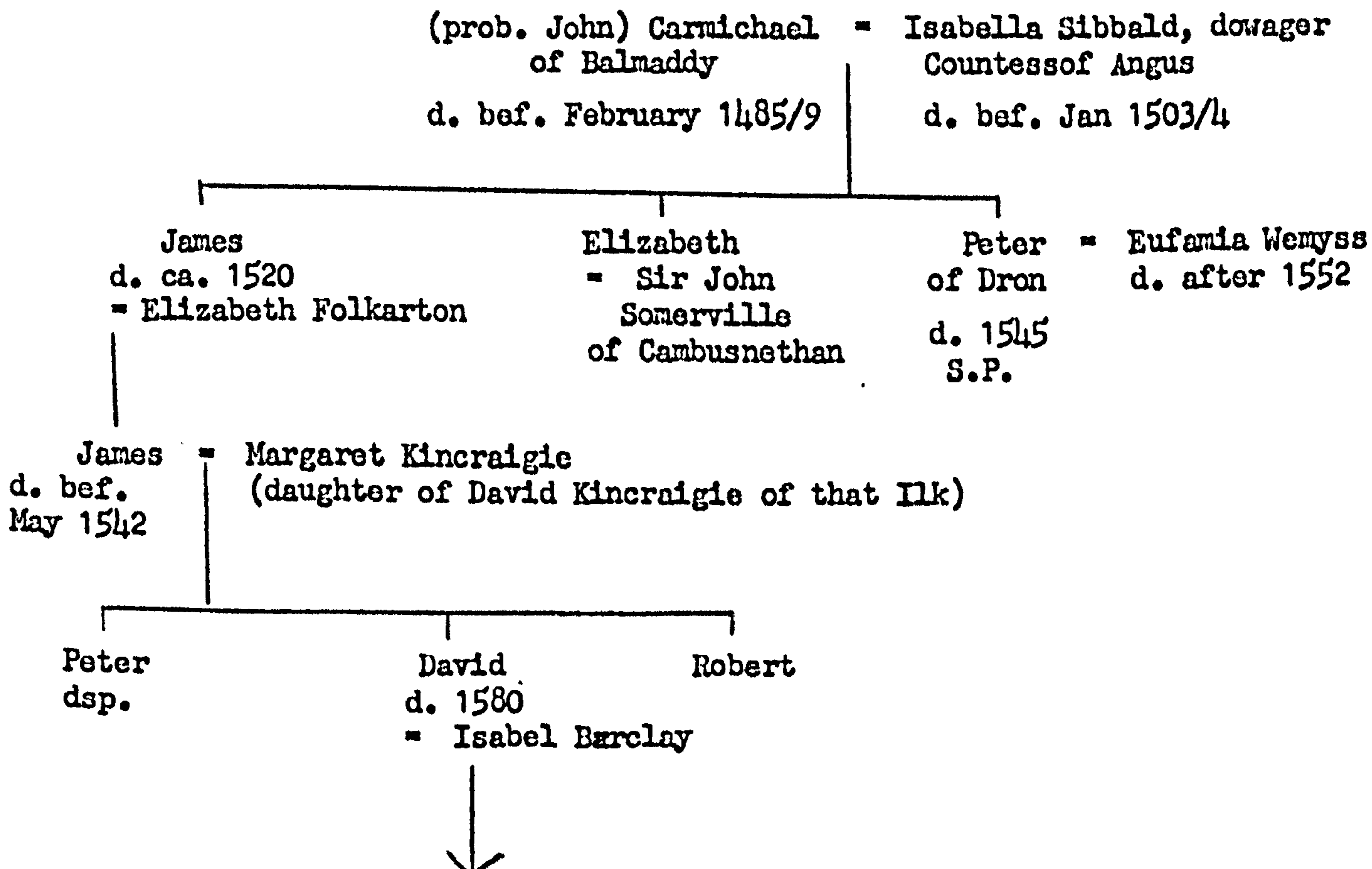
William Carmichael of that Ilk = ——



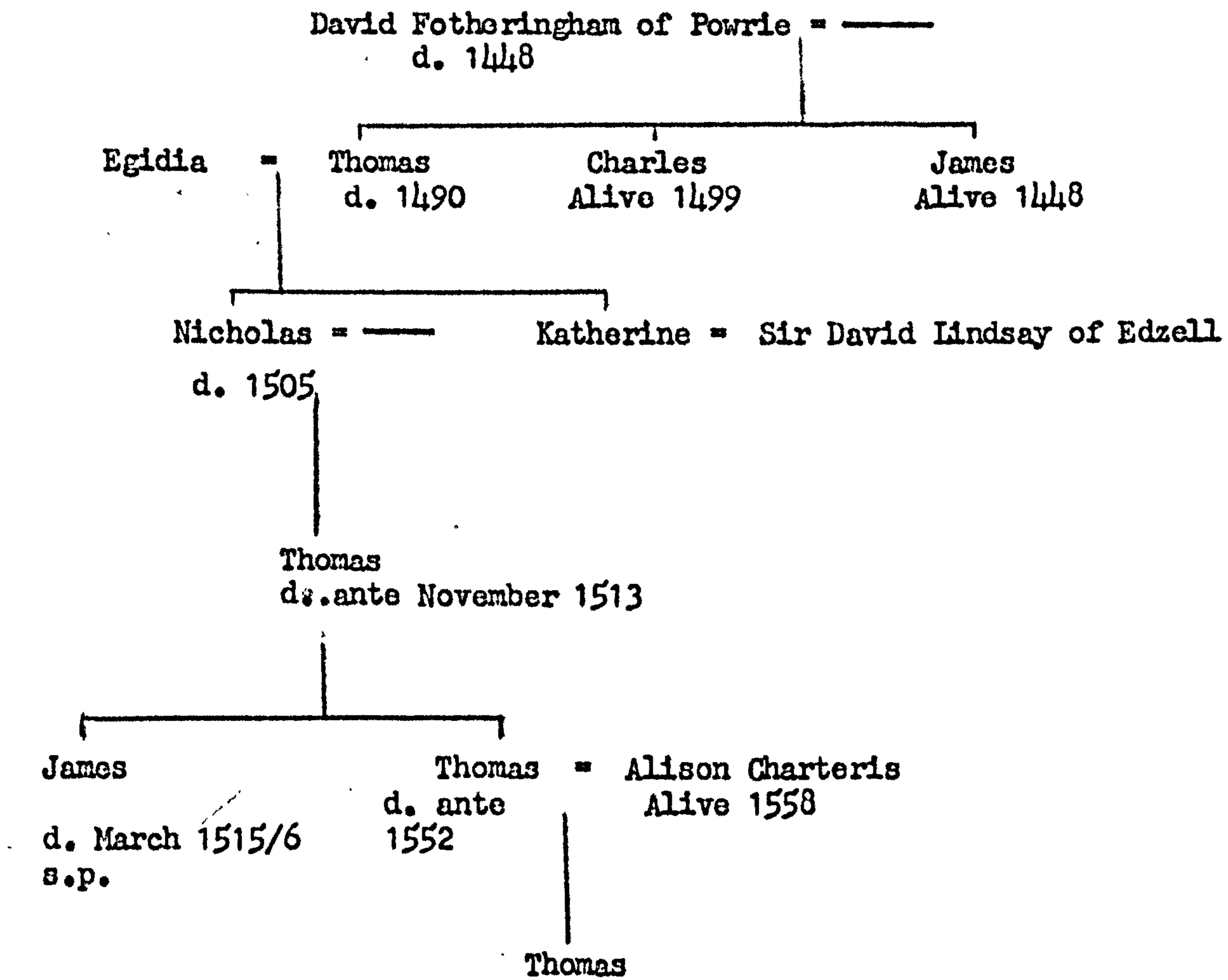
The Carmichaels of Meadowflat 1495-1557



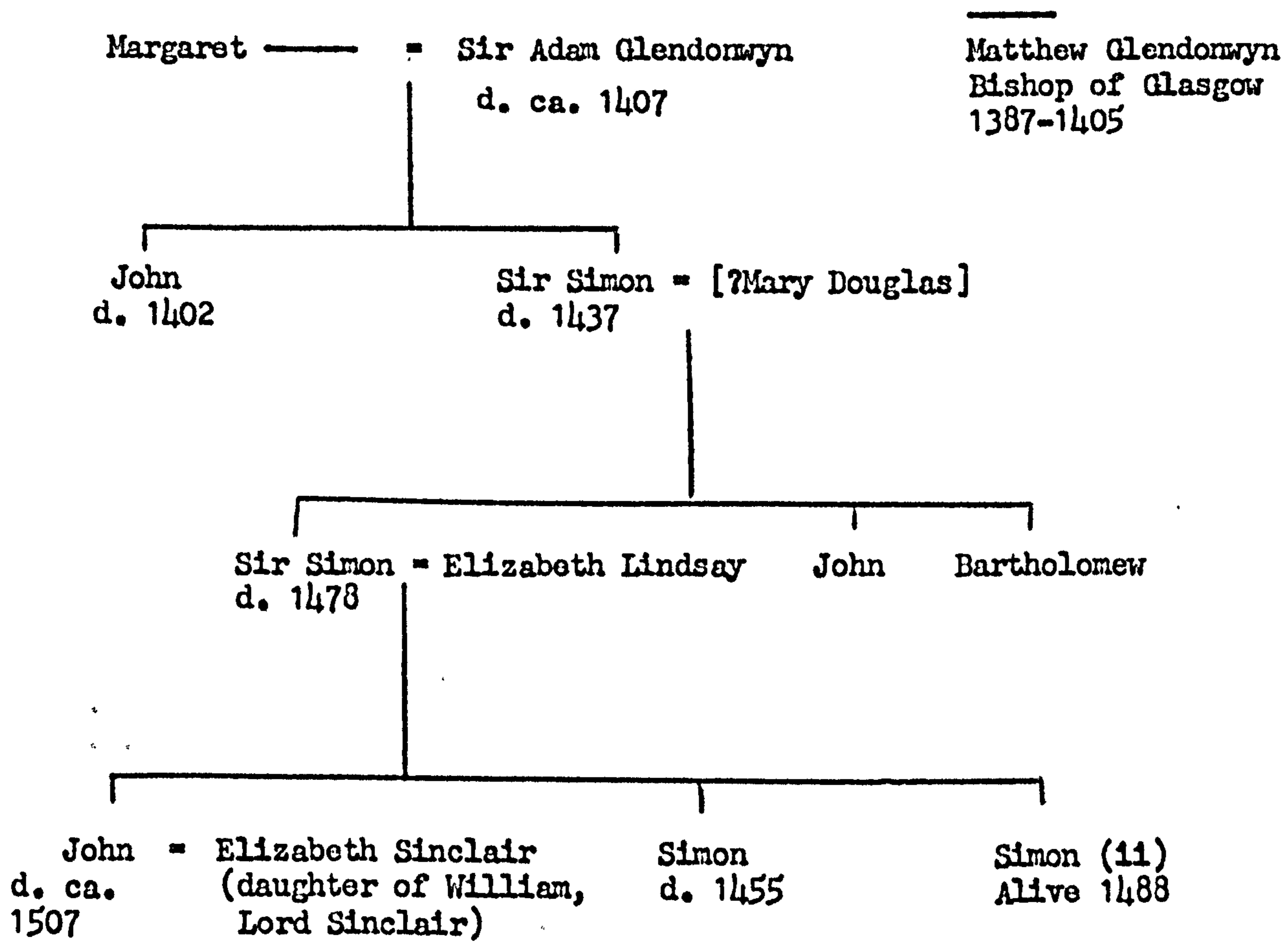
The Carmichaels of Balmaddy and Dron



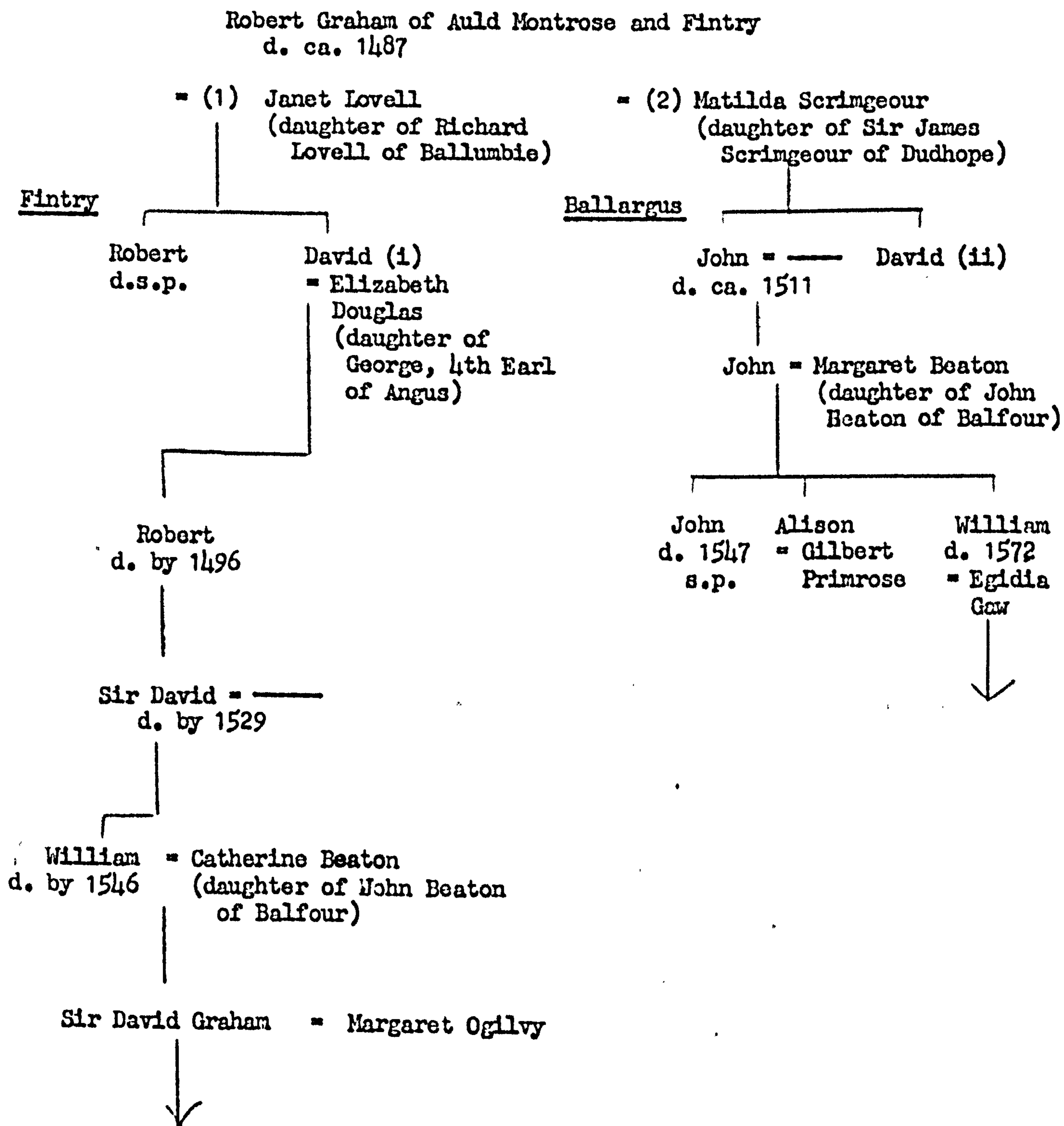
The Fotheringhams of Powrie: 1468-1557



The Glendonwyns of that Ilk 1458-1502



The Grahams of Fintry and Ballargus 1456-1557



Home of Wedderburn 1436-1557

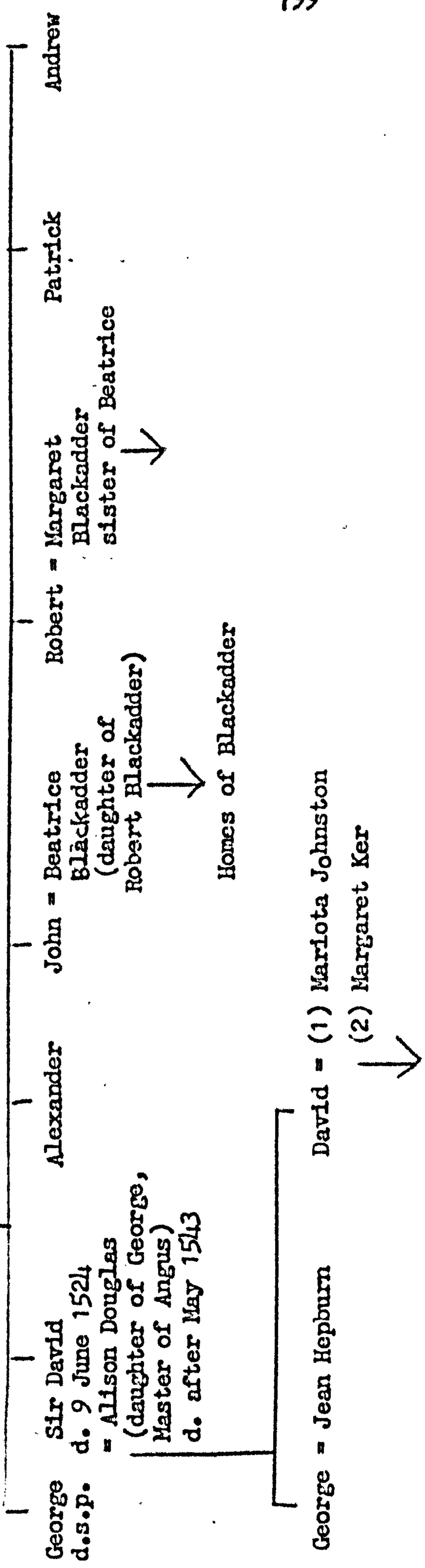
Sir David Home = Alice
of Wedderburn
d. after March 1452

