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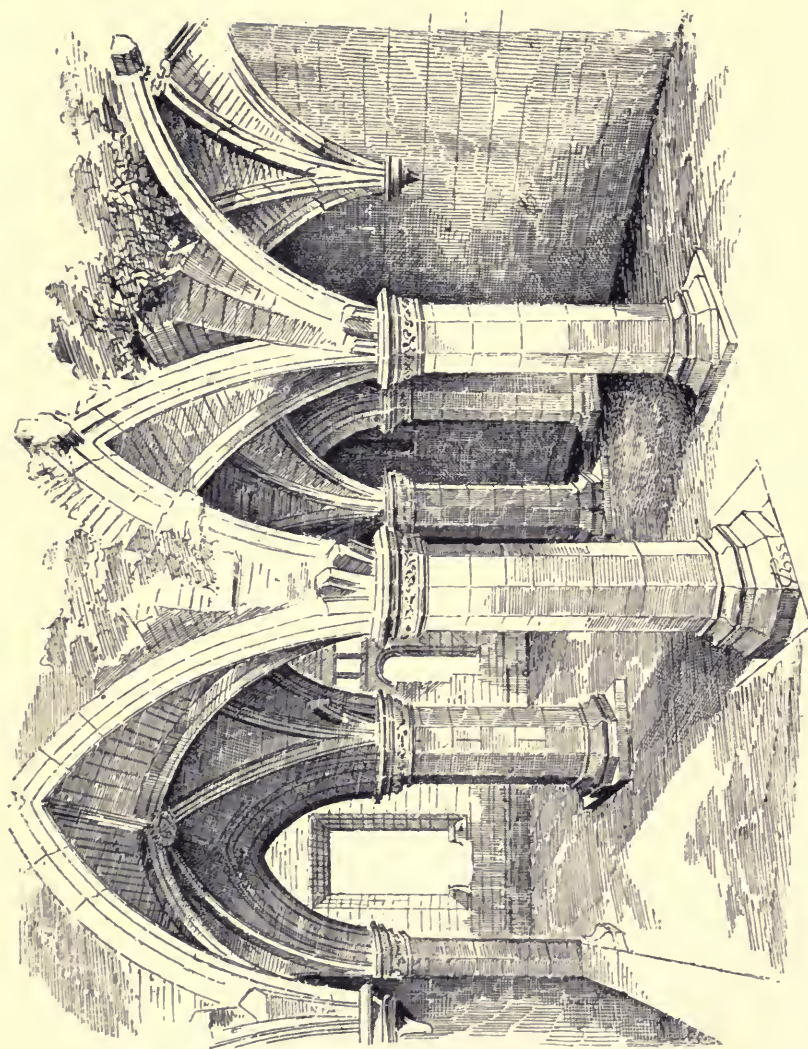
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Balmerino

And its Abbey

“ Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoria,
magistra vitæ, nuncia vetustatis.”

—CICERO, *De Oratore*.



BALMERINO ABBEY. CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM NORTH-WEST.

Balmerino

And its Abbey

A PARISH HISTORY

WITH NOTICES OF THE ADJACENT DISTRICT

BY

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MINISTER OF BALMERINO

AUTHOR OF A HISTORY OF THE CELTIC CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

A NEW EDITION

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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P R E F A C E

SINCE the first edition of this work was published—so long ago as in the year 1867—new sources of information on many of the subjects discussed in it have been laid open, while various important Records have been printed by Government, as well as by Societies and individuals, and have thus been rendered more accessible to inquirers. In the present edition the fresh material thus obtained has been utilised, nearly the whole has been re-written, and the narrative has been brought down to the present time. The volume has grown to a larger size than may be thought desirable for such a work; but it may be pointed out that, in addition to the kind of matter usually contained in Parish Histories, it embraces a full account of Balmerino Abbey, which might well have formed a separate treatise.

When the first edition was issued, Scottish Parish Histories were rare: now they are numerous; and the acceptance they have generally met with proves that they have supplied a real want. The multiplication of such works is of advantage in various ways. Intelligent interest in particular localities is thus promoted among their inhabitants; the reader is enabled to form distinct conceptions of great national movements by observing their effects within the limited area of the district with which he may be best acquainted; and the general history of the country—especially in reference to social progress—receives valuable illustration from the light thus made to converge upon it from many different quarters.

As the names of many persons and places are variously spelt in this volume, it is proper to state that the forms adopted are generally those found in the original documents in which the names occur.

The Manuscript of the Abbey Chartulary, the substance of which has been incorporated in the present work, is preserved in the Advocates' Library. It is a small octavo volume of twenty-six and a half leaves of parchment, containing sixty-nine documents in the Latin language. The writing, which is probably to be assigned to the latter half of the fourteenth century, is beautifully executed. A facsimile of the first page is given in the present work. The colophon, which is twice repeated on the fly-leaves of the volume, and is executed in a handwriting evidently more recent than the body of the manuscript, is as follows:—

Liber Sancte Marie de Balmorinach. Qui eum alienaverit sit ipse alienatus a regno Dei. Scriptum est hoc per fratrem Laurencium predicti loci. Anno Domini M^oCCCC^{mo} sexto X^o. Amen.¹

The Chartulary was printed in 1841 for the Abbotsford Club, the Chartulary of Lindores, in a very imperfect form, being included in the same volume. The Editor, the late W. B. D. D. Turnbull, has appended to the Balmerino Chartulary twelve documents referring to the Abbey, collected from other sources. The contents of the Chartulary relate almost exclusively to the endowments and privileges of the

¹ *Translation*—'The Book of Saint Mary of Balmorinach. Whosoever shall alienate it, may he himself be alienated from the kingdom of God. This has been written by brother Laurence of the foresaid place. In the year of our Lord 1416. Amen.'

Monastery, and throw little light on its internal economy. As a Conventual Register it is evidently incomplete even in respect of the period, and the kind of transactions, which it embraces; while its most recent date appears to be not later than the middle of the fourteenth century. The Editor, in his Introduction, has given a list of the Regular Abbots and Commendators whose names were known to him. The present volume contains the names of four additional Abbots which the Author has discovered, and which probably make the list complete.

The reader's attention is directed to Appendix Nos. XXIX and XXX, giving the results of excavations which were made at Battle Law and Greenhill while this volume was passing through the press, and which should be read in connection with pages 6-7 and 8.

It is hoped that the new matter embodied in this edition, and the numerous illustrations it contains, will render it more worthy of the favour accorded to the book when it first appeared.

The Author has now to perform the pleasing duty of acknowledging his obligations to many friends for assistance generously rendered in connection with this edition. Among these his special thanks are due to Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, F.S.A. Scot., for photographs and drawings of ancient memorials, and for much help in other ways; to Dr. David Hay Fleming for pointing out sources of information and supplying important documents; to Mr. Robert C. Walker for furnishing him with the results of his heraldic and genealogical researches; to Mr. J. Maitland Thomson, Curator of the Historical Department of H.M. General Register House, for valued counsel and help in examining Records under his charge; to the

Rev. Walter Macleod for judicious selection and accurate transcription of documents; to Mr. Francis Sharpe for permission to copy the Model Plan of a Cistercian Abbey contained in his late father's work on the Architecture of the Cistercians; to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for the use of several Illustrations from the Proceedings of the Society; to Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross for the use of their series of drawings of Balmerino Abbey prepared by them for their standard work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland; and to the proprietors of Balmerino Parish for their countenance and aid in various matters connected with their estates and families.

THE MANSE, BALMERINO,
20th September 1899.

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PART I

HISTORY OF THE PARISH PREVIOUS TO THE
FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY

ABOUT A.D. 1225

BALMERINO AND ITS ABBEY

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC

‘All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom.’

—BRYANT.

IN endeavouring to trace the history of the Parish of Balmerino from the earliest times of which any memorials exist, we are at the outset met by the questions, Who were its primitive inhabitants, and what can be learned concerning them? In order to give some intelligible answer to these questions, it will be necessary to view the Parish in connection with the adjacent district and the country at large.

Preceding all written records of Scotland there is an unwritten history, which, though very imperfect, is trustworthy so far as it goes. Materials for this history are mainly derived from articles of various kinds which have been found imbedded in the soil. It was the custom of our pagan ancestors to dispose of their dead either by interment or cremation. When the body was consumed by the fire of the funeral pile, its ashes were collected in an urn made of clay and deposited underground. Along with the remains of the dead were frequently buried, as objects highly valued by them, or as their equipment for another world, their weapons, implements, and personal ornaments; domestic and other animals;

and vessels containing food and drink. The custom is thus referred to by the poet—

‘ Here bring the last gifts, and with these
The last lament be said ;
Let all that pleased and still may please
Be buried with the dead.’

While many of the articles which have been exhumed were associated with sepulture, a much greater number had been placed in the earth for the mere purpose of concealment, or had found their way thither through the operation of other causes. Thus from various sources numerous relics have been recovered, illustrating the habits of races who peopled our island many ages before the dawn of history. The oldest depositaries contain articles made of stone, horn, and bone, but none formed of metal. When the art of working in metals was introduced, bronze—a compound of copper and tin—was that first employed ; and the oldest metallic implements which have been found are made of this material. Iron came into use at a comparatively late period.

During the Stone Age such remains of the dead as have been found were often buried in chambers constructed of unhewn slabs, and divided into several compartments, with a narrow passage giving access from the exterior. Over the whole was raised a cairn of stones, which was of various forms, and was bounded by a facing or retaining wall of masonry. Both burnt human bones and unburnt skeletons, as well as bones of animals—probably the remains of funeral feasts—have been discovered in those chambered cairns, which had the dead in some cases ‘ placed with care to sit grimly in their subterranean houses.’ In such cairns have also been found clay urns, spear-heads and arrow-heads, celts or battle-axes, knives or saws—all made of flint—as well as stone hammers and other implements. Another form of sepulchre was the dolmen—a Celtic word meaning a stone table—formerly called a cromlech, consisting of a large slab or block of stone resting on three or four

unhewn columns, within which the remains of the dead were deposited. The dolmen had sometimes a cairn or a barrow raised over it, or was surrounded by a circle of 'standing stones.' Monuments of this kind are rare in Scotland.

During the Bronze Age the remains of the dead were frequently deposited in cists or coffins made of slabs of undressed stone. The body, when unburnt, was laid on its side, with the knees drawn up toward the breast, and often with one or two urns or food vessels placed beside it. There were also graves without cists, containing either unburnt skeletons or ashes and burnt bones collected in an urn, or having an urn inverted over them. Sometimes a large urn is found with a small one within it. A circular cairn of stones was often raised over the remains. Specially characteristic of the Bronze Age was a circle of 'standing stones' surrounding the place of sepulture. Sometimes there were two or even three concentric stone circles, with or without a mound and trench inclosing the whole. From the numerous interments which in many cases took place within the same stone circle or other place of burial, it is supposed that these were cemeteries used by a tribe or the inhabitants of a district. Weapons and other articles made of bronze are now found, though stone implements and flint knives and arrow-heads were still used. Graves of this period have also yielded necklaces and beads of jet, and personal ornaments of gold.

When the use of iron was introduced, which appears to have taken place some time before the commencement of the Christian era, implements of stone and bronze were not entirely superseded. From its liability to corrosion, comparatively few relics of iron have been found.

The introduction of Christianity had the effect of gradually abolishing both the practice of cremation and that of providing the dead with implements and ornaments.¹

¹ Old customs die hard. The copy of Shakespeare which the late Lord Tennyson, Poet-Laureate, had been reading during the last days of his life was enclosed in a metal box, laid in his coffin, and buried with him.

All over the country there still exist remains of ancient forts constructed of loose stones or of earth. They consisted of a single rampart or entrenchment, or of two or more concentric ones, of a circular or oval shape, enclosing a level area. Within and around them flint arrow-heads and other articles have been found.

That the people some of whose customs have been thus briefly noticed, of whatever race or races they were, inhabited the North of Fife, is evident from the relics which have been discovered in the district. It is to be regretted, however, that many ancient memorials have been destroyed, and that in few cases has the description of such as have been exhumed or removed come down to us accompanied by those details which might indicate to what age they belonged.

The following sepulchral and other prehistoric remains have been found in Balmerino parish.

On the elevated plateau called Battle Law, which forms part of Fincraigs farm, in the year 1873 it became necessary to remove a large stone which lay under the soil and obstructed the plough. This proved to be a rough, unhewn slab 5 feet in length and 3 feet in breadth. While it was being lifted, the curiosity of the workmen was strongly excited by finding that their tools sank into a cavity beneath it. The greatest care was therefore taken by them to preserve entire whatever the cavity might be found to contain. Their anxiety was rewarded by discovering that the slab formed the lid of an ancient cist, within which was a small but beautifully shaped clay urn in perfect preservation. The depth of the cist was 2 feet, the length 2 feet 9 inches, the breadth at one end equal to the length, and 20 inches at the other end. Its axis extended from north-west to south-east, and the eastern end was the broader of the two. Each of the sides of the cist consisted of a single rough slab, except the north side, which was formed by the natural rock. The bottom was composed of clay of a slightly greenish tinge. The urn was found in the south-east corner of



CANNON STONE-BALL FOUND AT NAUGHTON TOWER.



STONE VESSEL FOUND AT WINDVGATES, BATTLE LAW.



URN OF THE "FOOD-VESSEL TYPE," FOUND AT BATTLE LAW IN 1873.

the cist, lying on its side. It measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches in its greatest diameter, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the mouth. Its outer surface was covered with bands of the 'herring-bone' ornamentation so common on ancient British urns; and under the upper edge were four low, unpierced knobs or 'ears.' The cist contained no bones or charcoal, nor anything but the urn, which was empty. This having been carefully removed, the upper slab of the cist was replaced, and the whole covered over with soil. The cist appeared to belong to the Bronze Age. There were indications of the existence of other cists near the same spot, which have not yet been excavated. In connection with the urn thus discovered, it is worthy of notice that a cist was found in 1860 at Mill of Invergowrie, containing an urn very similar to it, and placed also in its south-east corner, such a position probably indicating some symbolic meaning now unknown.¹

On Battle Law, also, cairns existed at a former period which have been cleared away; and near by, if not in connection with, these cairns have been found 'stone coffins, bones, and pieces of broken swords.'² Many years ago mounds in a small plantation called the 'Graves Wood,' at the east end of the village of Gauldry, on being opened up were found to contain a stone coffin. About the year 1820 several stone coffins of red sandstone, and in 1839 two stone coffins, were found near the same spot, about fifty yards north of the Newport road, and opposite 'Graves Wood.' South of the farmhouse of Peashills, about a mile and a half north-east of Battle Law, two pieces of gold, of the combined value of £14 sterling, were found, one of them in 1818, and the other in 1826. 'One piece was in the form of a ball, and appeared to have been the knob usually attached to the hilt of a sword'; the other—a small portion of which is preserved at Naughton, the greater part having been sold by the finders and melted—

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vi. p. 394.

² *New Statistical Account of Balmerino*, p. 587.

has been described as 'a hollow cylinder, of a curved form, tapering towards each end, and having three rows of raised reticulated work from one end to the other on the outer side of the curve.' It had also a rod of copper running through it. Opinions differed as to whether it had adorned a helmet, a breastplate, or a sword handle.¹ Cairns or mounds at the same place were found to contain several human skulls, each being enclosed within a square cist of undressed slabs of stone. The spot is indicated on the map of the Ordnance Survey. These various memorials are supposed to be relics of some battle fought in the locality, but their age is difficult to determine.

On the summit of the Greenhill, west of Cultra, may still be seen what appears to be the lower part of an ancient cairn, which has not been explored. It is a circular heap of loose stones, about fifty feet in diameter, the outer ring being formed of large stones set on edge. Another cairn is said to have existed on the top of Airdie Hill, on Grange farm, before the field was brought under cultivation. Between Birkhill House and the Tay clay urns were discovered many years ago. On Gallowhill there were several cairns which, when cleared away, were found to contain urns, none of which could be preserved. The Gallowstone on the top of Cultra Hill is said to have been at one time twice its present size, and to have rested on smaller stones—in short, to have somewhat resembled a dolmen or cromlech. Perhaps its later name conceals its original purpose. Marks of a boring-tool which it bears show that it was blasted with gunpowder when, many years ago, it was reduced to its present dimensions by some persons who expected to find treasure under it.

In the neighbouring parishes, also, many relics have from time to time been discovered, which supply additional illustrations of the customs of the ancient inhabitants of the district.

¹ *N. S. A.*, p. 587; and Leighton's *History of Fife*, ii. 77.

In the parish of Flisk were found many years ago on the hillside, and on the farms of East Flisk and Balhelvie, 'several rude stone coffins, with urns in them containing burnt bones. The urns were a mixture of clay and rotten rock baked in the sun, and most of them fell to pieces on being exposed to the air. Burnt bones were also discovered in a cairn of stones on the top of Whirly Kip (or rather, perhaps, Whitlaw-cap), a conical rising ground on Fliskmill farm.'¹

In Creich parish, about a century ago, there were found 'in a rising spot of ground near the Manse two brown jars, with their bottoms upwards, and a broad stone laid on each, containing human bones.'² Two urns were discovered many years ago 'a little to the west of the present house of Parbroath, and two stone coffins a little to the east of it. Urns have also been found on the lands of Balmeadowside. All these were deposited on knolls, and contained human bones.'³ In the year 1816, on the farm of Upper Luthrie, were found, 8 or 10 inches below the surface, two concentric circles of stones, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with a cylindrical stone pillar of similar height in the centre; and near to this pillar two slabs with sculptures in relief on them, one of which was sent to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, where it may still be seen. In the following year another monument very similar to this was found about 500 yards east of it, and was for better preservation carefully removed by the Reverend Alexander Lawson to a spot behind Creich manse, where it still remains, with the stones replaced in their original relative positions. It consists of two concentric circles, with a cylindrical sandstone, 14 inches in height and 1 foot in diameter, in the centre. The outer circle contains thirty-two, and the inner one sixteen stones, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in height, and from 8 to 18 inches in breadth—those occupying the cardinal points being larger than the

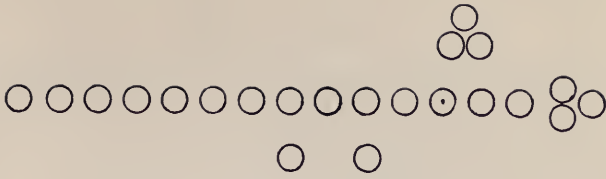
¹ *N. S. A. Flisk*, 601.

² *O. S. A. Creich*, iv. 230.

³ *N. S. A. Creich*, 644.

others. The stones of both circles are placed close to each other, edge to edge. The diameter of the outer circle is about 15, and that of the inner one about 6 feet. Due south of the central cylinder, and between it and the inner circle, were placed horizontally two slabs, with figures carved on them in high relief, and well executed. The remaining space between the centre and the inner circle was laid with pavement. The space between the two circles was unpaved. The stones of the inner circle were of sandstone, which does not occur in that locality. Those of the outer circle were of the whinstone of the neighbourhood. Under one of the sculptured stones were found small burnt human bones and ashes. They were not enclosed in a cist, nor was there any building under the surface. Certain of the figures cut on one of the slabs of this monument are very similar to the figures on the sculptured slab of the one already mentioned. There are what appear to be representations of the soles of a pair of shoes, a circle with a cross within it—the limbs of the cross being at right angles to each other—which may be intended to represent a wheel. On one of the stones is the figure of a spade. What the other figures represent is more uncertain. The sculptures raise difficult questions in regard to the time of the erection of these monuments. It is evident that cremation had been then practised at Creich, though the degree of culture and art indicated by the sculptures seems to point to a time subsequent to the abolition of this pagan custom elsewhere. The last-mentioned monument, with the accompanying sculptured slabs, the sculptured slab of the first-mentioned monument, and a piece of whinstone shaped like the frustum of a cone, perforated by a round hole, and having a projecting ear at its greater end, found near the same place, are all figured in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for December 1817, which also, as well as the New Statistical Account of Creich, contains a description of them, of which the foregoing account is a summary.

In 1845 there were found about a quarter of a mile south of



TWENTY-TWO URNS FOUND NEAR CARPHIN, PARISH OF CREICH,
IN 1845.

Fig. 1.

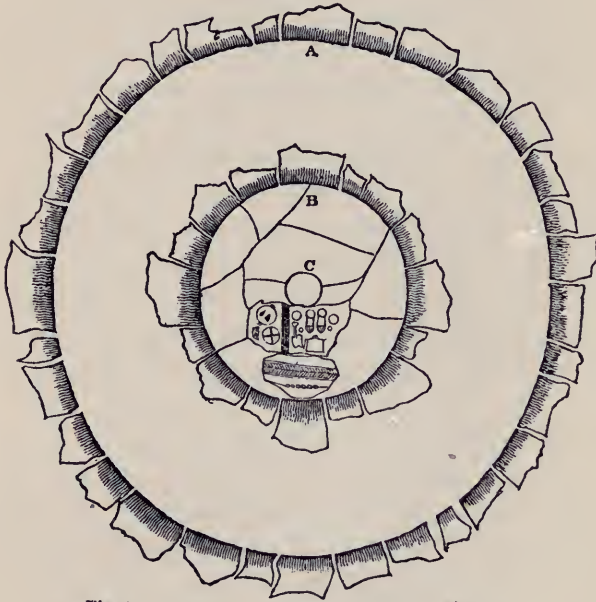


Fig. 2.

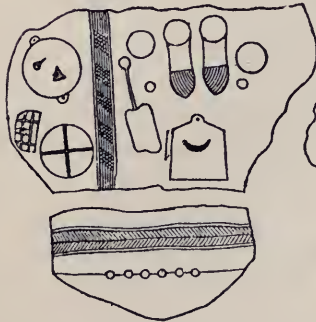


Fig. 3.

Fig. 5.



Fig. 4.

STONE CIRCLES, ETC., FOUND NEAR LUTHRIE, PARISH OF CREICH,
IN 1816, AND NOW PLACED AT CREICH MANSE.



these monuments, and about 500 yards north-east of Carphin House, twenty-two urns. Fourteen of them were set in a straight line running from east to west, and about 3 feet apart, with the exception of the two farthest west, which were distant 5 feet from each other. The others were placed in various positions near them. All were found about a foot and a half from the surface, and one contained pieces of charred wood. Both the forms and the ornamentation of the urns were different. One was placed with its mouth uppermost, and had a lid upon it. Most of the others had their mouths inverted, and all of them contained bones and black earth. In one there was a 'cup' filled with earth, without bones. The cup was very small, being only $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in height, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth. Another was 'cradle-shaped.'¹

In 1847, about 150 yards from the site of one of the above-mentioned stone circles, there were found six inverted urns without cists, and all close to each other, but in no regular order. One rested on a small flagstone, and the others on the rock.²

In Kilmany parish 'a considerable number of stone coffins have been dug up behind the farmhouse of Starr. A few earthen vessels with bones were found on the farm of Drumnod, and one of the same description at Kilmany.'³ In the highest part of Drumnod Wood are remains of three stone circles not far from each other. Their position is marked on the Ordnance Survey Map. One of them, which is tolerably distinct and complete, is about 15 yards in diameter. A few years ago two trenches were dug across its interior space, through its centre, and at right angles to each other, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it contained sepulchral deposits; but nothing whatever was found. The stones of this circle are only about 2 feet in height. Of the other two circles the traces are very indistinct.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vii. 404.

² *Ibid.*, p. 406.

³ *N. S. A. Kilmany*, 544.

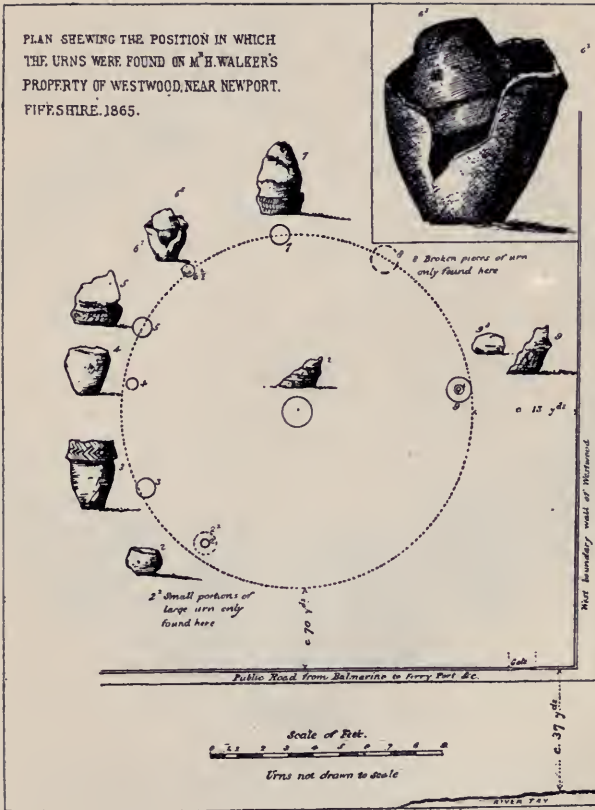
Forgan parish contained in 1838 'several cairns or tumuli composed of small stones, in conspicuous situations, but they had not been thoroughly explored.' A few urns were found some years earlier in cutting the public road at Newport.¹ About the same time, on the heights south of Northfield farm-steading, in a cairn of stones surrounded by a 'circular work of earth,' was discovered a large-sized coffin composed of slabs of 'roughly polished yellow sandstone,' containing a great quantity of bones.² Near Westwood was found in 1855 a 'stone coffin composed of rude undressed flags of whinstone. It contained bones, but no urn.' In 1865, at Westwood also, eight urns were found, at depths from 8 to 20 inches, arranged in the form of an uncompleted circle, with another urn in the centre. The circle was 14 feet in diameter. The form and ornamentation of the urns were different in all. Five of them were inverted. A small urn was found within a larger one. Another had a slightly larger one partly placed within it in an inverted and reclining posture, and contained adult and infant burnt bones mixed together, which were conjectured to be those of a parent—probably a mother—and child. All contained burnt human bones, and burnt ashes were placed around them for protection. Amongst the ashes encircling one of them were found particles of ears of grain.³ This and some of the other examples previously noticed show that the people whose memorials they are buried their dead not singly nor indiscriminately, but in spots selected for the purpose. At Tayfield, in 1870, there were found in an urn, which was enclosed in a stone cist, fragments of a necklace, consisting of a series of plates of jet or shale, and alternating rows of beads, which, so far as recovered, when joined together, formed a beautiful work of art. A separate triangular piece was probably a pendant attached to the middle of the neck-

¹ *N. S. A. Forgan*, 508.

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vi. 392. In the Ordnance Survey Map the cairn is marked 'Site of a Roman camp (supposed).'

³ *Ibid.*, 388.

PLAN SHEWING THE POSITION IN WHICH
 THE URNS WERE FOUND ON M^r H. WALKER'S
 PROPERTY OF WESTWOOD, NEAR NEWPORT.
 PIFEESHIRE. 1865.



URNS FOUND AT NEWPORT IN 1865.



NECKLACE OF JET FOUND AT TAYFIELD IN 1870.

lace.¹ In 1882 there were found on the estate of Tayfield 'two cinerary inverted urns containing partially calcined bones.'² A few years ago stone coffins were laid bare on the Castle hill at Newton in course of the removal of part of it in connection with railway and other operations. About the same period a similar discovery was made on the east side of, and close to, the public road leading from Newton to Wormit, at the point where the Balmerino road strikes off from it; and many years previously stone coffins were found about 50 yards distant from the same spot, on the south side of the Balmerino road.

In the extensive sandy plain called Tents Moor, in the parishes of Leuchars and Ferry-port-on-Craig, many relics have been found of a prehistoric population. 'How rich it is in these remains'—to quote a recent writer—'is known not to the casual visitor, but to the frequenter of this unpromising waste. Its light and shifting surface is peculiarly adapted for hiding, and so preserving, interesting relics.' A windy day long ago would cover them over with sand-drift; and a windy day now will expose them, often as fresh in appearance as when they were in use. It is no uncommon thing for the wanderer to find lying on the surface a flint instrument from the new Stone Age which yesterday's gale had laid bare. Fragments of ancient pottery, including cinerary urns, abound on the Tayport side; and here and there, chiefly towards the Eden, kitchen-middens, formed of the shells of edible molluscs, add their chapter of ancient history.'³

Remains still exist of several hill forts on the chain of heights extending along the North of Fife in a line parallel to the Firth of Tay, and forming the eastern portion of the Ochil range. One of these may be seen on the Black Cairn south of Newburgh, consisting of a circular rampart of loose

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, viii. p. 412.

² *Ibid.*, xvii. 272.

³ J. H. Crawford's article on 'Fifeshire' in the *Scottish Review* for January 1893.

stones and earth. On Clachard Crag, south-east of Newburgh, there is a much more extensive work, composed of several concentric walls of stones and earth. On the summit of Norman's Law is another fort, having two circular and concentric ramparts of loose stones enclosing a considerable extent of nearly level ground. On the Greencraig, in the parish of Creich, there are two similar concentric mounds of stone extending round the hill, except where it is precipitous—one at the summit, and the other at some distance below it. Near the western boundary of the St. Fort woods, in Forgan parish, there is an ancient fort or camp still in good preservation. It is of an oval shape, and consists of several concentric ramparts and ditches. Its length over all, from east to west, is about 115, and within the lines about 42 yards. On the north side it is defended by a steep slope, with a small sheet of water at its base; and on the south side by a gentler declivity, which, however, has been cut by the public road leading to Leuchars. It is probable that before this road was formed, the camp was much more extensive on that side than it now is. Strange to say, this camp is not noticed either in the Old or the New Statistical Account of Forgan.

As regards the people whose memorials in the North of Fife have thus been described, it is now generally agreed that the British Islands have been occupied by several races who landed on their shores successively, but at long intervals of time. Probably the first which left any vestiges of its presence was a dark-haired non-Aryan race, akin to the Basque or Iberian people of the north-west provinces of Spain. They used implements and weapons of stone, but none of metal; and buried their dead in the chambered cairns and the long barrows which have been found in many parts of Britain. The people who followed them were of the Celtic race, and formed that branch of it known as the Goidelic or Gaelic. It was probably they who introduced the use of bronze implements, and buried their dead in the round cairns. They were followed by another branch

AM. August 1898



PLAN OF CAMP IN ST FORT WOOD.

of the Celtic race, kindred in blood and language to the people of Gaul, and distinctively known as Britons. Both Gaels and Britons arrived before the dawn of history. About the commencement of the Christian era the Iberian race was still represented in Britain by the people of South Wales and of the south-west of England, where and, in the opinion of some, in certain parts also of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, their descendants may still be recognised. At the same period the Britons were in possession of the greater part of our island south of the Firth of Forth and Clyde, and also of the central territory north of these estuaries extending to the *river* Tay. Their modern representatives are the Cymric people of Wales, and, on the Continent, the inhabitants of Brittany. The Gaels, according to the opinion of most writers on this subject, still occupied the remainder of Scotland, including Fife.

CHAPTER II

ROMAN INVASION : CALEDONIANS OR PICTS

‘ The North remained untouched, where those who scorned
To stoop retired ; and, to their keen effort
Yielding at last, recoiled the Roman power.’

—THOMSON.

THE first *recorded* event in the history of the North of Fife is that related by Tacitus in his very interesting *Life of the Roman general Agricola*, when he describes its inhabitants as gazing with astonishment and terror on a Roman fleet sailing up the Firth of Tay. This incident took place in the year 83, and how it came about may be briefly told.

Though Julius Cæsar had landed in Kent in the year 55 B.C., no vigorous effort to subdue the island was made for nearly a century afterwards. But in A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius sent his lieutenant, Aulus Plautius, into Britain for this purpose. Under him and subsequent generals the Roman legions appear to have advanced during the next thirty-five years to the southern boundary of the territory now forming Scotland. In the year 78 Agricola was sent to govern Britain. During his third summer in the island—which coincided with the year 80—he led his army northwards as far as the estuary of the Taus, or Tay. The fourth summer was spent in constructing a chain of forts between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and the fifth in exploring the west coast, opposite Ireland. During the following summer—that is, of 83—Agricola, having with his army ‘encompassed the states (or territories of the tribes) situated beyond the Forth, explored their harbours with his fleet.’ At the same time the Roman

infantry, cavalry, and marines frequently mingled together in camp, and, as warriors will do, boastfully compared the exploits they had severally performed, and the dangers and hardships they had encountered by sea and land. These statements, when taken along with other parts of the narrative of Tacitus, appear to indicate that the scene of Agricola's military operations was the peninsula of Fife. That these operations, however, were of a rapid character, seems probable from the absence of well authenticated Roman camps in the county, with the exception of one which is said to have existed at Loch Ore, but has been destroyed. Agricola learned from some of the natives who had been taken prisoners, that their countrymen had been astounded by the appearance of the Roman fleet penetrating into the recess or secluded part of their sea—*tamquam aperto maris sui secreto*—as depriving the vanquished of their last refuge. This statement can hardly be otherwise interpreted than as signifying that the fleet had sailed up the Firth of Tay, an incident which must have created intense excitement on both sides of the estuary. But the vigorous attacks made by the natives on the forts which had been erected by the Romans—apparently in the territory west of Fife, which they had overrun in their third campaign—so alarmed them, that many counselled an immediate retreat beyond the Forth, in order to prevent their forcible expulsion.¹ The site of the battle of Mons Graupius or Graupius, subsequently fought, in which Agricola defeated 30,000 Caledonians, has been claimed, amongst other places, for the neighbourhood of the West Lomond Hill; but the real scene of this great conflict was almost certainly the district of Stormount, in Perthshire. After this victory Agricola withdrew his forces into the territory of the Horesti,² which some have identified with Fife; but it appears to have been really the district situated between the *river* Tay and the Forth, in which the

¹ Tacitus, *Vita Agric.*, cc. 23-25.

² *Ibid.*, c. 38.

eastern half of Fife was not included. An earthen jar was discovered in 1808 at Craighiehill, in the parish of Leuchars, containing nearly a hundred silver coins in perfect preservation, stamped with the heads of the Roman Emperors Severus, Antoninus, and others. A silver coin of the reign of Tiberius was found about seventy years ago in good condition near the village of Balmerino.¹ These facts suggest the probability, though they do not establish the certainty, of the presence of the Romans at *some* period in the North-East of Fife.

From the Geography of Ptolemy, which was written about the year 120, we learn that at that time Scotland was possessed by eighteen tribes more or less distinct, and that one of these, the Vernicomes, or Venicones, occupied the eastern half of Fife along with Angus and Mcarns. They had one town named Orrea, the site of which is uncertain. Ptolemy places the river Tinna between the Forth and the Tay, in a position corresponding to that of the Eden. Of the tribe of the Horesti he makes no mention.²

The Caledonian tribes,³ including the Vernicomes of East Fife, are described by Tacitus and subsequent classical authors as a large-limbed, red-haired race. The tribes rarely combined for mutual defence. They had no walled towns, but lived in tents. They subsisted on flesh and milk, and the natural products of the soil; and did not practise tillage. Some of these statements, however, could only have been applicable to the most uncivilised parts of the country. There still exist in many places 'hut-circles,' or mounds slightly raised above the surrounding soil, indicating the foundations of fixed dwellings. These were constructed of wood, and were of a circular shape, with thatched roofs tapering to a point. They are sometimes found in groups, representing villages. If there were no walled

¹ N. S. A. *Leuchars*, 223; Small's *Rom. Antiq. in Fife*, 237.

² See Giles's *Hist. Anc. Britons*, ii. (*Historical Documents*), pp. 99, 100.

³ The term *Caledonia* was applied by Roman writers to the country north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. It was derived from the name of the leading tribe.

towns, there were numerous hill-forts. Various facts also show that tillage was practised in some parts of the country. The Caledonians, we are further told, ate no fish, though these could be procured in abundance. They were brave in war, and fought both on foot and from chariots drawn by small but swift horses. Their arms were a round target, a long pointless sword, and a dagger. On the water they made use of coracles, or boats covered with hides, such as are said to be still used in England on the Severn and the Wye. They had also canoes, made of the trunk of a large tree hollowed out; and many of these have been found in the beds and on the banks of the estuaries and rivers of Scotland. In the early part of the present century two were discovered in the bed of the Tay near Newburgh, one of them being 28 feet in length. In 1895 a canoe was found in the Tay opposite Errol, and presented by Mr. W. O. Dalgleish of Errol Park to the Dundee Museum. It is 29 feet in length, 4 feet wide at the stern, and 2 feet wide at the bow. It has been formed of a single oak-tree, the stern only being a separate piece. The Caledonian tribes painted their bodies with woad, which gave them a greenish colour, and tattooed them with representations of animals—a practice which at one period had prevailed throughout the whole of Britain, but was afterwards confined to the ruder tribes situated north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde, who were for this reason, as some think, called by the Romans *Picti*, Picts or painted people, a name which first occurs in the year 296.¹ The Picts called themselves *Cruithnigh*, a word of similar meaning, and were akin to an Irish race of the same name.

The nationality and language of the Picts or Caledonians have been the subject of much controversy, only a few Pictish words having survived. It has been maintained by some that

¹ See Excerpts from *Xiphiiene's Abrigement of Dio*, and *Herodian* (Giles's *Hist. Ancient Britons*, vol. ii. (*Historical Documents*), pp. 112, 120).

they were a Teutonic people, and spoke a Teutonic or German language; by others that they spoke Cymric or Welsh. Most writers are now agreed that they formed a subdivision of the Gaelic branch of the Celtic race, and spoke a dialect of the Gaelic language; which, however, as used by the southern Picts, contained a British or Welsh element. For example, the name of the Ochil Hills is supposed to be derived from the Welsh word *uchel*, high; whereas the corresponding Gaelic word is *uasal*. Professor Rhys denies the Celtic nationality of the Picts, and maintains that they were a remnant of the non-Aryan race who occupied Britain before the arrival of the Celts, and that they spoke a language which was not Celtic.¹ Those who hold that the Picts were Celts allow that certain non-Celtic words which their language contained must have been derived from the people who preceded and became amalgamated with them.

The religion of the Caledonian tribes, including those of Fife, is but imperfectly known. Their priests were called Druids, as were those of the Celtic people of South Britain and of Gaul. The Druids held that the soul of man is immortal, and migrates from one person at his death to another. They venerated the oak and the mistletoe, and performed their religious rites in groves of oak-trees. They sought to propitiate their gods by human sacrifices, and on great occasions by filling huge images made of wicker-work with living human beings, and then consuming them by fire. An Arch-Druid presided over the whole body. A system possessing such an organised hierarchy, and sanctioning customs so hideous, prevailed, according to Cæsar and other classical authors,² in Gaul and South Britain; but evidence is wanting that it was practised by the tribes of Caledonia, though Tacitus tells us that these ratified a con-

¹ Rhys in *Celtic Britain*, 274; also in *Scottish Review* for 1891, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. xxvi. 305.

² See Excerpts from *Cæsar*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny* in Giles's *Hist. Anc. Brit.*, vol. ii. (*Hist. Doc.*).

federacy, which they had formed to resist Agricola's invasion of their country, by 'assemblies and sacrifices,' without stating of what these sacrifices consisted.¹ Yet it is certain that there were priests called Druids both amongst the Caledonian and Irish Celts. They opposed the missionary work of St. Columba at the court of Brude, the sovereign of Pictland in the sixth century, as they had previously opposed that of St. Patrick in Ireland. They did not worship personal gods, but deified the elements and objects of nature. Demons were supposed to dwell in the heavenly bodies, the wind, and the clouds; in fountains, rivers, and hills; and through these to inflict injury on men. The Druids pretended, and were believed, to be able, by magical charms and incantations, to excite such beings to hostile activity for the punishment of their enemies. Fairies—creatures diminutive, trickish, and sometimes malignant—were believed to dwell in caves and the hollows of mountains, and were spoken of respectfully through fear of their powers for mischief. Christian missionaries in later times, unable altogether to rid the minds of the people, and sometimes their own minds, of pagan superstitions, endeavoured to bring some of these into the service of Christianity by dedicating to saints the objects of popular reverence. Fountains, in particular, were thus dedicated; for which reason, as well as from their being used by the early evangelists for the baptism of their converts, they were held sacred in Christian, and even down to recent times.

Among other customs of the pagan Celts may be mentioned two annual festivals, which in some parts of the country held their ground till the present century. One of these was observed on the first day of May as the beginning of summer, when fires were kindled on the hill-tops in honour of the sun. This festival was called Beltane. To wash the face with May dew is a custom not yet quite extinct. The other festival was

¹ *Vit. Agric.*, c. 27.

called Samhain, and was held on the first day of November as the beginning of winter, when the fires in every dwelling were extinguished, that they might be relighted from the sacred fire which was then kindled. Its Christian representative was Hallowmas, the eve of which—that is, the evening preceding it—is still known as Hallow E'en.

Ancient stone-circles and dolmens are popularly regarded as connected with the rites of the Druids—the former as being their temples, and the latter the altars on which they sacrificed their human victims. There is, however, no proof that those hoary memorials of the past were connected with Druidism, or *in their origin* were anything else than sepulchral monuments; though in later times they may have been used as places of assembly, or for the practice of religious rites. The opinion that they were Druidical is comparatively modern. Similar erections are found in countries which are not known to have ever contained either Celts or Druids.

CHAPTER III

CELTIC MISSIONARIES AND MONASTERIES

'The tidings come of Jesus crucified ;
They come—they spread—the weak, the suffering hear,
Receive the faith, and in the hope abide.'

—WORDSWORTH.

At what period or by whose agency the inhabitants of Fife, and of its northern parts in particular, were converted from heathenism cannot be determined with certainty; but the labours of early evangelists, and the establishment of monasteries within this district, or near to it, may be briefly noticed as suggesting probable answers to these questions.

In the year 397 St. Ninian built his white house, or stone church, called Candida Casa, now Whithorn, in Galloway, with which a monastery was connected. Bede informs us that by the preaching of Ninian the southern Picts—that is, the inhabitants of the country between the Forth and the Grampians—'forsook the error of idolatry and embraced the true faith.'¹ As Fife formed an important part of this region, Ninian may have been its first evangelist. There was before the Reformation a chapel in the Constabulary of Kinghorn dedicated to him; but as the time of its dedication is unknown, it cannot with certainty be affirmed that Fife contains any memorial of his labours of undoubted proximity to his age. It appears that the effects of Ninian's preaching were not permanent, and that there was afterwards a general relapse of the southern Picts into paganism.

Subsequent to Ninian's time a monastery was founded at

¹ *Hist. Eccles. Angl.*, lib. iii. c. iv. (ed. Stevenson, p. 162).

Abernethy, and another at St. Andrews—the former about twelve miles west of Balmerino, and the latter about the same distance south-east of it; and as about two-thirds of this parish as at present bounded appears to have been connected with the first of these institutions, and the remainder of it with the other, it will be proper to give here some account of their foundation, as well as of the rise of monasticism in the Church, a system whose growth and decay will occupy much of our attention later on.

A monk (*monachos*) is one who seeks solitude, and the meaning of the word indicates the origin of monachism, which has established itself in various systems of religion besides Christianity. In primitive times Christians were often compelled by persecution to retire into caves and deserts for safety, or chose to do so that they might not be tempted to apostasy. When the fury of their persecutors abated they did not always return to the world, but often preferred to continue in their retreats, spending their time in devotion and labour. Moreover, men and women often chose this mode of life without any such necessity, acting on the erroneous idea that thus escaping the snares of the world they could cultivate a purer piety than was otherwise attainable. At first each recluse lived in his own solitary retreat, some practising the most severe mortifications; but gradually they began to form communities, and to bind themselves by the most stringent vows. It was in Egypt this system was first extensively adopted, after the example of the celebrated Antony, who may be regarded as the founder of Christian monachism. From Egypt it was brought in the year 341 by Athanasius to Rome, where it rapidly spread. Thence it reached Gaul, where Martin of Tours founded monasteries. From Gaul it was carried to Wales and to Whithorn, and thence to Ireland. Numerous monasteries were afterwards founded in Scotland by Irish missionaries, and especially by Columba and his disciples.

The monastery of Abernethy, according to the Pictish

Chronicle, was founded by King Nectan Morbet, son of Erip, Irb, or Wirp, in the fifth year of his reign. The statement in the Chronicle is, that he gave Abernethy to God and St. Brigid 'till the day of judgment'—the boundaries of the lands so granted being defined—and that the grant was made in presence of Darlugdach, Abbess of Kildare, who had come from Ireland two years before, and now 'sang hallelujah over that offering.' The reason why the grant was given was, that when Nectan had been expelled to Ireland by his brother Drust, he had asked St. Brigid to pray to God for him; and that she, having done so, assured him that if he would return to his own country God would put him in peaceable possession of the kingdom. But as St. Brigid or Bride—the 'Mary of Ireland'—is said to have died in the year 523 or 525, and Nectan is supposed to have reigned from 457 to 481, Darlugdach, who was Brigid's successor at Kildare, could not have come to Abernethy during his lifetime, and therefore this account cannot be true in all its details. The limits of Nectan's reign, however, are a matter of conjecture rather than of certainty.¹

Bower, the continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, states that it was King Garnard, the successor of Brude the convert and friend of Columba, who founded the church of Abernethy, and that he gave to St. Brigid 'all the lands and tithes which the prior and canons'—who existed there when Bower wrote—'have from ancient times.'² This act of Garnard appears to have taken place between 584 and 594. The true account of the matter probably is, that Nectan in the fifth century founded and endowed a monastery at Abernethy, which either at first or afterwards was connected with St. Brigid's nunnery at Kildare, that it fell into decay, and that King Garnard towards the end of the sixth century restored and re-endowed it, constituting it a monastery for monks, and dedicating

¹ *Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, p. 6; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 134 (2nd edition).

² *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, lib. iv. c. 12 (vol. i. p. 188).

it, like the previous institution, to St. Brigid. In favour of the supposition that it was a second time endowed, is the fact that in the twelfth century, as we shall see, the abbacy possessed a territory much more extensive than that situated near Abernethy, said to have been given by Nectan; for this enlarged territory included the greater part of the lands now forming the parishes of Flisk and Balmerino.

The refounding of the monastery of Abernethy acquires additional interest from the circumstance that it appears to have been the result of the preaching of Columba long after he had been the means of converting Brude, the Pictish sovereign, and those of his subjects who dwelt beyond the Grampians. Though Brude's regal seat had been near Inverness, that of his successor Garnard, or Gartnaidh, was at Abernethy, which long continued to be the capital of Pictland. It is stated in an ancient document that Columba 'used to teach the tribes who were around Tai' (Tay), and that in this work he was aided by the influence or authority of the king.¹ It may therefore be inferred that the re-establishment of St. Brigid's monastery at the Pictish capital was effected at Columba's instance; and there appears nothing unlikely in the supposition that his field of labour at this period, which was near the close of his life, included the North of Fife bordering on the Tay, as a great part of this district was given to it, most probably by King Garnard, and at that time, as its endowment.

The Columban Church in its distinctive features, and especially in the organisation of its monasteries, was very similar to the Irish Church, of which it was an offshoot. In founding a monastery, whether in Ireland or in Scotland, Columba's usual method was first to obtain from the king, or from the chief of the tribe, a grant of land for its site and for the sustenance of its monks. Such a grant frequently included, as in the case of Abernethy, an extensive tract of country. He then proceeded to construct the necessary buildings, which were of a very

¹ See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 136.

humble description. They were most frequently formed of wattles, or wicker-work, and earth, like the 'creel-houses' which existed in some parts of the Highlands till the last century. The church, however, was usually constructed of oaken planks. Near it was placed a group of circular detached huts, each occupied by a single monk; a separate house for the Abbot, the refectory in which they ate their meals together, a guest-house, and other domestic buildings. The whole was surrounded by a circular rampart of earth, or of earth and stones, and a ditch. Celibacy was obligatory on every member of the brotherhood, and they had all things in common. They practised the anterior tonsure—the front of the head being shaven back to a line drawn from ear to ear—as distinguished from the Roman or coronal tonsure, on the crown of the head. In addition to their church services, the senior monks were chiefly employed in reading and writing, and especially in making copies of the Scriptures and other books for the use of their churches—a species of work in which Columba himself delighted and excelled. The juniors were occupied in agriculture and mechanical work necessary for supplying the wants of the monastery. The education of those who desired to join the brotherhood, and of the other young men of the tribe, was carefully attended to. Each monastery was ruled by its own Abbot; but all those founded by Columba or his disciples—of which the names of upwards of fifty have been preserved—were subject to himself and his successors as Abbots of the parent monastery of Iona. The doctrines taught by the Columban Church, though they were on several points not in accordance with Protestant tenets, and were associated with superstitious practices, were yet purer than those held at the same period in the Church of Rome; and its clergy were completely independent of that church. Such, we may reasonably believe, was the monastery of Abernethy, of whose territory Balmerino formed a part, and by whose monks, if not by Columba himself, it was most probably evangelised; for one special purpose of these

Celtic institutions was to serve as missionary colleges, where the monks were to be trained, and from which they were to be sent forth to preach the Gospel, and administer the sacraments, to the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. It was in this way the people were brought permanently under the power of the Christian faith while as yet there were no clergy other than monks.

As regards the other Celtic monastery with which a portion of the present parish of Balmerino appears to have been connected—that of St. Andrews—a Christian settlement at that place first comes into notice in connection also with the preaching of Columba. Its founder, Cainnech, or Kenneth, of Acha-boe, from whom Kilkenny derives its name, was, like Columba himself, an Irishman, and being of Pictish race, had been associated with him in his earlier mission to the Pictish King Brude at Inverness, and now appears acting in conjunction with him in preaching to the southern Picts. Cainnech's monastery at St. Andrews seems to have been of the nature of a retreat or hermitage.¹

Another account of the foundation of a Christian settlement at St. Andrews connects it with St. Regulus or Rule, and assigns it to the fourth century. There are several forms of the legend. Only its outlines can be here given.

In the year 345 Regulus, Bishop of Patras, in Greece, where the Apostle Andrew is said to have suffered martyrdom, is commanded by an angel to go to a sarcophagus containing the bones of St. Andrew, and to take from it three fingers of his right hand, an arm-bone, a knee-cap, and a tooth; to sail forth with these relics, and in whatever place his vessel should be wrecked, to build a church in honour of the Apostle. He and his companions accordingly set sail, and, after enduring many hardships, arrive at the territory of the Picts, and are wrecked at a place called Muckcross, afterwards Kilrymont, and now St. Andrews. They subsequently journey to various

¹ Reeves's *Culdees of the British Islands* (Trans. R. I. A., vol. xxiv. part ii.), p. 151; *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 137.

places, carrying with them the relics which they have saved from shipwreck. King Hungus, while returning from a hostile expedition to Argyll, meets them, and accompanies them back to Kilrymont, after he has erected a church in honour of the Apostle at each of the places they have visited.¹ The king then gives Kilrymont to God and St. Andrew for the erection of churches and oratories, and, along with Regulus and the others, walks round it seven times, Regulus carrying on his head the relics of St. Andrew, his companions chanting hymns, and Hungus and the magnates of the whole kingdom following on foot. They then erect around the place twelve stone crosses. King Hungus afterwards gives to the church of St. Andrew, for a *parochia*, the whole territory between the sea called Ishundenema and the sea called Sletheuma, and in the adjacent province, bounded by a line drawn from Largo to Ceres, and from Ceres to 'Hyhatnoughten Machehirb, which land is now called Hadnachten.' Hungus then confers on Kilrymont freedom from all secular exactions, and, as a symbol of this privilege, takes a turf and offers it on the altar of St. Andrew. Afterwards seven churches are built at Kilrymont,² the first of them being in honour of St. Regulus. This part of the legend ends with these words: 'Thana, son of Duda-brach, wrote this memorial for King Pherath, son of Bergeth, in the town of Migdale' (Meigle)—a place of importance in Pictish times. Pherath is supposed to be the king elsewhere

¹ The editor of Sibbald's *History of Fife and Kinross* interprets that author as asserting that one of the churches said to have been founded by Regulus was at Naughton, which he identifies with the place called Chondrochedalvan, visited by Regulus; and from this source has been derived the statement contained in several works, that there was anciently an establishment of 'Culdees' at Naughton. But Dr. Adamson is here in error, having been misled by Sibbald's carelessness of style and punctuation, and overlooking that author's statement made elsewhere, that it is not known where Chondrochedalvan stood. (See Adamson's edition of Sibbald, pp. 36, 164, Cupar-Fife, 1803.) Chondrochedalvan was Kindrochet, in Braemar.

² This was a frequent practice in the Irish Church. There were seven churches at Glendalough, and seven at Cashel. (See Warren's *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 48.)

called Wrad, son of Bargoit, who, according to the Pictish Chronicle, reigned from 840 to 843.¹

The first portion of this legend, which narrates the bringing of the relics of St. Andrew to Kilrymont in the fourth century, is plainly fabulous; but from the circumstantial manner in which the latter part is told, it evidently rests on a basis of facts. There was a Pictish king named Angus or Hungus, who reigned from 731 to 761, and another of the same name from 820 to 832. It was more probably the former who is mentioned in the legend; and if so, the events described took place in the year 736. Skene, in his analysis of the legend, arrives at the conclusion that the relics—real or supposed—of St. Andrew may have been brought to Muckcross—under the impulse of the intense veneration felt in ancient times for such memorials of saints and martyrs—by Acca, Bishop of Hexham, who had previously brought relics of the same Apostle to that place from the Continent, and who, on being driven from his see in 732, took refuge amongst the Picts. He supposes Regulus to have been really an Irishman named Riagail, a contemporary and follower of Columba, with whose labours among the tribes around the Tay he may have been connected towards the end of the sixth century, when Cainnech had his hermitage at Muckcross. The supposition is a probable one, notwithstanding the want of positive evidence of Riagail's presence at St. Andrews. A cave—of which only a part now remains—described by Sir Walter Scott as nearly round, about 10 feet in diameter, the same in height, having on one side a stone altar, on the other an aperture leading into an inner apartment, and situated in the face of the cliffs at St. Andrews, was, according to tradition, the retreat

‘ Where good Saint Rule his holy lay
From midnight to the dawn of day
Sung to the billows' sound.’²

¹ *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 138, 185-188, 375.

² See Sir W. Scott's Notes to *Marmion*, Canto First.

From the fact that Regulus is called in one form of the legend an abbot, as well as from the very prominent part assigned to him in the proceedings, we may infer that Cainnech's hermitage or monastery having been probably of small extent and of brief duration, the former did found a monastic establishment there of a more important and permanent character. In the year 717 the Columban monks had been driven out of Pictland by King Nectan, son of Derili, and had taken refuge beyond Drumalban—the boundary line between the Picts and the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada or Argyll—because they had refused to comply with Nectan's decree, that they should conform to the Roman usage in regard to the form of tonsure and the time of observing Easter. To supply their places, secular clergy, who had on these points conformed to Rome, had been introduced from Ireland and England. Nectan and these clergy brought in the veneration of St. Peter, who thus became the patron saint of Pictland. What Hungus now did was probably to introduce a new supply of secular clergy, and to refund and greatly increase the endowment of the church of Regulus, at the same time dedicating it to St. Andrew on the occasion of his supposed relics being brought thither. In this way that Apostle was made to supersede St. Peter as patron saint of the kingdom; and a real incident of the eighth century was, by the authors of the legend, associated with the name of St. Regulus, and put back to the fourth century, in order to give to St. Andrews, when it had become the chief seat of the Scottish Church, precedence over Iona.¹

As regards Naughton, we may believe that it was included in the district placed under the charge of the clergy of St. Andrews about the year 736; but its name of Hyhatnouhten Machehirb, that is, Hy-ard-Nachten Mac Irb—afterwards shortened into Ardnachtan, and then into Nachtan—appears to

¹ See Reeves's *British Culdees* (Trans. R. I. A., vol. xxiv. part ii.), p. 152; and Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 267, 272.

indicate that at a much earlier period it had been made a stronghold or *dun*—for which by its position it was admirably fitted—by the same Pictish king Nectan, son of Erip, Irb, or Wirp, who founded Abernethy in the fifth century.¹ Its original name, of royal origin, can thus be traced back to an earlier period than that of any other place in Fife.

There are probable indications of the labours of other early evangelists in the North of Fife. The church of Forgan is said to have been dedicated to St. Fillan. This may possibly have been Fillan named ‘the leper,’ an Irishman who was connected with Rath Erran, that is, the fort of the Earn, or Dundurn, at the east end of Loch Earn, where his name is preserved in that of the village of St. Fillan’s. He lived about the end of the fifth century, and the church of Aberdour, in Fife, was dedicated to him. But St. Fillan of Forgan was more probably another Irishman who was nearly contemporary with Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, and biographer of St. Columba, about the beginning of the eighth century. He founded the Abbey of Glendochart, and Strathfillan derives its name from him. In a cave at Pittenweem was St. Fillan’s Well, which seems to indicate his presence in the East of Fife.²

St. Servanus, or Serf, was connected with Fife. One account assigns him to the fifth century, and makes him the teacher of Kentigern, the apostle of Strathclyde.³ But another Life of St. Serf places him with much more probability in the eighth century. According to this account, King Brude, son of Dargart, gave to him Culross, where he founded a church. He also founded a monastery on an island given him by the same king, and now called by the saint’s name, in Lochleven. After

¹ Some of the lists of the Pictish kings place a Nectan, son of Irb, as the successor of Gartnaidh in the beginning of the seventh century, and ascribe to him the founding of Abernethy; but Gartnaidh was really succeeded by Nectan, grandson of Uerd, who is thus confounded with the older Nectan. (See Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, i. 235.)

² See *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 33, 175, 406.

³ Joceline’s *Life of Kentigern* (‘Historians of Scotland,’ v.), p. 168.

remaining there seven years he travelled throughout all Fife erecting churches. He died at Dunning, in Perthshire. The church of Creich was dedicated to him, and he may have been its founder.¹

St. Adrian also appears to have laboured in the North of Fife. According to the legend, he was a Hungarian, who, with a great company of clerics and others, came to Pictland to preach the Gospel. They abode first at Caiplic, in the parish of Kilrenny. Here there still exists a cave with 'many small crosses rudely incised on its walls; while over the cave, and entering from it by steps cut in the rock, there was till lately a little chamber, with a bench on its inner side cut in the rock, both of which have been traditionally associated with St. Adrian as his oratory and abode.'² Some of the company afterwards settled on the Isle of May, where they probably lived as hermits, and others, according to Wynton, in places north of the Forth, that is, throughout Fife. In the May, St. Adrian and many of them were martyred by the heathen Danes in the year 875.³ Adrian and his companions appear to have been in reality Scots from Ireland. 'His true name of a Scot,' says Skene, 'was probably Odran, as the name of the patron saint always enters largely into those of the clergy of the place, with the usual prefix Gilla, or Maol; and we find a subsequent bishop of St. Andrews called Magilla Odran, son of the servant of Odran.'⁴ Odran, or Adrian, is believed to be identical with Macidrin, corrupted into Magridan, and formed by adding the prefix *mo*, that is, 'my,' a term of endearment, to Odran, with the addition of an intermediate letter for the sake of euphony. The church of Flisk and that of Lindores, now Abdie, were dedicated to St. Magridin; and the same name was on Macduff's cross near Newburgh. In close connection with St. Adrian was

¹ *Chron. P. and S.*, lix. 412; *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 31.

² Stuart's *Rec. of Isle of May*, p. v.

³ *Chron. P. and S.*, 425; Wynton's *Chronicle*, ed. 1872, vol. ii. 85, 86.

⁴ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, iv. 316, 318.

Mucolinus of Flisk, who appears to have been another saint who came to Scotland from Ireland.¹ On Fliskmillan farm, in the parish of Flisk, there is the seat of St. Muggin, a modern abbreviation of Magridin. A church near Dron, called Exmagirdle, a corruption of Ecclesmagidrin, or the Church of Magidrin, was dedicated to him. The fact of his commemoration in so many places in the same district can be accounted for only by the supposition that this formed a special field of his labour, or of that of his disciples.

¹ See Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 268, 379, 414.

CHAPTER IV

SCOTS, DANES, ANGLO-SAXONS, AND NORMANS

‘ The Danish raven, lured by annual prey,
Hung o’er the land incessant. Fleet on fleet
Of barbarous pirates unremitting tore
The miserable coast.’

‘ Deep-blooming, strong,
And yellow-haired, the blue-eyed Saxon came.’

—THOMSON.

DURING a period of thirty years in the latter half of the seventh century, Fife, like the Lothians for a much greater length of time, may be said to have formed a part of England. Between 654 and 657 Oswy, King of the Angles of Northumbria, whose dominion extended to the Firth of Forth, subjugated the Pictish province of Fife, and incorporated it with his kingdom. In the year 670, when Oswy was succeeded by his son Egfrid, an unsuccessful effort was made by the southern Picts, aided by the free tribes of the north, to throw off the Anglie yoke. Fifteen years afterwards Bridei, or Bruidi, the Pictish sovereign, having advanced from the north and joined his forces with those of the Scots, Egfrid, who was his cousin, led an army into Pictland, in order to crush him and ravage the country. Bede informs us that while the enemy feigned retreat, Egfrid was drawn into the narrow passes of ‘inaccessible mountains,’ and was slain with the greatest part of his forces. By this decisive victory, which was gained on the 20th of May 685, the Picts, Britons, and Scots recovered their independence. ‘It is held by some,’ says Hill Burton, ‘to have permanently severed the country between the Tay and the Forth from the

influences that would have made it a part of England.¹ Though, strange to say, it has been almost forgotten in modern times, it was the precursor of another victory very similar, both in its main circumstances and results, which was to be achieved after the lapse of centuries on the field of Bannockburn.

This great conflict is called by different chroniclers the battle of Lin Garan, of Dun Nechtan, and of Nechtan's Mere. Of Lin Garan nothing appears to be known. Hill Burton, Skene, and other historians have identified Dun Nechtan with Dunnichen, in Forfarshire—where are remains of a fort or camp—and Nechtan's Mere with a swamp near it called the Mire of Dunnichen, now drained, in the neighbourhood of which many stone coffins have been found. Some, however, have supposed that the site of the battle was at Ardnachten, now Naughton, in Balmerino parish, and several circumstances might be adduced in favour of this opinion.² There is reason to believe that both on the north and south sides of Naughton there was in ancient times a mire or swamp, though the ground has long been drained.³ If the heights and rocky precipices at Naughton cannot be said to be, in the words of Bede, inaccessible mountains, neither can the hills at Dunnichen be correctly so described. Either in the valley on the south side of Naughton, or in the deeper and narrower pass on the north, between Hay's Hill and its continuation eastwards on the one side, and the ridge on which the present mansion and the ruins of the old castle stand on the other, a military force drawn thither by an enemy feigning retreat might have been easily cut off. And if tradition and the discovery of stone coffins at Dunnichen be taken as proofs that a battle was fought there, these and other indications of some conflict exist, as

¹ Bede's *Hist. Eccles. Angl.*, lib. iv. c. 26; Burton's *Hist. Scot.*, i. 283 (ed. 1873); *Celtic Scotland*, i. 266.

² See Leighton's *Hist. Fife*, ii. 77.

³ Other castles in the district were in olden times partially surrounded by a marsh or sheet of water for defence—namely, those of Newton, Leuchars, Cairnie or Lord's Cairnie, Creich, and perhaps Kinneir.

we have seen, in the neighbourhood of Naughton also. The strongest argument in favour of Dunnichen being the scene of the battle of Dun Nechtan, is derived from the close resemblance of the one name to the other. There is no evidence that Ardnachten was ever called Dun Nechtan, though, as has been already remarked, there was probably a fort or *dun* at the period referred to, and long before it, on the height where the castle of Naughton was afterwards erected. It is another curious coincidence—though unconnected with the question discussed — that both places appear to have acquired their names from the same Pictish king, Nectan, son of Erip or Irb.

The union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms about the middle of the ninth century was followed by an extensive migration of Scots from Argyll into South Pictland, and especially into Fife, which became the chief province of Alban, or Scotia, as the united kingdom came afterwards to be called. As the Pictish people of Fife at that period certainly spoke a dialect of the Gaelic language of the Scots, the amalgamation of these two branches of the same race would thereby be facilitated. The Scots, being the more civilised as well as the governing branch, more and more predominated ; and the Picts eventually disappeared from history as a separate people.

Soon after the middle of the ninth century the Danes, who frequently ravished the shores of the British Isles, entered Pictland, probably by the Firth of Tay, and laid waste the country as far inland as Cluanan (Clunie, in Stormount) and Dunkeld. The erection of the Round Tower of Abernethy may be assigned to this period, though it is believed that its upper portion, which is built of stones of a different kind from those used in the lower courses, and has Norman characteristics in its four windows near the top, was subsequently rebuilt. Like the Irish Round Towers, from which it as well as the similar Tower of Brechin of later origin was copied, it must have been intended to serve as a bell-tower, but also, and still more, as a place of

security for ecclesiastical utensils, books, and other valuables, as well as for the clerics themselves, against the attacks of the Danes, to whom monasteries were favourite objects of pillage. It is believed that about the same period, and for the same reason, was commenced the practice of building churches of stone instead of wood in places exposed to such attacks. In 877 the Danes, advancing from the west coast, overran the country as far as Dollar, where they gave battle to 'the men of Alban,' and defeated them. They then pursued and slaughtered them through Fife, and gained another victory over them at Inverdufatha or Inbhirdubhroda,¹ now Inverdovat, in the parish of Forgan. The carnage was great, and among the slain was Constantine, King of the Picts—as the sovereigns of the united kingdom were still called—who died, according to an old chronicle,

'On Thursday in pools of blood,
On the shore of Iubhirdubhroda,'

and was buried in Iona. In some of the accounts of this disaster, however, the assailants are called not Danes, but Norwegians. The Pictish Chronicle states that 'the Scots'—that is, the retreating natives—were slain at Ach Cochlam, which Skene supposes to have been Kathlok or Cathlok, now Kedlock, in the parish of Logie. If this conjecture be correct, a conflict must have taken place there also.² There is a tradition that King Constantine was captured and put to death in a cave at Fifeness, which must be erroneous, as there is no doubt he was killed in battle at a place whose name began with *Inbhir* or *Inver*.³ A stone cairn mentioned in the Register of St.

¹ These Gaelic names signify the *Inver of the black ford*, and of *the black road* (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 327-8). *Inver* means the mouth of a river, or the confluence of two waters or streams.

² *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 86, 8.

³ 'By another chronicle,' says Skene, 'the word is corrupted to "de Werdo-fatha," and supposing that "Wer" was meant for "Wem," a cave, the *Chronicum Elegiacum* translates it *Nigra specus* (a black cave), and from this the story that King Constantine was killed in a cave seems to have arisen' (*Celtic Scotland*, i. 327-8).

Andrews Priory, as situated 'near the road from Inverdoveth towards St. Andrews,' was probably a memorial of the battle; but Jervise's suggestion that this may have been the cairn already referred to as having existed till recently on the heights south of Northfield farm-steading, appears improbable from the position as indicated on the map of the Ordnance Survey.¹ The camp near St. Fort, already noticed, commonly called the 'Danes' Camp,' may have been connected with the battle of Inverdovat, though the account of the pursuit of the Scots by the Danes after their defeat at Dollar gives the impression that it was of too rapid a character to permit of the construction by either army of a work of defence of so substantial a kind.

About eighty years ago a family named Henderson, claiming to be descended from a Dane, who, being wounded in one of their incursions, remained behind when the Danes retreated, left the parish of Forgan, where they asserted their ancestors had lived for eight hundred years. It was said that the family, whithersoever they removed, always carried the same head-stone of their doorway with them. This heirloom has disappeared. The late Rev. Mr. Blair of Ferry-port-on-Craig had in his possession a sword which was said to have been handed down in the above-mentioned family as that of their Danish ancestor. The family of the late Mr. John Henderson, farmer at Gaudry, and afterwards at Cowbakie, claim to be descended from the same Dane. There is a tradition that the inhabitants of Tents Moor were descended from the crews of a Danish fleet that had been wrecked on the coast.

Towards the end of the tenth century the Danes are said to have appeared in the Tay with a fleet, but to have been defeated near Luncarty, in Perthshire, after a fierce battle, with heavy loss on both sides. Tradition asserts that during their retreat they were attacked and again defeated by the Scots on the elevated field in Balmerino parish, called Battle Law, and

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Sect.)*, vi. 392.

compelled to take refuge in their ships. The tradition is supposed to be confirmed by the 'cairns recently existing on this field, which were found to contain human bones; and by the stone coffins, bones, and pieces of broken swords which were discovered near it. To the same event have been referred the stone coffins and cairns found at the east end of the village of Gauldry and at Peashills, with their contents, as well as the gold ornaments found at the latter place, as already described. The forts also on Norman's Law and on the chain of heights extending eastwards from it, as well as several of the other ancient memorials previously mentioned, are popularly connected with the incursions of the Danes. Placed or found, as all of these objects were, so near the Tay, some of them are doubtless thus rightly accounted for. Such traditions can hardly be altogether destitute of some foundation. Yet they cannot be accepted as furnishing the true explanation of the whole of these memorials. That some great conflict took place on Battle Law is sufficiently proved by its name; but the cist and urn recently found there, and already noticed, belong to a period vastly more remote than the tenth or ninth century. As regards the battle of Luncarty in particular, such a conflict may have taken place, though this is denied by some recent historians. Neither Fordun nor Wynton mentions it. It makes its first appearance in the pages of Fordun's continuator, Bower, who wrote in the early part of the fifteenth century; and his account of it is incredible in some of its details. Hector Boece, a poor authority for a matter of fact, gives a highly picturesque but quite different description of the conflict; and with him originated the well-known story of the tide of battle having been turned by a countryman and his two sons with their yokes, and of these worthies becoming, in consequence of their prowess, the founders of the noble family of the Hays of Errol.¹

¹ See Boethius (or Boece), *Scot. Hist.*, fol. 229 (Parisii, 1574); and Bellenden's translation (1821), ii. 217; *Scotichron.*, ii. 99 (1759); Burton, *Hist. Scot.*, i. 338 (2nd ed.); Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 90.

That Norman's Law must have derived its present name from some incident connected with the ravages of the Northmen, or Norwegians, may be true enough, though it could scarcely be so called while the language of the district was Gaelic. Its older name, however, was Dundemor, or Dunmore ('the great fortress'), which indicates that it may have been a Celtic stronghold long before the Norwegian or Danish invasions. As the readiest way of accounting for the existence of such ancient memorials, they are frequently assigned to some well-known event in history, with which they may have had no connection. This remark holds true especially of sepulchral memorials, which are commonly referred to the invasions of the Romans or Danes, as if no Pict or Scot died a natural death, or was ever commemorated unless he fell in battle. Some of the ancient forts also may be of Celtic rather than of Danish origin, and much older than the period of the Danish inroads. The native tribes had internal as well as foreign foes to resist; and it may be presumed that those who occupied the country during so many ages would leave more numerous traces of their presence than would mark the hasty incursions of strangers from beyond the sea.

A great influx of foreigners into Scotland, and especially into Fife, commenced in the eleventh and continued till the thirteenth century. They were mostly Saxons from England, some of whom had settled north of the Forth before the Norman conquest of that country. These were followed by multitudes who fled northwards in order to escape the severity of the Conqueror; while others had been induced to come to Scotland by the circumstance that the Saxon princess, Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, had been married to the Scottish sovereign, Malcolm Ceanmor. The immigration of Margaret's countrymen was also encouraged by her sons, Edgar and Alexander I., during their successive reigns. Many of the Saxon immigrants were of the rank of barons. King David I. also brought Norman barons into Fife. Both classes of magnates

received from these sovereigns and their immediate successors extensive grants of land, on which they settled their retainers who accompanied them. Others acquired large estates by marrying Celtic heiresses. The royal burghs, which were then coming into existence, were at the same time being filled with Saxon and Flemish merchants. A prominent result of this great influx of foreigners was the gradual substitution of the English language for Gaelic in the lowland districts north of the Forth, and for British or Welsh in the kingdom of Strathclyde; just as English had been introduced many centuries earlier in the territory south of the Forth, when that district was conquered by the Angles of Northumbria and made part of their kingdom. Gaelic continued to be spoken in Fife down to the twelfth century at least. When the Scottish clergy assembled in a council at St. Andrews, in the year 1074, under King Malcolm Ceanmor and Queen Margaret, they could not understand the English language of the Queen, who was the chief speaker; and the King, who spoke both Gaelic and English, had to act as interpreter between them.¹ All the oldest names of places in the parish of Balmerino, as well as in the adjoining district, are Gaelic words, and must have originated prior to the twelfth century.² In every part of the Lowlands also, no less than in the Highlands, the oldest place-names are of Gaelic derivation. But in the chartularies of the Abbeys of Balmerino and Lindores, and of the Priory of St. Andrews, we find illustrations of the change of language which was taking place in the North of Fife during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In these records appear such place-names as Newton, Swan Mire, Aldan's Well, Langside, which are English, as of course all the names of later origin

¹ Turgot's *Life of Queen Margaret*, in Pinkerton's *Lives of Scot. Saints* (Metcalf's ed.), ii. 168.