David = Elizabeth Carmichael Alexander
d. bef. 1450

George = Marlon (Mariot) Sinclair Patrick of Polwarth = Margaret Sinclair
d. bef. Dec. 1503 (daughter of John Sinclair) d. 1503

Homes of Polwarth

Sir David = Isabella Hoppringle
d. bef. June 1515 d. after 1542

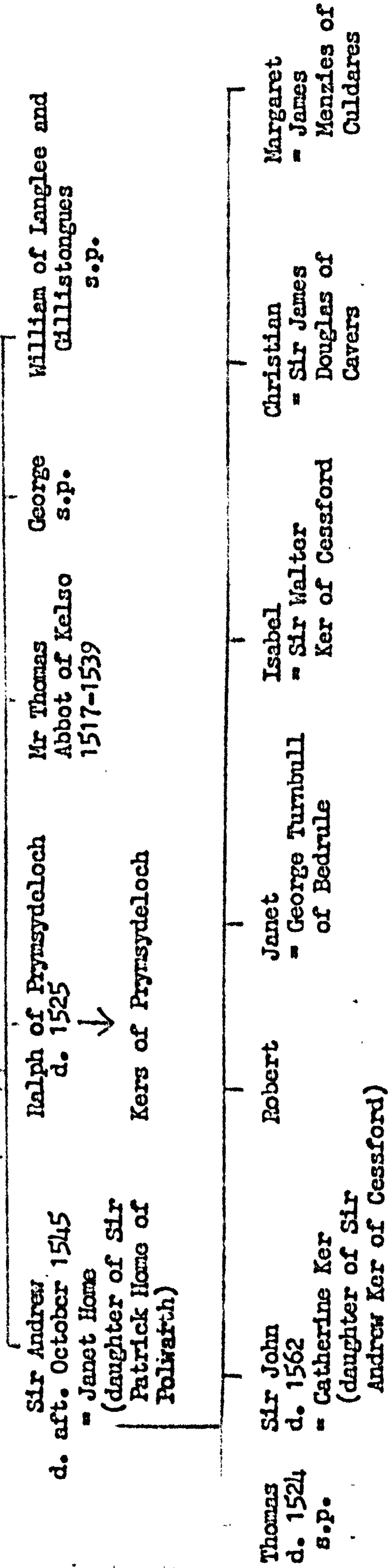


The Kers of Ferniehurst ca. 1474-1557

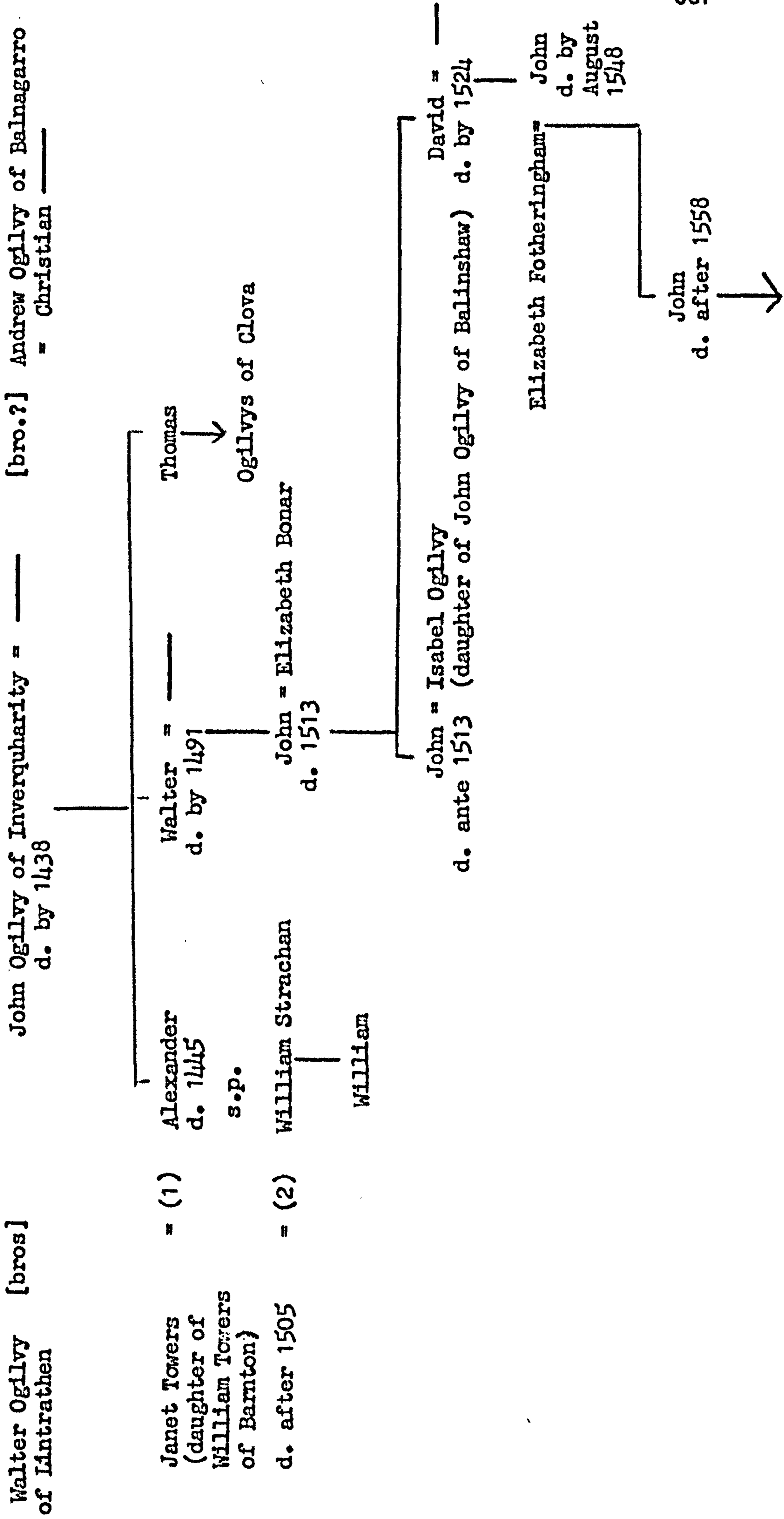
Thomas Ker of Smalholm and Ferniehurst
d. 1484

= Margaret Ker

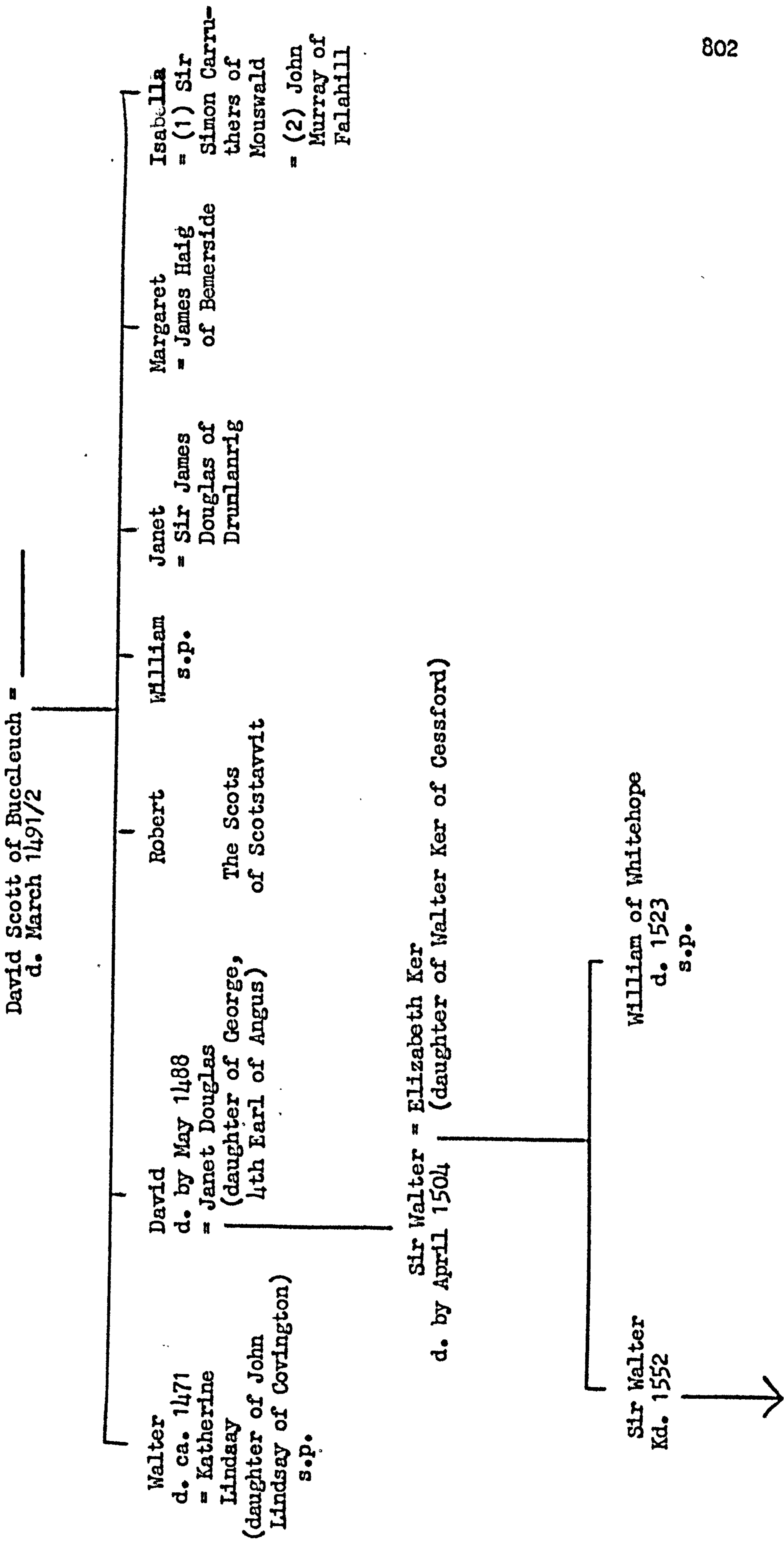
(2 daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehurst)