² Such as Balmurynach itself, Ballindean, Ballindard, Ardint, Corbie, Cultrach, Balgove, Pitmossie, Kilburns, Flisk, Balhelvie, Logie, Ballinbreich, Lindores, Kinnaird, Dunbolg, Kinsleith, Colluthie, Creich, Drumnod, Starr, Rathillet, Kilmanny, Kinneir, Leuchars, Inverdovat.

are English. Some have attempted to explain the disappearance of Gaelic from the districts north of the Forth by the supposition that the Celtic population were by these crowds of foreigners driven into the Highlands, where their language is still spoken. But there is no evidence of such displacement of the ancient inhabitants: it is in itself improbable; and the ultimate extinction of Gaelic in the Lowlands can be otherwise accounted for. The urban population being for the most part of southern origin, their Saxon speech would gradually spread into the rural districts, in which also many of the strangers had settled; and the change of language would be brought about by a process similar to, though more rapid than, that which in our own day is introducing the English tongue into every district of the Highlands, and is destined at no remote period to extinguish Gaelic there also, even among the people of Celtic blood.

‘ Mark ! how all things swerve
From their known course, or vanish like a dream ;
Another language spreads from coast to coast ;
Only perchance some melancholy Stream,
And some indignant Hills old names preserve,
When laws, and creeds, and people all are lost !’

The influx of a foreign race led also to the ultimate extinction of the Celtic institutions which existed in Fife as elsewhere. The changes thus produced, being in their relation to this district important and interesting, claim a brief notice here.

Pictland had been divided into seven provinces, which, according to the legendary account of the origin of the Picts, were respectively occupied by and named after the seven sons of Cruidne or Cruithne, the progenitor of the race. His eldest son was Fib, and from him Fife is said to have derived its name. Each of these provinces was inhabited by several tribes, and each tribe or *tuath* was supposed to be descended from a common ancestor. Its head was called the *Toshach*. The

tribes of each province constituted together a *Mortuath* or Great Tribe, whose head was termed the *Mormaer*, or Great Steward. The land occupied by each tribe had been at first held as its common property. When agriculture came to be practised, the arable land was annually divided among the free members of the tribe, so that each had a part allotted to him proportioned to the number of cattle he possessed, as well as a dwelling in one of the townships. As the more enterprising and industrious would increase their stock, and thus get a larger share of the arable land, the amount to be divided among the less prosperous would thereby become smaller. The remainder of the land which was not arable formed the common pasture ground. The inconvenience attending the annual change of the members' allotments led first to a more lengthened, and eventually to a permanent retention of them; and thus there came into existence the right of private property in the tribe land. The wealthier members of the tribe, becoming in course of time extensive landholders, gave the use of a portion both of their land and stock to the poorer members, who were willing thus to become their dependents and tenants, in return for rent and various personal services. The tribe included also a class of persons who, by conquest or other causes, were in a state of serfdom, and did not share in the rights of freemen. The township was called *Baile*, which in the forms *Bal* and *Ballin* appears in many place-names, as—in this district—Balmerino, Balgove, Ballindean, Balhelvie, Ballinbreich. The homestead was frequently termed *Pettè*, *Pet*, or *Pit*, the last of which names is also of common occurrence, as in Pitmossie in the parish of Balmerino, and in Pitauchop, Pitbladdo, Pitlethy, and Pitcullo in neighbouring parishes. *Bal* and *Pit* had often the same meaning.¹

This tribal organisation was gradually assimilated to Saxon customs. The *Mormaers* of the seven provinces now appeared

¹ See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii., chaps. iii., iv.

under the Saxon title of Earls; and among the seven Earls of Scotland the Earl of Fife held the chief place. In like manner the Toshach became the Saxon Thane, and the tribe territory a thanage. Hence it is evident that there could never have been a 'Thane of Fife.' Under the feudal system, which was introduced by King David I., the sovereign was regarded as the superior of the whole land of the kingdom, extensive tracts of which he granted to great lords—in many cases Saxons and Normans—who in turn bestowed portions of their territory on vassals; and these gave lesser portions to sub-vassals, to be held by the tenure of military service, which took the place of various burdens and duties which had been imposed under the tribe system.¹ The serfs of Celtic race remained on the soil, and became the *villains* of the feudal superior, liable to be transferred by sale or gift along with the lands which they cultivated. The process of bringing the whole land of the kingdom under the feudal system extended over several reigns, and during the transition period many thanages still survived. One part of a thanage consisted of the Thane's demesne or mensal lands, which were cultivated by his hereditary serfs and personal bondsmen. The remainder was held of him by different classes of free tenants and farmers, who paid rent and gave other services; and the same system prevailed in the feudal baronies. Thus the lands in Balmerino parish before the foundation of the Abbey were partly demesne and partly servile lands. In Fife, so much of the land had been the subject of feudal grants to Saxon and Norman immigrants, that only four thanages survived the War of Independence. One of these was Kinnair, in the parish of Kilmany, as may be inferred from the fact that, when it afterwards became a

¹ These consisted of *cain*, or part of the produce of the land, and personal services, paid to the Toshach of the tribe as its Judge and Captain; *conveth*, or the duty of entertaining him when he passed through the territory; *feacht*, or the obligation to follow him in hostile expeditions; and *sluaged*, or the duty of serving the king in defence of the kingdom.—(*Celtic Scotland*, iii. 231-4.)

barony, its lands included the third part of Straburne, Fordell, and Fothers, which were still called 'Thane's lands.'¹ These doubtless formed the demesne lands of the Thane or Toshach of an ancient Celtic tribe, and would be cultivated by his serfs and bondsmen. The stronghold of the Thane of Kinneir would most probably be placed on the eminence rising out of the valley of the Motray at Easter Kinneir, where are still to be seen the remains of an edifice of later date, described in a charter of 1543 as 'the tower and fortalice of Kinneir,' and where the surname of Kinneir or Kinnear appears to have originated.

A Pictish Toshach had an officer who was the servitor of his court in executing his summonses, and was called the *Toshachdera*. The land attached to the office was termed the *Derach* or *Deray* lands. An instance occurs in the parish of Creich. A rent-roll of Lindores Abbey makes mention of the Derach land of Creich.² Its situation appears to be unknown, but the name is an interesting survival of the tribe system of Celtic times.

The immigration of Saxons and Normans led also to important ecclesiastical changes. Though the Columban monks had been expelled by King Nectan in 717, clergy of the same order appear to have been to some extent restored after the union of the Pictish and Scottish kingdoms. Yet the Celtic Church was from various causes now in a state of decadence. Its possessions had been to some extent secularised. The Danish and Norwegian invasions had proved specially disastrous to it. Its monasteries were by these Pagans despoiled ;

¹ In 1543 these lands are described as 'Thane's lands,' and as forming part of the barony of Kinneir. In 1372 Straburne and Fordell were in the barony of Leuchars; but as they were not then called Thane's lands, it was presumably some portion only of them which belonged to the latter barony. See *Abbreviate of Retours* (Fife) under 30th July 1543; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii. ch. vii. and p. 268; *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. i. p. 99.

² Dr. Alexander Laing's *Lindores Abbey*, p. 423; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 281.

the discipline of the monks was relaxed, and in many cases they themselves were dispersed. The strict observance of monastic celibacy, which had been both the strength and the weakness of the Columban system, had produced a reaction, and the marriage of clerics had become general. Church benefices frequently descended from father to son, and the priesthood became in some degree a hereditary caste. Abbots ceased to take clerical orders, while retaining the revenues of the abbacy. Clerical duties were devolved on a small body of Culdees with their Prior, and sometimes on a single priest. These received only a portion of the endowments, while the larger share was appropriated by the Abbot as a lay magnate, as we shall find in the case of Abernethy, whose possessions included Balmerino. The Culdees, or *Keledei*, who existed at Abernethy and elsewhere, do not make their appearance in history till the eighth century. They were at first ascetics, living in communities, and probably originated in a reaction from the laxity of monastic observance. In their discipline they resembled secular canons—an intermediate class between monks and secular priests. In the twelfth century they are found at many of the old Columban seats. Some, if not most of them, were married men. Their societies were independent of Iona and of each other. In course of time they also fell away from their original strictness, and at length were chiefly characterised by worldliness and neglect of duty.

The Celtic Church, thus fallen into decrepitude, was by Queen Margaret and her sons, and especially by King David, gradually assimilated to the pattern of the Church of England, which was itself modelled on that of Rome. This transformation was effected chiefly by the introduction of diocesan episcopacy and the monastic Orders connected with the Roman Church, which had been imported into England from the Continent, and by the institution of parishes. Though there were bishops in the Columban Church, they had neither dioceses nor jurisdiction; and when there happened to be

one in a monastery, he was himself subject to the Abbot, even when the latter was only a presbyter. In the year 850 Kenneth MacAlpin, having brought from Iona to the monastery of Dunkeld, which had been founded in 815, Columba's relics, or some of them, thereby conferred on it supremacy over all the Columban monasteries. Dunkeld thus took the place of Iona, which had been repeatedly laid waste and its monks slaughtered or dispersed by the Danes. Kenneth at the same time constituted the Abbot of Dunkeld Bishop of Fortrenn, or the territory situated between the Tay and the Forth, now under his rule, which was an approximation to a diocese. The seat of this bishopric was afterwards removed to Abernethy, where there were three bishops in succession. About the beginning of the tenth century it was transferred to St. Andrews, and the bishop, who probably resided in the monastery of that place, was called the Bishop of the Scots, or of Alban. This system had continued for about two centuries, when Alexander I. appointed to the bishopric of St. Andrews Turgot, an Englishman. He also instituted two, and King David six additional bishoprics, the seats of most of which were connected with old Columban foundations. On these bishoprics, and on the religious Orders of the Church of Rome, were conferred what remained of the ancient endowments of the Celtic monasteries at the seats referred to. Alexander I. restored to the church of St. Andrews the territory called the Boar's Chace, which had been given to it by King Hungus, but had been subsequently secularised.¹ An Augustinian Priory was founded at St. Andrews in order to supersede the Celtic monastery; and the Culdees of this and other ecclesiastical

¹ As Hungus had offered on the altar a turf in token of the privileges he had conferred on this church, so Alexander performed a symbolic ceremony of a still more singular kind, as a memorial of the gift and liberties he had given. He ordered to be led up to the altar his Arabian steed, saddled and bridled, and covered with a precious cloth; and these, with a shield and silver spear, and a suit of Turkish armour, he presented to the church. (See *Chron. Picts and Scots*, p. 190.)

seats were eventually suppressed, or converted into canons of the Cathedral Chapters.

The most beneficial change now introduced was the creation of parishes, which cannot be traced farther back than the early part of the twelfth century. Previously each tribe either had its monastery, frequently with one or more dependent chapels in the outlying districts; or had a smaller church, with a portion of land belonging to it. When the Saxon or Norman settler received from the Crown a grant of land, if this territory was not already provided with a church, he proceeded to erect one, for his people—its site being often, as at Creich, close to his residence—endowed it for all time coming with the tithes of his estate and a portion of land, which was frequently a ploughgate, that is, 104 acres, in extent. He and his successors thus became patrons of the church, having the right of appointing its incumbent; and his manor constituted the parish. Both the extent and name of the parish, however, were often nearly the same as those of the tribe land. These circumstances account for the irregular shape and fragmentary character of many parishes at the present day.

CHAPTER V

ANCIENT PROPRIETORS AND CHURCH OF BALMERINO

‘ In the antique age of bow and spear
And feudal rapine clothed with iron mail,
Came ministers of peace, intent to rear
The Mother Church in yon sequestered vale.’

—WORDSWORTH.

THE immigration of foreigners, already adverted to, which has been called the Saxon Conquest though achieved by peaceful means, with the great changes introduced by it, marked the commencement of a new era. Writing was now becoming common, though as yet practised chiefly by churchmen; and land was held by charter titles. From about the twelfth century onwards the records of the various monasteries and bishoprics furnish many interesting and authentic materials for parochial history, which have as yet been but seldom turned to account by local historians. From the Chartulary of Balmerino Abbey, and the Registers of the Priory of St. Andrews and the Abbey of Arbroath, we obtain numerous notices of Balmerino parish, which enable us to understand the more general features of its civil and ecclesiastical state, and to know something of its landholders. These notices commence about the middle of the twelfth century.

The greater part, if not the whole, of the lands forming the parish of Balmerino, as originally bounded, appears—as has been already indicated and shall presently be shown—to have been included in the extensive possessions of the Celtic monastery of Abernethy. That monastery having been, like others, secularised, its lands were in the twelfth

century held by hereditary lay Abbots, who, assuming Abernethy as their designation, founded the noble house of that name; while a small society of Culdees, with their Prior, performed the clerical duties, and subsisted on a portion of its revenues. The first of the abbatial family whose name is recorded was Hugh of Abernethy, who witnesses a charter in the Arbroath Register. The next was Orm, his son, who flourished in the reign of Malcolm IV. Margaret, the daughter of Orm, was married to Henry Reuel, who obtained with her 'a ten merk land of Old Extent.'¹ From the Balmerino Chartulary we learn where this land was situated.

In the reign of William the Lion (A.D. 1165–1214), and apparently soon after its commencement, Henry Reuel received from that monarch a grant of Cultrach (Cultra), with the customary feudal privileges and duty attached to it.² Though Cultrach is alone mentioned in the charter, the territory so called appears to have included the lands of Balmurinach (Balmerino), Ballindard, Ballindean, and Corbie; since in a charter afterwards obtained by Richard Reuel, the nephew of Henry, Balmerino and Ballindard are stated to have been held by Henry Reuel along with Cultrach; while in the Foundation Charter of Balmerino Abbey, Ballindean, Ballindard, and Corbie are described as 'pertinents' of Cultrach and Balmurinach. Adam de Stawel, brother and heir of Richard Reuel, having subsequently, as we shall see, sold these lands to Queen Ermengarde, and she having founded an abbey at Balmerino, Laurence de Abernethy, son of Orm, soon after her death, for himself and his heirs, resigned and quit-claimed to that abbey his and their right or interest in the lands of Cultra, Ballin-

¹ Wood's edition of *Douglas's Peerage*, 'Lord Abernethy.'

² The charter was given at *Clonin*, doubtless Clunie, in the district of Stormount, Perthshire, which in the Pictish Chronicle is written *Cluanan*—one of nine places north of the Forth appointed in the time of William the Lion, to which all legal writs were to be returned, and reckoned the local capitals of their respective districts.

dean, Ballindard, Corbie, and Balmerino. We may therefore conclude that these lands had been held by Orm; that they were the 'ten merk land' given by him to Henry Reuel as the dowry of his wife Margaret, who was the sister of Laurence of Abernethy; and that the Crown charter which Henry Reuel had obtained merely gave validity to this transaction.¹

Land being now held by military tenure, the duty attached to Henry Reuel's grant was 'the service of half a knight' (*miles*). Such a fraction of even the bravest knight could indeed be serviceable to no one except a student of anatomy, if any such then existed; but the meaning of this statement in the charter is sufficiently apparent. The baronial rights which Henry Reuel acquired with his lands were those of *sac and soc, tol and tehm, and infangenethef*. His successors obtained also that of *pit and gallows*. These feudal terms signified the right of holding courts, deciding pleas, and imposing fines within his own territory; of levying custom on goods passing through it; of requiring a warranty that goods offered for sale had been legally procured; and of punishing capitally a thief caught with the 'fang,' and having the stolen property in his possession, or the homicide taken 'red-hand' within the limits of the manor. Male criminals were hanged, and females were drowned. Every freeholder entitled to hold a court was then to a great extent a petty sovereign within his own estate. The 'Gallowstone' on the top of Cultra Hill, already noticed, no doubt marks the place of execution for those condemned to death in the court of the proprietor of Balmerino, and in that of the Abbot's Bailie in later times.

The Register of Arbroath Abbey furnishes clear proof that Cultra, including, of course, the other lands above mentioned, had formed part of the possessions of the monastery of

¹ *Liber de Balmorinach*, or Chartulary of Balmerino Abbey (Abbotsford Club), pp. 4, 5, 3, 7.

Abernethy; it also throws light on the state of that monastery itself towards the close of the twelfth century, when its revenues were divided between the lay Abbot and the Culdees. William the Lion, between the years 1189 and 1198, grants and confirms the church of Abernethy to Arbroath Abbey. At the same time Laurence, son of Orni of Abernethy, for himself and his heirs, quit-claims to that abbey his whole right in the advowson of the church of Abernethy, 'with these things belonging to it, namely, the chapel of Dron, and the chapel of Dunbule, and the chapel of Erolyn (now Errol), and the land of Belach (now Ballo) and Petenlouer; and the half of all the tithes of the property of himself and his heirs, of which the Keledei of Abirnythy have the other half; and all the tithes of the territory of Abirnythy, and all things justly pertaining to that church, except those tithes which are appropriated to the church of Flisk and to the church of Cultram (Cultrach), and except the tithes of his lordship of Abirnythy which the Keledei of Abirnythy have and used always to have, namely, those of Mukedrum and of Kerpul, and of Balehyrewell (now Broadwell), and of Balecolly, and of Invernythy, on the east side of the stream.'¹ King William, in his charter of confirmation, styles Laurence Abbot of Abernethy, who thus appears as bestowing tithes, and in the Balmerino Chartulary as giving away lands, which had belonged to St. Brigid's monastery, while asserting that they were the property of himself and his heirs. He lived as a secular baron at Kerpul, now Carpow, the old castle or mansion of the lords of Abernethy.²

¹ *Registr. Vetus de Aberbr.*, pp. 25, 26.

² See C. Innes's *Sketches of Early Scotch Hist.*, p. 150. Laurence of Abernethy, with consent of Patrick his son and heir, granted to the Priory of St. Andrews ten shillings of sterlings from the rent of his *vill* of Ballinbreich, to be paid annually on St. Andrew's Eve, for the benefit of the kitchen at that festival. At the same time the canons quit-claim to him and his heirs for all time coming their right in a toft with four acres of land, and a fishing opposite these acres, in the *vill* of Ballinbreich, which his mother had given to the priory.—(*Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, p. 268.)

The five places last mentioned in Laurence of Abernethy's charter, which were all near to Abernethy, appear to represent the lands with which King Nectan in the fifth century endowed St. Brigid's nunnery; while the remaining and distant territory¹ may have formed the additional endowment conferred on the monastery by King Garnard towards the end of the following century. This territory, extending probably from Parkhill, near Lindores Abbey, to Balmerino, included Cultra, which, with its pertinents already specified, had been given to Henry Reuel as his wife's dowry. The monastic possessions appear to have also included Dunbog,² but not Glenducky. This last place, where there was a chapel before the Reformation, was obtained by Orm of Abernethy from Duncan, Earl of Fife, along with Balmadethy, in Forfarshire, in exchange for Balbirnie, in Fife.³ In the dependent 'chapels' of Dron, Dunbog, and Errol, and the 'churches' of Flisk and Cultra, we have an interesting illustration of the method by which the Columban monasteries supplied the religious wants of outlying districts. Similarly the monastery of Mortlach, in Banffshire, had five churches subordinate to it. We may reasonably conclude that the monks of Abernethy at a very early period brought the inhabitants of Flisk and Cultra, or Balmerino, to the knowledge of the Gospel—if this had not been already done by Columba—and that the 'churches' existing at these places towards the end of the twelfth century had also been at first chapels dependent on Aber-

¹ The lands originally granted by the Kings Nectan and Garnard to the monastery may together have possibly extended continuously from Abernethy to Balmerino; and the portion intervening between Mugdrum and Parkhill may have been secularised before William the Lion gave them to David, Earl of Huntingdon, who founded Lindores Abbey there. There is, however, no record proof of the correctness of these conjectures.

² There were anciently lands at Dunbog called St. Bridget's lands.—(*Cupar Presbytery Minutes*, 1814.)

³ Wood's edition of *Douglas's Peerage*, vol. ii. But, according to Sir Robert Sibbald, Balmeady 'was exchanged by the Earl of Fife with the Earl of Angus, giving Balmeady for Balbirny.'—(*Hist. of Fife and Kinross*, ed. 1803, p. 409.) The Earl of Angus was a descendant of the Abernethy family.

nethy, and had, before the period referred to, acquired the status of parish churches by having assigned to them respectively the tithes and other dues of a defined district which formed the parish, as likewise happened in course of time with each of the three 'chapels.' In the year 1272 the Culdees of Abernethy were either converted into, or superseded by, a society of Augustinian Canons.

Along with the lands of Cultra, Balmerino, and their pertinents, Adam de Stawel sold to Queen Ermengarde the advowson or patronage of the 'church of Balmerino,' he being its patron, as his predecessors had doubtless been.¹ This is the first mention of Balmerino church. In one of the copies of the Foundation Charter of the Abbey it is called the 'Mother-church of Balmerino,' evidently with reference to the fact that the Abbey church was of subsequent erection. As it is unlikely that there would be a church at each of two places in the same estate so near one another as Cultra and Balmerino, the 'church of Cultra' and the 'church of Balmerino' were most probably one and the same, namely, the church of the territory or parish which included both places; and this church, whose site is unknown, would be erected at one or other of them, but presumably at Balmerino. Thus we shall find, in connection with Naughton, that 'the church of Naughton' and 'the church of Forgan'—the latter place being that at which it was situated—are used in the Register of St. Andrews Priory as convertible terms. Possibly, however, the church may have been first at Cultra and afterwards rebuilt at Balmerino. Wherever situated, it was probably an edifice of a very humble character, and may have been allowed to fall into decay after the erection of the Abbey church.

To revert to the Reuels, it was some time after the year 1214 that Richard Reuel, Henry's nephew, obtained from

¹ *Balmerino Chartulary*, p. 5.

Alexander II. a charter of confirmation of his uncle's lands—Cultra, Balmerino, and Ballindard being alone mentioned—with all the baronial privileges already described. He had previously received from King William a grant of Easter Ardint, and this was now confirmed to him by the charter of Alexander II.¹ The military duty attached to his possessions thus enlarged was the service of one knight. Both Henry and Richard Reuel appear to have been in frequent attendance on the sovereign, as several royal charters in the Arbroath Register are witnessed by them.

The succession of Adam de Stawel, brother of Richard Reuel, to these lands must have taken place before the year 1225, since it was in that year he sold them to Queen Ermen-garde, as shall be more fully stated in connection with the history of the Abbey.

As the lands forming the original parish of Balmerino had once belonged to the Celtic monastery of Abernethy, and had been afterwards secularised, so a small portion of them was now to be restored to a religious use by being conferred on an Augustinian Priory; and this proved to be the first step in a reaction or reformation, which culminated, as we shall see, in the restoration of the whole, or almost the whole, parochial territory to a monkish fraternity. Henry Reuel and Margaret, his spouse, grant to the Prior and canons of St. Andrews fifteen acres of land, which are described as 'lying north of Cultra, and west of the road leading from Balmerino to Cultra, as perambulated by the said Henry, Richard Reuel his nephew, Matthew the canon, and his good men (*probi homines*),' and also the common pasture pertaining to that extent of land. Among the witnesses to the charter are Josius, or Jocelinus, of Ballendard, Ralph the chaplain (probably the incumbent or parish priest of Balmerino, the word 'chaplain' being then often used in that sense), Adam of Ardist, and Odo

¹ *Balmerino Chartulary*, p. 5.

of Corhri (Corbie?). As regards Henry Reuel's 'good men' who joined in the perambulation, those so termed were small proprietors who held land of a subject. It is probable that Joceline, Adam, and Odo held their lands of Henry Reuel, and that they were thus 'his good men' referred to. Adam de Stawel, nephew of Henry Reuel, afterwards confirms the grant and affixes his seal to the charter of confirmation. Among the witnesses to it is Henry of Ainstrother, one of the earliest notices of this ancient family, which we shall meet with again.¹ The land thus conferred on the Priory, or perhaps only its superiority, is mentioned among its possessions so late as the years 1593 and 1635 under its present name of Priorwell, which is derived from the Prior of St. Andrews *plus* a copious and never failing fountain which it contains²—the best in the parish.

Jocelinus of Ballendarl, one of the witnesses to this grant, was probably of Norman descent. He appears as perambulating, in company with Nicholas of Innerpeffer, certain lands at Barry, in connection with an agreement entered into between the Abbeys of Arbroath and Balmerino.³ There was another small property at Arbirlot in Forfarshire, adjoining Innerpeffer, called Balinhard or Bonhard, whose owner, John of Balinhard, died about the year 1275. His great-grandson, also named John, is supposed to have exchanged, about the year 1350, his lands at Arbirlot for those of Carnegie, in Carmylie parish; and hence the family surname and title were changed to Carnegie of that Ilk. The head of this family is now the Earl of Southesk. It has been conjectured that the elder John of Balinhard was the son of the above-mentioned Jocelinus of Ballendarl, in Balmerino parish, the latter name being a mere variation of the former. If this conjecture be

¹ *Registr. Prior. St. Andr.*, p. 271-2.

² *Registr. Mag. Sigill.*, vol. v. No. 2273 (1593). The town and lands of the 'Pryourewell of Balmurinach'; Martine's *Reliq. Div. Andr.*, p. 180 (1635).

³ *Reg. Vet. Aberbr.*, p. 197.

correct, Jocelinus was the ancestor of the Earls of Southesk, and the first of the family of whom there is any genuine notice. His supposed connection with the Balinhard of Arbirlot is so far borne out by dates and localities. These circumstances, however, do not in the absence of direct evidence prove the connection.¹ The association of Jocelinus of Ballendard with Nicholas of Innerpeffer in the perambulation at Barry may be explained by the supposition, which is a probable one, that the former represented in this transaction the convent of Balmerino, and the latter that of Arbroath. Balinhard signifies *a township or hamlet on a height*, and there were other places called Balinhard or Bonhard in the counties of Forfar, Perth, and Linlithgow.

The situation of Ballindard, in Balmerino parish, is now unknown, and the name is extinct. Easter Ardint, which also appears in the shorter forms of Ardint and Ardin, was doubtless the eminence now called Airdie Hill; and the lands so named probably extended from the stream which passes the farmhouse of Grange to another which forms the south-west boundary of that farm. Ardin is the diminutive of Ard, which signifies a height; and Ballindard possibly denoted a hamlet somewhere about Airdie Hill, while Easter Ardint may have been the name applied to the more level ground at its eastern base. Ardist, from which Adam of Ardist, one of the witnesses to Henry Reuel's gift of Priorwell, derived his surname, may have been merely a variation of the name Ardint; or, though less probably, it may have denoted a place so called in Leuchars parish, and now known as Airdit.²

Thomas de Lundin, or Lundie, also possessed property

¹ See Jervise's *Lands of the Lindsays*, 1st ed., p. 193; and 2nd ed., p. 239.

² In the 'New Valuation of Fifeshire,' 1695, printed in Adamson's edition of Sibbald's *Hist. of Fife and Kinross*, there is, under Balmerino parish, the following entry, which is incorrect and misleading: 'Airdit or Skur and Scrogieside, £54. 6s. 8d.'—as if Airdit and Skur denoted the same place. It should be 'Airdit for Skur,' &c.—'Airdit' meaning Douglas, laird of Airdit, in Leuchars parish, who was then also proprietor of Skur.

somewhere about Balmerino. Its situation, however, is unknown. In the reign of William the Lion he bestowed on the Abbey of Cupar—that is, Cupar in Angus—one merk of silver from his land of Balmerino, to be paid yearly by himself and his heirs. ‘And if I should go,’ he says, ‘the way of all flesh in the kingdom of Scotland, my body shall be conveyed to Cupar, and there be buried in the cloister before the door of the church, in the place I have chosen.’¹ He was there buried in 1231, as was also, in 1275, his more celebrated son Alan, Earl of Athole, his last male descendant. This family was connected with the De Lundins near Largo. From Malcolm IV. two brothers, Philip and Malcolm de Lundin, received grants of land—the former those of Lundie in Fifeshire, and the latter those of Lundie in Forfarshire. Thomas de Lundin was the son of Malcolm. He held the office of *Ostiarium* or Doorward to King William, and also to Alexander II., and hence the family took the name of Dorward, or Durward.²

¹ Rogers's *Rental Book of Abbey of Cupar-Angus*, i. p. 341.

² Sir J. Dalrymple's *Collections concerning the Scot. Hist.*, p. 398.

CHAPTER VI

ANCIENT ESTATE, CHAPEL, AND CASTLE OF NAUGHTON

‘Blest is this Isle—our native Land ;
Where battlement and moated gate
Are objects only for the hand
Of hoary Time to decorate.’

—WORDSWORTH.

THE estate of Naughton was disjoined from the parish of Forgan—originally called Forgrund—and annexed to that of Balmerino in the year 1650. The Register of St. Andrews Priory shows that in ancient times it was much more extensive than at present. Down to the sixteenth century the barony of Naughton comprehended, either in property or superiority, besides portions of Leuchars parish, the greater part, if not the whole (except church lands), of Forgan parish, the original name of which was the ‘parish of Naughton.’ The expression, ‘parish of Forgrund,’ as applied to it, occurs only once in the Priory Register, and not till the year 1288. Its church was sometimes called the church or Mother-church of Naughton, and sometimes the church of Forgan. In the twelfth century the estate of Naughton was possessed by a family—probably Norman—of the name of De Lasceles, which was variously spelt, as is usual with the names both of persons and places contained in ancient records. Many members of this family are mentioned in the Register, and several of them as bestowing on the Priory lands in the parishes of Forgan and Leuchars. Richard de Lasceles grants to it three acres, situated on the east side of Friarton and on the north side of the road leading from that place to the church of Forgan. Alan,

son of Walter de Lasceles, gives two acres arable of his land in the parish of Naughton, situated near to the vill of Culbakin (Cowbakie), and extending northwards from the road leading from his own vill to Culbakin, with an acre of meadow extending westward from the land of Culbakin, between the said two acres and the land of Malerether (which was a ploughgate, or 104 acres, in extent), belonging to the Priory. Of the witnesses to the charter the first two are Walter and Helyas, chaplains (parish priests) of Forgan. The *vill* was the cluster of cottages in which the serfs or *villains* (villagers) who cultivated their lord's lands lived, near to his own residence. Duncan de Lasceles gives to the Priory two acres in the territory of Seggin (Seggie), near the bridge of Modrit (Motray), and west of it. Serlo de Lasceles, in the year 1288, 'restores' to the Priory the land called 'Ryhinche, in the parish of Forgan, in Fyf.'¹ One of the witnesses to this transaction was Richard the *scoloc*, in whom we have a survival from the old Celtic Church. The *scolocs* were persons who were being trained to perform the Church service—the lowest members of the clerical order. They occupied the *scoloc* or scholar lands, from which they were bound to supply clerks who could read and sing. In some cases, however, they appear rather in the character of husbandmen or mere tenants of the church land.²

The church of Naughton or Forgan, with its revenues—according to the system then in vogue of increasing the emoluments of bishops and monasteries by granting to them the tithes and other endowments of parish churches—was conferred on St. Andrews Priory about the end of the twelfth century, doubtless on the usual condition that the Priory should supply it with a vicar. All the writers who have hitherto given an account of this matter have asserted that the grant was made

¹ *Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, pp. 274, 275, 346. See Appendix, No. xxvi. §1.

² See *Book of Deer*, p. cxxxviii; Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*, vol. ii. p. 379.

by King David I. The assertion is erroneous, as will appear from the following narrative.

Between the years 1188 and 1202, Alan, son of Alan de Lasceles above mentioned, and of his wife Juliana de Sumer-vile, with consent of his own wife Amabla, gives 'to God and to the church of the blessed Andrew the Apostle (*i.e.* the church of the Priory—the Cathedral), and to the canons who now, and shall in future, serve God there the Mother-church of my estate (*fundus*) of Naughton,¹ namely, the church of Forgan, with the chapel of Naughton adjacent (*adjacente*) to that church, and with a ploughgate of land adjacent to the same church, and with all the tithes, offerings, revenues, and rights belonging to it.' The three first witnesses to the grant are Roger, Bishop of St. Andrews, Duncan, Earl of Fife, and Malcolm his son. The ploughgate of land thus granted by Alan de Lasceles appears to have been different from a ploughgate called Malcrether or Melchrethre, the latter having been given to the Priory previously by King Malcolm IV.²

Bishop Malvoisine of St. Andrews (A.D. 1202–1238) grants and confirms to the Priory the Mother-church of Naughton, with all its just pertinents which Alan de Lasceles gave to it, as his charter testifies.³ The same bishop also admits and canonically institutes, on a presentation by the Prior and canons, Richard de Thouni to the parsonage of the church of Forgan in Fife, reserving the vicarage of Gervasius de Nealfa, who shall hold the said church of him, as vicar, during his life, with the chapel of Naughton, and with its lands, tithes, and all just pertinents, paying to him twenty silver merks annually in name of pension—ten at Martinmas and ten at Whitsunday—and also paying the episcopal dues.⁴ There is further recorded in the Priory Register the testimony of Laurence, Archdeacon of St. Andrews, that he had heard

¹ For some of the very numerous variations in the spelling of Naughton, as found in these charters and other ancient documents, see Appendix, No. xxiii.

² *Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, pp. 260, 196. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 154. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

from trustworthy men that the church of Naughton had been formerly conferred on the Prior and canons by a noble man, Alan de Lassell, its true patron; that he knows it was confirmed to them by Bishop Malvoisine; that Gervasius de Nefil having, on his presentation by the canons, obtained the church, and having in course of time resigned the parsonage, he (the archdeacon) being commissioned by the bishop to the Prior and canons, procured Richard de Thouni to be by them presented to the parsonage of the church, on whose presentation he was admitted and instituted accordingly. The archdeacon records this testimony 'lest truth should be prejudiced by falsehood, or justice by iniquity'—language which seems to point to some attempt which had been made to deny or invalidate Alan de Lascel's grant of the church to the Priory.¹

In the year 1266 Margery de Lascel, 'in her legitimate widowhood and free power,' grants and confirms to the Priory the Mother-church of Naughton, namely, of Forgan in Fife with the chapel of Naughton pertaining (*pertinente*) to it, and the ploughgate of land adjacent to it, which her father Alan de Lascel, son of Alan de Lascel, had by his charter granted. Two years later, Sir Alexander de Moravia (Moray, or Murray), son of the said Margery de Lascel, grants and confirms to the Priory the Mother-church of Naughton, namely, of Forgan in Fife, with the chapel of Naughton pertaining to it, and the ploughgate of land adjacent to the same church, which his grandfather Alan de Lascel, son of Alan de Lascel, had granted by his charter.²

On the other hand, King David (A.D. 1124–1153) also confers on the Priory 'the church of Forgrund, with all its tithes, customs, and rights, and all things pertaining to it from his whole lordship, and from all his men of Forgrund and Forgrundshire.' Malcolm IV. (1153–1165) confirms this grant

¹ *Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

made by King David, and by the same charter he himself gives half a ploughgate of land to the church of Forgan. By a subsequent charter King Malcolm gives and confirms to the Priory the half of that ploughgate of land in the shire (that is, the parish or district) of Forgan which is called Chingoth, and which he had granted to the church of Forgan. This is the same half-ploughgate as that mentioned in the previous charter. That it was not the church of 'Forgan in Fife,' which King David thus granted to St. Andrews Priory, as has been hitherto asserted, but 'Forgan in Gowrie,' once called Langforgrunde in the Priory Register, is decisively proved by the occurrence, in King Malcolm's second charter, of the name Chingoth, which denotes the place now called Kingoodie, in the neighbourhood of Longforgran. The church of Forgan in Fife was therefore gifted to the Priory by Alan de Lascels, and not by King David.¹

It further appears from the Priory Register that the church of Forgan which King David bestowed on the Priory was dedicated to St. Andrew. But Forgan in Fife was dedicated to St. Fillan, and was commonly called St. Fillan's so late as the eighteenth century. It was never called St. Andrew's. Moreover, 'the church of St. Andrew of Forgan' is mentioned in a Papal Bull of the year 1156 as then belonging to the Priory.² But Forgan in Fife was not given to the Priory, as we have seen, till some time between 1188 and 1202. It follows that 'the church of St. Andrew of Forgan' could not have been that of Forgan in Fife. The erroneous opinion that it was King David who granted the latter church to the Priory of St. Andrews has arisen from the circumstance that in most of the documents in which Forgan is mentioned in the Priory Register it is not stated which of the two places so called is meant. The ambiguity thence arising misled even Bishop Forbes to make the strange statement, that

¹ *Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, pp. 187, 197, 205.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 53.

‘St. Fillan’s, . . . the alternative name of the parish of Forgan, in Fife, . . . had an after-dedication to St. Andrew.’¹

When or by whom the chapel of Naughton was erected, or where it was situated, cannot now be ascertained. It is not mentioned in the *Taxatio Antiqua* or Old Valuation of the Church livings in the diocese of St. Andrews, and of those belonging to the Priory, which is inserted in its Register.² Forgan church is there mentioned, being valued at seventy merks, including fifteen for the vicar; as are also the churches of the neighbouring parishes—Leuchars with its chapel at 120,³ Kilmany at fifty, Logiemurthak at twenty, Flisk with its chapel at twenty-six, Creich with its chapel at twelve merks. From the chapel of Naughton being described in some of the above-quoted charters as ‘adjacent’ to the church of Forgan, it might be supposed that it stood in the immediate vicinity of that church. But in other charters the word used is ‘belonging’ to the church of Forgan, which does not necessitate such an inference. There was in ancient times a chapel at Seamylnes, Newport, dedicated to St. Thomas, but there is nothing to identify it with the chapel of Naughton, though it appears to have been within the barony of that name. When or by whom St. Thomas’s chapel was founded is unknown. It does not seem to have been in existence at the date of the *Taxatio*

¹ *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 345.

² Nor is the church of Balmerino (or Cultra) mentioned in it. Several churches which belonged to the priory in 1187 are wanting in this Valuation. Sibbald gives part of the List of the churches, but not their valuation, and assigns it to the year 1176.—(*Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, pp. 28–39; Sibbald’s *Hist. Fife*, pp. 206–7.)

³ There was a chapel at Ardit, and another—a private chapel—at Clayton, both in Leuchars parish, besides the chapel of St. Bonoc, or Bonach, in the village of Leuchars. For St. Bonoc’s, see in *Reg. Sigill. Mag.* a charter of 13th May 1586 confirming a previous one of 1564, and Forbes’s *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, pp. 283, 467. In 1470 a court-hill in the barony of Leuchars was called Bunnow’s Hill, probably a corruption of Bonoc (Fraser’s *Hist. of the Carnegies of Southesk*). In 1539 Henry Ramsay got a Crown charter of the barony of Leuchars-Ramsay, in which he received power to hold a yearly market, called the Free Fairs, at Leuchars, on St. Bonoc’s Day and the week following it (*Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iii. No. 2114).

Antiqua. It is mentioned so late as the year 1690. It is more likely that Naughton chapel would be situated near the western extremity of the estate, and intended for the benefit of the inhabitants of that remote part of Forgan parish. This supposition is so far confirmed by the fact that Naughton charters of various dates, extending down to the seventeenth century, mention as part of that estate certain lands called Kirkhills, now included in the farm of Peashills, and situated south of its present cottages. It is therefore probable that Naughton chapel stood there, and that this was the origin of the name Kirkhills, of which no other explanation has been suggested. Kilburns, now wholly included in the estate of Naughton, and close to the Tay, might from its name be supposed to have been the site of a church; and this might have been the 'chapel of Naughton.' The word *kil*, however, does not in every case denote a church; but, like *kyle*, sometimes stands for the Gaelic *coill*, a wood, so that it is often impossible to decide which of the two meanings it bears. If there ever was a church at Kilburns, it probably commemorated some early Celtic recluse, who found in that retired situation a retreat from the world. But even in such a case it would not have been described as the 'chapel of Naughton,' but would have been called by its own distinctive name of Kilburns.

The 'Grange of Naughton' is also frequently mentioned among the possessions of St. Andrews Priory. The Register states that it was bestowed by 'Bishop R.,' who was either Bishop Robert (1121-1159) or Bishop Richard (1163-1178), but more probably the former, who made many gifts to the Priory, and it is specified as belonging to that monastery in a Papal Bull of the year 1187.¹ Martine of Clermont, who wrote in 1683, states that 'Peesehills, Byrehills, and Cathills' stood in his time on the roll of lands and vassals of the ancient Priory. We might conclude that these lands, or some of them,

¹ *Reg. Fr. S. Andr.*, p. 68.

represented the 'Grange of Naughton,' but for the fact that Cathills of old belonged to Balmerino Abbey, and along with Peasehills and Byrehills formed in Martine's time, as they still form, part of Naughton estate, possessed then and now not by the Church, but by a lay proprietor. It is certain that Martine's statement means nothing more than that part of the teinds of these lands was, in 1683, paid to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, on whom the possessions of the suppressed Priory, or what remained of them, had been conferred by the Crown when Episcopacy was restored, though the lands in question are not mentioned in the King's charter of 1635, granting the Priory's revenues, as quoted by Martine.¹ The situation of 'Grange of Naughton' thus remains unknown; and as to the cause and time of its ceasing to belong to the Priory, there is the same lack of information. This Grange must not be confounded with Newgrange, now called Scrymgeour Grange, which belonged to Balmerino Abbey.

According to Sir Robert Sibbald, the 'tower upon an high rock,' or old castle of Naughton, was built by Robertus de London.² We may accept this statement as true of *some* castle which once stood there; but it could hardly have been the tower standing in Sibbald's time and long after it, of which a contemporary sketch is preserved at Naughton. Its style of architecture points to a period of erection considerably later than the twelfth century. How Robert de London acquired, or ceased to possess, Naughton is not known, so many royal and other charters of those early times having been irrecoverably lost. The place of residence of the De Lascelses, who were his contemporaries, was probably somewhere near Forgan church; so that there is no improbability in his occupation of a castle on Naughton rock, while they may have resided in a different part of the ancient estate. His surname De London is also written De Lundin, De Lundris, and De

¹ *Relig. Div. Andr.*, pp. 175-82.

² *Hist. of Fife and Kinross*, p. 413 (ed. 1803).

Lundoniis. He was the illegitimate son of King William the Lion, and gave the church of Ruthven, as well as other benefactions, to Arbroath Abbey.¹ He married the heiress of Lundin, near Largo, with whose family—as has been already stated—Thomas de Ludin was connected; and assuming that surname, he carried on the line of the Largo family of Lundin or Lundie, which is now represented by the Earl of Ancaster, through his grandmother, Lady Clementina Sarah Drummond.

With the exception of the history of Naughton and its Lairds (for which see Part IV., Chapter I.), whatever is known concerning the present parish of Balmerino from near the commencement of the thirteenth century to the Reformation connects itself with the Abbey, in whose possessions the whole of the *original* parish, with perhaps a trifling exception, was ultimately included. To the history of the Abbey we now therefore proceed.

¹ *Reg. Vel. Aberbr.*, pp. 41, 194.

PART II

HISTORY OF THE ABBEY

CHAPTER I

ROMAN MONACHISM

' Who with the ploughshare clove the barren moors,
And to green meadows changed the swampy shores ?
Thinned the rank woods ; and for the cheerful grange
Made room, where wolf and boar were used to range ?
Who taught, and showed by deeds, that gentler chains
Should bind the vassal to his lord's domains ?
The thoughtful Monks, intent their God to please,
For Christ's dear sake, by human sympathies.'

—WORDSWORTH.

THE Celtic monasteries of Scotland having become effete and impoverished, were superseded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by those of the religious Orders which acknowledged the supremacy and enjoyed the special favour and protection of the Roman Pontiffs. The assimilation of the Scottish Church, in its conventual and other features, to the Churches of England and Rome, initiated a great reformation and revival of religion, in the sense in which religion was then understood. New monasteries arose in all parts of the country. The cloistral life was reckoned the highest form of piety, and thousands eagerly adopted it. We read of laymen at the approach of death entreating that they might be dressed in the monkish habit, as providing for those who died in it a sure passport to heaven. The bestowal of property and privileges on the monks was deemed peculiarly meritorious; and the only return asked was their prayers, which were believed to possess extraordinary efficacy. Such liberality was prompted by various motives. A bereaved husband or parent would accentuate his grief and submission to Providence by founding and endowing a house

of Religion. A conscience-stricken malefactor would confer on the monks munificent gifts as an atonement to Heaven for his crimes. An aged warrior, weary of strife, would make over to them his whole possessions, and seek admission during the remainder of his days into their society as a haven of security and peace.

‘Lance, shield, and sword relinquished, at his side
 A bead-roll, in his hand a clasped book,
 Or staff more harmless than a shepherd’s crook,
 The war-worn Chieftain quits the world—to hide
 His thin autumnal locks where Monks abide
 In cloistered privacy.’

The combined influence of piety and superstition induced landholders not only to enrich the monks with extensive estates, but even to alienate for their behoof the tithes and other endowments of parish churches, and to procure for them the erection of edifices much more splendid than their own abodes; thus heaping wealth on those who had bound themselves to poverty, and surrounding with luxuries the devotees of abstinence. So it came to pass that they who had ‘wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth,’ and had subsisted on the most scanty and precarious fare, found themselves, as the years rolled on, occupying stately dwellings, chanting their orisons in magnificent churches, and possessing abundant sources of physical enjoyment in the rich and varied produce of their own ample domains. It is not wonderful that in such circumstances strictness of discipline came to be relaxed, and solemn vows to be lightly regarded. New fraternities successively arose, whose aim was to restore the earlier asceticism. For a time they accomplished this, but only for a time. Eventually all the Roman Catholic monastic Orders in this country fell into corruption deeper than that of the Celtic monks who had preceded them. Such degeneracy, however, was not confined to the monks. There are good grounds

for believing that the life of the cloister was still superior to that of the laity, and even of the secular clergy of the period.

If we judge of the monastic system even in its early and purer periods—for a distinction must always be made between its primitive character and later developments—by the more correct views of Christian duty which now happily obtain, and by its relation to such a state of society as now exists, we must, while respecting the sincerity and devotion of those who embraced it, pronounce it altogether erroneous. The duty of a Christian man is not to retire from the world, but by remaining in it to leaven society by his influence and example.

‘ We need not bid, for cloister’d cell,
Our neighbour and our work farewell,
Nor strive to wind ourselves too high
For sinful man beneath the sky :

The trivial round, the common task,
Would furnish all we ought to ask,
Room to deny ourselves ; a road
To bring us, daily, nearer God.’

If we view the cloistral life, however, in connection with the ignorance and turbulence which prevailed throughout Europe during what are called the Dark and Middle Ages, and apart from the doctrinal and ritual system with which it came to be associated—but which cannot be discussed here—our verdict will be a more lenient one. Along with many evils, it must be acknowledged that important benefits resulted from monachism ere the barbarous races which had overturned the Roman Empire acquired letters and civilisation. That this mode of life became so popular, proves that to a large extent it supplied—as it was intended to supply—a want which was then keenly felt. In those rude and lawless ages the monasteries afforded the only available retreat to such as wished to escape the cruelty of the despotic barons,

or to nourish in peace their spiritual life. The monks were in various ways benefactors to society. They excelled in agriculture, gardening, and the culture of fruit-trees; and were the first to teach these arts to the people, at a time when the lay proprietors of the soil knew only how to consume its produce. Wherever the monks settled, they cleared the forests, drained the marshes, and converted the barren wilderness into fertile ground. They were also the first to grant long leases on easy terms to their tenants, who were seldom or never called upon to serve as men-at-arms, when every vassal was obliged 'to follow to the field his warlike lord.' Nor were the possessions of the monks liable to those sudden changes by forfeiture, death, or sale which too often proved calamitous to the tenants of lay proprietors. In travelling over the country, 'your approach [to the monasteries and other ecclesiastical establishments] could commonly be traced by the high agricultural improvements which they spread around them. The woods, enclosed and protected, were of loftier growth; the meadows and cornfields richer and better cultivated; the population inhabiting the Church lands more active, thriving, and industrious than in the lands belonging to the Crown or to the feudal nobility.'¹ As the defenders of the weak against the strong, doing much to mitigate the evils of serfdom, and led by their interests as well as by their inclination to favour peace, the monks were revered and loved by the people. Their hospitality to wayfarers when inns were as yet unknown, and their charity to the poor were alike conspicuous; and the needy and unfortunate never told their tale in vain at the Convent gate. But the monasteries performed still higher services. Not only did they send forth the devoted missionaries by whom our own country, as well as a great part of northern Europe, was first evangelised, but for several ages those institutions were the sanctuaries of letters and

¹ Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 177 (ed. 1841).

religion. In the cloister learning was diligently cultivated, at a time when scarcely any baron was able to sign his own name. Schools were attached to many monasteries, and were taught or superintended by the monks. It was they, too, who preserved and handed down to us the works of the classic authors of antiquity, as well as of early Christian writers. Before the invention of printing they copied out in manuscript whatever books were most highly esteemed. Every monastery had its library, great or small, of precious volumes, when libraries existed almost nowhere else. It is to the monks, indeed, we owe, under Providence, even the Sacred Scriptures, which, but for their pious care and labour, would have perished in the Dark Ages. In short, to quote the eloquent words of Mrs. Jameson, 'We know that, but for the monks, the light of liberty and literature and science had been for ever extinguished; and that, for six centuries, there existed for the thoughtful, the gentle, the inquiring, the devout spirit no peace, no security, no home but the cloister. There Learning trimmed her lamp; there Contemplation "pruned her wings"; there the traditions of Art, preserved from age to age by lonely, studious men, kept alive, in form and colour, the idea of a beauty beyond that of earth—of a might beyond that of the spear and the shield—of a Divine sympathy with suffering humanity.'¹ The direct dependence of the Religious houses on the Pope, and the intercourse they kept up with Rome, and with the other monasteries of their respective Orders throughout Europe, tended to spread intelligence. The monks are also our earliest historians. Their Chronicles of national and local events, and their Chartularies and Registers in which they recorded their endowments, leases of land, and transactions in property, as well as the ecclesiastical privileges bestowed upon them, form now the chief sources of our knowledge of the Middle

¹ *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, p. xix.

Ages, and are the oldest contemporary records of Scotland which we possess.

In early times monks were simply laymen, and as such were subject to the bishops and ordinary pastors. They went on Sundays to church with the rest of the people; or, if they were remotely situated, a priest was sent to administer to them the sacraments; but at length they were allowed to have priests of their own body. The Abbot himself was at first usually the priest, but his function extended no farther than to his own monastery; and except in the Celtic Church, where a different arrangement existed, he remained still subject to the bishop. But ultimately the monks were in most cases in priest's orders. Such were called *regular* clergy, because they were subject to the conventual rule (*regula*), ecclesiastics who were not monks being called *secular* clergy. The abbot became afterwards independent of the bishop, and sometimes he received from the Pope the privilege of wearing the mitre and other episcopal insignia. Hence arose the distinction between mitred and crosiered Abbots, the latter wearing the crosier, or pastoral staff, only. The bishop, however, could alone confer priest's orders on the monks. It does not appear that the Abbots of Balmerino were mitred abbots: the seal of one of them shows that he at least was not mitred. But it is certain that, like the bishops, they were lords of Parliament; and their designations, though not their names, frequently appear in the lists of those who were present at its meetings, prefixed to the public Statutes. One instance occurs as early as the year 1289, another in 1315 in a Parliament held at Ayr, and there are many others in the subsequent centuries.¹

¹ See Robertson's *Index to Records of Charters and Acts of Parl. of Scotland*.

CHAPTER II

THE CISTERCIAN MONKS

*'Here Man more purely lives, less oft doth fall,
More promptly rises, walks with stricter heed,
More safely rests, dies happier, is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter crown.'*¹ On yon Cistercian wall
That confident assurance may be read ;
And, to like shelter, from the world have fled
Increasing multitudes. The potent call
Doubtless shall cheat full oft the heart's desires ;
Yet, while the rugged Age on pliant knee
Vows to rapt Fancy humble fealty,
A gentler life spreads round the holy spires ;
Where'er they rise, the sylvan waste retires,
And aëry harvests crown the fertile lea.'

—WORDSWORTH.

As the monks of Balmerino were of the reformed Order called the Cistercian, it will be proper, before proceeding farther, to give some account of this brotherhood.

The Cistercians were an offshoot from the Benedictine Order, which was so named after Benedict of Nursia, its founder. This famous ascetic established in the year 529 a monastery at Monte Cassino, in Italy, where he promulgated his celebrated 'Rule' of monastic life, which was ultimately adopted by all the conventual communities of the West. By this Rule, which breathes a spirit of intense devotion, monks were for the first time obliged to promise 'stability,' that is, continuance in their profession and residence in a monastery

¹ 'Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivit purius, cadit rarius, surgit velocius, incedit cautius, quiescit securius, moritur felicius, purgatur citius, præmiatur copiosius.'—*Bernard*. 'This sentence,' says Dr. Whitaker, 'is usually inscribed in some conspicuous part of the Cistercian houses.' (*Wordsworth's Note on the above-quoted sonnet*.)

till death. Private property was to be renounced, and all their possessions were to be held in common. They had to spend seven hours every day in manual labour, and two hours in reading, besides the time occupied in the Church services; while luxury in respect of food and clothing was rigidly forbidden. The enormous amount of wealth gifted to the monks having in course of time led to great irregularities, several attempts were made to check these; but the first important reform was effected in the year 927 by Odo, Abbot of Cluny, in Burgundy, who there restored the strict observance of the Benedictine Rule; whereby Cluny acquired such celebrity that many other monasteries adopted its discipline, and it obtained vast possessions and influence. By the end of the eleventh century, however, the Cluniac monks had, by indulgence in luxuries and otherwise, so much fallen away from their original strictness as scarcely to be distinguishable from other Benedictines.

The next important reform of the cloistral life was that instituted by the monks of Cistercium, or Citeaux, near Dijon, in Burgundy, and by the Cistercian Order which they there originated. In the year 1098 Robert, Abbot of Molesme—a monastery dependent on Cluny—after he had attempted without success to correct the dissolute manners which prevailed in his house and elsewhere, retired with twenty companions to Citeaux, described as being then ‘a horrible and unoccupied wilderness,’ and there established a new monastery, in which the Rule of St. Benedict was to be rigorously enforced, and asceticism of the severest type practised. In the following year, however, on the petition of the monks of Molesme, he was ordered by the Pope’s legate to return thither, where he died in 1110. He was succeeded as Abbot of Citeaux by Alberic, and the latter, who died in 1109, by Stephen Harding, an Englishman, who in early life had visited Scotland, and, as well as Alberic, had been one of those who retired from Molesme, having been himself, indeed, the real

originator of that movement. In the year 1113 the new monastery was nearly extinct for want of monks, in consequence of the severity of its discipline, and a great mortality which had reduced their number, when the celebrated Bernard entered it, bringing with him thirty companions of noble birth, including his own four brothers. The influence of this remarkable man—the greatest Churchman of his time—and his enthusiastic advocacy of the monastic life, speedily drew such multitudes to Citeaux, that two years after his admission it became necessary to establish four new monasteries, and of one of them, situated at Clairvaux, he was appointed Abbot. It is said that mothers hid their sons, and wives their husbands, lest the spell of his eloquence should entice them to embrace the monastic life. He alone is stated to have founded seventy monasteries, and to have reformed many more. From his name the Cistercians were sometimes called Bernardines. Such was the popularity of the new Order that fifty years after the foundation of Citeaux the houses connected with it, of which that of Clairvaux was the most famous, had increased to five hundred abbeys, and by the middle of the thirteenth century to eighteen hundred, besides, probably, an equal number of nunneries. The influence of the Cistercian Order, both in Church and State, was at one time supreme throughout Europe, and it eclipsed all other monastic communities. In England, where it had seventy-five abbeys and twenty-six nunneries, its first house was at Waverley, in Surrey, founded in the year 1128, and colonised by monks from Normandy. In Scotland the Abbey of Melrose was the first Cistercian monastery, having been founded in 1136 by King David. Its monks were brought from Rievaulx, in Yorkshire—an abbey which was a daughter of Clairvaux. There were eventually twelve Scottish houses for monks,¹ besides twelve for nuns, of this Order.

¹ These, according to Spotiswood, were Melrose, Newbottle, Dundrennan, Kinloss, Cupar in Angus, Glenluce, Saddel, Culross, Deer, Balmerino, Sweet Heart or New Abbcy, and Mauchline, which was a dependency of Melrose.

In the year 1100 Alberic, the second Abbot of Citeaux, obtained Papal sanction for his monastery, and in the following year he drew up rules to be observed by its monks. His successor, Stephen Harding, issued a new code of regulations, called the *Charter of Charity*, its purpose being to unite all Cistercian houses in one family or brotherhood. He was thus the true founder of the Order as such. This code was adopted by a General Chapter of Cistercian abbots at Citeaux in 1119, and was sanctioned by the Pope in the same year. Additional rules were framed by subsequent Chapters; and in 1134 these were digested, probably by St. Bernard, into one system called *The Institutes*, containing eighty-seven sections. *The Book of Usages of the Cistercian Order*, setting forth its peculiar rites and customs, was compiled, in the opinion of some, by Abbot Stephen; according to others, by Bernard himself, about the same time as the Charter of Charity. These three treatises are the authentic sources of information regarding the original *rules and practices* of the Cistercians. The sources of their early *history* are the *Exordium Parvum*, or Short Account of the Origin of Citeaux, said to have been written at the instance of Abbot Stephen, and the *Exordium Magnum Cisterciense*, or Large Account of the same, composed in the thirteenth century. Other histories of the Order are comparatively modern.

All Cistercian monasteries were, like that of Citeaux itself, to be dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin. They were to be situated in retired places—never in cities or villages. A favourite situation was in a narrow wooded valley beside a river or stream, as well exemplified in England at Fountains and Tintern, and in Scotland at Dundrennan, and also at Pluscardin, a Priory of a reformed branch of Cistercians. The rule of St. Benedict was to be observed in them in the same manner as at Citeaux. No Abbot might found a new monastery unless he had in his house at least sixty monks, and had obtained permission from the General Chapter, as

well as the sanction of the bishop of the diocese; and the number of brethren transferred to it was to be twelve besides the Superior.

Though the bishop or neighbouring abbots might annul the election of an unworthy person to the abbacy of a Benedictine monastery, yet these institutions, as governed by their own abbots, and uncontrolled by any central authority, were quite independent of each other, and their isolated condition led to great abuses. The Abbots of Cluny had attempted to remedy this state of matters by requiring all the monasteries which desired to be affiliated to that house to become priories subject to it, and to submit to its appointment of their superiors. Such concentration of power was apt to result in despotism. In Cistercian abbeys better remedies for the evils referred to were provided by the Charter of Charity and subsequent statutes. On Holy Cross day—the 14th of September—a General Chapter was to be held annually at Cîteaux, to form a bond of union and frame regulations for the whole order, as well as to see to their observance. All abbots had to attend this Chapter every year unless prevented by infirmity, the poverty of their houses, or the remoteness of their situation. Those in distant countries were to attend only as often as the General Chapter itself might determine, abbots in Scotland every fourth year. Such an assembly was then a novelty, and Abbot Stephen was its originator. (This system of government was afterwards adopted by the other orders of monks and friars.) The General Chapter could suspend or depose any abbot for violation of the rule or other misconduct; and if that assembly could not be brought to agree about his punishment, or about any other matter under discussion, the final decision was to rest with the Abbot of Cîteaux, acting on the advice of some of the wiser members. There was also established a system of mutual visitation of monasteries. The Abbot of Cîteaux, who was to be recog-

nised as the father of the whole Order, might visit any Cistercian house, and correct the faults of its monks. Once a year at least every other Cistercian abbot was himself, or by another abbot whom he deputed, to visit all the monasteries which he or his predecessors had founded; and, with the concurrence of some additional abbots, could depose their superiors for persistent violation of the Rule; and the abbot of every dependent house was to visit its parent monastery with the like frequency. During a vacancy in the office of abbot, and till the election of a new superior, the abbot of the parent monastery was to take charge of it; and his consent was required before a dependent abbot could resign his office. Citeaux itself was to be visited by the abbots of its 'four eldest daughters'—La Fertè, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Moribund; and if its abbot should fail in his duty, he might, after being admonished in vain by these four, be deposed by a General Chapter. When Citeaux was vacant, the four abbots, with some others of its filiation, were to unite with its monks in the election of a new Superior of the whole Order.

Cistercian monks had to procure the means of subsistence by their labour in the cultivation of land and the feeding of cattle. They were therefore allowed to possess for their own use lands and waters, woods, vineyards, and meadows, and such animals as might not excite mere curiosity or levity—deer, bears, and cranes being expressly forbidden. In order to lighten their agricultural labours, and thus gain more time for study and religious duties, they might have granges or farm-buildings kept by lay brothers or *converts*, as these were called, and by hired servants. They were forbidden to possess rents of lands which were not in their own occupation, revenues of churches, tithes of the labour or food of others, dues of mills or of ovens, villis, or villains.

In the ornamentation of churches severe simplicity was enjoined, in contrast to the practice at Cluny, whose monks

maintained that costly decoration and gorgeous ceremonial were specially appropriate to the worship of God. Sculptured or painted representations of the human form—except pictures of the Saviour—were not allowed in any building of a Cistercian monastery, for the noteworthy reason that ‘while attention is given to such things, the benefit of devout meditation and the discipline of religious gravity are often neglected.’ Crosses were to be of wood only, but might be painted. Altar cloths and priestly robes were not to be of silk, but from this rule the stole and maniple were excepted. The chasuble was to be of one colour. No utensils, vessels, or ornaments of the monastery were to be made of gold or silver or precious stones, except the chalice and fistula, which might be of silver gilt with gold. Glass in windows was not to be stained, nor adorned with crosses or pictures. The bindings of books were not to be of silver or gold, nor even gilt. In manuscripts, letters were not to be illuminated, but were to be of one colour only. In respect to these and other matters, the Cistercians have been well termed the Puritans of their time.

After the example of the Psalmist, who said, ‘At midnight I will rise to give Thee thanks,’ and ‘Seven times a day do I praise Thee,’ the Cistercian monks, like other Benedictines, had seven church services daily at what were called the canonical Hours, and another at Lauds; hence these services were themselves frequently termed ‘Hours.’ They were the following:—1. *Nocturns* or *Vigils*, at the eighth hour of the night, or about two o’clock in the morning; 2. *Matins* or *Lauds*, at daybreak;¹ 3. *Prime*, the first hour of the day, between six and seven o’clock, with or without an interval after Lauds; 4. *Terce*, or the third hour, between eight and nine o’clock; 5. *Sext*, or the sixth hour, between eleven o’clock and noon; 6. *None*, or the ninth hour,

¹ Nocturns are often called Matins by English writers; but in the Cistercian *Book of Usages* the word *Matins* always means *Lauds*.

between two and three o'clock; 7. *Vespers*, between four and five o'clock; 8. *Completorium* or *Compline*, so called as being the completing service of the day, about seven o'clock. At these daily services the whole Psalter was chanted every week, and the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha stately read, as well as homilies and commentaries of the Fathers. After Compline the monks had a lesson read to them from some edifying book. This was called the *Collation*. As the day was anciently reckoned from sunrise to sunset, and both day and night were divided into twelve hours, a day-hour was longer and a night-hour shorter in summer than in winter. Hence the times at which the several services were held in different houses varied somewhat according to the season of the year, and the latitude of the place.

An important part of the monastic system was the Chapter, which was held daily for discipline and other purposes. It will be described farther on.

As regards food, flesh and fat were forbidden to all except the sick, artificers, and hired servants. Each monk was allowed daily a *hemina* of wine (which has been usually described as a pint, but appears to have really been only half a pint), or, as an alternative, a kind of beer called *sicera*. The daily ration of bread was usually a pound. It was to be coarse or brown; white or fine bread was to be given only to guests and the sick. No more than two cooked dishes were to be eaten at dinner, but some delicacy called a pittance (*pitancia*) was occasionally given, in addition, to certain of the monks. Even fish and eggs, as well as pepper, cumin, and similar luxuries were at first forbidden, and only the common herbs of the country were to be eaten. From the 14th of September to Easter, and on Wednesdays and Fridays from Whitsunday to the 14th of September, the monks had only one meal in the day. During the rest of the year they had, in addition, a light supper. On those days, however, on which there was



A CISTERCIAN MONK IN HIS CHOIR DRESS.



A CISTERCIAN MONK WHEN HE WENT ABROAD.

only one meal, aged monks were allowed to have *mixtum* before Terce in winter, and in summer before Sext. The refreshment so called consisted of a quarter of a pound of bread and the third part of a hemina of wine. The youths also had *mixtum* before Terce. It was not taken in Lent, except on Sundays and a few other days. The reader and the cooks took *mixtum* in summer before Sext, and in winter after it, as their duties prevented them from dining till the rest had done so.

The dress of Cistercian monks when not on duty as priests or deacons consisted of a white tunic or cassock reaching to the ankles, and over it a black scapular, which was a narrow garment somewhat shorter than the tunic, covering the front of the body and the back, but not the arms, and confined by a girdle of the same colour, with a black hood (*caputium*) covering the head. The scapular was their working dress. In the choir, or when not engaged in work, they wore a white cowl (*cuculla*), which was a large gown with sleeves, with the addition of a hood.¹ From the colour of the cowl and its hood the Cistercians were called *White Monks*; the original Benedictines, whose garments were all black, being styled *Black Monks*. But the Cistercians, when they went abroad, wore a black cowl and hood. In winter they might wear one or more tunics, and one or two cowls. Their garments were made of coarse woollen cloth, and were the same as those worn by peasants at that period. Linen and furs were forbidden. The monks had also stockings, day-shoes, and night-shoes. According to the Benedictine Rule the abbot was to supply to every monk, in addition to his clothes, a knife, pen, needle, handkerchief, and writing tablet. Each monk mended his own clothes, and cleaned his own shoes.

Cistercian monks were bled four times every year—usually in February, April, June, and September. During three or four days after this operation they received special indulgences

¹ The word *cowl* is often erroneously used to signify the *hood*.

in respect of food and rest, and were for the most part released from labour and the Church services. Seven times in the year the crown of their heads was shorn and shaven for the monkish tonsure, and they plied the necessary instruments on each other at the command of the abbot. The practice of monks shaving their *beards* is said not to have commenced till about the year 1200.

The method of admission into the brotherhood was as follows:—A candidate was required to be at least fifteen years of age. When he had made his petition, he was refused admission for four or five days, in order to test the sincerity of his purpose. If at the end of that time he still persisted in his request, he was led into the chapter-house, where he knelt in front of the reading-desk. Being asked by the abbot what he wanted, he replied, ‘God’s mercy and yours.’ The abbot then ordered him to stand up, and having explained to him the severity of the Rule, demanded of him whether he was willing to obey it. When he had replied in the affirmative, the abbot admonished him, and said, ‘May God Himself perfect that which He hath begun in thee,’ to which the convent responded *Amen*. The candidate then bowed and retired to the guest-hall. The same form was observed as often as he came into the chapter-house after the Rule had been read to him. On the third day he was led into the cell of the novices, and the year of his probation commenced. After two months, and then after other six months, and again at the end of his noviciate, the Rule was read to him. During the whole period he was trained by an aged and learned monk called the *Master of the Novices*, and brought by him into the chapter-house to hear sermons. His course of instruction, which was carried on in a part of the cloister or covered way surrounding the quadrangle of the monastery, during the intervals between the canonical Hours, included the study of the Rule and of the church services, and the committing of the Psalter to memory—all in the Latin language. Meanwhile he

gave attendance at church, at work, and at meals in the same manner as did the monks. On the completion of the year of his noviciate he was again brought into the chapter-house in presence of the convent, and made arrangements for giving away to the poor, or to the monastery, whatever property he had. If he was a layman, the benediction of the tonsure by the abbot followed, when the hair of his head was cut off and burnt, and he was shaven for a monk. Thereafter, at the celebration of Mass he read his profession if he could read, and took the monastic vows of 'stability, conversion of life (which included poverty and chastity), and obedience.' If he was unable to read, the Master of the Novices read his profession for him, and the candidate made a cross on the document with ink, and laid it upon the altar, whence the abbot took it for preservation. After certain prayers and responses were said he knelt at the feet of the abbot and ministers, and did the same before the prior and those standing on both sides of the choir. Then entering the retro-choir, he knelt at the feet of the infirm if any were present. After other prayers had been said, the abbot stripped off his garments, saying, 'The Lord take away from thee the old man with his deeds,' and clothed him with the cowl, which he had previously blessed and sprinkled with holy water, saying, 'The Lord clothe thee with the new man,' to which the convent said *Amen*. He was then brought into the choir, where, as well as in the chapter, refectory, and processions, his place was fixed according to the date of his 'conversion,' that is, of his becoming a monk, as the seniors usually ranked first in order, though the abbot could raise a member to a higher place for his merits, or degrade him to a lower for his faults. During the two following months the brethren were allowed to converse with the new monk in the apartment called the *auditorium*, beside the chapter-house, where the monks were permitted to speak to strangers.

The monks performed certain duties by weekly turns,

and entered on them on Sunday. The *Hebdomadaries*, as such officers were called, were the following:—The *Priest* discharged the functions specially pertaining to that office in the church, chapter, refectory, and elsewhere. He commenced the Hours and the business of the chapter by saying, ‘The Lord be with you.’ He was assisted by a *Deacon* and *Sub-deacon*, who also were weekly officers. Another hebdomadary sang the *Invitatory* hymns and certain parts of the services. The *Reader* read the lessons in the refectory and at collation. While doing so, he had to correct any errors which the prior might notice in his reading. Only those were appointed to read and sing who could edify the hearers. The *Cooks* were two or four in number, and relieved each other in their duties. The *Abbot’s Cooks*, of whom there were two, were appointed for a year, but served alternately for a week in his kitchen, and at his table in the guest-hall. The reason why the abbot had a separate kitchen was, that strangers whom he entertained as his guests might not disturb the brethren when they came at unlooked-for hours. Two of the monks were appointed weekly to wash the feet of the strangers. The *Server of the Church* lighted candles, trimmed lamps at certain times and places, and provided other requisites for divine worship.

The following were *permanent* officers of the monastery:—The chief of all was of course the *Abbot*, so called from the Syriac word for *father*. Chosen by the suffrages of the monks, he was installed in his office by the bishop of the diocese, from whom he received the crozier and the benediction. The monks then kissed his hands. When any weighty business was to be transacted, the abbot had to consult the whole convent assembled in chapter, in matters of less importance the seniors only; but in all cases the final decision rested with himself. He sang masses at the chief festivals and in the Offices of the Dead, and also at the canonical Hours, in which he took his week of duty like the

rest of the monks; and he performed certain other parts of the church services. He presided in chapter, and at collation; confessed and absolved the brethren, punished them for crime or transgression of the Rule, slept in the dormitory, took his meals in the guest-hall, and when there were no guests, was bound to have at least two of the monks to dine with him; and he might eat in the refectory after Compline. He appointed to office and degraded whom he pleased, from the prior downwards; and in the general government of the monastery his will was no less absolute. No one was to go anywhere, or do anything, however trifling, without his permission.

The *Prior*, or *Claustal Prior*, was the abbot's substitute, and performed many of his duties in his absence. But in several functions which specially belonged to the abbot's office in church and elsewhere, the prior could not take his place, and he could do nothing without his authority. He presided at meals, and served during his week in certain parts of the church services, and even in the kitchen, unless more usefully employed otherwise, as doubtless he would usually be. A *Conventual Prior* presided over a distant dependency of the monastery.¹

The *Sub-Prior* acted for the prior in his absence, or by his order. In the cloister and the chapter-house he had to see that the brethren conducted themselves according to the Rule, and in the choir he 'stirred them up.'