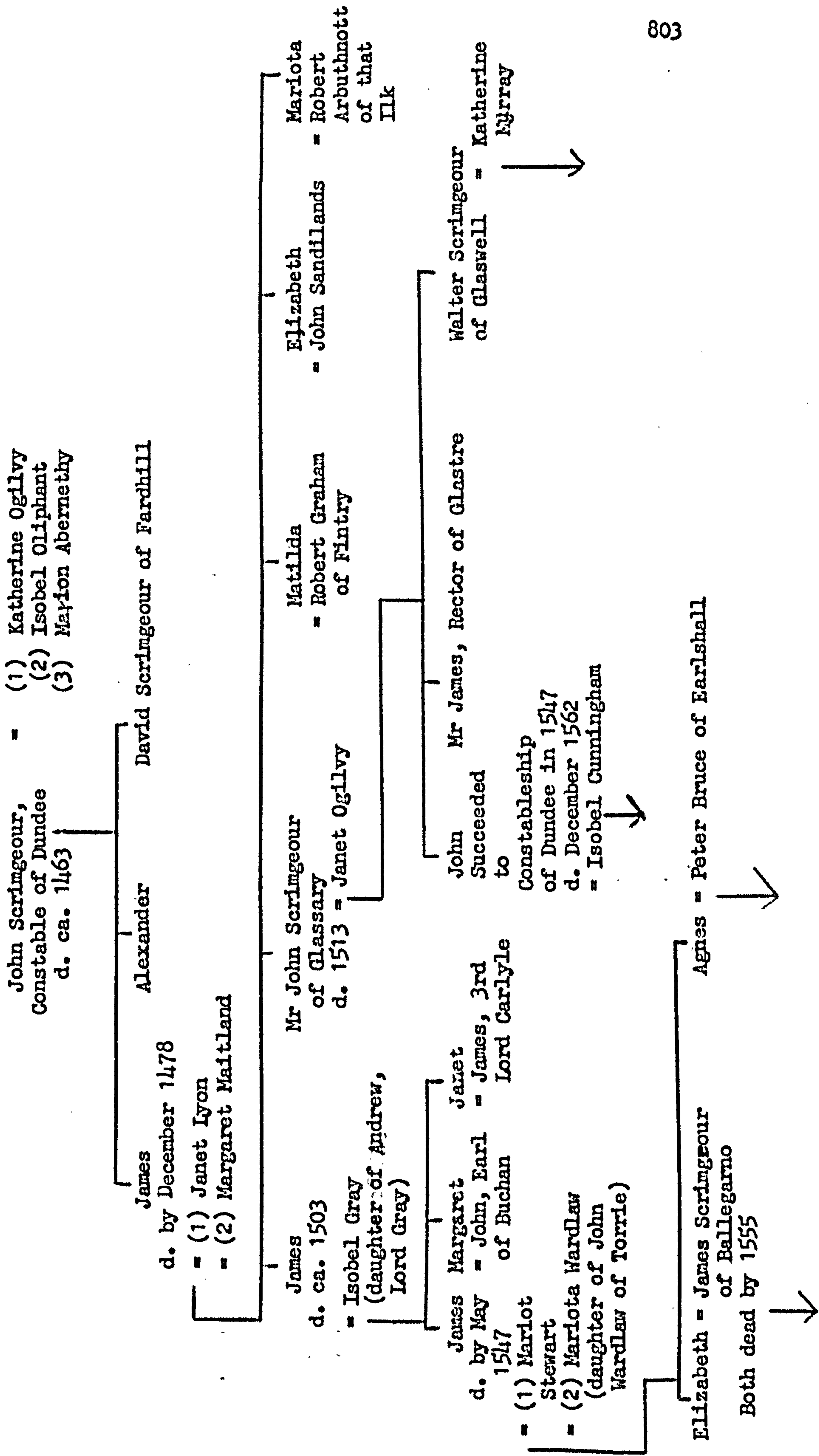
The Ogilvys of Inverquharity 1420-1557



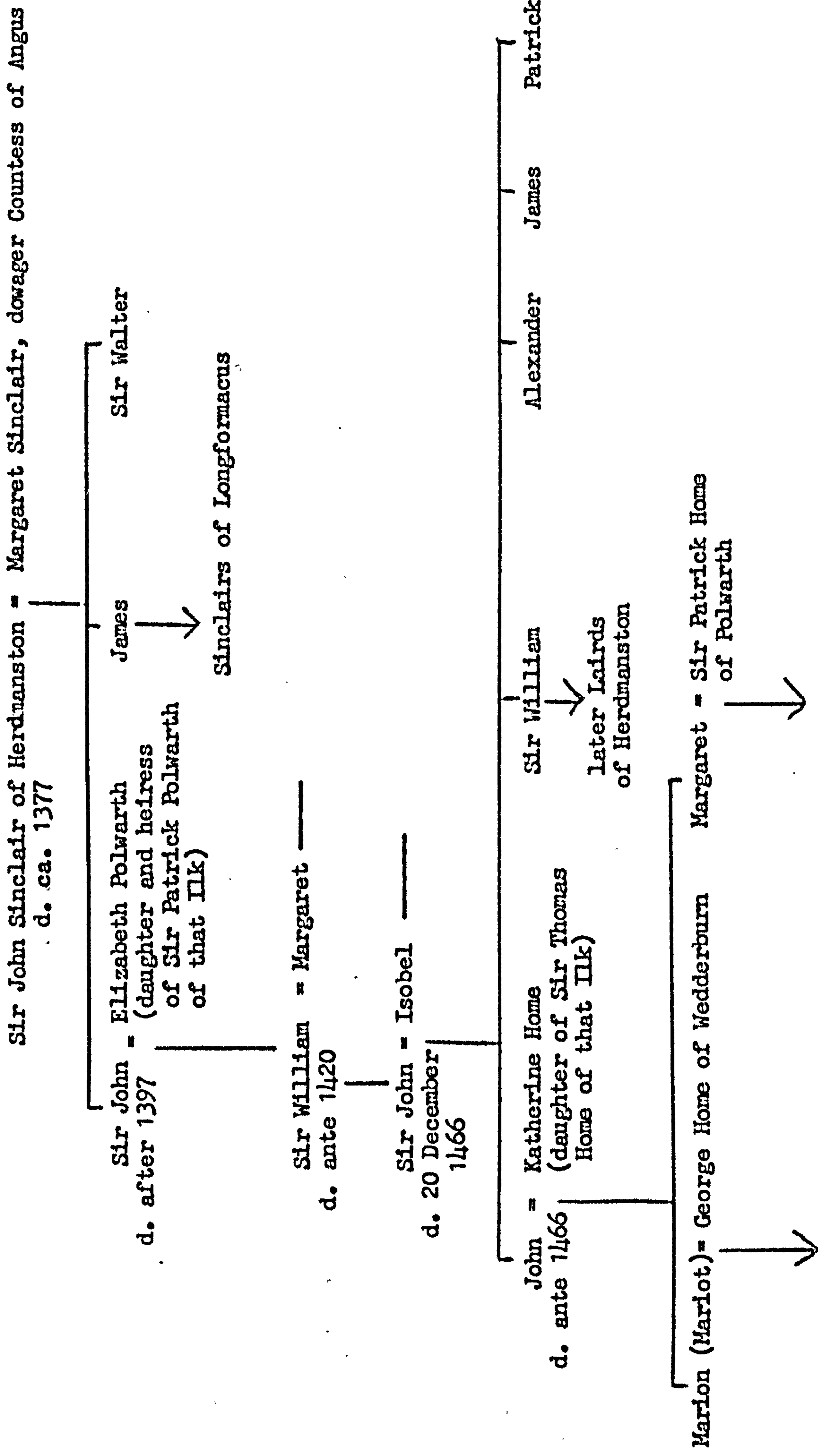
The Scotts of Buccleuch 1469-1491



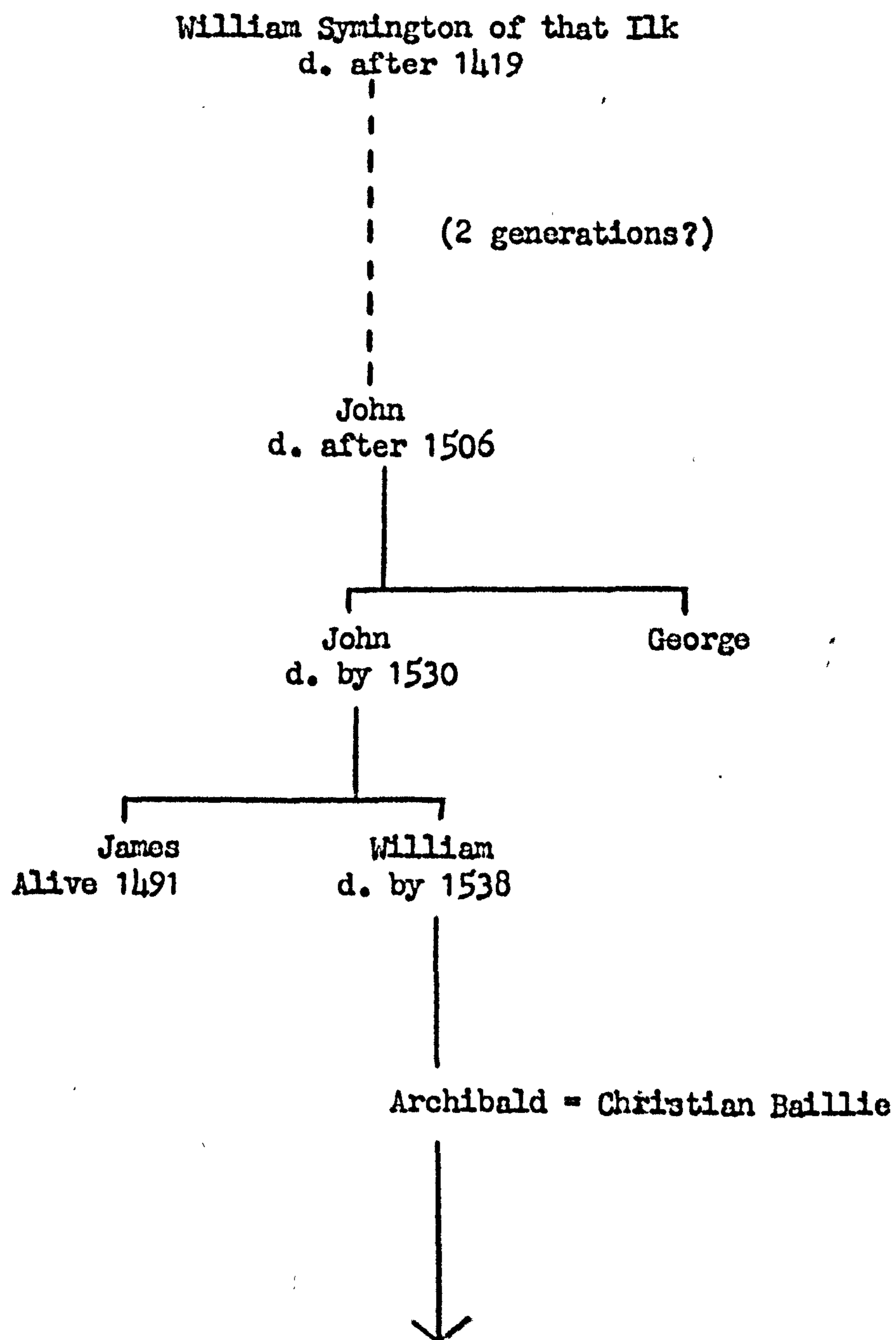
The Scrimgeours of Dudhope 1456-1557



The Sinclairs of Herdmanston 1379-1467



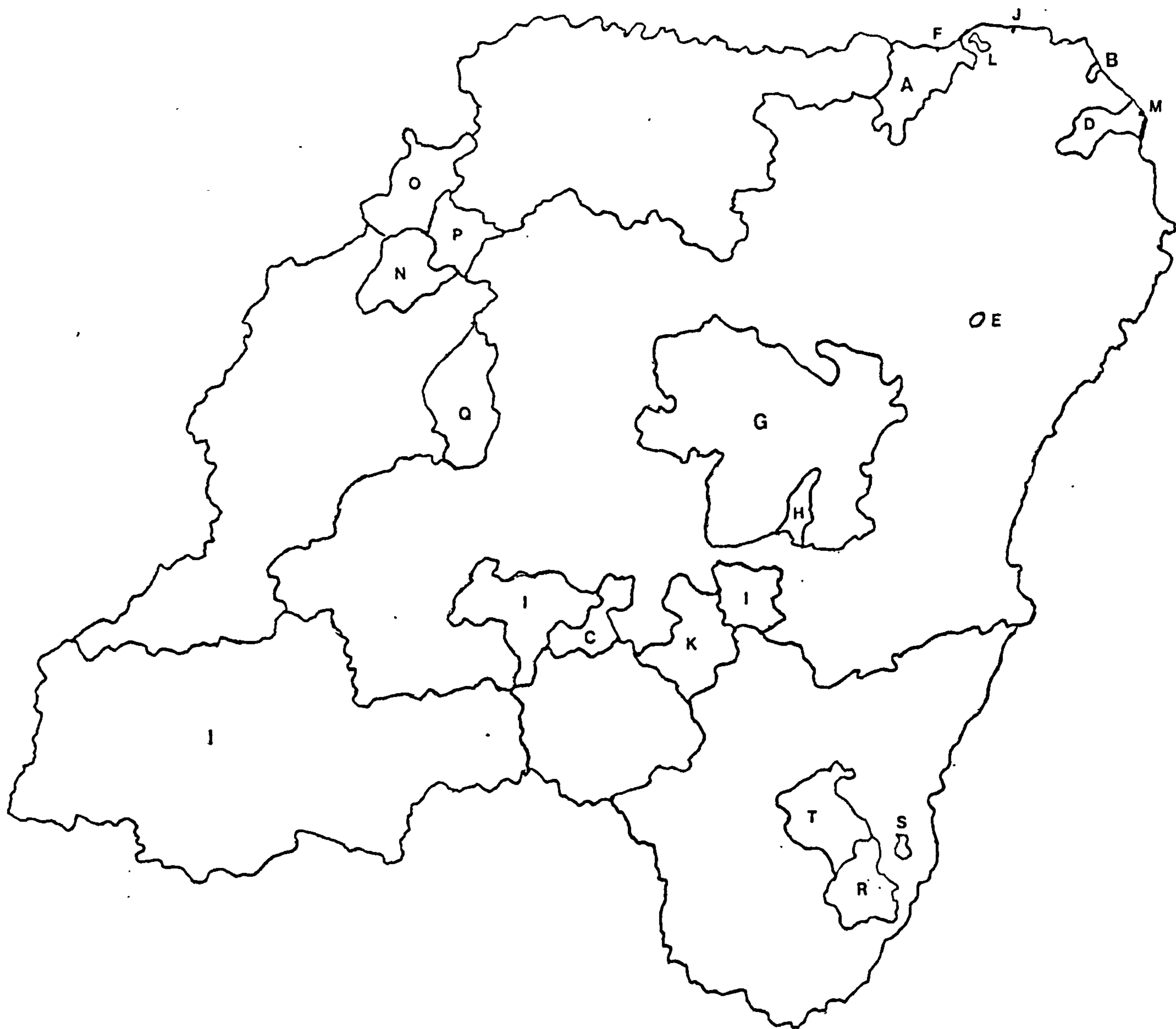
The Symingtons of that Ilk 1455-1557



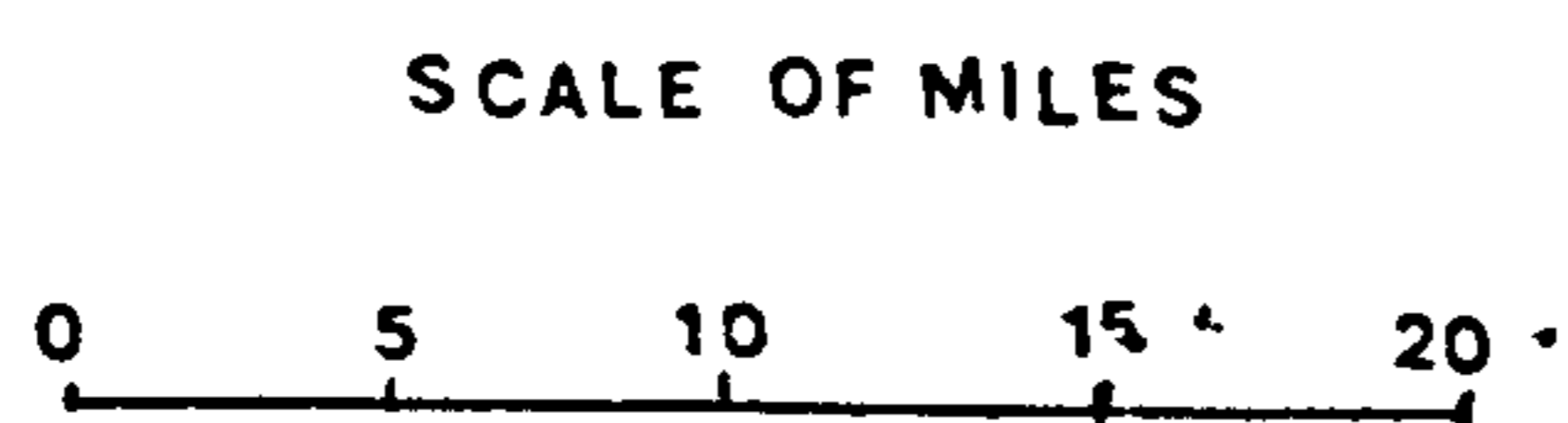
APPENDIX VI

Maps of the Douglas Lands in Scotland

The following maps have been compiled in order to show the distribution of the major estates of the Douglas earls of Angus, the earls of Douglas and the Douglas of Dalkeith (later earls of Morton) from the early fourteenth until the mid-sixteenth centuries. Only those lands which were held by these magnates as feudal superior are shown. Wherever possible, the boundaries given in various charters have been followed, but in the vast majority of instances only approximate ones can be indicated. Lands held by the earls of Douglas even before they were raised to the status of earl have been described as part of the earldom, while the lands held by the earls of Morton, who for most of this period were Lairds of Dalkeith, have been described as pertaining to the Douglasses of Dalkeith. An arrow following a date indicates that the estate continued to be in the possession of the appropriate feudal superior until the end of and beyond the period of time covered by the thesis.



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
ABERDEENSHIRE, BANFFSHIRE,
AND KINCARDINESHIRE**



Douglas Lands in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Kincardineshire
(Aberdeenshire)

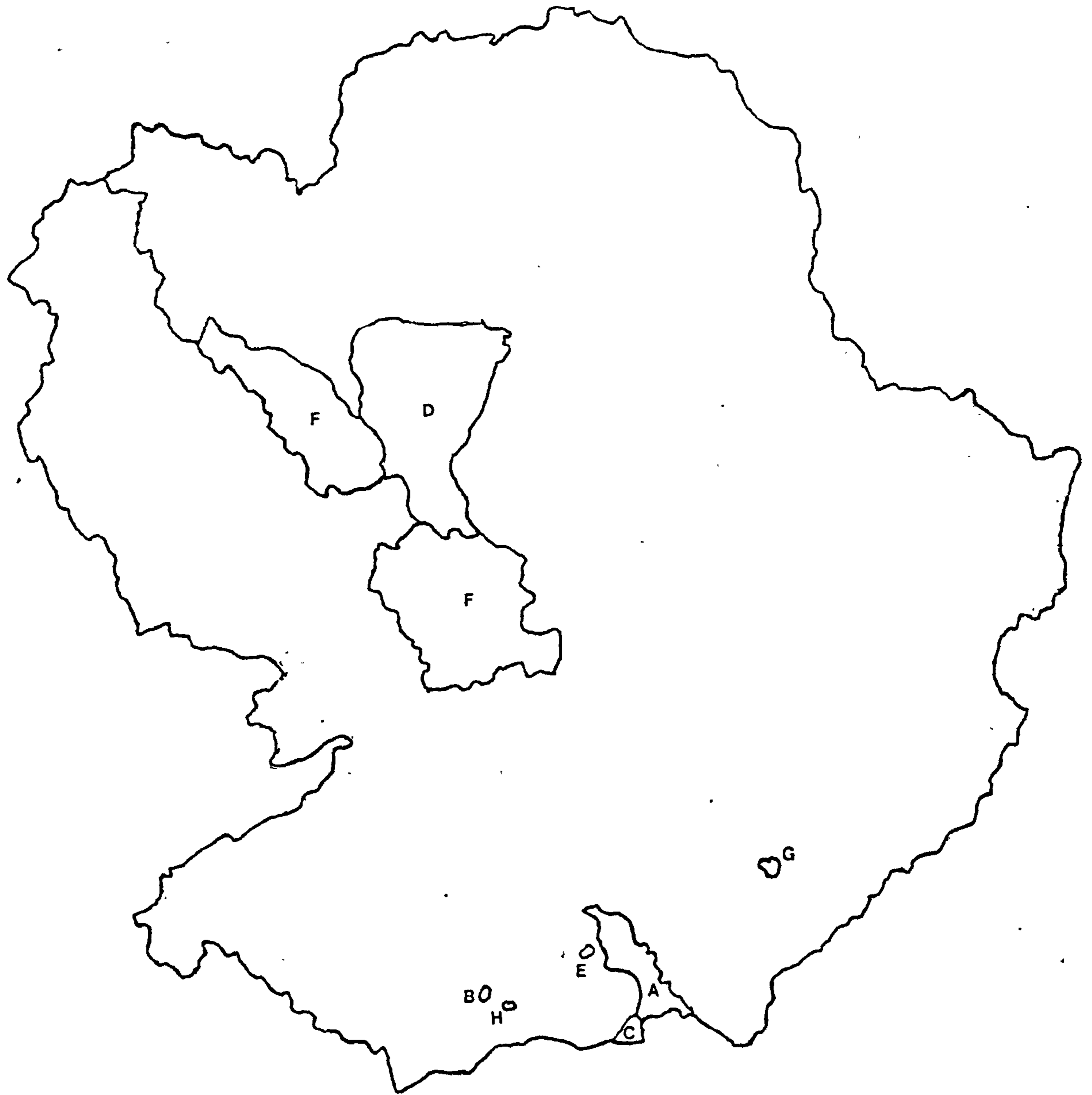
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Aberdour	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	
B.	Carnglass	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1324-by 1353?)	
C.	Coull	Lands	Earls of Douglas (by 1330-by 1389)	
D.	Crimond	Lands		Alias Criward
E.	Drumwhindle	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	Politically part of the barony of Aberdour
F.	Dundarg	Castle	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	
G.	Garioch	Lordship	Earls of Douglas	Part of the earldom
H.	Kemnay	Barony	Douglas of Glenbervie (after 1490 →)	
I.	Mar	Earldom	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1371-1408)	