¹ A *Priory* was usually a lesser or inferior kind of monastery; but when a Religious house was attached to a cathedral church, as at St. Andrews and Whit-horn, and in England at Durham and other sees, its superior had only the title of *Prior*, the bishop being supposed to occupy the place of the *Abbot*. This explains how it was that though the Priors of St. Andrews had rank accorded to them above all the abbots of the kingdom, on account of St. Andrews being the metropolitan see, they yet had only the title of prior, and their monastery was called a priory. It is unnecessary to point out the absurdity of such misleading names as Crawford Priory, Rossie Priory, St. Martin's Abbey, &c., being given to modern mansions where there never were Religious houses. They might quite as fitly be called Lunatic Asylums—a fine mouth-filling phrase!

The duties of the *Master of the Novices* have already been described.

The *Sacristan* regulated the clock, opened and shut the church doors, took charge of vestments and altar-cloths, as well as other things used in divine service; prepared with other two monks the host for the Holy Communion, and performed the various duties—grave-digging excepted—still assigned to the sacristan of a church, now corruptly called the *scaton*. He had an assistant (*solatium*).

The *Chantor*, or *Precentor*, led and corrected the singing, and took a prominent part in the church services as well as in the business of the chapter. His place in the choir was on the right-hand side, and that of his assistant, the *Sub-chantor*, on the left.

The *Infirmarer* had charge of the sick in the infirmary, provided some one to sing the Hours and read the lessons there, and supplied the books required for these purposes.

The *Cellarer* was an important functionary in the convent. He had charge of the stores of food and drink, and prepared the ingredients of dishes for the cooks, as well as bread and wine or beer for distribution in the refectory. He was to be 'grave, wise, and sober, and to act as a father to the whole monastery.' He had an assistant.

The *Refectorer* prepared food and drink for the novices, had the charge of napkins and spoons for use in the refectory, and collected the remains of meals.

The *Hospitaller* provided food and beds for the guests, served them during meals, and took charge of them when sick.

The *Porter* was to be 'a wise old man, placed at the gate of the monastery'—to which he went early in the morning—'who knew how to give and receive an answer.' When a stranger knocked who, he thought, should be admitted, he let him enter, and then announced him to the abbot, who sent some one to receive him. But when a neighbour or known person came to the gate, the porter

made him stay outside till he had ascertained the abbot's will. Little boys, or those who came with women, were not admitted, but food was given to them and the women outside. To women of the neighbourhood nothing was given, unless in time of famine if the abbot so ordered; nor were women to be entertained in the abbey or its granges, or allowed to enter the abbey gate on any pretence, such as that of washing clothes. The porter had to keep bread in his cell for distribution to passers-by. When he was occupied at the gate and wearing his scapular, as soon as he heard the bell ringing for any canonical service he put on his cowl and reverently did, so far as he could, whatever the brethren were then doing in church. After Compline he retired from the gate, and if he found the church door shut, said a prayer outside of it, and then entered the dormitory for the night. There was a *Sub-porter* who relieved him in his duties.

There was an *Instructor of the Lay Novices*, and in some monasteries there was also a *Master of the Converts*, or lay brothers, who was to be a monk in priest's orders, so that he might act both as their master and confessor.

There was sometimes also a *Vestiary Monk*, who had charge of the clothing of the brethren, and gave instructions to the tailors.

The officers now named are all that are mentioned in the Book of Usages as *generally* existing in Cistercian monasteries. Another, not there mentioned—his office being probably of late origin—was the *Seneschal* or *Steward*, who in Scotland was called the *Bailie* of the abbey. He exercised the civil and criminal jurisdiction, corresponding to that of a baron, which belonged to the abbot as temporal lord of the abbey lands; in virtue of which he could repledge, in certain cases, a criminal from the court of the Sheriff or Clerk of Justiciary. This office was usually bestowed on some landed proprietor in the neighbourhood, and was often hereditary.

In Cistercian, as in other monasteries, some of the monks were constantly engaged during the intervals between the church services in the work of transcribing manuscripts. An apartment called the *Scriptorium* was specially appropriated to this purpose. Here were prepared the copies of the Scriptures, works of the Fathers, and the other books required for the services of the church, eleven of which are named in the Institutes. Other valuable books also were copied. Absolute silence was maintained in the Scriptorium, and only the scribes and superior officers of the abbey were allowed to enter it. Bernard of Clairvaux was zealous in establishing monastic libraries. The Cistercians, however, were not so great promoters of learning as some of the other Orders. While the Benedictine monks, besides giving instruction in the cloister to novices, had often a school outside of it for secular pupils; in Cistercian monasteries, or in places belonging to them, none but novices and monks were to be taught—a rule, however, which appears to have been subsequently either relaxed or infringed¹—nor was any abbot, monk, or novice permitted to write a book till he had received the sanction of the General Chapter; but such a requirement was by no means equivalent to a prohibition. The kind of life specially aimed at by the Cistercians was one of extreme abstinence, silent contemplation, and devotional fervour, conjoined with manual labour in the cultivation of the soil. They were great agriculturists, and promoted the prosperity of the country by their laborious industry in improving waste lands, and showing how they could be made productive. ‘The stolid population,’ says Dugdale, ‘wondered at these folks in cowls, at one time busied in the divine offices, and at another time occupied in rustic works.’

The lay brothers called *Converts* (*Conversi*), who were associated with the Cistercian monks, as they had previously

¹ Thus at Furness the children of the tenants of the abbey were taught in a grammar and singing school in the cloister, without payment, and were also provided with dinner or supper daily.

been with the Benedictines, formed a numerous body. In the church erected by St. Bernard at Clairvaux in 1135 room was provided for about twice as many converts as monks; and the comparative numbers of the two classes were—at least in early times—probably similar in other Cistercian monasteries. While at first many of the monks were drawn from the higher ranks of society, the lay brothers were all of the humblest grade. There was no scarcity of applicants for admission. The motives of piety which induced them to seek an entrance into a house of Religion were no doubt strengthened by considerations of worldly advantage. To be a lay member of the permanent and peaceful society of a monastery—hard as such a life might now appear—was preferable to the wretched condition of a serf under a temporal baron. While some of the converts were employed as agricultural labourers in the more distant granges under the master of the grange, as well as on the lands contiguous to the abbey, others did the work of servants in the monastery itself. They were also the bakers, tailors, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, smiths, masons, and other craftsmen of the convent. They had no voice, however, in the election of the abbot.

The form of admission for lay brothers was nearly the same as that for monks. A novice was instructed by a master in the rules of the Order, as well as in his own special duties. At the end of a year's probation he was led by the cellarer into the monks' chapter, where, having given away his property, if he had any, he took precisely the same vows as the monks. He made his profession by kneeling, joining his hands and placing them between those of the abbot, and promising him obedience until death. He then kissed the abbot and departed. Thereafter he was received into the chapter of the converts, and had assigned to him his rank and place among them, according to the date of his admission.

On Sundays and on the greater festivals, on which they did not work, converts residing in the monastery attended all

the canonical Hours, the night service included. On other days they had to be present at the concluding service of Compline, but were exempted from Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers, attendance at these being incompatible with their daily work. They said their prayers, kneeling on the ground, at these Hours wherever they happened to be. As regards the remaining services, on common days in winter they rose while Nocturns were being sung in church, said a prayer, and then went to their employments at the granges. In summer, not having the mid-day sleep which the monks had, they slept till Lauds, when they rose for the church service, and after prayer went to work. Those residing at granges rose in summer at daybreak, in winter before daylight, said their prayers in the oratory or chapel there provided for their worship, and then went to work. From the 1st of November to the 18th of January they 'watched about a fourth part of the night.' Whether residing in the monastery or at granges, they were exempted from work—except what was unavoidable—not only on Sundays and the principal Church festivals, but on many saints' days—in all from thirty to forty in number annually. At granges there were no bells, except a small one to call the lay brothers to their meals in the refectory.

In their devotions converts did not use service-books, as they were not taught to read. They said the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and certain Psalms and liturgical forms which they learnt by heart from their instructor. In granges they repeated some of these on certain occasions as often as from five to forty times. When in church they said them in an undertone or whisper (*sub silentio*), while the monks chanted their own services. They had to attend Mass at certain appointed times, and communicated on seven days in the year, including the chief festivals.

Whether they were in health or sick, also after they had been bled, the lay brothers received the same *kind* of food as the monks when in a similar condition. Those in the

monastery had likewise the same *quantity* of food, and took their meals at the same time as the monks ; but it does not appear that wine was given to them. If the abbot judged it right that any of them should receive *mixtum*, it consisted, in their case, of a half-pound of their own bread and a greater quantity of a coarser kind, and water. At granges, besides the usual pound of bread, they received as much of a coarser kind as they required ; and they fasted only on the principal fast-days during Advent, and every Friday from the 14th of September to Lent. With respect to their clothing, they did not wear the white monkish cowl, but, instead of it, had a shorter cape (*cappa*), with tunic, stockings, and shoes (but not boots), and a black hood which extended over the shoulders and breast. Waggoners, and those who tended cattle or sheep, had a larger garment. Smiths were allowed to wear black linen shirts, and other tradesmen leather or woollen gloves. The lay brothers did not shave their heads or faces. They had their own dormitory, infirmary, and refectory. Their beds were covered with skins instead of the *laena*, or coarse woollen rug used by the monks. Every Friday, with certain exceptions, they received 'discipline,' the precise nature of which is not stated, but it doubtless included punishment of some sort for offences. A lay brother disobedient to a master placed over him had to sit three days on the floor of the refectory, without his upper garment, in the presence of his brethren. No one was allowed to wash the head of another, unless of one who by reason of infirmity was unable to wash himself, and whom the prior might order to be washed by another. Any one transgressing this singular regulation was to be flogged in the chapter of the converts 'without any hesitation.' In general, however, the lay brothers were kindly treated by the monks, and the two classes were united by ties of affection, as well as by a common religious interest.

Silence was regarded as a necessary part of monastic life. It was enjoined by the Rule of St. Benedict, and was observed

also by those reformed Orders—the Cluniacs, Cistercians, Tironensians, and others—who had adopted that Rule while adding to it precepts of their own. The Cistercians, however, appear to have exceeded most of the monkish fraternities in the strictness with which they practised silence. Neither within nor without the cloister were they *usually* permitted to speak to each other, except when to do so was unavoidable, and leave had been expressly given. Even the abbot himself, when in the absence of guests he had two or more monks dining with him, was required to keep silence ‘as much as he reasonably could.’ The same restriction applied to the lay brothers. Those of them who were the artisans of the monastery could only speak about the requirements of their crafts in a place appointed for the purpose, outside of their workshops. Smiths alone were exempted from this regulation. Master artisans were expressly forbidden to have a chat with their subordinates in the evening when released from work. In granges the lay brothers could speak only to their master standing, and not more than two together. Shepherds and cowherds, however, might talk to each other about their duties. A lay brother might return a salute, and reply to a traveller inquiring his way; but if asked about anything else, he was to answer that he was not permitted to speak further; and if the traveller should incite him to do so, he was to make no reply.¹

As some method of communication was necessary, an elaborate system of signs was invented to take the place of words. But even signs were on many specified occasions prohibited, and at all times were to be but sparingly employed. The

¹ The foregoing account of the Cistercians has been compiled mainly from the *Charta Caritatis*, the *Instituta Generalis Capituli*, A.D. MCXXXIV. (both of them as printed in Sharpe’s *Architecture of the Cistercians*), and the *Liber Usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis, noviter correctus, emendatus, et ad veram formam redactus; una cum usibus conversorum ejusdem ordinis*: Parisiis, M,D,XXXJ. There are other editions of the *Liber Usuum*. St. Benedict’s *Rule* has also been consulted.

following are a few specimens of the signs which all Orders of monks used for persons, things, and actions:—

For *Abbot*.—With two fingers take hold of the hair hanging down over the ear.

For *keeper of the church*.—Move the hand as if ringing a bell.

For a *layman*.—Rub the chin and jawbone.

For *bread*.—Bend the thumb and two next fingers in the form of a circle.

For *half a loaf*.—Make a half-circle with the thumb and forefinger.

For *fish*.—Imitate with the hand the movement of a fish's tail in the water.

For *salmon*.—Do the same, and then place round the right eye the thumb and forefinger in the form of a circle.

For *honey*.—Lick the fingers with the point of the tongue.

For *speech*.—Place the hand against the mouth and then move it.

For *silence*.—Shut the mouth and place the finger on it.

For a *book*.—Extend the hand, and move it as if turning over leaves.

For the *text of the Gospel*.—Do the same, and make the sign of the cross on the forehead.

For the *Psalter*.—Make the sign for a book, and then bend the hand and place it on the head in the form of a crown (because David was a king).

For a *work by a heathen author*.—After the general sign for a book, scratch the ear in the manner of a dog.¹

It appears, however, from incidental statements in the Rule of St. Benedict, that his monks were expressly allowed to converse with each other at certain times. Eventually among the Cistercians also systematic provision was made for conversation at specified hours.

The preceding account of the Cistercian monks refers chiefly to the early period of their history, when they aimed at an extreme type of ascetic practice, and presented a marked

¹ Du Cange's *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, Paris, 1840-50, tom. vi. pp. 253-4; Madan's *Books in Manuscript*, p. 35.

contrast to the luxurious living and splendour of church architecture and ornamentation indulged in by the monks of Cluny. The Cistercians were the special favourites of the Popes, to whom they were placed in immediate subjection, to the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the local bishop. It was the policy of the see of Rome to attach to it the monastic Orders, by rendering them independent of all other control. The Cistercians received also other privileges from the Papal See, such as exemption from the payment of tithes of their *novalia*, or newly reclaimed lands, and from the necessity of pleading in any court. In course of time the inevitable reaction set in. Discipline was relaxed, and many things which had been prohibited by the early statutes of the Order came into acknowledged use. The abbot ceased to sleep among his monks in the common dormitory, and lived in state in a separate house. Revenues of churches were gifted to the monasteries, and the Cistercian monks no longer lived exclusively by their own labour and that of their lay brothers and servants, but leased their lands for rent, or feued them. Sculptured effigies both on the exterior and in the interior of their buildings became common, and in magnificence of architecture and decoration their churches were eventually excelled by none. These and other changes, in their relation to the monks of Balmerino, will receive illustration in the sequel.

CHAPTER III

MONASTIC BUILDINGS AND BUILDERS

' Nor be it e'er forgotten how, by skill
Of cloistered Architects, free their souls to fill
With love of God, throughout the land were raised
Churches, on whose symbolic beauty gazed
Peasant and mail-clad Chief with pious awe.'

—WORDSWORTH.

MOST of our Abbey and Cathedral churches were built during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Previous to the eleventh century, probably the greater number of the ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland, and many of those of England, were constructed of wood. In the latter country various causes, among which the Norman Conquest was a prominent one, combined to give a powerful impulse to the erection and endowment of churches and monasteries, and the development of a statelier style of architecture. From England this impulse was communicated to Scotland. The union of Malcolm Ceanmor with the Princess Margaret about the year 1070, which, as has been already stated, was the means of introducing important changes in the organisation of the Church, led also eventually to a great improvement in its edifices. This effect is very conspicuous in the nave of the Abbey Church of Dunfermline, which, in the opinion of some, is the church, or part of it, which Queen Margaret is known to have erected there, where her marriage had taken place; though others think that the existing nave was more probably added to her church by King David I. Be this as it may, that portion of the structure is believed not to have been materially altered when the choir

was subsequently rebuilt, and to be the oldest remaining specimen, on a great scale, of the Norman style in Scotland; and it shows both a remarkable advance on the previous architecture of the country, and a striking similarity to the style then prevalent in England, as exemplified in Durham Cathedral, at the laying of the foundation stone of which in the year 1093 Malcolm Ceanmor was present. The movement thus begun was zealously continued by Queen Margaret's sons and their successors, and eventually resulted in the erection throughout Scotland of majestic Cathedral and Abbey churches, with all the accessories of an imposing ritual. King David I. specially devoted himself to this work. In addition to the new bishoprics which he established, he founded or endowed no fewer than fifteen monasteries, a prodigality which, as Bellenden asserts, drew from one of his successors, James I. of Scotland, when he came to David's tomb at Dunfermline, the bitter complaint that 'he was ane soir sanct for the Crown.'¹ It was, however, one of the best methods which could then be adopted for civilizing his semi-barbarous subjects. The noble and wealthy of the land, and especially the new Saxon and Norman settlers who had received grants of territory from the Crown, hastened to follow these illustrious examples. So vigorously was the building of churches carried on, that, as an old author has remarked, the voice of the Gospel could not be heard for the noise of hammers and trowels. The spirit of enthusiasm, indeed, pervaded all classes of the community.

' By such examples moved to unbought pains,
 The people work like congregated bees ;
 Eager to build the quiet Fortresses
 Where Piety, as they believe, obtains
 From Heaven a *general* blessing ; timely rains
 Or fruitful sunshine ; prosperous enterprise,
 Justice and peace.'

¹ *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 300 (ed. 1821). Yet this did not prevent James I. himself from founding and richly endowing the Charterhouse at Perth.

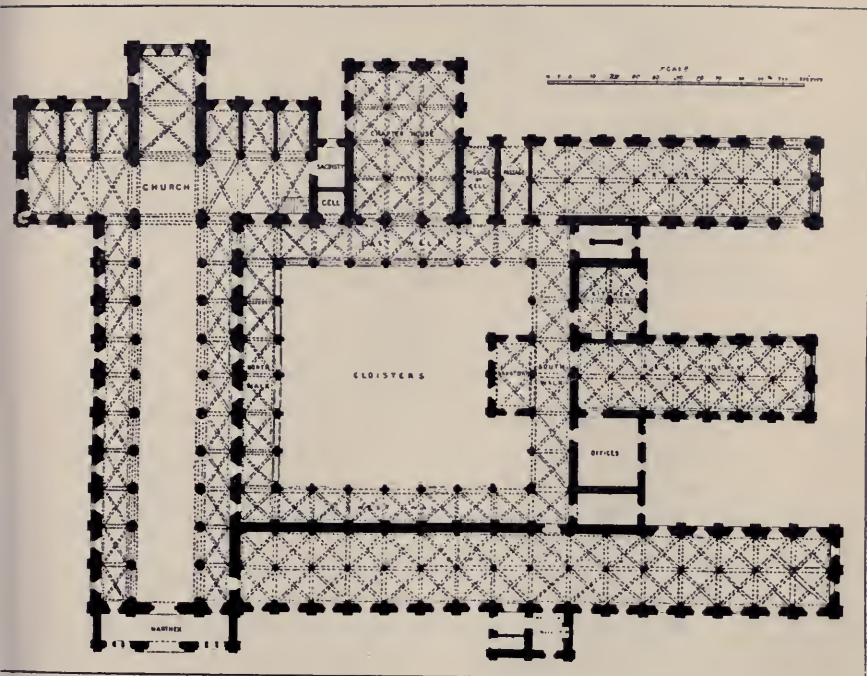
It is believed that those splendid structures, of most of which only the ruins now remain, and excite so much interest in the mind of every lover of Art, were the work of Freemasons, who, according to the most trustworthy accounts, originated in the Middle Ages, and travelled from one country to another, wherever their services were required. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that many, and even close resemblances, can be traced, both in the plans and minute details of edifices remote from each other. Whenever a cathedral or conventual church was to be erected, a lodge of Freemasons, governed by their own laws, and enjoying important privileges, is believed to have settled in the neighbourhood. Such a society was instituted near the end of the twelfth century by Jocelyn, Bishop of Glasgow, for the rebuilding of his cathedral, and it obtained a charter of protection from William the Lion. The oldest masonic lodges in Scotland are said to be those of the towns which contained some early and important church or abbey, with which they are understood to be coeval. The *designers* of those magnificent buildings were, however, generally the monks and churchmen themselves, who were devoted to the study of architecture, as well as of the various arts, such as painting and sculpture, connected with the decoration of churches. The erection of an abbey was usually the work of a lengthened period, additions being made from time to time, according to the necessities of the convent and the means at their disposal.

The ground plan of all those structures was nearly the same. Cistercian monasteries especially were remarkably uniform in this respect, and their component parts were the following:—The principal edifice was, of course, the *Church*, which was built in the form of a Latin cross, having its axis extending from east to west. In its construction it was customary to commence with the head of the cross, or east end, and to finish the *Choir*, as that portion was called, as soon as possible for divine service. The choir in the early style

of Cistercian architecture was short, having usually only two compartments or bays. The *Transepts*, or arms of the cross, were next added, having each two or three chapels on the east side, with partition walls between them. The building was then frequently filled in by a temporary wall at the west end, and the lower portion of the cross, or *Nave*, was sometimes not erected till a considerable time afterwards. In some monasteries, as in that of Fountains, in Yorkshire, there was a porch, or *Narthex*, extending along the whole of the west end of the nave, roofed as a lean-to against the west wall, and covering the west doorway. The *Tower* was in most cases placed at the crossing, where the transepts intersected the main body of the building. The General Chapter of Citeaux, in 1134, sanctioned only low wooden bell turrets, and prohibited the erection of towers, either of great height or of stone.

The *interior* of the church comprised the following portions, extending from east to west:—The *High Altar* stood at the east end, detached from the wall. Next to it was the *Presbytery*, appropriated to the officiating ministers. The word *presbytery*, however, is often used to denote the whole choir. Adjoining this was the *Choir proper*, or ritual Choir, where the monks sat in rows of stalls, those on the south side facing those on the north. West of the choir, by an unusual arrangement, was the *Retro-choir*, where sat such of the infirm monks as were able to attend the services. At the west end of the building was the portion occupied by the lay brothers, and the space intervening between this and the retro-choir was assigned to the novices and strangers.

In the thirteenth century various alterations were introduced in the construction of Cistercian churches. Thus aisles were often added to the choir, as was also in some cases an eastern *Apse*, with radiating chapels. In the aisles of the transepts the partition walls separating their chapels were dispensed with, and the chapels thrown open. Lofty stone towers were erected, as at Fountains and Furness. These towers



MODEL PLAN OF A CISTERCIAN ABBEY.

were often covered with a low pyramidal roof. In Scotland they frequently ended in a saddle-back roof, with crow-step gables, as at Sweet Heart or New Abbey, in Dumfriesshire.

The erection of Balmerino Abbey must have been commenced soon after the year 1225, but we have no details regarding the building either of its church or of its other structures. It would not be dedicated till its completion, which was probably not effected till many years after its commencement. Arbroath Abbey was not dedicated till fifty-five years after it was founded. The church of St. Andrews Priory, which was also the Cathedral church, is known not to have been finished till 158 years after it was begun. Such delay admitted of every portion being executed in the most tasteful and substantial manner; but it also led, in many instances, like that of St. Andrews Cathedral itself, to a diversity of style in the several parts of the same edifice, due to the change of fashion which had meanwhile taken place.

Most of the domestic buildings of a monastery surrounded and enclosed a quadrangular area, called the *Cloister Garth*, having along its four sides a walk covered by a roof, which was supported on the outer side by a row of pillars. This covered walk was the *Cloister* proper. The quadrangle and surrounding apartments were usually, for the sake of warmth, on the south side of the nave of the church. At Balmerino, however, as also at Melrose and Tintern, they were on the north side of the nave, which formed their southern boundary. This position was probably adopted to facilitate drainage, and, in the case of Balmerino Abbey, in order also to leave open, from the outer windows on the north side of the quadrangle, an extensive view of the Tay and the beautiful scenery beyond it. When the quadrangle was thus situated, the arrangement of the buildings on its eastern side, in their order from south to north, being the reverse of the usual order, was as follows.

A doorway in the north wall of the nave, at its junction with the north transept, or sometimes, as at Balmerino, in

the west wall of that transept, gave access to the church from the cloisters. Another doorway, in the north wall of the same transept, gave access to the *Sacristy*, or *Vestry*, which immediately adjoined the church, and was barrel-vaulted, and lighted by an east window.

On the north side of the sacristy, and parallel to it, was placed the *Chapter-house*, which in the beauty of its architecture was surpassed only by the church. It was vaulted, and divided by pillars into three equal arcades or aisles, extending from west to east. The entrance to it was on its west side by an archway forming the termination of its middle aisle. This and the similar archways opposite the south and north aisles were—at least in earlier times—all open to the weather. *Sedilia*, or stone benches, on which the monks sat, were placed along the walls. The Abbot's seat stood against the middle of the east wall. The chapter-house was sometimes lighted only by windows at the east end of the three aisles, but more frequently it had additional windows in that portion of its north and south walls which projected beyond the adjoining buildings.

Next to the chapter-house, on its north side, there was often a barrel-vaulted apartment having a doorway at each end. This was one of those portions of the buildings which received the name of *Auditorium*. The Book of Usages mentions two apartments so called, one of which was next the chapter-house; the other was next the kitchen. The former was that in which the monks conversed with visitors or strangers after they had obtained the Abbot's permission to do so. The *Locutorium*, or parlour, appears to have been another name for it; but it is never so called in the Book of Usages.

Adjoining this auditorium, when it did exist, or next to the chapter-house when it was wanting, was the *Slype*, or passage, which was barrel-vaulted, leading out from the quadrangle and cloister to the precincts on the east side.

Next to the slype, but at right angles to it, was usually situated the *Fraternity*, or common day-room of the monks, extending northwards beyond the adjoining buildings, and thus capable of being lighted on both sides. It had a single row of pillars extending along its centre, and supporting a vaulted roof. Not only was this apartment in early times without a fireplace, but in some, if not in all cases, its outer end was open to the air—a striking proof of the austerity then practised by the Cistercian monks. In the fourteenth century the open end was closed with masonry, and fireplaces were inserted. The fraternity, with the dormitory over it, may still be seen at Pluscardin. Though the term fraternity (*frateria*) occasionally occurs in Cistercian chronicles,¹ it is never employed in the Book of Usages.

A second story covered all the vaulted apartments now described. The northern portion of this upper story, which was over the fraternity, formed the monks' *Dormitory*, a long undivided chamber without a fireplace; while over the chapter-house was the *Scriptorium*, or writing-room. In this upper story also a passage extended from the dormitory southwards to the north transept of the church, and passing through the north wall of this transept by a doorway, ended in a broad staircase built against its west wall, and leading down to the floor of the church. By this passage and stair the monks proceeded from their dormitory to the night-service in the choir, without being exposed to the open air. The stair still exists at Tintern, Kirkstall, Pluscardin, and the Augustinian Priory of Hexham. At New Abbey the stair has disappeared, having been probably a wooden one, but the doorway in the transept wall—in this case the *south* transept—remains. On the west side of the fraternity was another staircase, which gave access to the cloister from the dormitory.

On the north side of the quadrangle the buildings were

¹ Sharpe's *Architecture of the Cistercians*, Part II. p. 15.

the following, in their order from east to west. Adjoining the last-mentioned staircase, and on its west side, was the *Kitchen*, entered from the north walk of the cloisters, and having two or more fireplaces.

An apartment very frequently mentioned in the Book of Usages was the *Calefactory*, in which a fire was kept burning. No position is assigned to this apartment in Sharpe's admirable plan of a Cistercian monastery; nor indeed, strange to say, is it mentioned by him as a *distinct* one. He supposes it to have been identical with the kitchen; but the kitchen and the calefactory are expressly mentioned in the Book of Usages as *separate* apartments. The calefactory must have been different from the fraterly also, with which some identify it, if both names were in use at the same period, since in the latter, at least in early times, there appears to have been no fireplace. Possibly the same apartment was at first called the fraterly, and at a later period the calefactory when fireplaces were inserted in it.

West of the kitchen was the *Refectory* or dining-hall, entered from the centre of the north walk or cloister, and extending outwards at right angles to it. In architectural elegance the refectory ranked next to the chapter-house. It had a single row of columns extending down the centre, usually supporting a wooden roof. In a recess of its west wall was placed the *Analogium*, or stone lectern, from which the lessons were read to the convent during meals.

Outside of the refectory, near its door, and variously placed in different monasteries, was the *Lavatory*, in which the monks performed their ablutions.

Immediately west of the refectory were one or two offices, probably used for the storing of provisions. The *Cellar* was a recognised apartment in Cistercian houses.

Adjoining these, on the west side, stood a building which, with the exception of the church, was the largest of the whole group. It formed the west side of the quadrangle, and

extended northwards beyond it. This was the *House of the Converts* or lay brothers—their day-room and work-room, and probably also their refectory and chapter-house—and its upper story formed their dormitory. Like the monks' frater and refectory, its lower story had a single row of columns extending down its centre. Its roof was vaulted. A splendid example still exists at Fountains Abbey. From this lower apartment the lay brothers had access to their place in the nave of the church by a doorway in its north aisle. It was lighted by windows in its west side, and by others in its east side where it stood clear of the other buildings. The dormitory over it was lighted in a similar manner, and was usually covered by a wooden roof. From this apartment there was sometimes a stair, at its south end, leading into the nave of the church. This stair still exists at Furness. On the outside of the west wall of the house of the converts, but attached to it, there was sometimes a small building, which was probably the residence of the master of the converts. 'We can well imagine the issuing forth of this large body of workmen, after their return to the day-room from attendance at early morning prayers, through the three great doorways that were provided in the west wall of the building for this purpose; but the scene which presented itself in the interior of the buildings, after the day's work was ended, and when the voiceless crowd which filled it had reassembled under its low-vaulted roof, previously to retiring in silent procession, under the marshalling of their superintendent, the "Magister conversorum," up their stone staircase to the common dormitory above, is not so easily imagined.'¹

Abbots might be buried in the chapter-house, and common monks in the quadrangle, where their tombstones were to be laid level with the ground, so as not to be the cause of stumbling to those passing over them; but interments appear to have taken place outside of the cloister also. In the larger

¹ Sharpe's *Architecture of the Cistercians*, Part II. p. 17.

Cistercian churches none but kings, queens, and bishops might be interred; and such personages might, if they preferred it, obtain a resting-place in the chapter-house.

In addition to the buildings which surrounded the cloister garth, there were, at least in later times, others outside of it, and detached from the central group. One of these was the *Abbot's house*, which stood east of the chapter-house. It was of two stories, the lower containing his kitchen, which was vaulted, and the upper the apartments in which he resided. Sometimes he had a private chapel near his house.

The *Hospitium*, or *Guest-hall*, was another detached building, having probably a day-room on its ground floor, and a dormitory over it. The *Infirmarium*, also, may have stood apart from the cloister.

St. Benedict recommended that a monastery should have water, a mill, and a garden; hence there was usually a mill on the stream beside which a Cistercian abbey was built. The stream was sometimes dammed up to form a fish-pond, and was turned to various purposes of utility and sanitation.

The *Porter's cell* was generally over the abbey gateway, which was vaulted, and had a broad entrance for wheeled vehicles, and a narrow one for foot passengers.

The whole precincts of the monastery, frequently extending to many acres of ground, were enclosed by an outer wall, in which was placed the gateway. A great portion of such a wall still exists at New Abbey, composed of large blocks of granite. At Pluscardin, also, the larger part of the enclosing wall remains. A great part of the high wall which surrounded the precincts of the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews is still a well-known and striking feature of the place, as is also its vaulted gateway.¹

¹ In this description of the buildings and apartments of a Cistercian monastery, and their relative positions, Sharpe (*Architecture of the Cistercians*) has been for the most part followed, along with the *Liber Usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis* already referred to.

Such was the *normal* plan of a Cistercian monastery. We reserve description of the buildings of Balmerino Abbey till in a subsequent chapter they can be considered in connection with the existing ruins.¹

¹ See Part II. chap. xii.

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDATION OF THE ABBEY : ABBOT ST. ALAN

' A house of prayer and penitence—dedicate
Hundreds of years ago to God, and Her
Who bore the Son of Man ! An Abbey fair
As ever lifted reverentially
The solemn quiet of its stately roof
Beneath the moon and stars.'

—WILSON.

HAVING briefly described the characteristics of mediæval monachism, and the special rules and practices of the Cistercian monks, as well as the general plan of their edifices, we now proceed to relate the history of the Cistercian Abbey of Balmerino, arranging our materials for the most part under the names of the respective Abbots.

QUEEN ERMENGARDE, or EMERGARDE, the second wife of King William the Lion, and daughter of Richard, Earl of Bellomont or Beaumont, who was a great-grandson of William the Conqueror, is asserted by tradition to have made repeated visits to Balmerino for the benefit of her health. During her married life she is said to have exercised a beneficial influence on her husband and the events of his reign. After his death she appears to have resided chiefly at Forfar, 'the castles and hamlets of which,' Hector Boece informs us, 'with its plains, pastures, and lochs, and many things besides, in which she had taken pleasure, were given to her by her son Alexander as a sufficient source of maintenance, because she had determined to spend the rest of her days in the place where St. Margaret had sometime lived.'¹ We know

¹ *Scot. Hist.*, fol. 279, p. 2, ed. Parisiis, 1574.

not how or where Queen Ermengarde was lodged when she frequented Balmerino as a health resort, but the locality must at that period have contained some edifice suitable for the residence of so distinguished a visitor. It was probably the manor-house of Adam de Stawel, the proprietor of Balmerino. Be this as it may, in her widowhood she resolved, in accordance with the religious ideas of the time, and moved by gratitude for the benefit to her health which had resulted from her visits, and doubtless, also, by the amenity and retirement of the situation, to found at Balmerino a Cistercian Abbey. The monks are often credited with having selected for themselves the best and most fertile parts of the country; but the truth is, that the choice was generally made not by them, but by their benefactors. In many cases their lands when first granted to them were waste, and therefore worthless to their previous owners—having been granted just because they were worthless—and were afterwards brought under cultivation and rendered productive by the labours of the monks themselves; and this was true especially of the Cistercian monks. In other instances, as in that of Balmerino Abbey, charming situations were chosen because it was the design of the donors—as it doubtless was that of Queen Ermengarde—to devote to the cause of religion, as they understood it, the best they possessed or could procure.

We have seen that in the year 1225 Adam de Stawel, as heir to Henry and Richard Reuel, was proprietor of Cultra, Balmerino, and Ardint—most of the lands of the parish as then bounded being included under these names—and also patron of the church of Balmerino. On the first Sunday after the festival of St. Dionysius—which festival was on the 9th of October—in that year, he resigned, *by staff and baton*—symbols of feudal conveyancing—to Queen Ermengarde, in the court of her son Alexander II. at Forfar, these lands, *both demesne and servile*, with the advowson or patronage of the church, that she might apply them to whatever use she

pleased, without opposition from him or his heirs. This transaction was in fulfilment of an agreement made at the same time and place between the Queen and De Stawel, by which she 'promised' and he 'made oath, having touched the *sacrosancta*'—which probably mean the Gospels—faithfully to implement. The agreement was to the effect that the Queen was to pay to De Stawel at Temple¹ of London (Lundin or Lundie, near Largo) a thousand merks sterling for these lands; and that before the first instalment was received by him he was to deliver the charters of the lands, granted to himself and his predecessors by William the Lion and Alexander II., into the hands of the Master of the military Order of the Temple, who was to deliver them to the Queen, or to a messenger appointed by her, as soon as the whole of the money was paid. De Stawel afterwards acknowledged by his letters-patent that he had received, in the presence of two chaplains and other brothers of the said 'Temple,' the first instalment of the money by the hands of Thomas, son of Ranulf, and the second half by the hands of the monks of Melrose, as the price of the property thus sold.²

The possession of these lands now enabled Queen Ermengarde to fulfil her pious design. One of her first acts was perhaps to grant in 1227 a charter conferring the church of Balmerino and its revenues on the rising monastery; for what is probably a portion of such a charter, dated in that year, is recorded on part of a leaf of the manuscript Chartulary, the rest of which has been torn away.³ Be this as it may,

¹ The Templars were a military Order, whose headquarters were on the site of the Temple of Jerusalem. The Order was founded to defend pilgrims to the Holy City from the attacks of the Saracens. They had numerous possessions throughout Europe. A house of the Order was called 'Temple.' They often preserved the treasure of kings and nobles, and had the right of sanctuary.