J.	Pittulie	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	Politically part of the barony of Aberdour
K.	Oneil	Barony	Earls of Douglas (by 1330-by 1389)	Alias Kincardine O'Neill
L.	Pitsligo	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	Alias Pettslegach Politically part of the barony of Aberdour
M.	Rattray	Lands and, later, barony	Earls of Douglas (1324-by 1455)	

Douglas Lands in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Kincardineshire
(Banffshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
N.	Balvany	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1423-1455)	Alias Balverny Politically in barony of Murthillach
O.	Boharm	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1423-1455)	
P.	Botriphnie	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1423-1455)	
Q.	Cabrach	Lands and Forest	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1371-1408)	Politically part of earldom of Mar

Douglas Lands in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire and Kincardineshire
(Kincardineshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
R.	Arbuthnott	Thanage	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362-1455?)	
S.	Barras	Barony	Douglas of Glenbervie (1490 →)	
T.	Glenbervie	Barony	Douglas of Glenbervie (1490 →)	



DOUGLAS LANDS IN ANGUS

0 5 10 15 20

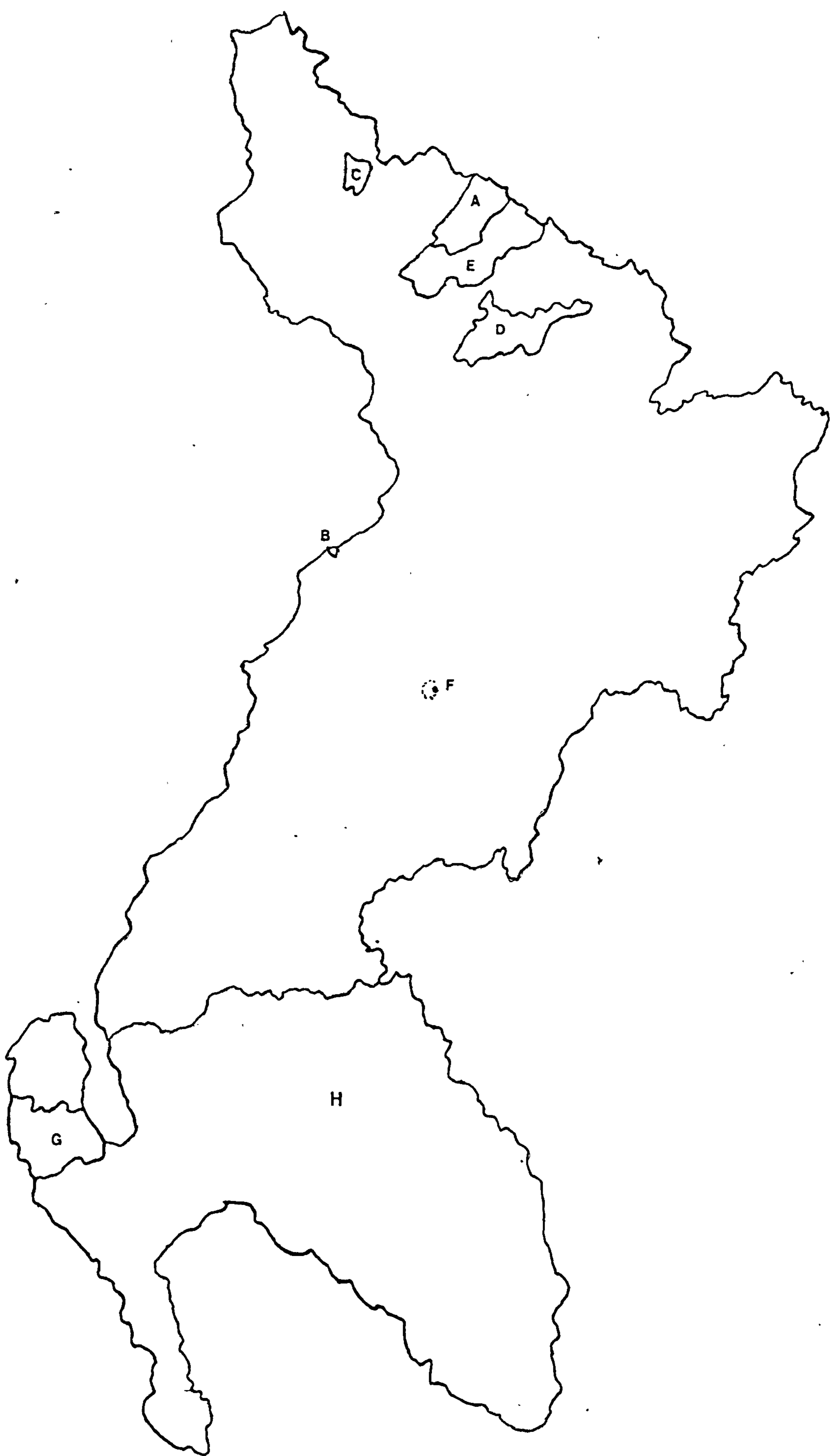


SCALE OF MILES



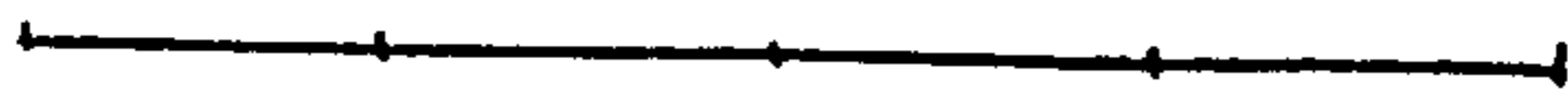
Douglas Lands in Angus

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Balmossie, Barnhill, Ethiebeaton, Kingennie, Monifieth, Omachie	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir
B.	Balmuir		(by 1328 →)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir
C.	Broughty Craig	Lands and Castle	Earls of Angus (by 1328-1490)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir
D.	Cortachy	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1362-1490) Earls of Angus (1400-1409)	
E.	Gagie	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir
F.	Kirriemuir	Barony and, later, Regality	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	
G.	Panlathy and Pitconra	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir Alias Pitcondrum
H.	Whitefield	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	Politically part of regality of Kirriemuir



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
AYRSHIRE AND WIGTOWNSHIRE**

0 5 10 15 20



SCALE OF MILES

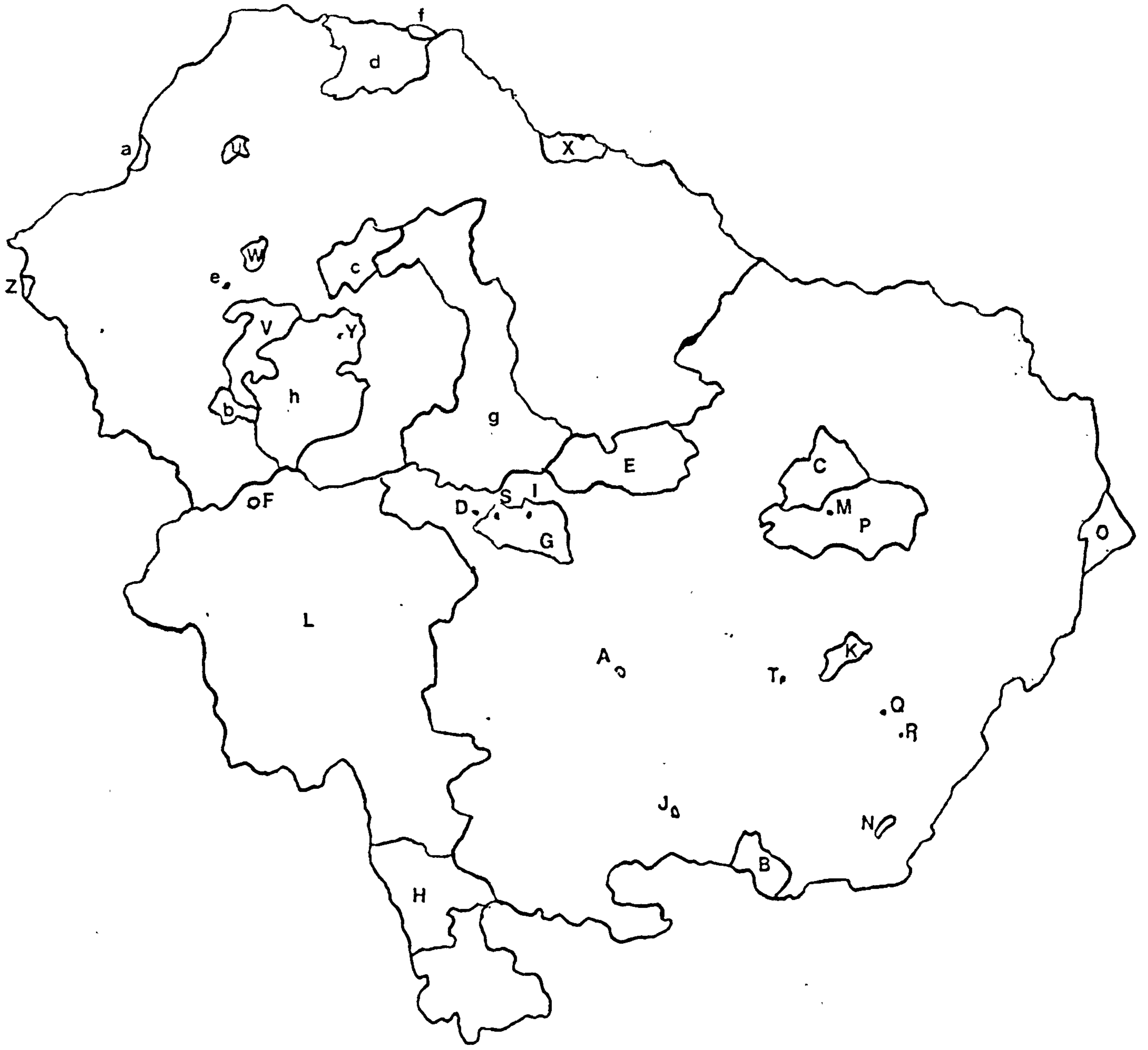


Douglas Lands in Ayrshire and Wigtownshire
(Ayrshire)

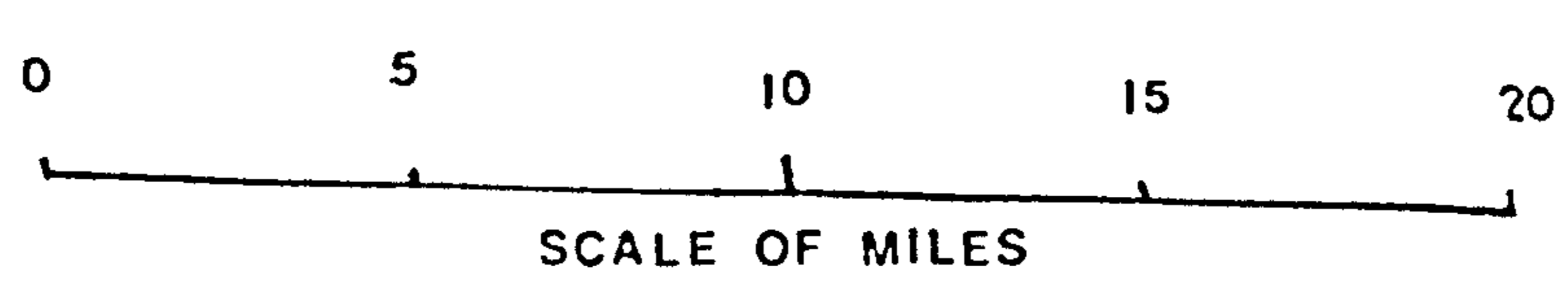
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Dunlop	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1400-1455)	Politically part of barony of Cunningham
B.	Greenan	Lands	Douglas of Glenbervie (1490 →)	
C.	Kilburnie	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1451-1455)	
D.	Kilmarnock	Lordship	Earls of Angus (1492-1495)	
E.	Stewarton	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1400-ca. 1453)	
F.	Trabeath	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1400 -by 1413; 1451-1455)	Dotted Lines indicate approx- imate boundary

Douglas Lands in Ayrshire and Wigtownshire
(Wigtownshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATE	REMARKS
G.	Leswalt	Lordship and barony	Earls of Douglas (1372-1455) Douglas of Leswalt (ca. 1425-1475)	Politically part of Lordship of Galloway Earls of Douglas held the superiority
H.	Wigtown	(See "remarks")	Earls of Douglas (1372-1455)	Wigtown(shire) and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright form the Lordship of Galloway



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
BERWICKSHIRE AND
EAST LOTHIAN**



Douglas Lands in Berwickshire and East Lothian
(Berwickshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATE	REMARKS
A.	Bedshiel	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1451-1455)	
B.	Birgham	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1450-1455) Earls of Angus (1496/7-1505)	
C.	Bonkle	Barony and Regality	Earls of Angus (by 1300→)	Alias Bunkle
D.	Byrecleuch	Lands	Earls of Angus (1492→)	Politically part of Barony of Bothwell (Lanarkshire)
E.	Cranshaws	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1400-1409)	
F.	Carfrae	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Politically part of regality of Lauderdale
G.	Dye	Forest (Earls of Angus (1492→)	Politically part of barony of Bothwell (Lanarkshire)
H.	Earlston	Lands	Earls of Angus (1483-1489)	Alias Cowdenknowes
I.	Horsop	Lands	Earls of Angus (1492 →)	Alias Horshopcleuch Politically part of barony of Bothwell (Lanarkshire)
J.	Howlaws	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1450-1455)	
K.	Kimmerghame	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	Politically part of barony of Bonkle
L.	Lauderdale	Lordship and regality	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	
M.	Lintlaw	Lands	Earls of Angus (by 1300 →)	Politically part of barony of Bonkle
N.	Milne Graden	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330-1354)	Alias Graydone

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
O.	Mordington	Lands and barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1372 →)	
P.	Preston	Barony and regality	Earls of Angus (by 1293 →)	
Q.	Swinton	Town	Earls of Douglas (1320-1329)	
R.	Todhollis	Lands	Earls of Angus (1492 →)	Politically part of barony of Bothwell (Lanarkshire)
S.	Trothaneshaw	Lands	Earls of Angus (1492 →)	Politically part of barony of Bothwell (Lanarkshire)
T.	Wedderburn	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1413-1455?)	

Douglas Lands in Berwickshire and East Lothian
(East Lothian)

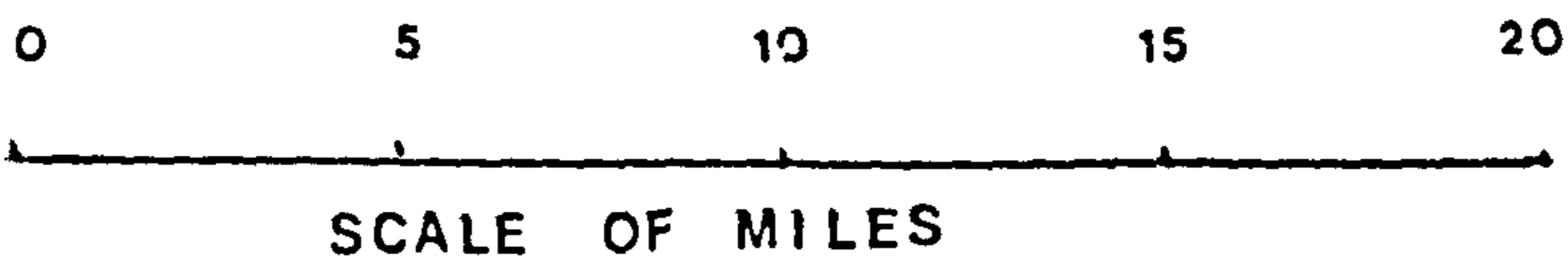
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
U.	Ballencrief	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1362?-1434)	
V.	Bolton	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1448-1455)	
W.	Clerkington	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1369-1424)	
X.	Dunbar	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1400-1409)	
Y.	Duncanlau	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362?)	
Z.	Elphinstone	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1330 →)	
a.	Gosford	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362-1434)	
b.	Herdmanston	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Politically part of regality of Lauderdale (Ber- wickshire)
c.	Morham	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362?)	
d.	North Berwick	Village and, later, free port, and Barony	Earls of Douglas (1371-1388)	
e.	Samuelston	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Politically part of lordship of Lauderdale (Berwickshire)
f.	Tantallon	Lands and Castle; later Barony	Earls of Douglas (1371-1388) Earls of Angus (1452 →)	

Douglas Lands in Berwickshire and East Lothian
(East Lothian)

KEY:	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
g.	Whittingham	Lands and barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1372 →)	
h.	Yester	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362?)	



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
CLACKMANNANSHIRE
AND STIRLING**

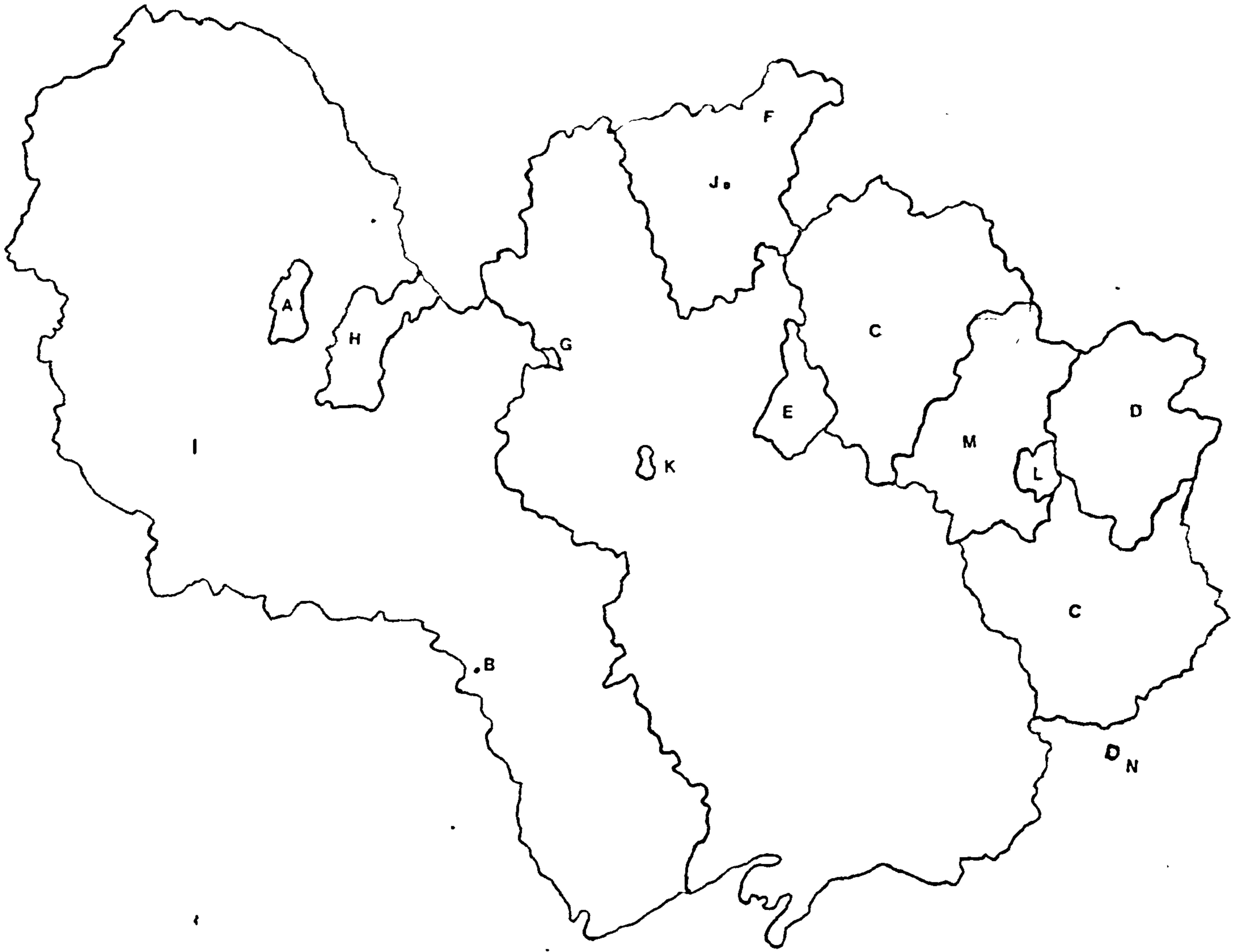


Douglas Lands in Clackmannanshire and Stirling
(Clackmannanshire)