² *Balmerino Chartulary*, Nos. 4, 5, 6.

³ *Chartulary*, No. 11. The fragment—which is the concluding portion—of the charter is as follows:—'This donation is made by us with the assent and concession of Alexander, King of Scotland, . . . and with the assent and concurrence of the Chapter of St. Andrew, with the consent also of the archdeacons

the erection of the Abbey must have been speedily commenced,¹ for by the autumn of the year 1229, when it was probably first taken possession of by the monks, it must have been so far advanced as to contain at least an 'oratory,' or church, a refectory, a dormitory, a guest-hall, and a porter's cell, as well as the books necessary for divine service—doubtless in this instance written in the Scriptorium of Melrose Abbey—all which were required by the rules of the Cistercian order to be ready in a new monastery before the monks could be settled in it. When the erection of the Abbey was completed, it was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Edward the Confessor, but the date of this event is unknown.

The original company of monks came from Melrose Abbey, whence they were sent, according to the Melrose Chronicle, on St. Lucy's Day, 1229, with Alan as their first abbot. If they crossed the Forth at Queensferry, they would probably break their journey by a day's rest at the Cistercian Abbey of Culross, a few miles distant from that place, which the Earl of Fife had founded twelve years previously, and whose monks would be much interested in the establishment of a new house of their Order on the Firth of Tay. It had doubtless been to these emigrants from Melrose an act of self-denial to quit the valley of the Tweed and the parent monastery of their Order in Scotland, possessing, too, such variety of attractions, and consecrated by so many saintly associations, to go forth to a residence new and incomplete, in a district to which they were probably total strangers. But we can imagine their glad

of the Church of St. Andrew unanimously adhibited: Whose authentic seals we have caused to be affixed to this writ, of their free will, along with our seal. Done in the year of grace M^oCC^o.xx^o.vii^o.' 'In annexing of churches with their revenues to abbacies or priories, the king's and bishop's confirmation was adhibited, in regard their jurisdiction, rights and casualties were thereby impaired.'—(Forbes on *Church Lands and Tithes*, p. 96.)

¹ In a list of the dates of the foundation of Cistercian monasteries recorded by a monk of Kinloss, the Abbey of St. Edward's, that is, of Balmerino, is said to have been 'founded' in the year 1227, which possibly means that the erection of the buildings was then commenced. (See Stuart's *Rec. Kinloss*, p. 13.)

surprise when, after a long and toilsome march, they reach the crest of the high ridge overlooking Balmerino, and the magnificent panorama suddenly burst upon their sight. Before them is the majestic Tay—

‘ Rolled down from Highland hills,
That rests his waves, after so rude a race,
In the fair plains of Gowrie
. Yonder to the east,
Dundee, the gift of God,’

reposing under the shelter of its ‘Law.’ Beyond are the Braes of the Carse and the Sidlaw range, encircling by a wide sweep this foreground of smiling plain and sparkling estuary; while in the background, towering up against the sky, are seen the lofty peaks of the distant Grampians. Let us hope that when the way-worn monks beheld this noble prospect, of its kind scarcely surpassed in Scotland, and the greater portion of which was henceforth to be daily in their view; and when their eyes lighted on the picturesque spot selected for their own abode, low down near the margin of the Tay, overlooking a beautiful dell, and skirted round by a series of heights—thus affording that seclusion so much sought by the Cistercians—they would deem Balmerino no bad exchange even for ‘fair Melrose’ itself, the choice of such a situation evincing the taste, no less than the piety, of its royal and widowed Foundress.

We may feel assured that the satisfaction of the monks would be more than equalled by that of the inhabitants of the district, who would regard them with veneration and affection. Great would be the joy and excitement when the rustics saw them approaching in solemn procession, with a cross borne before them—as their manner was when thus journeying—and at length entering their new quarters. As there were doubtless serfs residing on the lands now the property of the Abbey, they too would rejoice in the prospect of the freedom, or at least the improvement of their condition, which would result from their connection with the monks.

The arrival of the peaceful brotherhood would indeed be the great event of the time throughout the North of Fife, and beyond it.¹

We have no information as to the number of the monks forming the convent, except at a late period of its history. We have seen that by the Cistercian rules there could not have been fewer when the monastery was founded than twelve besides the abbot, and that Melrose must have had at least sixty monks before it was permitted to send out a colony to this new monastery. It had often many more. Under the first Superior of the Tironensian Abbey of Lindores there were twenty-six monks. In the year 1457 a charter granted by that house was signed by twenty-five, and another, in the year 1546, by twenty members. In the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews there were in 1555 thirty-four canons, besides servants and dependants; but in all monasteries the number varied from time to time. A feu-charter signed by the Abbot and Convent of Balmerino in 1537 contains only fifteen names, which will be found on a subsequent page. Other similar documents, both of an earlier and a later date, have still fewer signatures; but there is no reason to suppose that any one of them was signed by all the monks, some of whom might be infirm, while others might be necessarily

¹ 'Anno Domini MCCXXIX facta est abbatia Sancti Edwardi de Balmorinac a rege Alexandro et matre ejus; et missus est illuc conventus de Melros, cum domino Alana Abbate suo, in die Sancte Lucie virginis.'—(*Chron. de Mailros*, p. 141.) Fordun gives the date and incident in nearly the same words. There were two saints of the name of Lucy, whose 'days' are the 19th September and the 13th December respectively. The former is more probably the day here referred to. It is, however, somewhat doubtful if 1229 is the correct year. A composition or indenture, concerning certain tithes, executed at the Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss on the 20th September of that year (printed in Stewart's *Rec. Kinloss*), is stated to have affixed to it the seals of seven Cistercian abbots, one of whom is the 'Abbot of St. Edward's.' If these abbots were all present at Kinloss on the 20th September, the monks must have been settled at Balmerino at an earlier date than the 19th September 1229; at least Abbot Alan could not have set out with them from Melrose on that day. Yet it is unlikely that the Chronicler of Melrose, whence the monks were sent to Balmerino, was ignorant of the true date of that event.

absent. Moreover, in the sixteenth century, to which all the documents just mentioned belong, the monks were probably fewer in number than in earlier times, when monachism exhibited its greatest vigour, and the passion for the cloistral life was at its height. Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we suppose that the monks of Balmerino would usually average not fewer than twenty-five, and that the lay brothers would be more numerous than the monks, at least in the early periods of its history.

We do not know whether, or to what extent, the inhabitants of the parish of Balmerino were displaced when its lands came into the possession of the monks. It can scarcely be supposed that so harsh a measure as a general eviction would be resorted to. As these lands had previously been partly *demesne*, that is, occupied by the proprietor and cultivated by his bondsmen or villains, and partly *servile*, that is, held of him by servile tenants, the demesne lands would no doubt be now occupied and laboured by the monks themselves and the lay brothers of the convent. The villains, who would be transferred with the land, would probably be retained as servants of the Abbey, and some of the lay brothers may have been drawn from them.¹ The tenants of the servile lands, which must have been of small extent, may have been allowed to remain as tenants of the Abbey. For we know that even at this early period portions of the lands of other Cistercian monasteries in Scotland were let to tenants, though it was a violation of the original rules of the Order for its monks to subsist on rents or the produce of lands not occupied and laboured by themselves.

Queen Ermengarde's project was from the first warmly seconded by her son, Alexander II. Not only did he aid her by his advice, and by interesting himself in the erection of the monastic buildings, but by his own liberality he added

¹ At Citeaux the serfs on the land, and also the church, were given over to the monks by their benefactors.

Alexander di gra Rex Scot. Epis. Abbz. Comibz. Baronibz.
 Justic. Vicariibz. Prepositis. Ministris. & omnibz prob ho-
 minibz tota tre sue. Curis & laicis saltem Sciant presentes &
 futuri nos ad honore di & glorie Egis marie & sanctissimi Be-
 gif. Edmundi di. & ad exaltationem scie religionis p salute nra a
 omni aecessor & successor nror. & p antibz illustribz regis Willi-
 patris nri. & h. megaridis regine nris nre & omni aecessor &
 successor nror quia altitudinem cisterciensis ordinis fundasse ap Bal-
 mynach in scot. nosq; monachis ipsius ordinis ibid & sermer. l. g. &
 imperium seruitur. dedisse & concessisse p hac carta nra qd massa
 tota nra de Culm. & Balmynach inussit cu omibz pincenis suis. s. bal-
 mund. & ballindard. & Corbi p suis pncis diuisas & cu omibz aliis ad
 pncis nris in pncis Q. aras etia ad amde stulvel fr. & hor. & ri-
 nudi. & uel nob ad op dne h. megaridis regine nris nre in plena cu-
 ria nra ap surfur. qentis claudu. & in manu nra p se & heredibz suis p-
 ficiat & heredi resignant concessim etia pncis monachis cisterciensis
 ordinis ad fundacionem pnciare alie scilicet in dregus p suis pncis
 diuisas & aliis iustis pncenis suis. Et nos & heredes nri manutenebi-
 mus & pnciare abun pncis monachis pncis nris cu omibz pncenis
 & libertatibz suis imperium etia omis hoies Q. re coluni ut p reda qo-
 nachis omis pncis nris habeant & teneant de nob & successoribz nris.
 in libam. pncis. qentis & pnciam elemosina pncis & aglus. tu pus
 & piscans. in qentis & qentis. in stangus & volandus. In viis &
 scot. in salinis & piscans. & omibz aliis assiametis ad pncis nris in pncis
 pncis. s. libe & qentis. plenarie & honorifice sicut aliq elemosina
 libris & qentis. pleni & honorificet ab antipus. ex antipus. t. l. h. a. n. r. o. l.
 leucis & omibz pncis. consuetudinibz & seruitur. s. c. t. a. r. i. b. z. n. i. r. e. g. n. o.
 scotie teneat aut possidet sicut nichil h. o. y. o. i. n. o. p. r. e. t. s. o. l. a. s. o. r. t. n. a. s. a. b.
 eis p tota regni scotie possit exigi & ep. Andree ep. norame. Wal-
 tero tunc conte de genimel. Waltero olyfayil iustic. Laodone Wal-
 tero filio Adam senescallo & iust. scot. Comite paricio. henrico
 & ball. thom de Bay. sebe & Waltero frabz suis. thom fil. Ran-
 dulf. Galfido & Willo de Archin clia nris ap elacumanan.
 tunc die februarii. anno regni nri septimodecimo.

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF THE CHARTULARY OF BALMERINO ABBEY, BEING A COPY OF THE FOUNDATION CHARTER.

very considerably to the endowments of the rising house.¹ Indeed his gifts to it were fully as great as those of his mother. About the time of its foundation he bestowed on the Abbey the lands of Barry, anciently called Fethmure, Fethmoreth, or Fethmoref, which then belonged to the Crown, and where he himself was residing in the spring of the year 1229. This valuable grant included the whole parish of Barry, except thirteen acres which formed the glebe of its vicar, and had been previously conferred on the church of Barry by William Cumyn, Sheriff of Forfar, and with that church had been given to the Abbey of Arbroath by William the Lion.² The liberality of Alexander II., as we shall see, was not exhausted by this splendid gift. The foregoing statements show the inaccuracy of Boece's assertion that the Abbey of Balmerino—which he calls Abermoroenochtum—was founded by William the Lion.³ As a native of Dundee, and educated there, he should have known better both the name of the place and that of the Foundress of its abbey.

The Foundation Charter was not executed till the 3rd of February 1230–31. It runs in the King's name. We give a translation of this document entire, as a specimen of the deeds by which property and privileges were usually conferred on the monastery. The dates of these charters, as they are not always given, are sometimes matter of conjecture. The charters are usually attested by numerous witnesses, whose names are set down in the order of their rank, bishops and abbots taking precedence of temporal barons. Though the witnesses were present, it was doubtless the scribe or a notary who wrote down the names of the laymen, as few of these, at least in the earlier periods of the Abbey's history, could

¹ 'Monasterium fundavit Ermengarda memorabilis foemina, Alexandro filio non solum consulente, sed et adjuvante et promovente aedificia, munificentia in Religiosos inexhausta.'—(Father Hay in his MS. *Scotia Sacra* in Adv. Libr., quoting the *Liber de Cupro*, now lost.)

² *Chartulary*, No. 9, App. No. I.; *Reg. Vetus de Aberbr.*, p. 5.

³ *Scot. Hist.*, fol. 279, p. 2 (ed. 1574).

practise the art of writing, which was then thought to be suitable only for churchmen. The donations are usually stated to be given 'in pure and perpetual charity' to God and the Blessed Mary, St. Edward, and the monks of the Cistercian Order serving God at Balmurynach; and for the weal of the donor and his family, of his ancestors and descendants, and sometimes of Queen Ermengarde, her husband, and son. The names of persons and places are, as in all ancient documents of a similar kind, frequently spelt different ways. The seal of the donor, and, in cases of sale or contract, the seal of each of the parties, or of one of them, or of his burgh if he was a citizen, was usually affixed to the document.

Foundation Charter

ALEXANDER, by the grace of God King of the Scots, to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, provosts, ministers, and all good men both clergy and laity, of his whole kingdom, greeting. Let the present and future generations know that we, for the honour of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary, and of the most holy King Edward, and for the exaltation of holy religion; for our own weal and that of our predecessors and successors; and for the souls of the illustrious King William our father, and Queen Ermengarde our mother, and of all our predecessors and successors; have founded an Abbey of the Cistercian Order at Balmurynach in Fyff; and that to the monks of that Order who are and ever shall be serving God there we have given and granted, and by this our charter have confirmed the whole land of Cultrach and Balmurynach in Fyff with all their pertinents, namely, Ballindan and Ballindard and Corbi by their right boundaries; [we have also granted to them the Mother Church of Balmurynach and all its pertinents]¹ and with all other

¹ The words within brackets are not in the printed Chartulary nor in the MS. from which it is copied. They are to be found in a facsimile of the Foundation Charter printed in Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum Scotiæ* (A.D. 1739), from a copy furnished to him by Lord Balmerino; and also in a copy printed in *Illustrations of Scottish History from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Maitland

things justly belonging to the foresaid lands; which also Adam de Stawel, brother and heir of Richard Reuel, has quit-claimed to us in our full court at Forfar towards the enterprise of the lady, Queen Ermengarde our mother, and resigned, for himself and his heirs, in our hand by staff and baton. We have also granted to the foresaid monks of the Cistercian Order, towards the founding of the foresaid Abbey, Fethmure in Anegus by its right boundaries, with all its just pertinents. And we and our heirs will maintain and warrant to the foresaid monks the foresaid lands, with all their pertinents and liberties, in perpetuity against all men. Wherefore our will is, that the foresaid monks have and hold from us and our successors all the foresaid lands in free, pure, quiet, and perpetual charity in respect of lands and waters, meadows and pastures, moors and marshes, dams and mills, roads and footpaths, saltworks and fishings, and all other easements justly pertaining to the foresaid lands, as freely and quietly, fully and honourably, as any other charity is held or possessed in the kingdom of Scotland; [exempt] from aids, armies, taxes, tolls, and all exactions, customs, and secular services, so that nothing whatsoever of these things can be demanded of them throughout the whole kingdom of Scotland except their prayers only. Witnesses, Andrew, Bishop of Moray; Walter Cumin, Earl of Meninteh (Menteith); Walter Olyfard, Justiciary of Laodonia (the country south of the Forth); Walter, son of Alan, Steward and Justiciary of Scotia (the district between the Forth and the Spey); Earl Patrick; Henry de Ballol; Thomas de Haya; John and Walter, his brothers; Thomas, son of Randulph; Galfrid and William de Nithyn, our clerks. At Clacmanan, the third day of February, in the seventeenth year of our reign.¹

This charter makes no mention of the right of 'free regality' or baronial jurisdiction, though this had been previously granted to the Reuels. It was certainly possessed, however, by the Abbey at a subsequent period. Tytler, writ-

Club). Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 105, contains a copy communicated by Sir James Balfour, and differing in several words from that in the printed Chartulary. It wants the words within brackets. There are copies of documents Nos. 5 and 6 of the Chartulary in the *Acts of Parl. of Scot.* also showing some verbal differences.

¹ *Chartulary*, No. I.

ing of the thirteenth century, says that free regality may be presumed, on strong grounds, to have been enjoyed by every Religious house in the kingdom.¹

The liberality of Queen Ermengarde and her son was speedily imitated, though in a less degree, by others. The following small donations were made to the Abbey soon after its foundation. Richard de Leicestria, a burgess of Perth, grants a piece of ground in the Saddlers' Street of that city, subject to an annuity of two and a half merks payable to himself during his lifetime. Walter, son of Alan, Steward of Scotland, grants another portion of ground in Perth, subject to a *reddendo*, payable to himself and his heirs, of two pounds of pepper and an equal quantity of cumin annually, payment of which was afterwards remitted by his son Alexander. Laurence, son of Widon, sells to the monks a piece of ground in Perth, in the street leading to the Inch, which he holds of the Bishop of Dunkeld, to whom a *reddendo* of a pound of pepper is payable annually, and who confirms the sale in the year 1231. A charter granted by John de Moravia, by which he renounces whatever right he has to this ground, and gives another piece adjacent to it, in the Watergate, may here be mentioned in this connection, though it was not granted till the year 1289.²

The good Queen had the satisfaction of seeing the erection and endowment of her Abbey thus far advanced before her death, which took place, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, on the 11th of February 1233-34. She was buried at Balmerino before the high altar of the Abbey Church, the King her son, and doubtless many of his nobles, being present at her funeral. She thus found a resting-place similar to that of her husband, who was buried before the high altar in Arbroath Abbey, which he had founded. All this was in strict accordance with the ideas of the time. The Queen's death and burial

¹ *Hist. Scot.*, chap. vi.

² *Chartulary*, Nos. 22-27.

are thus narrated by Wynton in his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* under the year 1233:—

‘ And the yhere neyst foluand,
 Ermygere, quhylum off Scotland
 Queyn, the Kyng Williamys wyff,
 Deyd, and endyd had hyr lyff.
 Off Balmwrynach in hyr day
 Off mwnkys scho fowndyt the Abbay ;
 Thare wes hyr body wyth honwre,
 Enteryd in halowyd sepulture.’¹

Not content with spending a thousand merks during her lifetime on an undertaking which she had so much at heart, Queen Ermengarde by her Will had directed her executors to pay two hundred merks to Laurence of Abernethy, brother-in-law of Henry Reuel, in order to purchase from him the renunciation of his interest in the lands of Cultra, Ballindean, Ballindard, Corbie, and Balmerino. He accordingly executed a deed by which he acknowledged receipt of the money from her executors, and quit-claimed for himself and his heirs all right which he and they had or could have in these lands. It

¹ In his *Introduction* to the Balmerino Chartulary, Turnbull thinks that the terms of the Foundation Charter induce an inference that at the date of that charter, February 3, 1230–31, the Queen was dead. Such an inference is, however, doubtful. Her death is assigned to the year 1233 by Wynton and Fordun as well as by the Melrose Chronicle. But see below at p. 122. The fact of her interment at Balmerino is asserted by the Melrose Chronicle, by Wynton, and by the Register of Arbroath Abbey which also states that her son Alexander II. was present at it. Spottiswood (*Account of Religious Houses*) says that she was buried at Balmerino *ante magnum altare*, quoting from a copy of Laurence of Abernethy’s charter different from that in the *Balmerino Chartulary*, No. 7, which does not mention the fact, though it is on all accounts probable.

The good Queen has been subjected, both in life and in death, to strange treatment by modern writers and printers. A well-known ‘Handbook for Travellers in Scotland’ has the following passage in a description of Arbroath Abbey: ‘The grave of William is pointed out in front of the high altar. . . . Next to him lay his wife Ermengarde, whose body was, after death, sewn up in leather and buried at Balmerino.’ The sole foundation for this ridiculous and incoherent story was the discovery of a piece of leather in what was supposed to be King William’s tomb! In an esteemed ‘Gazetteer of Scotland’ it is stated that Ermengarde was *burned* before the high altar at Balmerino—a misprint for *buried*.

was witnessed by the King and several bishops and abbots, as well as other high functionaries.¹

After Queen Ermengarde's death, Davit de Lynedsay of Brenweuill (in Ayrshire) grants an annuity of twenty shillings from his mill of Kerchow, or Kerkow, for furnishing a *pitancia* or treat to the monks 'on the anniversary of my lady Ermengarde of good memory, late Queen of Scotland.' This gift received the royal confirmation at Kinross on the 28th of March 1233.² If this date is correct, the Melrose Chronicle cannot be so in assigning the Queen's death to the following February.

Alexander II. continued to show his interest in the Abbey, and made several visits to it. Thus we find him there on the 9th of April 1234, when he grants a charter remitting to the monks a yearly payment due to himself from a burgage in Crail, which they had purchased from certain of its townsmen.³ On the following day the King, by a charter given at Balmerino—where he must have stayed over the preceding night—bestows on the Abbot and convent the privilege of holding their lands of Balmerino and Barry in 'forest' or 'free forest.' This valuable grant included the right of hunting, hawking, and killing all kinds of game, though such sports, being considered unsuitable for monks, were probably left, at least at first, to their lay brothers and servants. This charter shows how strictly game was preserved even in those remote times, since it subjects any one found cutting trees or *hunting* in the lands mentioned, without permission from the monks, to the very heavy penalty of 'full forfeiture of ten pounds.' On this visit there were present at the Abbey along with the King the Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor, the Bishop of Dunblane, William son of Alan the Steward, Justiciary of Scotia, Laurence of Abernethy, and others.⁴

The King is again at Balmerino on the 31st of August

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 7.

² *Ibid.*, No. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 19, 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 8.

in the same year, accompanied by the Bishop of Moray, Alexander Cumyn Earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotia, Patrick Earl of Dunbar, Sir Nicolas Sowl, and Sir William Ramsay, when he grants a charter confirming to the monks the lands of Ballindean, Cultra, and Corbie by their right boundaries, which are thus defined: 'Beginning at the east side, namely, at Carneden, and proceeding along the Motrich, according to its ancient channel, as far as the stream coming from the Dolle; and thence ascending by the southern stream to the well; and ascending from the well northward to the hill; and thence proceeding westward to Mierkip; and thence along the top of the hill to the marsh on the east side of Creych; and thence descending by the ancient course of the stream in Corbiden to the water of Tay.' These boundaries, to define and record which was probably the chief purpose of this charter, seem to be identical with those of the Parish on its south and west sides at the present day.¹

In 1235 Alexander II. confers another benefit on the monks. Religious houses always tried to evade the delivery of the tithes, *in kind*, of lands belonging to them, and to get a composition accepted in lieu of these. As early as the year 1230 an agreement had been made by the monks of Arbroath and those of Balmerino 'for confirming peace for ever between them,' whereby the latter were to pay to the former in good faith the tithes of any land, or other tithable subject, which they might possess in any parish whose church belonged to Arbroath Abbey, according to their value when they were acquired by them. This agreement was carried out in the case of Barry—to which it no doubt chiefly referred—whose lands now belonged to the Abbey of Balmerino, but its church, with its revenues, to that of Arbroath. Accordingly the tithes of Barry were at some time previous to 1233, with consent of the Bishop of St. Andrews, surrendered by the Abbey of Arbroath

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 56.

to that of Balmerino for a fixed annual payment by the latter of forty merks—an early instance of the valuation and commutation of tithes. Matters were in this state when the King came to Balmerino on the occasion of his mother's funeral. He then promised to relieve its monks from the payment of the forty merks by providing to Arbroath an equivalent from another source. Accordingly on Christmas Day 1235, being then at St. Andrews, he bestows on Arbroath Abbey an extensive tract of land at Tarves, in Aberdeenshire, amounting to four and three-fourths of the measure called a *davach*, or 1980 acres in all—of much greater value than the tithes of Barry. A charter is next granted by the monks of Arbroath setting forth that since the King, 'loving with a special affection and favour both monasteries—one of them rendered illustrious by the tomb of his father, and the other by that of his mother'—has provided an equivalent for the forty merks, they now release their brethren of Balmerino from the annual payment of that sum, and surrender to them the church of Fethmoreth with all its rights; and they undertake to be responsible for the episcopal and other burdens laid upon that church, it being understood that the chaplain (that is, the vicar) who shall serve the cure shall have the oxgate of land (thirteen acres) formerly assigned to him, as perambulated by Jocelyn of Balindard and Nicholas of Innerpefir.¹ Arbroath Abbey, however, still retained the patronage of the vicarage of Fethmoref, Fethmoreth, or Barry, and presentations of incumbents to it, addressed to the Bishop or Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1463, 1489, and 1533, are recorded in the Register of that house. The patronage subsequently passed—how it does not appear—to the Commendators of Balmerino after the Reformation, and then to Lord Balmerino, and afterwards to the Crown.

The practice thus exemplified in the case of Barry, and,

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 9, App. Nos. I., II., III.

as already stated, in that of Forgan, of increasing the revenues of monasteries—and the same method was adopted for endowing bishoprics and, in later times, colleges—by bestowing on them the tithes of parishes, on the condition that they should supply vicars to perform the spiritual duties of the cure, was in the Middle Ages a very common one. In some instances the vicar was maintained by a small money stipend, in others by the lesser tithes of hay, calves, lambs, butter, cheese, and other produce; while the bishop, college, or monastery, as occupying the place of rector of the parish, drew the great tithes of corn. The parochial system was not long established in Scotland ere its efficiency was greatly impaired by this practice. In the reign of William the Lion no fewer than thirty-three parish churches were conferred on the recently founded Tironensian Abbey of Arbroath. A great part of the revenues of Lindores Abbey was derived from a similar source. Comparatively few churches were, as a rule, given to Cistercian monasteries, as the statutes of that Order forbade its monks to obtain revenue in that way; yet twenty-nine parish churches were bestowed on Melrose Abbey. To so great an extent was this cheap liberality exercised, that at the Reformation Flisk was the only rectory or parsonage in the North of Fife, its incumbent being called the *parson* of Flisk. All the rest of the churches were vicarages, having been bestowed on some bishop, college, or religious house. Leuchars, like Forgan, had been given to St. Andrews Priory; Kilmany to St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews; Creich and Abdie to Lindores Abbey;¹ Dunbog to Arbroath Abbey;

¹ It was in the year 1414 that the Pope granted the petition of the monks of Lindores to appropriate to them the Church of Creich, value £12, the grant to take effect on the death of the rector, Laurence de Lindores—a perpetual vicar, with a fit stipend being appointed to it—and the plea urged was that the buildings of the monastery were ruined, and its rents diminished by reason of the nearness of the wild (*silvestrium*) Scots. Who was the donor of Creich Church to the abbey does not appear.—(*Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope*, vol. i.)

Moonzie to the Ministry of Scotlandwell. In Fife there were only nine, and in the whole of Scotland 293 rectories, all the other parish churches being vicarages.¹ The interests of the parishioners were thus sacrificed to other objects, by their pastor being reduced to a condition of dependence and poverty.²

The church of Logie-Murdoch was bestowed on Balmerino Abbey, but neither the name of the donor nor the date of the gift is known. It must have been given after the reign of Pope Innocent IV. (1242-54), since the Bull of protection which, we shall find, he granted to the Abbey does not mention that church among its possessions; and it must have been given previous to the year 1275, for at that date it was a vicarage. The Abbey would draw its tithes and appoint its vicar, who would be accountable to the Bishop of St. Andrews for the performance of his parochial duties, and be maintained by a small money stipend, or by the lesser tithes and church land.

The case of Balmerino parish church, which had been bestowed on the Abbey at its foundation, was peculiar, inasmuch as the whole parish was abbey property, excepting two small portions, namely, Thomas de Lundin's lands at Balmerino, and the fifteen acres called Priorwell, which Henry Reuel had given to the Priory of St. Andrews. The former of these portions, however, must have been at a later period acquired in some way by the Abbey, as it is never again mentioned as a separate property. The latter portion was most probably feued to the Abbey, the Priory still retaining its superiority. As Balmerino parish contained, in the

¹ Keith's *Hist. of Church and State*, vol. iii. pp. 391, 509, 510 (Spottiswoode Soc. Ed.), where the names of the parsonages or rectories are given.

² Barry was one of fourteen parish churches belonging to Arbroath Abbey, the vicars of which complained to the Bishop of St. Andrews of the insufficiency of their means of subsistence.—*Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i., A.D. 1342-1419, p. 235 (1838).

occupiers of these portions, *some* parishioners who were not connected with the Abbey when it was founded, and probably also hired servants and tenants of the Abbey who were not its inmates, the Bishop of St. Andrews would no doubt insist on the appointment of a vicar by the convent after the death of the existing incumbent. One of the monks would probably be appointed to the office, closely connected as *most* of the parishioners were with the Abbey; for, where this was not the case, it was not the practice of Benedictine and Cistercian monks, as it was of the Augustinian canons, to serve parish churches belonging to their monasteries. There is not, however, in the extant records of the Abbey any mention of a vicar of Balmerino, or of the old parish church after the arrival of the monks. The Abbey church would in all probability be used also as the *parish* church. Tithes would be paid to the convent, as occupying the position of rector, by the occupants of the non-monastic lands, and also by the tenants of the Abbey lands if this was made a condition of their occupation; but from the greater part of the parish there would be in *early* times no tithes drawn, as, in respect of the lands occupied and laboured by the monks, their lay brothers, and servants, the Abbey, like that of Melrose, was rector, landlord, and cultivator combined. (Before and near to the Reformation tithes were paid by some, at least, of the tenants or feuars.)

Abbot Alan ruled the convent only about six years and nine months, having died on the 28th of June 1236.¹ According to the *Book of Cupar* (Angus) he was reckoned in his time a very learned man, and was called St. Alan.² Thomas Dempster also, who wrote his *Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Scots* in the early part of the seventeenth

¹ *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 147.

² 'Consecravit initia nascentis domus S. Alanus, vir sua ætate doctissimus.'
(Father Hay's *Scotia Sacra*, quoting the *Liber de Cupro*.)

century, and perhaps derived his information partly from the *Book of Cupar*, tells us that our Abbot was, 'without controversy, in his time a very learned and pious man'; and adds—what is probable enough—that it was his reputation in these respects which procured for him the distinction of being appointed the first Abbot of Balmerino.¹ This author, however, calls him St. Almus—having evidently misread in some manuscript the word Alanus—and then gravely informs us that the place 'which, from his name, was long called Almurenock (which it never was!), afterwards, by a corruption of the word, began to be called Balmurenock.' He also states that our abbot wrote two works, one of which was entitled *Concerning Religious Perfection*,² in one Book; the other, *The Acts of Queen Emergarde*,³ in one Book; and that he died in the year 1270. For these statements he gives as his authority *The Acts of that Monastery*.⁴ His derivation of the word Balmerino, the name he gives to Abbot Alan, and the year to which he assigns his death, may at once be put aside as palpably erroneous. As regards his statement that this Abbot wrote the two works which he names, it would be a very interesting one if we could be assured of its truth; but unfortunately Dempster, though himself a voluminous author and a man of great and varied learning, cannot always be relied on for what he records as facts. Like many of our oldest historians, who in this respect were no worse than those of other nations, he sometimes deemed it a patriotic duty to sacrifice truth to the supposed glory of his country. Not only does he set down many Irish and English saints and writers as Scotsmen, but records the titles of books which he asserts that they wrote, of the existence of which we have no other evidence. It is indeed possible that he may have had access

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 54 (Bann. Club Ed.).

² *De Perfectione Religiosa*.

³ *Acta Regina Emergardæ*.

⁴ *Acta illius Monasterii*.

to Chronicles and other monastic writings which are now, like the *Book of Cupar*, lost. Yet we cannot be quite sure that Abbot St. Alan wrote the books which Dempster ascribes to him. The supposition that he did write them is, however, not in itself improbable; and *The Acts of the Monastery of Balmerino* may well have been the work of one of its monks. Would that this History, if it ever existed, had come down to us!

CHAPTER V

A DAY AT THE ABBEY

‘ Silence listened to the frequent chant
Of stated hymn that from the Abbey rose
By nights, and days as still as any nights.’

—WILSON.

THE Abbey having been founded, and occupied for several years, the daily life of its inmates, according to the Cistercian usages, may now be described in its details.

During winter (which was reckoned from the 1st of November to Easter) on ‘private’ days—those which were neither Sundays nor chief festivals—the usual routine of duty was as follows :—

At two hours past midnight the sacristan, who did not sleep in the dormitory with the rest of the brethren, but in or near the church, being awakened by the clock, which was also an alarm and had been set by him at the proper time on the previous evening, rings the convent bell.¹ He then trims the two lamps which burn all night—one in the dormitory and the other in the church—lights a third one in the cloister if necessary, and opens the church doors. The monks, roused from sleep by the bell, rise for the night service, or Nocturns. Not needing to spend time in dressing themselves, as they sleep in their ordinary clothes with the exception of the scapular, they at once issue forth from the dormitory, and in their night-shoes and white robes glide

¹ Such an alarm clock was placed in the Cistercian monastery of Kinloss, by its Abbot, in the early part of the sixteenth century.—(Stuart's *Rec. Kinloss*, p. xlvii.)

along the passage till they reach the broad stair by which they descend into the north transept of the church,

‘ All, all observant of the sacred law
Of silence.’

Having thrown back their hoods and bowed to any altar which they may pass, and then to the high altar, most of them enter the choir at its upper end, and take their places in the rows of stalls placed along its two sides. The Abbot and those who are to sit near him enter at the lower end of the choir, where his stall is on the right-hand side, and that of the Prior on the left. They first say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, resting on the misericords,¹ and then proceed with the regular service, standing in their white robes with their arms crossed (*cancellatis*) on their breasts, or sitting with their hands folded on their knees, or bowing profoundly, as prescribed by the rules at particular times. They chant the Psalms and anthems, and on certain occasions pronounce even the Scripture lessons, not from books, but by heart; for the church is too dimly lighted by the single lamp to admit of reading; and when the lessons have to be read, this is done with a candle placed at the desk. Even at the day-services only those are permitted to read the Psalms who have not yet committed them to memory. ‘The sweet chanting of the early Cistercians struck some of their contemporaries as something supernatural. “With such solemnity and devotion do they celebrate the divine office,” says Stephen of Tournay, “that you might fancy that angels’ voices were heard in the concert.” Yet this effect was simply produced by the common Gregorian chants sung in unison; as in other parts of divine worship, the Cistercians were reformers in

¹ The *misericord* or *miserere* was a projection on the under side of the seat; so shaped that when the seat was folded back the misericord formed a small seat on a higher level, giving some support to a person resting on it, half standing, half sitting. This arrangement may still be seen in the stalls of mediæval churches.

church music. . . . The men of that time believed that devils trembled, and angels noted down in letters of gold the words which dropped from their lips, as these grave and masculine voices chanted through the darkness of the night the triumph of good over evil, and the glories of the Lord and His Church.¹

With the exception of certain of the officials, those who are not present at the prefatory parts which are said before the regular service begins have to beg pardon on their knees in the chapter. Any one entering after the second Psalm is not allowed to join with the others, but must stand aside, and afterwards do penance for his fault till he is restored by the Abbot. Even the Abbot himself, if not present at the *Gloria Patri* of the first Psalm, must do penance on his knees like any other monk, with this exception, that when he has done so he retires to his stall without asking leave from any one, unless another Abbot happens to be present, who may give him leave.