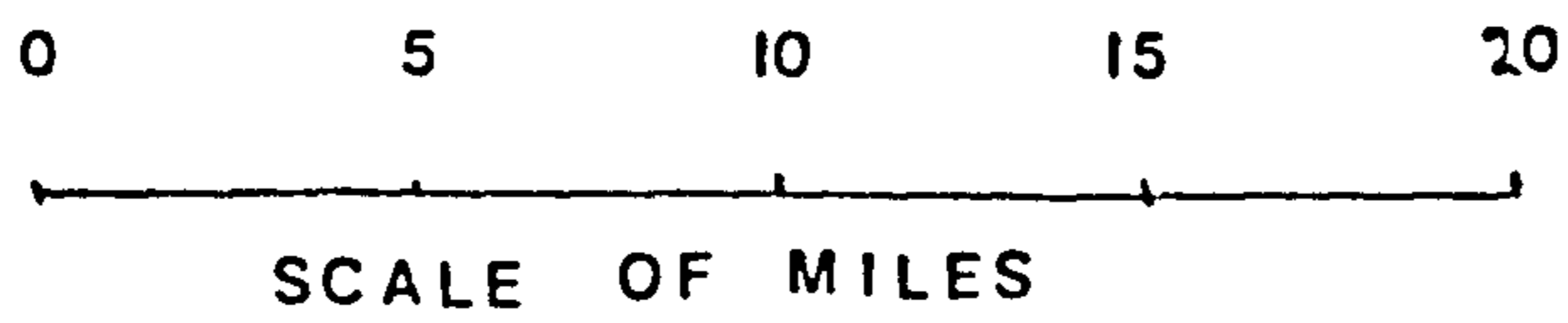
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Tullicoultry	Barony	Earls of Douglas (by 1371-1408)	Politically part of earldom of Mar (Aberdeenshire)

Douglas Lands in Clackmannanshire and Stirling
(Stirling)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
B.	Dunipace	Barony	Earls of Douglas (?- by 1388)	Alias Herbertshire

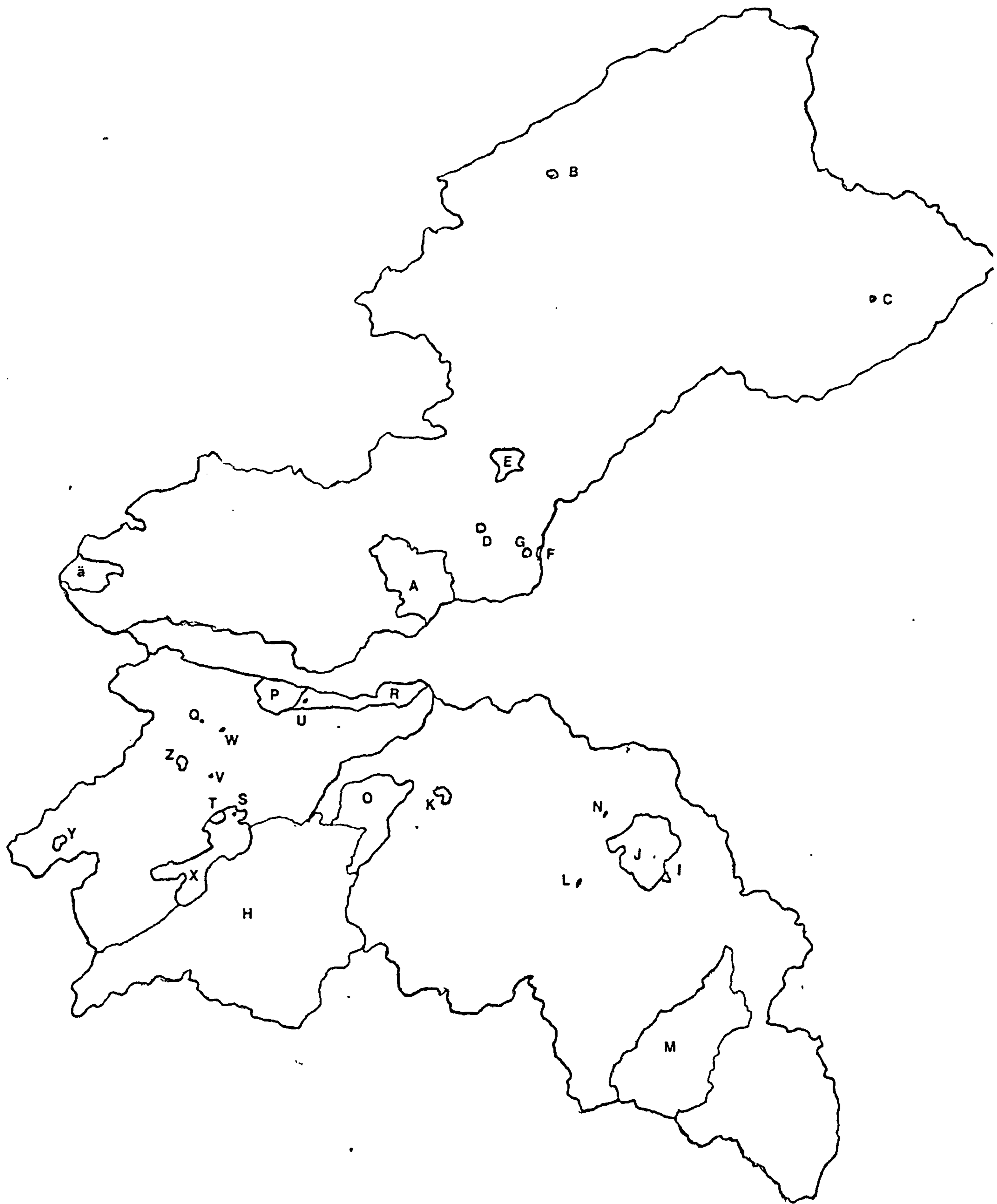


DOUGLAS LANDS IN DUMFRIESSHIRE

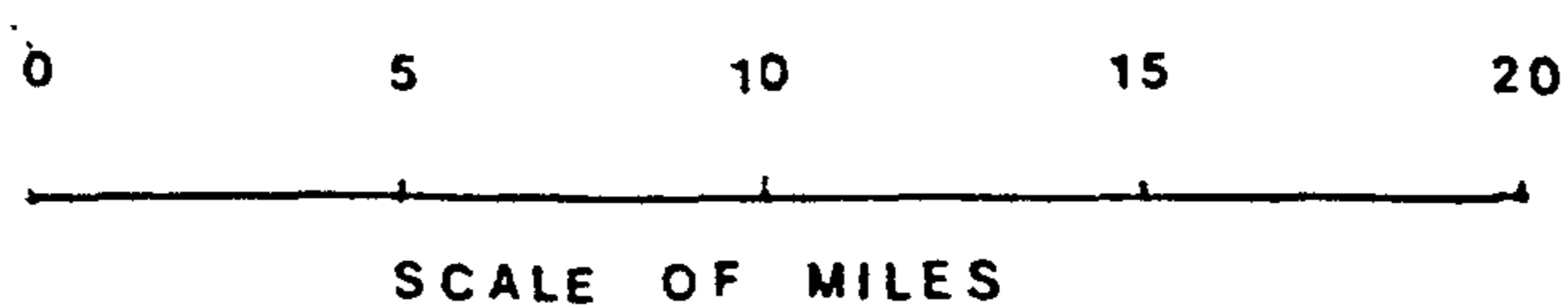


Douglas Lands in Dumfriesshire

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Drumlanrig	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1332-1388) Douglas of Drumlanrig (1385x1388 →)	
B.	Dumfries	burgh	Earls of Douglas (1379-1389)	Politically part of lordship of Nithsdale
C.	Eskdale	Lordship	Earls of Douglas (1345-1455) Earls of Angus (1458-1502)	
D.	Ewesdale	Lordship	Earls of Angus (1458-by 1506)	
E.	Hutton	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1373 →)	
F.	Moffatdale	Lands	Earls of Douglas (by 1321-1342) Douglas of Dalkeith (1543 →)	
G.	Minnygap	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1360-1390)	Politically part of barony of Kirkmichael
H.	Morton	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1374 →)	Alias Foulden of Morton
I.	Nithsdale	Lordship	Earls of Douglas (1379-1389)	
J.	Polmoody	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1318-by 1387)	Politically part of Moffatdale
K.	Raehills	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1360-1390)	Politically part of barony of Kirkmichael
L.	Staplegordon	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Politically part of lordship of Eskdale
M.	Westerkirk	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Politically part of lordship of Eskdale
N.	Kirkandrews	Lands and Barony	Earls of Douglas (by 1330-by 1355)	Although now in England, then geographically part of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
FIFE, MIDLOTHIAN,
AND WEST LOTHIAN**



Douglas Lands in Fife, Midlothian and West Lothian
(Fife)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Aberdour	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1342 →)	
B.	Balmeadie	Lands	Earls of Angus (1328 →)	Politically part of Regality of Abernethy (Perth- shire)
C.	Balmonth (1/2)	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1360-?)	
D.	Balbarton	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1368 →)	Politically part of barony of Aberdour
E.	Cluny	Barony	Earls of Angus (ca. 1465-1475)	
F.	Seafield	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1368 →)	Politically part of barony of Aberdour
G.	Tyrie	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1368-)	Alias Tirry Politically part of barony of Aberdour
H.	Tulliallan	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1402-1455?)	Although now part of Fife, then geographically part of Perthshire

Douglas Lands in Fife, Midlothian and West Lothian
(Midlothian)

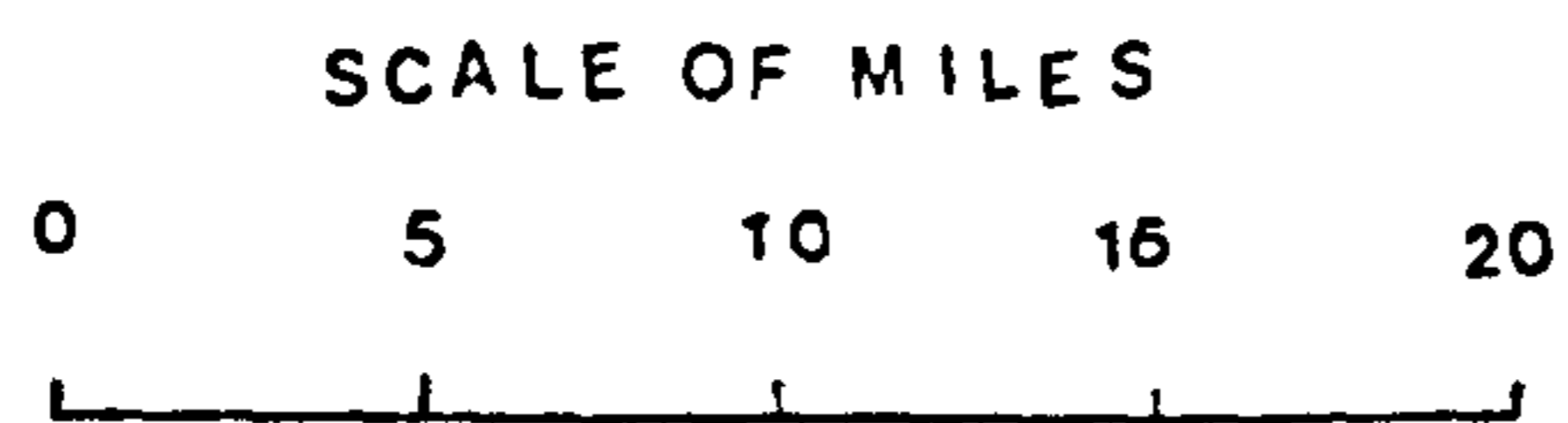
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
H.	Calder	Lands and Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1300-1350)	Alias Waster Calder Superior was the Earl of Fife
I.	Caldorclere (and Morton)	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1316 →)	
J.	Dalkeith	Barony and, later, Regality Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1342 →)	
K.	Hailes	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1400-by 1451)	
L.	Hawthornden	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1393 →)	Alias Halthornsike Politically part of barony of Abercorn (West Lothian of Linlithgowshire)
M.	Heriot	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330? -1455?)	Alias Heriotmure
N.	Lugton	Barony	Douglas of Loch Leven (by 1390 →)	
O.	Ratho	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1371 →)	Alias Bernys

Douglas Lands in Fife, Midlothian and West Lothian
(West Lothian)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
P.	Abercorn	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1362- 455)	
Q.	Bonnyton	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1370 --)	
R.	Dalmeny	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1450-1455)	Also, + 1/2 toft and croft of Queensferry
S.	Dechmont	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1370 →)	Politically part of barony of (wester) Calder (Midlothian)
T.	Drumcorse	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1372 --)	Politically part of barony of (Wester) Calder (Midlothian)
U.	Echline	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1449-1455)	
V.	Haldane	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1383 →)	Politically part of barony of (Wester) Calder (Midlothian)
W.	Kincavil	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1316 →)	
X.	Livingston	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1200?; by 1330?)	
Y.	Ogilface	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1450-1455)	
Z.	Williamcraggs	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1387 →)	