When Nocturns are concluded, be the night as cold and dreary as it may, the monks do not return to their beds. They may remain in their stalls in the church for secret prayer, but do not read there, nor sit with their heads covered; or they may sit and read in the chapter-house, a light being kindled in it by the server of the church, and another before the ambry, where the books are kept by the chantor. Any who have yet something of the Psalter to learn now apply themselves to this task. Those engaged in reading, whether in the chapter-house at this time or in the cloister during the intervals between the day-services, must wear their hoods on their heads in such a way as to let it be seen whether they are asleep or awake. Each must sit devoutly reading his own book, except those who are studying something which they have to sing in divine service, or

¹ Dalgairn's *Life of St. Stephen Harding*.

who are preparing the lessons, which the chantor is to hear them repeating. They may not disturb each other by asking questions, except about long and short accents, or words they do not know, or the beginnings of the lessons at table, Collation, or Nocturns; and such questions must be as brief as possible. If any one has to go away for a time, he replaces his book in the ambry, or leaves it on the seat, and makes a sign to the monk sitting beside him to take charge of it. No one is allowed to make signs with his hood, or to call another at a distance by voice or sound. If any one gives offence to another to whom he has not been in the habit of speaking, the latter is to tell it to the Prior, who may call the offender and order him to lie on the ground before the feet of the complainer till he is pacified, when he has to raise him up. If one requires to get from another a book from which he reads or sings, and the latter refuses to give it, the other is to bear the refusal quietly till he can accuse the offender in the chapter. During these intervals between the church services the brethren may enter the calefactory—where the infirmarer has made a fire after Nocturns, or Lauds, or Prime—to warm themselves or for other useful purposes. But no one may enter the kitchen or refectory excepting those officers whose duties render this necessary. The auditories are not to be entered except by those who may require to consult the Prior about some matter after they have, by a sign or sound at the door, asked his leave to enter; nor are more than two together allowed to speak there in time of reading, unless the Prior chooses to call a greater number, and when their business is finished, they must at once depart. Two aged monks are appointed for a year to go round the cloister during reading-time, and to enter the kitchen, refectory, and calefactory, to see that the brethren are not idling or talking. If during these intervals the monks walk in the cloister, they must walk humbly, uncovering their heads and bowing to each other in passing. And always when they

meet each other they must bow, except in church, at work, at meals, or in the dormitory. If they meet the Abbot, they bow to him and then turn aside out of his way. When greeting each other, the younger monk says to the elder *Benedicite* ('Bless me'), and the other replies, *Dominus vobiscum* ('The Lord be with you'), or, more briefly, *Dominus*.

When the bell is again rung, they make themselves ready for morning Lauds or Matins; and when the ringing ceases at a signal from the Abbot, they enter the choir and commence the service. As Lauds are always sung at daybreak, the interval for reading after Nocturns is longer in winter than in summer. Immediately after Lauds the bell is rung for Prime if it is clear day; if not, the sacristan kindles a light in the cloister, and the brethren may sit there meanwhile, but not read. As soon as it is full day the bell is rung, and after an interval, during which they may put on their day-shoes or wash their hands, they return to the church, sprinkle themselves with holy water, and say Prime, about seven o'clock. There is again an interval, which is followed by Terce, about nine o'clock. Morning mass is next sung. The bell is then rung, and the monks walk into the chapter-house to hold their daily meeting for discipline and other purposes.

The Abbot, or in his absence some one appointed by him, presides in the chapter. Let us suppose the Abbot to be present. The brethren, having taken their places on the stone benches ranged along the walls, bow to the east and then to each other. At the entrance of the Abbot all rise, bow to him as he passes to his seat in the centre of the east wall, and remain standing till he sits down. The monk who is to sit next to him makes a profound bow to him before he takes his seat, as every one always does when he wishes to sit beside the Abbot anywhere except in church. The reader now comes forward in front of the *analogium* or lectern, and having received the benediction from the officiating priest of the week, reads the first lesson, which is followed by a brief liturgical

service. He then reads a lesson from the Rule of St. Benedict; after which he announces from the Table or Register—if it be a day for doing so—the weekly duties assigned to individual monks. Each one, on hearing his name called out, bows in token of obedience. If a duty has been prescribed to a brother who for any reason cannot perform it, he craves exemption; but he is not permitted to ask this when outside of the chapter-house, unless an unavoidable necessity has arisen for his doing so; in which case he must state the cause in next day's chapter, and on bended knees ask forgiveness from the Abbot. Then follows the commemoration of all the deceased brethren and servants of the Order, and the Abbot says, 'May they rest in peace!' to which the convent respond *Amen*. The lesson which was read from the Rule is now expounded by the Abbot, or by some brother at his request. The exposition being ended, the Abbot says, 'Let us speak concerning our Order'; and the chantor having commemorated any deceased person who is to be absolved, the Abbot pronounces his absolution. The chantor then intimates the completion of the *tricenarium*, or period of thirty days—if that period has elapsed—since the funeral of any member of the convent, during which prayers and masses were said for him; he also reads the announcement of the death of any monk of another monastery, if such has been transmitted; the Abbot says in regard to each of them, 'May he rest in peace!' and all having said *Amen*, he prescribes, in accordance with Roman Catholic doctrine, what he thinks necessary for the repose of the departed souls. Any one who knows that he has transgressed the Rule then comes forward to the place in the middle of the chapter-house called the *Judicium* or Judgment, prostrates himself on the floor, and confesses his fault; and the Abbot, having prescribed a suitable penance, bids him return to his seat.

Now commences a strange part of conventual discipline—the *clamatio* or accusation of offenders—when any monk may stand up and charge another with whatever delinquency he

has seen or heard him commit, or of which he has been informed. No one can be accused on mere suspicion; nor is the accuser allowed to use circumlocution, but, naming the brother, he must say plainly, 'He did this.' The accused, on hearing his name, does not reply from his seat, but comes forward to the *Judicium*, where he prostrates himself on the floor. If the Abbot asks him, 'What say you?' he replies if guilty, 'It was my fault' (*Mea culpa*), and at the Abbot's order stands up, humbly confesses his fault, and promises amendment for the future. If he declares his innocence, his accuser is not to repeat the charge unless the Abbot orders him to do so. But any brother who knows him to be guilty may give his evidence. When the trial is ended, and penance if necessary prescribed, the accused resumes his seat, and is not allowed to bring a charge against his accuser on the same day. For lighter faults the penalty is exclusion from table, and from intoning the Psalms and reading the lessons in the choir; and the culprit has to take his meals after the rest. For graver offences he is excluded from both table and church: no one may keep company with him or speak to him: he must work and take his food alone: and no passer by may bless him. During the canonical services he has to lie with his face on the ground before the church door, and throw himself at the feet of the Abbot, and then at the feet of all the rest as they issue from the church, that they may pray for him; and he must continue to do so till the Abbot is pleased to restore him. For very heinous offences a monk may be flogged in the chapter; but the punishment is never to be inflicted by his accuser. The culprit stands up in the *judicium*, and, on his being ordered by the Abbot, immediately sits down there, puts off his cowl and lays it before him on his knees; then strips his body bare above his girdle, and with head bent low says this only and repeatedly, 'It was my fault, I will amend me.' The rod is then applied, while the convent look on in silence, unless some one of the seniors intercedes for him. The brother

who inflicts the punishment continues to do so till the Abbot bids him cease, and then he helps the culprit to replace his clothes. The latter now stands up and remains motionless till dismissed by the Abbot, when he bows and retires to his place. A monk is never to be flogged by one of an inferior grade—as a priest by a deacon—but his punishment is to be inflicted by an equal or superior. Offences, or any secret matters dealt with in the chapter, are never to be alluded to by word or sign outside of it. With the exception of the Abbot, Prior, and some of the senior monks who have obtained the Abbot's consent to speak in the chapter, no one may presume to do so unless when he accuses another, or is himself accused, or has to make confession that he has lost something, or wishes to put a question concerning the Order, or is commanded to speak, or is interrogated, by the Abbot. When the business of the chapter is concluded, all rise and turn to the east; and the Abbot says, 'Our help is in the name of the Lord.' The convent responds, 'Who hath made heaven and earth.' They then all bow and depart, unless any remain for confession to the Abbot, or to the Prior acting for him, in order to obtain priestly absolution, which may be accompanied with counsel, rebuke, or the imposition of penance.

Chapter being ended, the monks make themselves ready for manual labour, to which, however, they devote somewhat less time each day than the Rule of St. Benedict enjoins, as they have to attend daily mass and chapter, neither of which was instituted till after his time. When the Prior strikes the Table,¹ all except the infirm and those appointed to certain duties assemble; and before setting out, the Prior prescribes in the auditorium the work to be done by each. He then distributes to them their tools, and either he himself or a substitute walks before, and an aged monk behind them, both

¹ This Table (*tabula*) seems to have been a board struck by a wooden mallet on various occasions, and especially during Passion week, when bell ringing was suspended.

in going to and in returning from the place of work. The signal for proceeding thither or for returning, and for beginning or ending an interval of rest, is to be made by any kind of sound rather than by the voice. The Rule prescribes that while at work, as well as on all other occasions, they are not only to have humility in their hearts, but are to show it 'by having their heads bowed down and their eyes fixed on the ground.' While on their way to the field, or to other place of work, they are not permitted to make many signs to each other, still less to speak, unless briefly and in an undertone or whisper to the Prior, in a place apart, about any necessary matter connected with their employment. A similar prohibition is laid on the brethren who are left behind in the monastery, excepting the cooks, those employed in the correction of manuscripts or in the refectory, and such others as have obtained license to speak while busy at some duty which cannot be performed in silence. No one may carry a book to the place of work, or read there. When the warning bell for Sext is heard, labour is at once suspended. If they happen to be working in the monastery, or within the precincts, they lay aside or bear to its destination any burden they may be carrying, and hasten to the service in church. If working beyond the precincts, so that it is inexpedient to repair to the church, they sing the Hour where they are. In either case they resume their employment as soon as the service, which on such occasions may be shortened, is finished, and continue working till near the time for None, when they return to the monastery. They then replace their tools where they are usually kept, or deliver them to the Prior, except—at a later season of the year—those used in hoeing, haymaking, and reaping, which, as well as the instruments required for shaving, each monk keeps beside his own bed in the dormitory as long as these operations last. When the workers arrive from the field, if None is already commenced by those left behind in the monastery, the former, following the Prior, enter the church and



A MONK IN HIS SCAPULAR, OR WORKING DRESS.

there 'satisfy,' that is, do penance for being late, by kneeling on the floor in front of the step till the service is ended, unless they are permitted to enter their stalls, where they 'satisfy by prostration on the joints of their hands.'

None being concluded when it is nearly three o'clock, the bell is rung for dinner, and the brethren repair to the lavatory to wash and wipe their hands—the wiping is expressly mentioned on this and other occasions—and then enter the refectory. The Prior presides at dinner, as the Abbot is dining in the guest-hall, and entertaining the strangers if any are present. When the monks arrive in front of their seats they bow to the Prior's table, which is on a higher level than the others, and then stand up awaiting his entrance. If he delays his coming, which he has to be careful not to do unless it is unavoidable, those who choose may meanwhile sit down; for they are faint with hunger, not having broken their fast—with the exception of the few who were allowed to have *mixtum*—since the same hour of the previous day, to say nothing of the hard work they may have been doing. When the Prior enters he bows in front of his seat, and strikes a small bell as long as to permit the brethren to say the *Miserere*—the fifty-first Psalm—before it ceases to sound. Then follows a short liturgical service, which is concluded by the priest asking a blessing. As this service commences with a sentence of Scripture, it is briefly termed 'the verse,' and any one who enters too late to hear the service is said to 'lose the verse,' and he who loses it a third time is deprived of his drink, and has to eat his dinner outside the refectory. The meal, as has been already stated, consists of a pound of coarse bread for each monk, a small measure of wine or beer—at Balmerino no doubt the latter—and two dishes of vegetables boiled with salt, but without fat. The reason assigned by St. Benedict for allowing the monks two such dishes was, that those who might be unable to eat of the one might make their meal of the other; from which it may be inferred that they were not very attractive messes even

after a twenty-four hours' fast. When the monks entered the refectory, napkins and spoons, and the bread and drink had been already placed on the tables by the refectorer, and before the bell was struck the boiled dishes, in two plates for each monk, had been served by the cellarer and cooks; if not, they are now handed round. Three portions are set down—strange to say—for monks of the Order who have died, which are afterwards taken away by the porter and distributed at the gate to the poor. The cellarer also carries round any 'pittance,' or dainty, which the Abbot may have ordered to be given, out of compassion, to certain of the brethren and to the *minuti*—those who have been recently bled. There was, every year, a 'pittance' for all on the anniversary of Queen Ermengarde the Foundress. Conversation, or even whispering at table, is strictly forbidden; but during the whole time of dinner the reader, having received the benediction from the Prior, reads aloud from the lectern lessons from the Scriptures or some edifying book. No one is permitted to walk about while eating, or to wipe his hands with the cloth, or to wipe his knife with it unless he has first cleaned it with his bread. Salt is to be taken with a knife. In drinking, the cup must be held with both hands. If anything is wanting, it is asked by a sign from the cooks or cellarer, and giver and receiver bow to each other. He to whom the Prior sends anything bows first to the bearer, and then rises and bows to the Prior. No one, except a guest at the Abbot's table, may give any portion of his common food—which is called *the general*—to another; but he who has received a pittance may share it with one or two brethren on his right and left hand—a liberty denied, however, to the *minuti* and the infirm, who must not part with the good things they have obtained. Of the allowance of drink no portion is to be given away. If any one, while dining or serving, has committed a fault, he has to kneel at the step in front of the Prior's seat, and when the latter makes a sound with his knife in token of forgiveness, the culprit rises up, bows, and returns to his

place. When dinner is ended the Prior orders the reading to cease, and strikes his bell; the monks stand up and another 'verse' follows. This being concluded, they bow, and go out two by two, chanting the Miserere—the right and left sides of the choir taking alternate parts—the juniors walking first, and the Prior bringing up the rear. They thus walk in procession to the church, where they finish their thanksgiving, and having bowed to the high altar reverently retire. The novices dine by themselves in the cloister at the same time as the monks; after which they prepare dinner for those who, having 'lost the verse,' must eat outside of the refectory.

The bell is now rung to call to dinner the 'servants,' that is, the officials whose duties prevented them from dining with the convent—the cooks, cellarer, reader, porter, and others—some of whom, however, had previously had *mixtum*. In the absence of the Abbot and Prior grace is said by the oldest monk of the company, unless there is present one of a higher clerical grade. There is a short lesson before and after the meal, and the Miserere is said by way of thanksgiving; but the servants do not, like the other monks, repair to the church to return thanks.

The *conversi*, or lay brothers, dine in their own refectory. Their meal also is preceded by a brief religious service—the senior brother and the company reciting alternate parts. For 'losing the verse' they are punished in the same way as the monks. When the meal is concluded there is another short service. They then enter the church—where they occupy the space expressly allotted to them—say the Lord's Prayer in a low voice, cross themselves, and depart. The dinner of the converts' 'servants' follows. These, like the monks' servants, finish their religious exercise at table without entering the church. At the Grange, the lay brothers after their meal conclude their thanksgiving in the oratory.

Between dinner and Vespers the monks are occupied in reading. In the middle of winter this interval is brief, as

Vespers are probably always said before the day is so far gone as to render lights necessary. Both at Lauds and at Vespers the Lord's Prayer is said aloud by the Abbot, to remind the brethren of the duty of mutual forgiveness of injuries. At the other Hours, and also at meals, it is said by all in secret except the last petition. The Abbot or priest then says aloud, 'And lead us not into temptation,' and the monks respond, 'But deliver us from evil.'¹

During Lent they work on continuously, except while saying Sext and None, till four o'clock, and do not dine till after Vespers—about five o'clock. On the first Sunday in Lent the chantor distributes to each monk some edifying book, which he has to read all through before Easter.

After Vespers the monks sit in silence in the cloister, and this time of rest after the day's work is ended is greatly prized, as giving them leisure for reading and meditation. Nothing is permitted which may disturb their repose. They are not allowed to beat their garments with a rod, or to read aloud, or sing, or even make signs to each other, except for strictly necessary purposes, such as when any one is called at the instance of the Abbot or Prior, or requests the brother who is sitting beside him to take charge of his book in his absence.

During this interval of rest, however, the bell is rung by the sacristan, and the monks assemble in the refectory to have a drink—of water. When they arrive in front of their seats they bow and enter the tables, remaining standing till the Prior is seated, who then strikes his bell, and the priest gives the benediction. A cup is first offered to the Prior, then to the seniors, after which any monk may advance to the step and beg leave to drink. This having been granted, as indicated by the Prior giving one stroke on the bell, he

¹ It was part of the *arcani disciplina* of the early Church to say both the Creed and Lord's Prayer in secret, lest they should be known by the uninitiated, and thus be the occasion of persecution to the faithful.

returns to his seat and drinks. When all who wish have quenched their thirst, the Prior strikes the bell three times, and the company rise, bow, and depart. Attendance at this *bibere*, as the drinking is called, is imperative on all except certain of the officials; and every other absentee has to satisfy in next day's chapter. Any one, however, may ask permission to enter the refectory to drink during any time of reading—the application being made to an aged monk who sits at the door of the refectory. Whosoever, previous to this *bibere* or to a similar one in summer after None, has lost any article must now satisfy for his fault; and he who loses anything after it has to satisfy in next day's chapter.

By-and-by the monks assemble in the cloister for the reading called the Collation, which is performed by the weekly reader. When it is ended, all rise and turn to the east; the Abbot says, 'Our help is in the name of the Lord,' and the convent add, 'Who hath made heaven and earth.'

They now enter the church to sing Compline, the last of the canonical Hours. At its conclusion they say the Lord's Prayer and Creed. The Abbot then sprinkles each of the brethren with holy water as they retire.

The table is now struck, and the two monks who in the chapter on the previous Sunday were appointed to the weekly office of washing the feet of the strangers—if there are any in the monastery—put on their scapulars and are conducted to them by the hospitaller. Having thrown back their hoods, the senior monk washes their feet, and the junior wipes them. On the following evening the junior washes and the senior wipes; and so on alternately during their week of duty. They then wash and wipe their own hands; after which, on bended knees, and with their hands resting on the floor, they say before the strangers, 'We have received Thy loving-kindness, O God, in the midst of Thy temple.' Then rising up they bow, draw their hoods over their heads, and depart.

The rest of the brethren, issuing from the church, and

having replaced their hoods on their heads, at once enter the dormitory in silence—for speaking after Compline is strictly forbidden—and go to bed, in winter about seven o'clock. They sleep in their hoods, cowls, girdles, tunics, stockings, and night-shoes, that they may be always in readiness to rise. But lest they should wound themselves in their sleep, they lay aside the knife which during the day is always carried at their side. Each monk has a bed to himself, with a straw-mattress and a rug spread over it, a coverlet of coarse woollen cloth, and a pillow which must not exceed a foot and a half in length or breadth. They are not permitted to climb into bed standing, but must sit down on it and then turn their feet round. And so ends a winter's day at the Abbey.

During summer, reckoned from Easter to the 1st of November, the round of duty is somewhat different from the foregoing. Till the 14th of September, except on certain days, it is as follows:—At Nocturns no lessons are read from a book, the nights being too short for this; but one from the Old Testament is said by heart. In the brief interval between Nocturns and Lauds, the weather being now warmer than in winter, the monks may sit in the cloister instead of the chapter-house and read, with light kindled by the server of the church if it is necessary. When Lauds have been said, they put on their day-shoes and take their knives. After Prime the chapter is held. When this is ended the monks proceed to their work, which is continued till they hear the warning bell for Terce; and during the interval between this and the commencement of the service they may go to confession in the chapter-house, or into the church for secret prayer, or they may spend their time in reading. Terce is followed by mass. They then sit in the cloister and read till the time for Sext, near noon. After Sext dinner immediately follows, and when this is finished, all enter the dormitory and rest on their beds, or sleep, or read in silence for

about an hour till two o'clock. This is called their *meridian*. The sacristan, when roused by the alarm clock which he had set at that hour, rings the bell to awaken the convent. The cooks hasten to place water in the lavatory for washing hands, and in the refectory for drinking; and the monks, having arisen and washed, either enter the choir of the church, or sit in the cloister till the commencement of None, about half-past two o'clock. When this service is concluded, they have their afternoon *bibere*. For this purpose they walk out of the church, two by two, into the refectory in the order in which they have been standing in the choir—the juniors first and the Prior last; and the rest of the procedure is nearly the same as at the winter *bibere*. They then go to work till Vespers, about five o'clock, and at the conclusion of this service they repair to the refectory for supper. This meal, to which there is nothing corresponding in winter or on fast-days, consists usually of apples, raw vegetables, or similar light fare, along with the remainder of their ration of bread. For when there is to be supper, the cellarer keeps back at dinner-time a third part of the daily pound of bread; and to those who then ate the whole of their allowance of two-thirds, he now gives, in addition to the remaining third, especially when their work has been hard, some of a coarser kind if it can be had.

During haymaking and harvest chapter is immediately followed by mass, after which the monks go to work in the fields. In harvest they may go, if necessary, even before Prime, and those of the infirm who are able to go to church assist at mass. When this is concluded the officiating priest and inferior clerics follow the rest to the fields. They continue working till Sext, and then dine where they work. If they are at a distance from the church they may work on till after the bell for Vespers, and this service may even be delayed till a later time than usual. Having sung Vespers, like the other Hours, in the field, they return to the monastery. But

the Prior may leave some of them in the field even after Vespers, in which case they must return from work in time to sup with the servants. At this season a pound and a half of bread is given to each monk, with one dish of cooked food at dinner and another at supper if it can be had; but for one of these dishes milk may be substituted.

Supper is immediately followed by Collation, and this by Compline, and then the brethren retire to the dormitory, about eight o'clock. They have thus only six hours for sleep till two o'clock next morning, when they must rise to Nocturns—an hour less than in winter, the difference being made up by their sleep at mid-day.

Such is the order of procedure from Easter to the 14th of September, except on Wednesdays and Fridays after Whit-Sunday. These two days in every week during that period, and all private days from the 14th of September till the 1st of November, are kept as fast-days, when, as during winter, there is only one meal, which is not taken till after None unless the convent is at work in the fields or the summer heat is great, in which cases they dine at noon. On these summer fast-days the monks after Sext have their meridian sleep till two o'clock. They then put on their scapulars and wash their hands, and when the table is struck go to work till they hear the warning bell for None; and till this service commences they are occupied in reading. After None they enter the refectory to dine, and spend the remainder of the day as in winter.

If a monk is sent on a journey it must be solely on business connected with the convent. Before setting out he communicates at mass; and unless his destination is the Grange, or some other dependency of the Abbey, from which he is to return on the same day, he also receives from the priest the benediction, which, however, may be given at all canonical Hours except Compline. If he hears the warning bell for any Hour, or for chapter or collation, before he has passed out through the Abbey

gate, he must come back for that function. If he hopes to return the same day, he must eat no food out of the monastery, even if asked to do so, unless the Abbot has given him express permission. Neither before nor after his journey is he, without leave, to speak to any one; nor is he to tell on his return anything he may have seen or heard outside the monastery. While travelling he must sing the Hours, which, after having first knelt at prayer, he usually does standing, unless he is riding, in which case he sings them on horseback. He must obey the Rule as regards fasts and food, and also as regards bedding if he is absent over night. He must not speak at table, or eat fat, or sleep in a bed of feathers, unless straw or some similar material cannot be procured without great labour or expense. Both the Abbot and monks when travelling may carry with them a pillow, and also a rug, but it must be neither valuable nor ornamental. The traveller on his return goes at once into the church, takes part in the service if it is then being sung, and receives the benediction. If no Hour is being sung, he prays outside of the choir; and if he finds the church shut, he prays outside the door. If he returns to the monastery while the dinner bell is being rung, he must enter the refectory along with the convent, otherwise he loses the verse.

An incident of frequent occurrence at the Abbey is the arrival of a stranger. The Rule of St. Benedict enjoins that strangers be received like Christ Himself, for He will say 'I was a stranger, and ye took Me in.' At their arrival and departure 'let Christ, who is indeed received in their persons, be adored in them by the bowing of the head, or even the prostration of the whole body on the ground. Let special care be taken in the reception of the poor and strangers, because in them Christ is more truly welcomed. For the very fear men have of the rich procures them favour.' But the Rule forbids the monks to associate or converse with strangers, unless they are ordered or have obtained leave to do so.

When a stranger knocks at the Abbey gate the porter answers, 'Thanks be to God,' opens the gate, and humbly salutes him with a *Benedicite*. He then asks him who he is and what he wants. If satisfied on these points, he bows and admits him, bids him sit down, and goes to announce him to the Abbot, who sends one or two fit persons to receive him. These, taking a book with them, when they meet the stranger uncover their heads and kneel before him. They then lead him into the church, where, having sprinkled him with holy water, they pray with him. If the stranger is an Abbot or a Bishop other than their own, he sprinkles himself. A lesson from Scripture is then read, and, if he desires it, expounded to him; after which he is conducted to the guest-hall. The Abbot may break his fast for the sake of a guest, unless it is a principal fast-day, on which it cannot be broken. Certain magnates are received with greater ceremony. If the Bishop of the diocese comes, the bell is rung; the monks assemble in the choir of the church, and a procession is formed. The Abbot, followed by the priests and the rest of the convent walking two by two, with holy water carried before them, marches out to meet the Bishop. On his approach they kneel before him, and when they rise the Abbot kisses his hand to the Bishop, who sprinkles himself with the holy water. Chanting a Psalm they return in reverse order to the church—the Abbot going last and leading the Bishop by the hand—and after prayer he conducts him into the chapter-house, where all sit down. A monk reads the lesson. The Abbot kisses the Bishop and his company, unless the Bishop wishes first to say something for the edification of the convent. The Bishop, at the Abbot's request, then gives the benediction, and all having said *Amen*, he is led into the guest-hall.

When the Abbot himself returns from a long journey—as from attendance at the General Chapter at Citeaux—he is welcomed home again in the manner now described. But it was not the custom of Cistercian monks to receive in solemn

procession any except the Bishop of the diocese, a Papal legate, the King, the Pope, or their own Abbot; and for none of these except the Pope was such a procession made oftener than once. If his Holiness ever came to Balmerino Abbey, the Muse of history has neglected to record the fact! But the Bishop or Archbishop of St. Andrews had to come from time to time for the purpose of installing a new Abbot, or of conferring holy orders on the monks; and visits of the Sovereign were not very rare occurrences. Any such guest was, on his first visit only, received in solemn procession.

On Saturdays throughout the year there is a general cleaning and 'reddin' up' in the domestic apartments of the monastery, including the washing of towels for hands and feet. All this is performed by the outgoing cooks, who also in the evening deliver the kitchen dishes and utensils to the cellarer, and he numbers and delivers them to the incoming cooks who are to commence their duties on Sunday morning. Of the Abbot's two cooks, the one who has completed his week delivers to the other the keys and contents of their kitchen. Every Saturday evening also, the general cooks, both outgoing and incoming, wash and wipe in the cloister the feet of the brethren. The Abbot is the first to put off his shoes; the others then do the same; but they must cover as much as they can their naked feet with their cowls, and take care that these members are not seen more than is necessary—an injunction which also applies when in cold weather the monks warm their toes in the calefactory. When feet-washing is finished, the washers and the washed, the wipers and the wiped, make their bow to each other.

On Sundays and chief festivals during the year there are several special usages. There being no servile work done on such days, the intervals between the canonical services are wholly devoted to reading, prayer, and meditation; and those who have been appointed to any duty must return to their reading as soon as they have performed it. The monks rise

for Nocturns earlier than on private days, and this service is immediately followed by Lauds. On the other hand, there is an interval between Lauds and Prime. Mass comes next, at which all communicate who can conveniently do so; those who are prevented by any hindrance communicate at morning mass on other days; and the communion is given in both kinds. Mass is followed by the meeting of the chapter, the proceedings at which usually include a sermon. In the chapter on Sundays also the outgoing cooks state what things, if any, have gone amissing during their week of office, and satisfy for their faults connected therewith. In addition to the morning mass there is high mass at a later hour on all Sundays and numerous festivals, and at its conclusion the weekly reader receives from the officiating priest the benediction, which was previously given to the outgoing and incoming cooks after Lauds. Every Sunday also the priest blesses water, with some salt added, and the 'holy water' thus provided is sprinkled round the altar, and on the presbytery, chapter-house, and the various domestic apartments; and also on the Abbot and all the inmates of the monastery. The *conversi* or lay brothers hold their chapter after morning mass while the monks are holding theirs, on all Sundays except those on which a 'general sermon' is given in the monks' chapter, which they have to attend; and also on certain festivals; but they hold no chapter on private days. The Abbot or some one deputed by him presides at their chapter, and preaches a sermon to them. The other proceedings are somewhat similar to those in the monks' chapter, and include voluntary confession of faults and the accusation of offenders.

Of other rites and ceremonies practised in connection with the greater Church festivals only some of the more noteworthy need be here mentioned, as most of them were not peculiar to monachism or the Cistercian form of it, but were derived from the Roman ritual then in use throughout

the whole Western Church. On the night of Christmas the cellarer provides two of the lay brothers to make a fire in the calefactory to warm the monks between the services, if the weather is so cold as to render this necessary. On Ash Wednesday the monks enter the church with naked feet, and the Abbot blesses the ashes which have been placed in the presbytery, sprinkles them with holy water, and strews them on the heads of the monks as they kneel on the floor, to admonish them 'to be mindful of their corruption.' The ashes are strewed by the Prior on the heads of the youths and guests. On Palm Sunday the monks walk in procession round the cloister carrying the branches which have been blessed; and on many other occasions there are processions without this accompaniment. On Maundy Thursday—so called from our Lord's command (*mandatum*) to His disciples—the monks wash, wipe, and kiss the feet of the poor; after which, having washed their own hands, on bended knees they give to each of them a piece of money. They then rise up, and again kneel before the poor, saying, 'We have received, O God, Thy loving-kindness in the midst of Thy temple.' The poor are afterwards conducted to the guest-hall, where the Abbot and his assistants pour water on their hands, and give a dinner of bread and boiled vegetables to them, and also, 'out of reverence for our Lord's command,' to all who may come that day. The monks, novices, and lay brothers have also, after dinner, their own Maundy, when the Abbot and his assistants, girt with towels, wash, wipe, and kiss the feet of the whole convent; the Abbot taking the lead by performing these offices to four monks, four novices, and four lay brothers; and if there are not that number of novices in the monastery, the deficiency is supplied from the converts. Lastly, the Prior washes, wipes, and kisses the feet of the Abbot. On Good Friday, after Prime, the monks enter the chapter-house with naked feet, and there chant the Psalter from beginning to end. Afterwards the Abbot,

monks, novices, and lay brothers proceed to the church, and lying their whole length on the floor of the presbytery, adore and kiss the Cross as the symbol of salvation. On Holy Saturday all the lights are extinguished, and afterwards kindled from the fire which has been blessed; and this Paschal light is kept burning till Ascension day. The three days following Easter are devoted to reading, the brethren being exempted from manual labour 'out of veneration for the holy Resurrection.'

But even monks must die. When one is at the point of death, he is laid on the floor on a rug, beneath which has been placed a mat or a little straw sprinkled with ashes in the form of a cross. The table is then repeatedly struck, and the convent bell is tolled four times, on hearing which all those who are not then engaged in one of the canonical services in church, or occupied with other duties such as haymaking or harvest work which cannot be stopped, hasten to their dying brother, repeating, as they go, the Creed aloud two or three times. If he still lives, they say beside him the Litany and the seven penitential Psalms; and when he expires they commend with various prayers his soul to God. Afterwards they carry the corpse into the choir of the church, where a taper is kept burning at its head. Some of the monks watch constantly beside it, reciting the Office of the Dead, and the whole Psalter, it may be, oftener than once till the burial, which takes place only a few hours after death, unless night intervenes. The priests, monks who are not in orders, and novices, headed by the Abbot carrying his pastoral staff and clad in alb, stole, and maniple—with a cross borne aloft—accompany the remains in solemn procession, with chanting, to the place of interment, where they are buried with the rites of the Church, the grave as well as the corpse being sprinkled with holy water and incensed both before and after the interment. The company then return in procession to the choir, and there conclude the funeral obsequies. Many

brevia, or announcements of the death, stating the place, and the name, rank, and office of the deceased are now written by the chantor and given to the porter for distribution to strangers. Some are also sent to neighbouring monasteries, requesting for the deceased the prayers of their inmates—in accordance with Roman Catholic dogmas. A collect is said for him in the Abbey church daily during the next thirty days in the Office of the Dead at Lauds and Vespers, and also in the mass; and at the end of this period—as already stated—he is absolved in the chapter by the Abbot. Moreover, three masses are said for him privately by each of the monks who is in priest's orders; and the Psalter is said once by each cleric of a lower grade. Those who may not yet know the Psalter by heart say the Miserere a hundred and fifty times; and if any are ignorant of that Psalm they say the Lord's Prayer with the like frequency.

As regards deceased brethren of other monasteries of the Order, on the 10th of January annually is held the anniversary of all deceased Abbots and Bishops. On the 15th of September absolution is pronounced in the General Chapter at Citeaux, and on the same day in every Cistercian monastery—including that of Balmerino—on all monks and servants of the Order who have died during the preceding twelve months; and the Abbot says, 'May they rest in peace'; to which the convent responds, *Amen*. On the same day their *tricenarium*, or period of thirty days begins, during which Collects are said for them daily at mass, and also at Lauds and Vespers; and, in addition, mass is said for the dead every day throughout the year with certain exceptions; and they are also commemorated daily in the chapter. Moreover, three portions of food, as we have seen, are placed daily on the dinner table for those Cistercians who have died; and every monk in priest's orders says twenty masses for them within the year: the rest say the Psalter ten times, or the Miserere or the Lord's Prayer a hundred and fifty times, as

above. On the first day on which the Abbot presides in the chapter after his return from Citeaux, he again pronounces absolution on the same persons. On the 15th of September also the like superstitious ceremonies are performed on behalf of the parents, brothers, sisters, and other blood relations of Cistercian monks who may have died during the preceding year; and when any monk 'begs pity' for his father, mother, brother, or sister who has died—the only relatives for whom he may do so—the deceased is absolved by the Abbot, and every monk who is a priest, says in a private mass a Collect for him; the other brethren say the seven penitential Psalms, or the Miserere, or the Lord's Prayer seven times. The private masses may be sung throughout the year during the time devoted to reading; two witnesses being required, one of whom must be a cleric to assist the priest; and those who sing them, with their assistants, must moderate their voices so as not to disturb others. Masses and other services relating to the dead formed so prominent a feature of monastic ritual, that any account of it would be very imperfect which did not notice them.

Such is a condensed description of the life led by a society of religious recluses at Balmerino for three hundred and thirty years; though the strict observance of their rules was in various particulars modified or relaxed—as we shall see—from time to time, especially towards the close of the period.¹

¹ The particulars forming the substance of the foregoing sketch have been gathered from the *Liber Usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, and *St. Benedict's Rule*. A few details have been added from other sources.

CHAPTER VI

ABBOTS RALPH, JOHN I., AND ADAM I.

‘ Not sedentary all : there are who roam
To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores ;
Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors
To seek the general mart of Christendom ;
Whence they, like richly-laden merchants, come
To their belovèd cells.’

—WORDSWORTH.

ABBOT RALPH was the successor of Alan. He had been cellarer of the monastery before his elevation to its government in 1236; and ruled longer than his predecessor, having lived till the year 1251.¹ In his time a large addition was made to the property of the Abbey, and the Primary Bull of protection for its privileges was obtained from Rome.

Malcolm, Earl of Fife, granted to the convent all the water running from his mill of Rathulith (Rathillet) by the ancient channel in which it was wont to run to the mill of Ballindan in the time of Henry and Richard Reuel; with the privilege of digging turf for the repair of the channel when necessary, but so as to do no damage to any of the Earl's arable or meadow land. The name of one of the witnesses to the charter, of whom the King is the first, proves that it must have been granted not later than the year 1238.² It may be here mentioned that a feu-duty of 11s. 10d. is still paid from ‘Rathillet Meal Mill’ to the proprietor of Balmerino Abbey, but what the payment represents does not appear.

Soon after this period the Abbey acquired the lands of Petgornoc and Drundol in Strathmiglo parish, to be held in free

¹ *Chron. de Mailros*, pp. 147, 178.