DOUGLAS LANDS IN EASTERN INVERNESS-SHIRE AND MORAYSHIRE

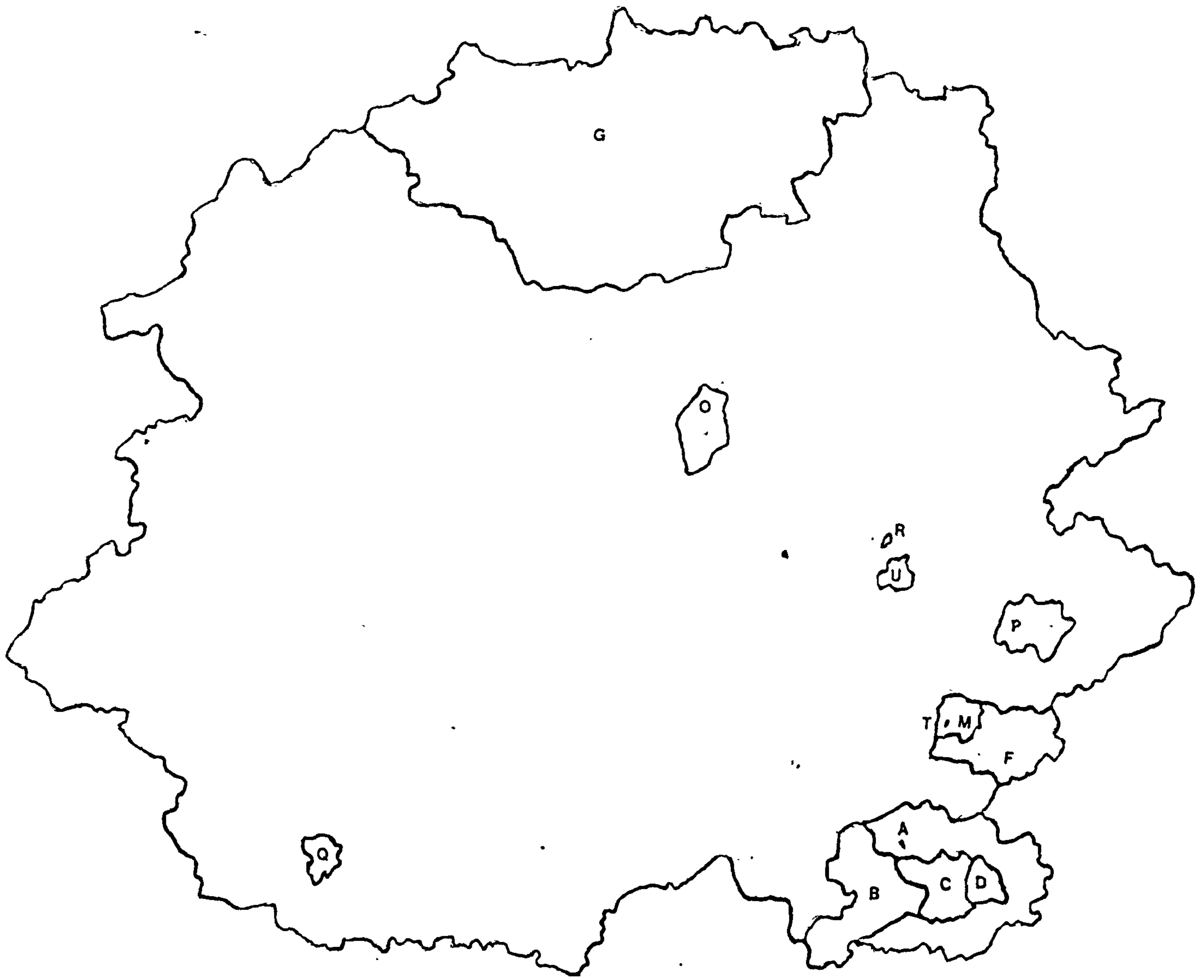


Douglas Lands in Eastern Inverness-shire and Morayshire
(Morayshire)

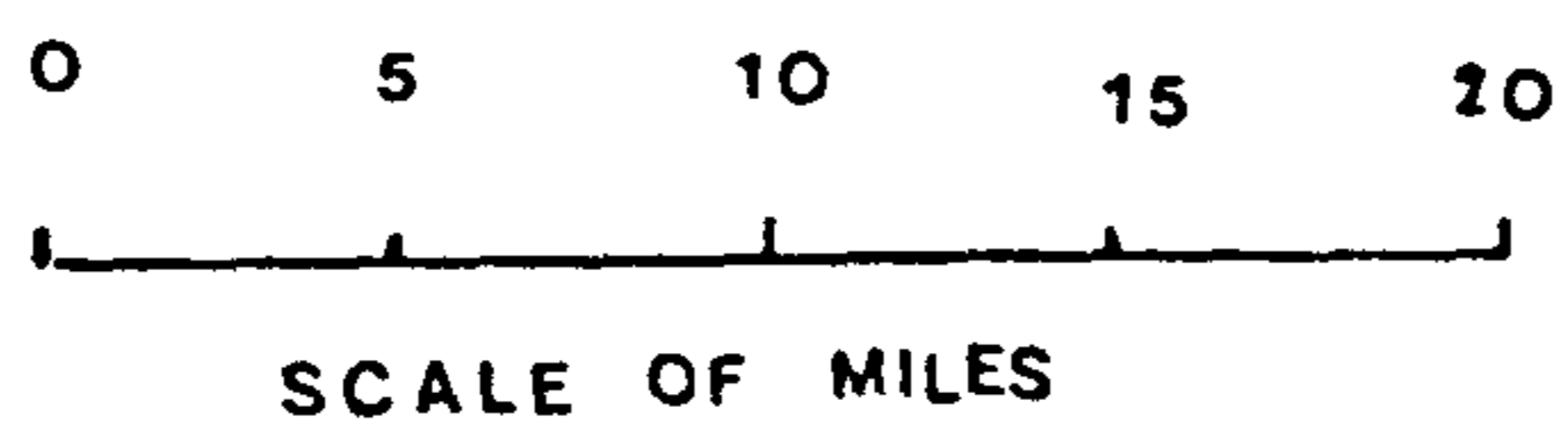
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Alves	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1426-1455)	Alias Alvas-Schir
B.	Caldcots (1/3)	Lands	Douglas of Pittendreich (ca. 1472 →)	Alias Salcots
C.	Darkland	Lands	Douglas of Pittendreich (1477 →)	Alias Darkle
D.	Duffus (1/3)	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455) Douglas of Pittendreich (1477 →)	
E.	Newton	Lands	Douglas of Pittendreich (1477 →)	
F.	Pittendreich	Lands	Douglas of Pittendreich (1469 →)	
G.	Surradale (1/2)	Lands	Douglas of Pittendreich (1472 →)	Alias Suraston
H.	Cloves (1/3)	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1371-1400)	Alias Cloveth Politically part of earldom of Marr (Aberdeenshire)
	n.b. Modern Morayshire is the mediaeval earldom of Moray		Earls of Douglas (1442-1453)	

Douglas Lands in Eastern Inverness-shire and Morayshire
(Eastern Inverness-shire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
I.	Ardmanach	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455)	Now in Ross and Cromarty
J.	Avoch	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455)	Now in Ross and Cromarty
K.	Bracha	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455)	Alias Brachly
L.	Conventh (1/3)	Barony	Earls of Douglas (by 1330-1455)	Alias Conveth
M.	Ormond	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455)	Now in Ross and Cromarty
N.	Petty	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1426-1455)	Alias Petyn



DOUGLAS LANDS IN KINROSS-SHIRE AND PERTHSHIRE

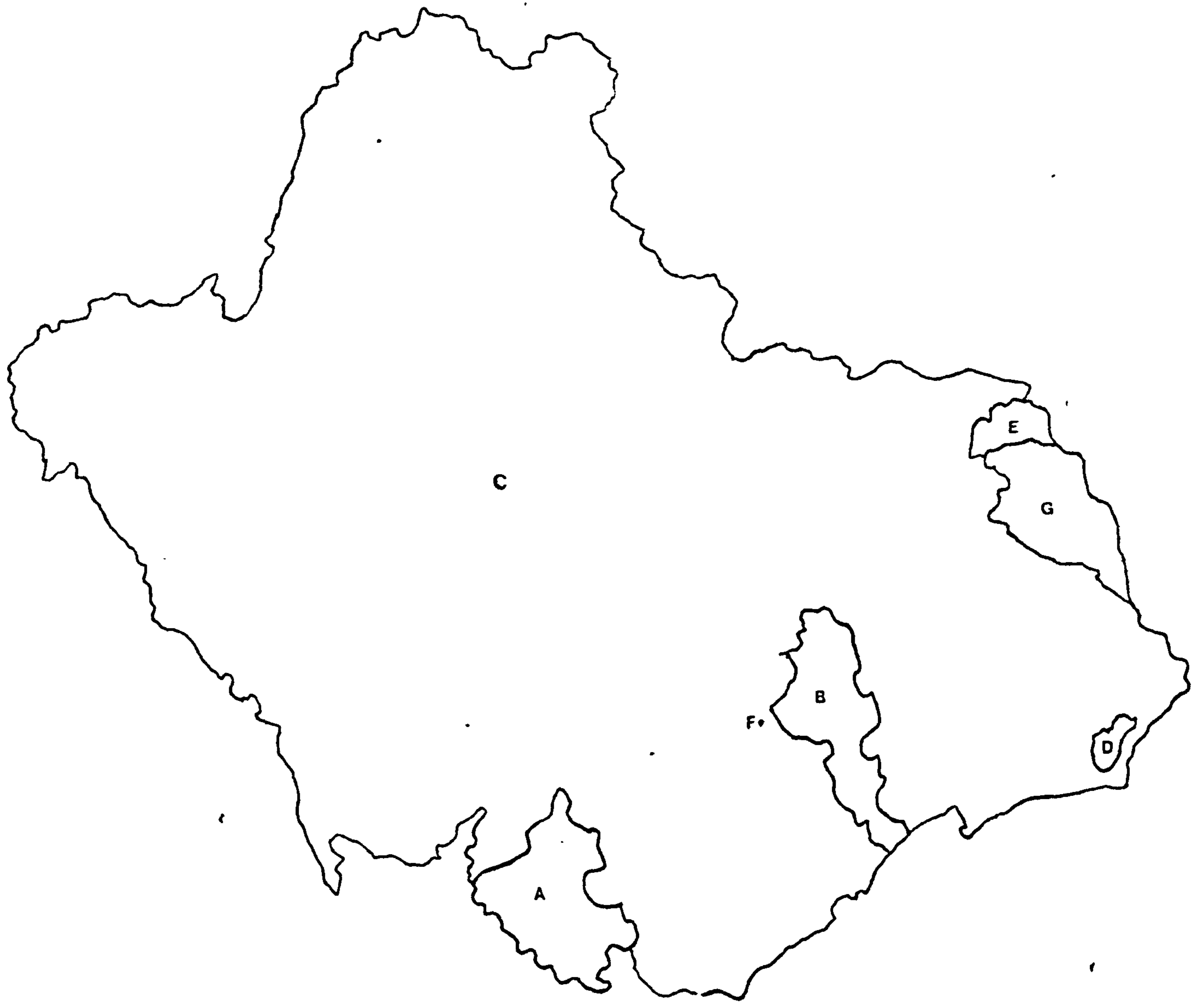


Douglas lands in Kinross-shire and Perthshire
(Kinross-shire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Dalquiech	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1495 →)	
B.	Fossoway	Lands	Douglas of Loch Leven (by 1493 →)	Politically part of barony of Erroll and, therefore, held as tennants of the earls of Erroll
C.	Kinross	Barony	Douglas of Loch Leven (by 1391 →)	
D.	Loch Leven	Lands	Douglas of Loch Leven (by 1391 →)	Politically part of barony of Kinross

Douglas Lands in Kinross-shire and Perthshire
(Perthshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
F.	Abernethy	Barony and Regality	Earls of Angus (by 1328 →)	
G.	Atholl	Earldom	Earls of Douglas (1341-1342)	
M.	Dunbarney	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1420-1436)	
O.	Grantully	Lands and Barony	Earls of Douglas (1414-1455?)	
P.	Kilspindie	Lands	Douglas of Kilspindie (1524 →)	
Q.	Logy Achray	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330-1354)	
R.	Logiebride	Lands	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330-1354 or 1388?)	Politically part of barony of Strathord
T.	Pitkeathly	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1420-1436)	
U.	Strathord	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330-1354 or 1388?)	



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
THE STEWARTRY OF
KIRKCUDBRIGHT**

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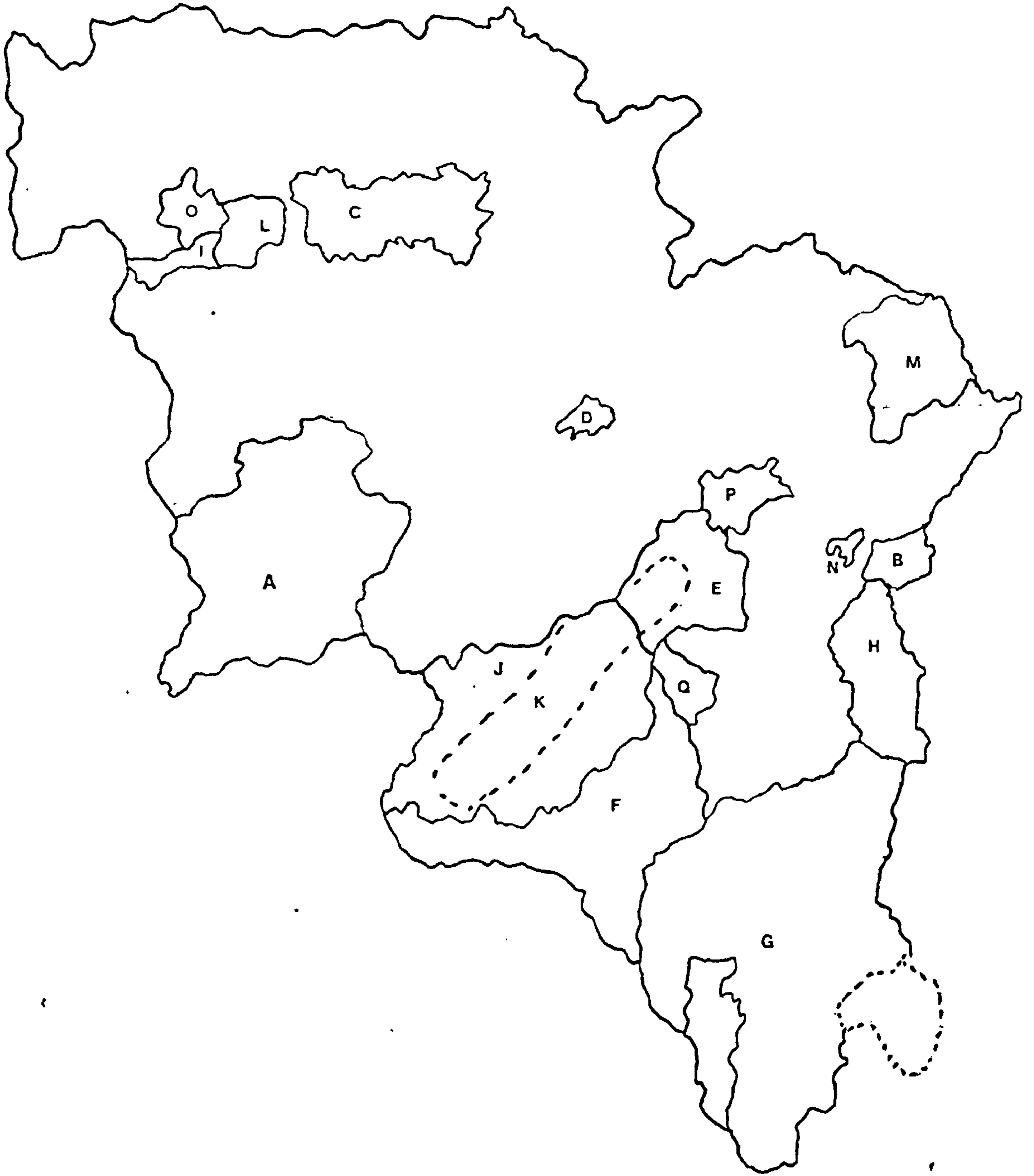


SCALE OF MILES

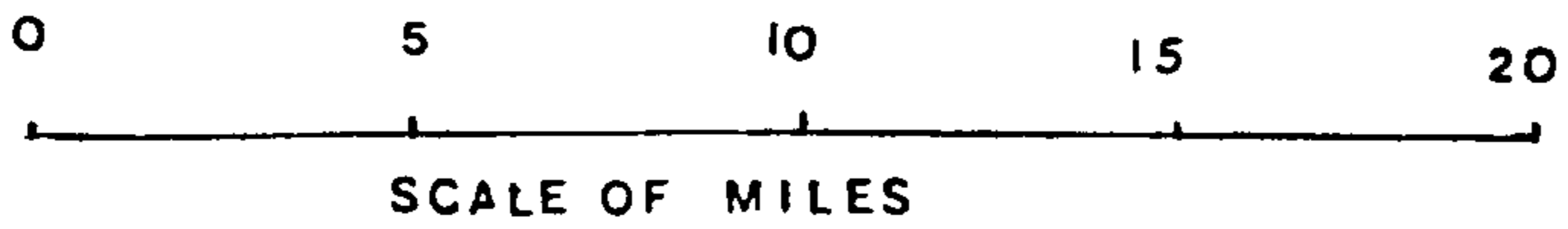


Douglas Lands in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Borgue	Lordship and barony	Earls of Douglas (1369-1455) Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1455 →)	Douglas of Dalkeith held immediate superiority (1400- 1455) Douglas of Borgue held immediate superiority (1473 →)
B.	Buittle	Barony and later, Reg- ality	Earls of Douglas (1325-1455) Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1455 →)	Douglas of Dalkeith held immediate superiority (ca. 1400-1455)
C.	Kirkcudbright	Stewartry	Earls of Douglas (1369-1455)	The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire form the Lordship of Galloway
D.	Preston	Barony and Regality	Earls of Douglas (1364-1455) Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1455 →)	Politically part of of lordship of Galloway Douglas of Dalkeith held immediate superiority (ca. 1400-1455)
E.	Terregles	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1330-by 1365)	Then part of Dumfriesshire
F.	Threave	Castle	Earls of Douglas (1369-1455)	Politically part of lordship of Galloway Major residence
G.	Troqueer	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1369-1455)	Politically part of lordship of Galloway



DOUGLAS LANDS IN LANARKSHIRE

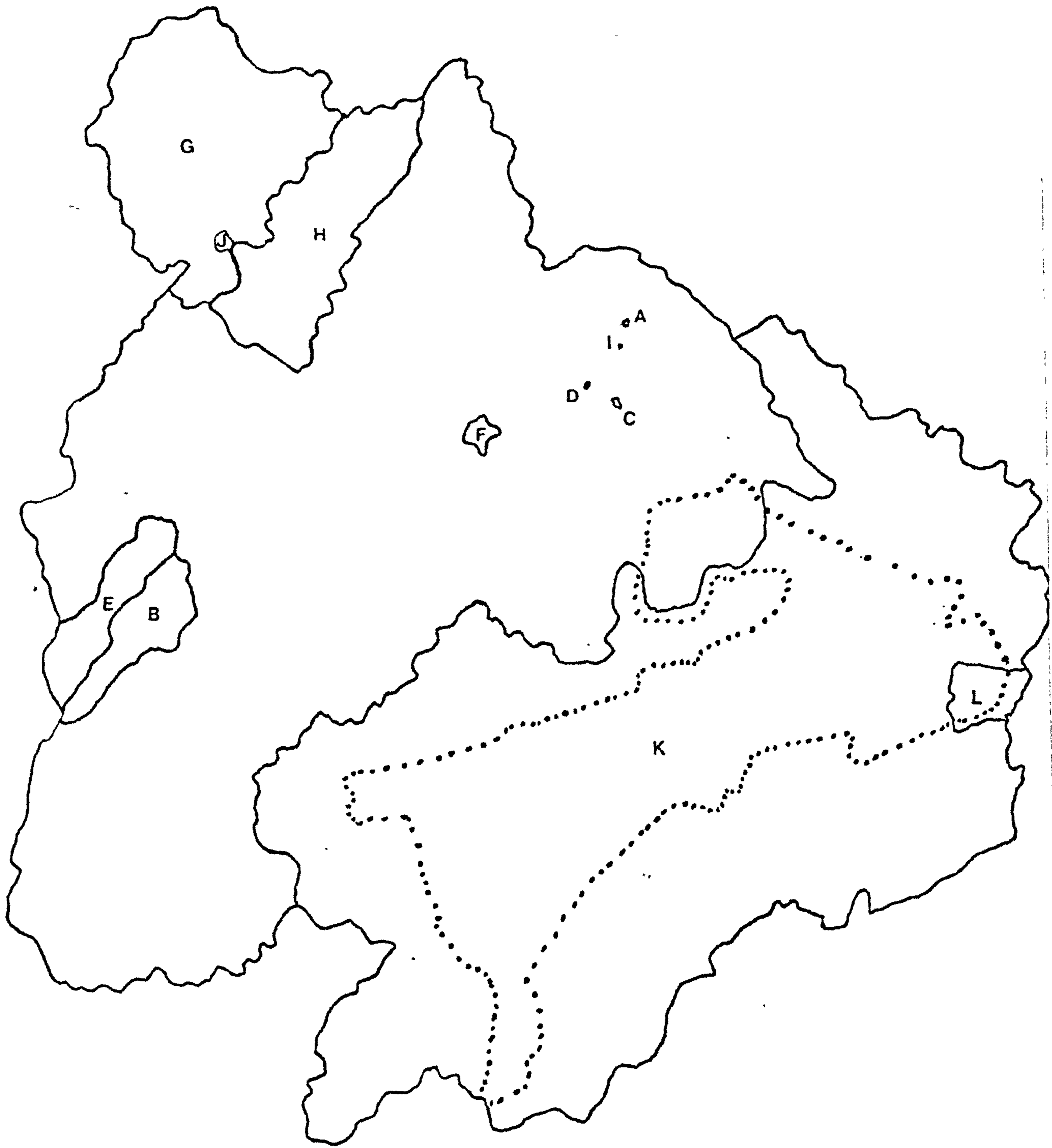


Douglas Lands in Lanarkshire

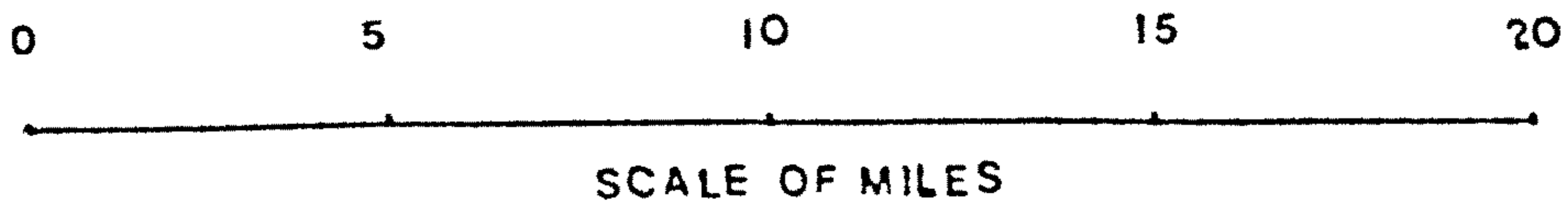
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Avondale	Earldom	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	Alias Strathavon
B.	Biggar	Barony	Earls of Angus (1495-1499)	
C.	Bothwell	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362-1455) Earls of Angus (1492 →)	The Douglas barony was larger in territorial extent than the Angus barony
D.	Braidwood	Barony	Earls of Angus (ca. 1497 →)	After 1510 Douglas of Glenbervie held immediate superiority
E.	Carmichael	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1342-1455) Earls of Angus (1457 →)	Politically part of barony and regality of Douglas Earls of Angus held superiority
F.	Crawfordjohn	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1420-1455)	
G.	Crawford-Lindsay	Barony	Earls of Angus (1496 →)	Alias Crawford-Douglas
H.	Culter	Barony	Earls of Douglas First Half (ca. 1369- 1455) Second Half (1449- 1455)	
I.	Carmunock	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1362-1455)	
J.	Douglas	Barony and Regality	Earls of Douglas (by 1200-1455) Earls of Angus (by 1457 →)	In 1455 it lost its status as a Regality and reverted to a barony

Douglas Lands in Lanarkshire

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
K.	Douglasdale	Lands	Earls of Douglas (by 1200-1455) Earls of Angus (by 1457 →)	Alias Douglaswater Dotted line indicates probable boundary
L.	Drumsargard	Barony	Earls of Douglas (ca. 1362-1455)	
M.	Dunsyre	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1444-1455) Earls of Angus (1492 →)	Alias Dunsiar
N.	Edmeston	Lands and Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (by 1383 →)	Politically part of barony of Biggar
O.	Rutherglen	Lands	Earls of Douglas (by 1321-1455)	Alias Fern of Rutherglen
P.	Pottinain (1/2)	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1427?-1455?)	
Q.	Roberton	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1372 →)	



**DOUGLAS LANDS IN
PEEBLESHIRE AND
SELKIRKSHIRE**



Douglas Lands in Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire
(Peeblesshire)

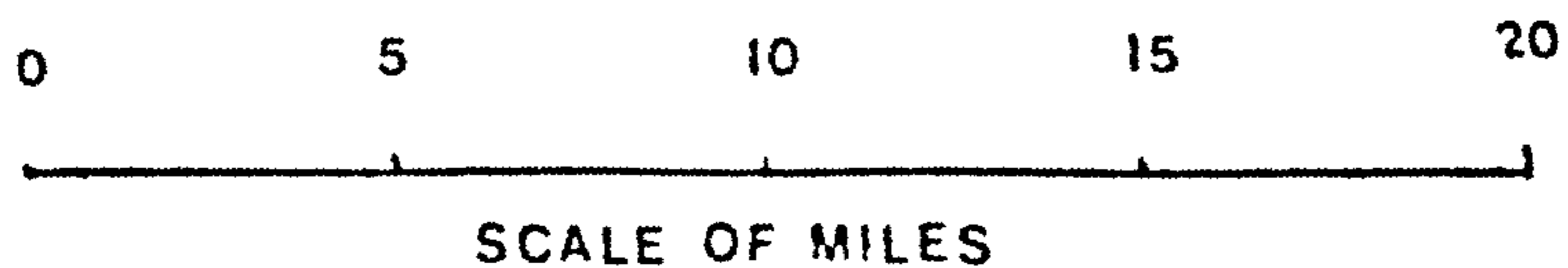
KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Esschelis	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1330 →)	
B.	Glenholm	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1439-1455)	
C.	Easter Hopcalzie	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1387 →)	
D.	Horseburgh	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (1368 →)	
E.	Kilbucho	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1343 →)	
F.	Kingsmuir	Lands	Earls of Douglas (1451-1455)	Alias Kingismedy
G.	Linton	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (1341 →)	
H.	Newlands	Barony	Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1370 →)	
I.	Quhilt	Lands	Douglas of Dalkeith (ca. 1371 →)	
J.	Romanno	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1342-1455)	

Douglas Lands in Peeblesshire and Selkirkshire
(Selkirkshire)

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
K.	Ettrick	Lordship and Regality	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	Forest Dotted lines indicate probable boundary
L.	Selkirk	Lordship and barony	Earls of Douglas (1320-1398) Earls of Angus (1398-1557)	



DOUGLAS LANDS IN ROXBURGHSHIRE



Douglas Lands in Roxburghshire

KEY	ESTATES	TYPE	SUPERIOR AND DATES	REMARKS
A.	Bedrule	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1320-1455)	
B.	Cavers	Lands and, later, Barony	Earls of Douglas (1370-by 1412) Douglas of Cavers (1402-1404)? (1412 →)	
C.	Craling	Lands	Earls of Douglas (by 1419-1455)	Alias Nether Craling
D.	Hawick	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1342-1455) Douglas of Drum- lanrig (1455 →)	
E.	Jedburgh	Lordship and, later, Regality	Earls of Douglas (by 1329-1398) Earls of Angus (1398 →)	Alias Jedburgh Forest
F.	Liddesdale	Lordship	Earls of Douglas (1342-1400) Earls of Angus (1400-1492)	
G.	Smailholm	Barony	Earls of Douglas (1342-1455)	
H.	Sprouston	Barony and Regality	Earls of Douglas (1342-1455)	

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ADCP

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