² *Chartulary*, No. 37.

charity after the decease of the Countess Marjorie, the King's sister, who had obtained these lands from Malcolm, Earl of Fife, in exchange for those of Strathord and Strathbraan given to her by King William as her dowry. The gift of Petgornoc and Drundol to the monks is in the name of King Alexander II.; but it is probable that in this way he only gave effect to the wishes of the Countess Marjorie herself, just as in the Foundation Charter he had given to the Abbey in his own name, what were really his mother's benefactions. The Countess was the youngest of the three daughters of William the Lion by Queen Ermengarde. She was celebrated for her beauty, and made a deep impression on the heart of Henry III. of England, whom only reasons of state prevented from marrying her. She was afterwards—in 1236—united to Gilbert the Mareschal, the youthful Earl of Pembroke, and died without issue. Though removed to England, she would not be unmindful of the land of her birth, or of the Abbey founded by her mother, and in all probability directed that the above-mentioned lands in Fife, exchanged for her former more distant possessions, should after her decease be added to the grants made by her mother and brother. The names of the witnesses determine the date of the King's charter to have been between the years 1240 and 1249.¹

This extensive grant included the lands subsequently called Steadmuirland, Friarmyln, Kinraigie, Pitgorno or Pitgormo, Craigfod or Freeland, Drumdriel, and Gaitside. At the last named place the monks afterwards had a chapel built, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and intended, doubtless, for the benefit of their tenants or servants. A house and lands were attached to it. In a Rental of the Abbey, of a date subsequent to the Reformation, it is described as 'the chapell of St. Mary the Virgin of [the] den lying beside the Gaitsyd in the barony of Pitgormo.' The 'den' or hollow in which it stood was at the west end of Gaitside, and near the chapel was a well

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 10.

called the Chapel Well. The matrix of the seal of 'a small religious house (or hospital)' at Gateside—probably no other than St. Mary's chapel—is said to have been in the possession of a gentleman in Kinross in 1844.¹

Between 1242 and 1254 'John de Scotia, Earl of Hunte-don,' grants to the Abbey a toft in Dundee lying on the west side of, and next to the toft of the monks of Cupar-Angus, which was formerly the property of Thomas de Colvill.² About the same time the convent bought from Hervey, the son of Humfrid Willebeter of Forfar, a piece of ground in that town, the *reddendo* being threepence annually, payable at Michaelmas.³ The reason why the monks *purchased* property in towns, as now in Forfar and formerly in Perth and Crail, was probably that they might have, as was the common practice of Religious houses, a hospice or lodging-place in those towns when they went thither on the business of the convent. Notices of such places at Dundee, Barry, and Anstruther will be found on subsequent pages. Before the year 1246 the Abbey also acquired either by gift or purchase houses in St. Andrews and Roxburgh.⁴

Of the benefactors of the Abbey not the least liberal were the ancient family who derived their surname from Kinneir in Kilmany parish, and flourished there for six centuries, and perhaps for a much longer period if, as is not improbable, they were the representatives of the previous Thaners of Kinneir already noticed. Sibbald informs us that they had a charter from King Alexander II., and that there was a William de Kiner in King William's time. On the last day of August 1244, Alexander II., being again at the Abbey, confirms by charter to the monks a grant of land which had been previously made to them by Symon of Kynner. The charter by which Symon confers this land on the convent describes it as being situated in the 'territory' of Catholach (Kedlock in Logie parish), and called

¹ Chalmers' *History of Dunfermline*, p. 166.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 36.

² *Chartulary*, No. 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 58.

Reginald's land, which included the hill known by the name of Torcatholach. His charter also bestows on the monks the right of keeping two hundred sheep on the common pasture there; and if this pasture should be insufficient for so many, he and his heirs will make good the deficiency from his demesne land in Catholach. The King, however, reserves the service due to himself from these lands. Among the witnesses to the two charters are Hugo, chaplain of Kilmany; Lawrence of Abernethi; John de Haya, Sheriff of Fife; and Henry of Dundemore (Dunmore, now corrupted into Denmuir).¹

Other and more valuable lands given by this family to the Abbey shall be afterwards described. Their liberality was not confined to the monks of Balmerino. Simon, son of Simon of Kynner, bestowed on the Priory of St. Andrews five oxgates and four acres more of land—69 acres in all—in the territory of Kathlac (Kedlock)—one of the boundaries of which was 'the acre of the Brethren of St. Lazarus'—with pasture, both in his demesne land and in the common pasture of that township, for four horses, eight oxen, four cows, and eighty ewes. It was probably this land which in 1623 was still called Prior-Cathlok, the name being derived from its having belonged, like the land of Priorwell in Balmerino parish, to the Prior and canons of St. Andrews.² Simon, son of Michael—perhaps of the same family—had given, in the reign of King William, to the 'Hospital of Poor Strangers' at St. Andrews a ploughgate of land in Chathelach, with common pasture for 'twenty-four animals and eighty bidents' (or sheep). Alan, his son, confirmed the gift, and Prior Walter afterwards feued the land to him.³

The Abbey being now fully established and liberally endowed, it became necessary to obtain Papal protection for its possessions and privileges, which was then considered indispensable to every religious enterprise. This was therefore

¹ *Chartulary*, Nos. 39, 40.

² *Reg. Pr. St. Andr.*, p. 292.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 325.

applied for to Pope Innocent IV.—Abbot Ralph in all probability undertaking a journey to Rome for the purpose—and obtained in a Bull of which the date is not given; but as Innocent IV. filled the Papal chair from 1242 to 1254, and as another Bull of the year 1246 seems to have been granted to the Abbey at a later period than this one, its date is apparently to be fixed between 1242 and 1246, most probably in the former of these years, or very soon after it. On account of the importance of this, the ‘Original’ or Primary Bull of Protection—illustrating as it does the privileges of the monastery as a Cistercian house—it will be proper, notwithstanding its great length, to give here a translation of it without abridgment.

Primary Bull of Papal Protection

INNOCENT, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved sons the Abbot and brethren, both present and future, of the monastery of Balmurynach professing a regular life. It is proper that the apostolic protection be given to those who choose a religious life, lest perchance some act of indiscretion should either recall them from their purpose, or—which Heaven forbid—impair the strength of their sacred vows. Wherefore, beloved sons in the Lord, we graciously assent to your just demands, and take under St. Peter’s protection and our own, and fortify by the favour of the present writ the monastery of the holy mother of God and Virgin Mary of Balmurynach, in the diocese of St. Andrews, in which you are given up to the service of God. In the first place, we appoint that the monastic Order which is selected to be established in that monastery according to God and the Rule of St. Benedict, and the institution of the Cistercian brethren recognised by us after a General Council, be there inviolably observed in all time coming. Further, let whatever property, whatever goods the said monastery may at present justly and canonically possess, or can in future acquire by the concession of Pontiffs, the bounty of Kings, or the offering of faithful Princes, or in other just methods by the favour of God, remain sure and unimpaired to you and your successors. Of which things we have reckoned the

following worthy of express mention:—The Place itself in which the said monastery is situated, with all its pertinents of Cultran, Balmurynach in Fiff, Ballindan, Ballindard, Córby, and Fetmureth in Angus, Thorcatloch in Fiff, Petgornoch, and Drundole—these lands with the pertinents thereof; houses which you have in the towns of Karal (Crail), St. Andrews, Forfar, Dundee, Perth, and Rokisburg, with their pertinents; and the revenues which you have from the church of [Fetmureth in] Angus; with meadows, vineyards,¹ lands, woods, and rights of pasture; thickets and open grounds, waters, mills, roads, and by-paths; and all their other liberties and immunities. Let no one presume to demand or extort from you tithes of your lands reclaimed by yourselves (*novalia*) which you cultivate with your own hands or at your own charges, from which no one has hitherto received tithes; or from your gardens, under-wood, and fishings; or from animals' food. It shall be lawful also for you to receive to conversion clerical and lay persons, free and unfettered, fleeing from the world, and to retain them without any contradiction. Moreover, we forbid any of your brethren, after profession made in your monastery, to depart thence without the permission of his Abbot. But let no one dare to detain a person departing, without the security of your common letters. If any shall presume so to detain him, it shall be lawful for us to publish a regular sentence against such monks or converts. We strictly forbid either lands or any other gift conferred on your church to be given to any one in his individual capacity, or to be alienated in any other way without the consent of the whole chapter, or of the major or wiser part of it. But if any donations or alienations have been made otherwise than as now stated, we pronounce them void. We further forbid any monk or convert bound under the profession of your house to be surety for any one without the consent and license of the Abbot and the majority of your chapter; or to receive money in loan from any one, beyond a sum fixed by the foresight of your chapter, unless for the manifest advantage of your house; which if perchance he may have presumed to do, the convent shall in no degree be held responsible for it. Moreover,

¹ The mention of vineyards here is no doubt a mere customary form; but the vine was anciently cultivated in the open air in some parts both of England and Ireland. Vineyards were attached to many monasteries. Documents in the Record Office particularize the names and wages of the vine-dressers, and methods of wine-making.—(See C. R. Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, Part II. vol. vi.)

it shall be lawful for you to make use of the testimony of your brethren in your own causes, whether involving a civil or criminal matter, lest through defect of witnesses your right in anything should be lost. We further forbid by Apostolic authority any Bishop or other person to compel you to go to Synods or courts of law, or submit to a secular tribunal in respect of your substance or possessions; nor may any one presume to come to your houses for the purpose of conferring orders,¹ dealing with causes, or calling public courts; or impede the regular election of your Abbot; or in the least degree interfere with the institution or removal of him who for the time may have been in office in violation of the rules of the Cistercian Order. But if the Bishop in whose diocese your house is built, when requested with becoming humility and devotion to pronounce his benediction on the Abbot submitted to him, and to bestow upon you the other things which pertain to the episcopal office, shall refuse, it shall be lawful for the said Abbot, provided, however, he has made his own novices, to give them his benediction, and exercise the other functions of his office; and lawful for you to receive from another Bishop all those things which were unjustly denied to you by your own. Moreover, in receiving those professions which are made by Abbots who have been or are to be blessed, let Bishops be content with that form of expression which is known to have been in use since the foundation of the Order; so that Abbots themselves, in making their professions to the Bishop, shall be bound to preserve the privileges, and to make no profession contrary to the statutes of the Order. Let no one dare to extort anything from you on pretence of custom, or in any other way, for consecration of altars or churches, or for holy oil, or for any ecclesiastical sacrament; but let the Bishop of the diocese supply all those things free of charge. Otherwise it shall be lawful for you to apply to whatever Catholic Bishop, being in favour and communion with the Apostolic see, you may prefer, who under protection of our authority may supply to you what is demanded of him. But if the see of the Bishop of the diocese happens to be vacant, you may in the meantime receive freely and without contradiction all the sacraments from

¹ That is, to come uninvited. The Bishop, *when asked*, consecrated the newly elected Abbot, ordained monks, &c.; but he had no control or jurisdiction over the inmates of the monastery or their servants even when they were accused of crimes, or over their dependencies.

the neighbouring Bishops, provided, however, that no injury shall thence afterwards result to your own Bishop. But since you have sometimes not the resource of your own Bishop, if any Bishop, having, as we have said, favour and communion with the see of Rome, and of whom you have full knowledge, should happen to pass by you, you shall have power to receive from him, as by the authority of the Apostolic see, benedictions of vessels and robes, consecrations of altars, and ordinations of monks. Moreover, if Bishops or other rulers of churches shall publish a sentence of suspension, excommunication, or interdict against the monastery, or persons placed therein, or even against your hired servants, on the alleged plea, as already said, that you have not paid your tithes, or on account of any of those things which have been conceded to you by Apostolic kindness; or shall pronounce a similar sentence against your benefactors because, out of charity, they have conferred some benefits or indulgences upon you, or helped you in your work on those days on which you were labouring while others were keeping holiday, we have decreed that such sentence, pronounced in opposition to the indulgences granted to you by the Apostolic see, shall be void. Nor shall those letters have any force which may happen to have been obtained by concealment of the name of the Cistercian Order, and in opposition to Apostolic privileges conferred. Moreover, when there shall be a general interdict laid on the country, it shall nevertheless be lawful for you, having excluded excommunicated and interdicted persons, to celebrate divine service in your monastery.¹ We, wishing, with paternal

¹ When the Pope placed a country or province under an interdict, the privilege of performing divine service in a low voice, with closed doors, and without ringing of bells, was generally granted to the Religious Orders (see *Reg. Pr. S. Andr.*, p. 60; and Stuart's *Rec. Kinloss*, p. 106); but all the *parish churches* were shut, though sermons could be preached in the churchyard; no marriage could take place except in the churchyard; and to the dead were refused the rites of sepulture.

‘ Bells are dumb ;
Ditches are graves—funeral rites denied ;
And in the churchyard he must take his bride
Who dares be wedded ! ’

In 1217–18 this happened in Scotland, when all the churches were closed for a whole year, and the clergy ceased to execute their functions, except the Cistercian monks, who continued to perform divine service for some time, but they also were at length suspended.

solicitude for the future, to provide also for your peace and tranquillity, prohibit by Apostolic authority, within the inclosures of your Places or Granges, all rapine or theft, fire-raising, bloodshed, rash seizure or slaying of men, or violence. Moreover, we confirm by Apostolic authority, and fortify by the present writ, all liberties and immunities granted to your Order by our predecessors the Roman Pontiffs; also liberties and exemptions from secular exactions granted to you by Kings and Princes, or for good reasons by others of the faithful. We therefore decree that it shall not be lawful for any one rashly to disturb the said monastery, or to take away its possessions, or to retain them when taken away; to diminish them, or to give annoyance to it by any vexatious acts; but that all things which have been granted for any future purpose whatsoever shall be preserved entire for the government and maintenance of its inmates, reserving the authority of the Apostolic see. If, therefore, in the future any ecclesiastical or secular person, knowing this writ of our constitution, shall attempt rashly to contravene it, let him, after having been twice or thrice admonished—unless he shall atone for his crime by a suitable satisfaction—be deprived of the dignity of his power and honour; and let him know that he stands charged by divine justice with the iniquity so committed; and let him be disjoined from the most sacred body and blood of our God and Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ; and let him lie under His severe vengeance at the last Judgment. But on all who shall preserve for the said Place its rights let the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest, so that they may both reap here the fruit of their good conduct, and receive from the righteous Judge the rewards of eternal peace. AMEN.¹

Very soon after the monks had obtained this comprehensive grant of privileges from Innocent IV., they applied, for some reason which does not appear, to the same Pope for another Bull of a similar kind. This was granted at Lyons on the 30th March 1246. It conferred, in briefer terms, Apostolic and Papal protection on their persons and monastery, and confirmed to them their tithes, lands, possessions, rents, granges, houses, meadows and pastures, and all other goods,

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 58.

subject to the regulations of a General Council respecting their tithes. This Bull, like several subsequent ones granted to the Abbey, declared that any one who should attempt rashly to infringe it should know that he would thereby incur 'the anger of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.'¹

On the death of Abbot Ralph in the year 1251, he was succeeded by ABBOT JOHN, who had formerly been Prior of the monastery in the Isle of May, and afterwards became a monk of Balmerino. As Prior of May, he gave, in the year 1248, sentence in a cause between the convents of Kilwinning and Dryburgh.² His reign at Balmerino was brief, as he resigned his office, for some unknown cause, in the following year.³

ABBOT ADAM was John's successor. Before his elevation he had been porter of Melrose Abbey, and was now, apparently, well advanced in years.⁴

It was doubtless Abbot Adam who, careful of the interests of his new charge, caused to be recorded in the Abbey Chartulary no fewer than four Papal Bulls which had been granted at Perugia on the 23rd of August 1253 by Innocent IV., confirming the privileges of all monasteries of the Cistercian Order.

The first of these Bulls sets forth that though Cistercian monks had been exempted by the Popes from attendance at synods and public courts, and from sentences of excommunication, suspension, or interdict pronounced against them or their monasteries by Bishops or other persons; and though their deviations from duty were suitably punished both by their own General Chapters and the chapters held daily in each of their monasteries, and they were themselves ready to punish disobedience by Abbots to the statutes of the Order; neverthe-

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 61.

² *Stuart's Records of the Isle of May*, p. lxii.

³ *Chron. de Mailros*, pp. 178, 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 185.

less, many prelates and others summoned them to appear before various tribunals for their offences, just as if they had been secular clergy. Wherefore the Pope strictly prohibits all such violations of the privileges of their Order, and declares sentences pronounced against the monks to be null and void.¹

The second Bull is in its tenor very similar to the first. It is addressed to Bishops, Abbots, and other rulers of churches in consequence of a complaint made to the Pope by the Cistercian Abbots and convents, bearing that notwithstanding their privileges as above stated, prelates who were envious of their peace and liberties had nevertheless promulgated sentences against them, and compelled them to undergo labour and expense in attending courts. The Pope therefore requests and exhorts all such rulers to respect and observe the immunities of the Cistercians, and utterly refrain from molesting them.² These two documents illustrate the feelings of jealousy and rivalry which, as is well known, the secular and the regular clergy of the Church of Rome have frequently entertained towards each other.

In the third Bull the Pope waxes eloquent on the piety of the Cistercian Order, declaring it to be a treasury of virtues, pleasing in the sight of the Eternal King, and gracious in the eyes of men, gentle and mild as a dove, and specially chosen of God; altogether fair; casting from it every wrinkle of irregularity and every stain of deformity; its Superiors exercising such watchfulness that no thorns of vice can grow in it, and that it abounds, with unfading fertility, in the flowers of honour and the fruits of honesty; being a mirror of good life and a pattern of healthy conversation. And as in the past the Order never needed visitation or correction by others than their own Abbots, or by monks deputed by them; so the Pope now accords to them, for the future also, exemp-

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 60.

² *Ibid.*, No. 62.

tion from extraneous visitation or correction, reserving the authority of the Holy See.¹ This curious document proves either that the Cistercian monks were as yet guiltless of the irregularities which ultimately characterised all the monastic Orders, or that the Pope was anxious, by magnifying their virtues, to justify to the world the special privileges which had been bestowed on them, and which were so amply repaid by their unbounded devotion to the see of Rome.

In the last of these Bulls the Pope, in answer to a petition from all the Cistercian Abbots and convents, authorizes the continuance of the practice which had existed from the first institution of the Order, according to which Cistercian monks received ordination from Bishops without being subjected to any examination, with the exception of those who had been guilty of notorious crime or immorality.²

At some period between the years 1254 and 1264 Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester and Great Constable of Scotland, grants to the Abbey a portion of his peatary in his moss of Swan Mire near Leuchars. The boundary of the portion granted is defined as 'beginning at the place where the stream which issues from Aldaniswell (or Aldamswell) falls into Swanismire, and proceeding northwards across it to the marches of Auirnachtan (Ardnachtan or Naughton) separating between us and Symon de Scelforde, our free tenant (that is, freeholder, or sub-vassal of the Crown), and then by the marches of Auirnachtan westwards to the place where the Abbot of Balmerynacht by our precept caused stakes to be fixed in presence of Peter Basset, then Constable of Lokris (Leuchars), Roger Abboth our steward, William Stransure and Alan Surale, and by the same fixed stakes southwards to the dry land under the road, and thence eastwards to the place where the stream issuing from Aldam's Wel falls into the foresaid marsh.' The grant includes free

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 65.

² *Ibid.*, No. 69.

ish and entry through the donor's lands and those of his men for the carriage of the peats. Amongst the witnesses to the charter are Gamlin, Bishop of St. Andrews—whose name fixes the initial date as above stated—Sir Peter de Maule and other two knights, the Constable of Leuchars, and the donor's steward already mentioned.¹ That monks should be kept warm and comfortable seems to have been a ruling idea in the generous soul of this Earl, for we find him granting to Lindores Abbey the right to as many peats for the convent's own use as they chose to take from his peatary of Menegre, and also to the very large quantity of two hundred cart-loads of heather or brushwood (*bruere*) annually from his moor of Kinloch in Collessie parish.²

This Roger de Quinci was the grandson of Robert de Quinci, a Northamptonshire baron, who was distantly connected with the royal family of Scotland and acquired the lordship of Leuchars by marrying Orabilis, the daughter of Ness the son of William, its proprietor—one of the foreign settlers in Fife. Orabilis had been previously married to Gilchrist, Earl of Mar, whose daughter was the mother of Thomas de Lundin, the King's Doorward. Robert de Quinci died in the year 1190, and was succeeded by his son Seyer de Quinci, who was created Earl of Winchester or Winton in England, and having taken a prominent part in procuring the Magna Charta from King John at Runnymede, was one of twenty-five barons that were appointed to use forcible means, if necessary, for preventing its violation by the sovereign. Seyer died in Palestine about the year 1219. His son, Earl Roger, married the eldest daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and became, in her right, Great Constable of

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 38, which contains only a few lines of the beginning of this charter, the remainder being wanting. The complete charter has been printed from the Southesk Charters in Fraser's *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk*, pp. 476-77, that family having long been proprietors of the Castle and of a portion of the lands of Leuchars.

² *Chartulary of Lindores*, App. No. III.

Scotland. Dying in 1264 without a male heir, his estates were divided among his three daughters; of whom the eldest married the Earl of Derby; the second, Alexander Cumyn, Earl of Buchan; and the third, Alan de la Zouche. The Earl of Buchan, in the right of his wife, obtained the office of Constable of Scotland and the lordship of Leuchars. His son, having espoused the cause of Baliol in the contest for the crown, was defeated by Robert Bruce and deprived of his estates, as well as of the office of Constable. The lordship of Leuchars thus forfeited was afterwards divided among three families named Ramsay, Wemyss, and Monypenny. Leuchars-Ramsay included the Castle of Leuchars, which stood on a slight eminence north of the present village, surrounded by a moat, and was repeatedly dismantled and rebuilt during the English invasions in the fourteenth century. It was finally demolished about the beginning of the present century—when it is said to have been similar in the style of its architecture to Earls Hall, but much larger—and its materials were used for the erection of farm offices on the estate. The perpetrator of this act of vandalism was its proprietor, the Hon. Robert Lindsay of Balcarres. The churches of Leuchars and Lathrisk—that is, their revenues and patronage—were given to St. Andrews Priory by the above-mentioned Ness, son of William.¹ But it was in all probability either Robert or Seyer de Quinci who built the exceedingly interesting church of Leuchars, of which the chancel and semicircular apse still remain, and have often been described. With its enriched ornamentation it forms a beautiful specimen of the Romanesque or Norman style in its later development, though it has in modern times been disfigured by the erection of a belfry over the apse, and otherwise.

¹ *Reg. Pr. St. Andr.*, pp. 287, 254.

CHAPTER VII

ABBOTS ADAM II., WILLIAM DE PERISBY,
THOMAS, AND WILLIAM II.

‘Happy the dwellers in this holy house :
For surely never worldly thoughts intrude
On this retreat, this sacred solitude,
Where Quiet with Religion makes her home.’

—SOUTHEY.

‘*Prince Henry.* Your monks are learned
And holy men, I trust.

Abbot. There are among them
Learned and holy men. Yet in this age
 even here, at times,
Within these walls, where all should be at peace,
I have my trials.’

—LONGFELLOW.

IN the year 1260 Abbot Adam resigned his office, ‘which by reason of infirmity he was unable to hold longer.’ His successor was another ADAM, who previous to his elevation had been a monk of the house.¹

In thus arriving at the commencement of a new reign in the monastery we may feel regret that its annals, so far as they are now known, are somewhat barren of notable events. Of the three hundred and thirty years of its existence few records have come down to us, save the account which its Chartulary contains of its property and privileges. Even the list of its successive Abbots, compiled from such notices of them as are found in this and other ancient documents, is possibly imperfect; and, with two or three exceptions, they do not appear as conspicuous figures on the page of history.

¹ *Chron. de Mailros*, p. 185.

Yet during those centuries many incidents must have taken place in the Abbey, or connected with it, well worthy of being recorded. It would be interesting to ascertain the changes which may have occurred in its economy and discipline, its architectural history, the number of its inmates at different periods, and their relations to each other and to the outer world. But though such details are wanting, we may yet form some idea of life in the Abbey during those long ages. While Scotland was engaged in the protracted struggle for independence which was forced upon it by the ambition of English Princes; and while the unfortunate Stewarts filled the throne, and rebellious barons were involving the country in perpetual discord and bloodshed; it is pleasing to picture the inmates of this retired monastery, in which they had found a refuge from the evils of the time, spending their tranquil lives in the performance of their daily and nightly services in the Abbey church, and in exercises of fasting and devotion; in the study of sacred music, of which the Cistercians were zealous promoters; the transcription of ancient books; the repair or enlargement of the conventual buildings, and Art studies connected therewith; the cultivation of their fields, garden, and fruit trees; such occupations being varied in the case of the lay brothers, and probably also in that of the monks themselves—at least in the later days of less rigorous discipline—by hunting and hawking in the woods, or the capture of salmon and sparlings in the Tay. Though the cloister, as we shall find, was not always the abode of peace and propriety of conduct, yet in general its inmates had little more to disturb them than perhaps an occasional dispute with the Bishop of the diocese or others about their privileges as Cistercians, or with some lay proprietor or tenant concerning the marches of their lands, or the payment of their rents or tithes. Now a new Abbot would have to be elected, or a new candidate for admission into the fraternity would present himself at the convent gate; and again an aged brother would enter

into his rest, and a new-made grave would admonish the survivors of their own mortality. Let us indulge the hope that narrow and defective as was the monastic idea of a religious life, not a few of the brethren yet found within the cloister a refuge from the snares and temptations of the world, and were successful in training their souls in that kind of piety for the cultivation of which they had assumed the monkish garb.

But the life of the cloister was not all retirement and routine. The more distant possessions of the convent would demand attention. Visits also would be made and received. The Bishop, when required, would come from St. Andrews to install a new Abbot, or to admit the monks to holy orders; or their hospitality might be claimed by the Bishop's officials whom, with their horses, they were sometimes obliged to lodge and entertain when these made their yearly tour through the parish churches.¹ The Abbot of Melrose would come on his annual visitation to this its daughter monastery. Great barons, or even the Sovereign himself would occasionally be received as guests of the Abbot, having been first conducted in procession into the church or chapter-house. At times the Abbot would set out on a special journey to Rome in order to procure some coveted privilege from the Pope, or the redress of some grievance to which the house had been subjected; and every fourth year he would have to cross over to France to attend the General Chapter of the Order and consult for the common welfare. Gladly would his return to the monastery be welcomed; and we cannot doubt that at such reunions there would be a suspension of the general practice of silence, and that his foreign news and adventures would be made known to the brethren and become topics of conversation. His visits to the Court in order to take his place among bishops and abbots, barons and burgesses, in the deliberations

¹ Forbes on *Church Lands and Tithes*, p. 181.

of the Scottish Estates would keep the monks informed in regard to the public events of the day; while his annual visits to the parent monastery of Melrose, and his presence at the Councils of the diocese of St. Andrews, and also at the Provincial Councils of the whole Scottish Church, which sat three consecutive days annually, and were attended by Bishops and heads of Religious houses, would keep them acquainted with the course of ecclesiastical affairs. At times, too, would the brethren—the prohibition of speech with strangers being on certain occasions relaxed—listen with rapt attention to the stories brought from the outer world by some far-travelled pilgrim to whom they had given shelter and hospitality for the night. We must not suppose that the existing records furnish any adequate measure of the variety of the events which took place, affecting the monastery and its inmates. There would be no want of occasions of mild excitement in their somewhat monotonous life. As a great landholder, also, the convent would be interested in, and be an object of interest to, the whole of the neighbouring district; while the rustics, as they passed its stately pile of buildings, with the beautiful and spacious Gothic church in the foreground, and probably surrounded in course of time by venerable trees, would be reminded of another world, for which the good cenobites had, whether rightly or wrongly, withdrawn themselves from the trials and duties of the present.

To proceed with our history. At some time not later than the year 1260 Symon of Kynner grants to the monks half of his land of Kynner—that now called Wester Kinneir—the boundaries of which, as being of considerable local interest, we give in full:—‘Beginning on the west side of Kynner, namely, at the Glac, and running as far as to the Rock; and thence descending to the Well; and from the Well to the Mothric (Motray) by the ancient marches, and so on to Kethyn; thence ascending to the site of the Mill, including its privilege of water for driving the mill; and thence ascending as far as to the

Cross (set up doubtless as a landmark); and from the Cross by Kethyn to the great Stone; and from the Stone to the Hill; and from the Hill to the Glac.' Symon grants also 'the common pasture pertaining to the said land, excepting six acres belonging to the Hospital (of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem), and two acres of meadow belonging to the laird thereof for the time being, on the west side.' He afterwards repeats these grants with consent of his wife Amia, whom he had probably married in the interval; and adds to them 'the nearest adjacent land on the east side of Kynner, which is thus bounded:—Ascending from the site of the Mill through the dry ground, and going round Inchelyn and Wetslac; and thence ascending to the well of Langside; and ascending thence to the White Rock on the east side of Cragnagren; and proceeding thence by the right boundaries as far as to the well of Munbuche;¹ and from Munbuche to the Glac; and thence descending to Wester Kethyn by the right marches as far as the White Cross; and thence descending along the stream by the site of the old Mill to the marsh.' Symon and his wife make oath, while touching the *sacrosancta*, that they give this donation of their own free will; and they subject themselves and their heirs to excommunication and other penalties if they shall ever contravene the gift. Among the witnesses to these charters are several of the neighbouring clergy—Sir William,² parson of

¹ This Gaelic word occurs also in the Arbroath Chartulary in the forms of *Moynebuche* and *Monboy*, and its meaning is there correctly given (as appears from Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, 2nd series, pp. 272, 370) as *Yellowpool*.—(*Reg. Vetus Aberbr.*, p. 228; and *Pars Altera*, p. 104.)

² The title *Sir* (in Latin, *Dominus*) appears to have been at this time given to priests indiscriminately, who were hence called the Pope's Knights:—

'The poor Preist thynkis he gettis no rycht
Be he nocht stylit lyke ane knycht,
And callit Schir, affoir his name,
As Schir Thomas, and Schir Wilyame.'

(Sir David Lindsay's '*Experience and Ane Courteour*.' Laing's ed. of *Knox's Works*, i., 555-56.) After the establishment of Universities and near the time of

Fliske; Sir Adam, chaplain of Kilmanyn; Sir Robert, designed of Collessyn, chaplain of Fliske; Sir William, chaplain of Lokeris.¹ King Alexander confirms these grants at Selkirk on the 21st of September, in the twelfth year of his reign, reserving his own servitude. As Kinneir is not mentioned among the possessions of the Abbey specified in the Primary Bull (1242-46), it must have been Alexander III. who gave this charter of confirmation in 1260, and not Alexander II. in the year 1226—as is assumed in the Index to the Chartulary—when the monks had not yet come to Balmerino.

In the year 1261 Pope Urban IV. granted to the whole Cistercian Order exemption from secular taxes imposed by kings and others—a privilege which had been already conferred on Balmerino Abbey by King Alexander II. in the Foundation Charter in respect of the lands therein mentioned.² Notwithstanding this exemption the Cistercians in course of time paid taxes, but under protest. In 1263 the same Pope granted to them the right to tithes from *novalia*, or newly reclaimed lands, in those parishes in which they drew the old tithes.³

In the year 1268 Henry de Hastings grants to the Abbey his share of a burgage property in Dundee, lying between the burgage ground of Henry de Douny and that of Roger del Wend (Roger of the Wynd?).⁴

Abbot Adam II. died in 1270, and in his place was chosen WILLIAM DE PERISBY. He was probably of the same family as Hugo de Perisby, Sheriff of Roxburgh, who towards the end

the Reformation the title *Dominus* was, in the opinion of Dr. David Laing, restricted to those who had taken their Bachelor's degree, while clergy of all ranks who had taken the degree of Master of Arts were styled Master (*Magister*). Dr. Laing is, however, in error in stating that the title *Dominus* was never applied to laymen. Further on we shall meet with instances of its being so applied.

¹ *Chartulary*, Nos. 12 to 15.

² *Ibid.*, No. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 32.

of the thirteenth century married a daughter of Merleswein, laird of Ardross in Fife.¹

At the request of this Abbot and the convent, Pope Gregory X. granted to them in the year 1271 a new Bull of protection for their persons, monastery, and privileges.²

The Council of Lyons having in the year 1274 imposed a tax of one-tenth of all Church benefices during the six following years towards an expedition for the relief of the Holy Land, the Pope sent Boiamund de Vicci in 1275 to collect this subsidy in Scotland. The Scottish clergy petitioned, but without effect, that it should be levied, as ecclesiastical taxes had hitherto been levied, according to the old conventional valuation called the *Taxatio Antiqua*. Boiamund assessed the clergy according to the *Verus Valor*, or actual yearly worth of their benefices as ascertained by their oaths; and the Valuation Roll then drawn up served for the apportionment of Church taxes till the Reformation. It evidently gives the valuation in round sums according to a roughly graduated scale. The Abbacy of Balmerino was valued at £533, 6s. 8d. For the purpose of comparison it may be mentioned that, of other Cistercian monasteries, Sweet-Heart or New Abbey, Culross, Glenluce and Deer were each valued at—omitting shillings and pence—£666; Kinloss at £866, Dundrennan at £1000, Newbottle at £1333, Cupar-Angus at £1666, and Melrose at £2400. Of monasteries of other Orders, the valuation of Lindores and Scone was £1666 each, of the Priory of St. Andrews and of Dunfermline Abbey £3333 each, of Arbroath Abbey £4000. The valuation of Balmerino compared more favourably with that of several bishoprics; Dunblane, Galloway, Brechin, Caithness, and Orkney being each valued at £666, Argyle at £293.

A 'Valuation of Scottish prelaties in the Camera at Rome'

¹ *Scotichron.*, ed. Goodall, ii. 113; Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, 2nd ed., 19, 21.

² *Chartulary*, No. 66.

(A.D. 1492–1550), shows that a great alteration in the relative values had taken place by that time. The list of benefices is, however, incomplete. The valuation of Balmerino Abbey was 200 ducats, of Culross 100, of Glenluce 66, of Deer 100, of Kinloss 300, of Dundrennan 50, of Newbotle 100, of Cupar-Angus 100, of Melrose 800, of Arbroath 600, of Dunfermline and Scone 250 each, of Lindores 333.¹

Of parish churches in the North-East of Fife Boiamund's valuation of the vicarage of Leuchars was £66, of that of Forgan £33, of that of Kilmany £30, of the rectory of Flisk £100. Creich and Logie are not given.² It should be remembered that the purchasing power of money at that period was much greater than at present.

We have no certain information as to the date of Abbot William de Perisby's death; but in all probability he was that Abbot of Balmerino who was drowned in a voyage from Norway. The event is thus related in the *Scotichronicon*:— 'In the year 1281 Margaret, daughter of King Alexander III., was espoused to Hanigow, or Heric, King of Norway; and leaving Scotland on the 12th of August she crossed the sea with a noble train, accompanied by Walter Bullok Earl of Menteith, and his Countess, along with the Abbot of Balmurinach and Bernard de Montealto (Mowat), and many other knights and nobles; and entered Norway on the vigil of the Assumption of our Lady; and, having been honourably received by the King, was crowned by the Archbishop of that kingdom, against the wishes of the King's mother. After the nuptials were solemnly celebrated the said Abbot and Bernard, and many more, in returning were drowned. But Earl Walter and his wife, with their whole family, returned prosperously from Norway to Scotland.' The *Book of Pluscarden* states that these persons returned in another ship. Father Hay, in his *Scotia Sacra*, quoting apparently from the *Book of Cupar* (Angus), supplies

¹ Robertson's *Concilia Scotiæ*, i., lxx-lxxi, ccciv-cccvi.

² *Ibid.*

some additional details of this disaster. He states that the ships were shattered to pieces on the rocks, and that our Abbot was swallowed up by the waters after he had been for some time clinging to a broken mast. According to Sir James Balfour, thirty persons were drowned besides the Abbot and Sir Bernard de Montealto.¹

This sad event is commonly believed to have been the occasion of 'the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence,' as Coleridge calls it; 'the most ancient ballad of which we are in possession,' in the judgment of Finlay and others. The opinion that this famous relic of antiquity refers to the shipwreck just mentioned, since its adoption by Motherwell, has been generally acquiesced in to the exclusion of other theories. The authorship of the ballad and the precise date of its composition are, however, unknown. The opinion of Robert Chambers that it was written by Lady Wardlaw, the author of *Hardiknute*, another celebrated ballad, in the early part of last century, has met with little favour.² No apology will be required by the reader for the insertion here of the ballad referred to, which in all probability was occasioned by the death of Abbot William de Perisby and his companions, though it may have been written in a subsequent age. There are several versions of it, differing considerably from each other. The text here given is that adopted by Professor Aytoun.

BALLAD OF SIR PATRICK SPENS

The king sits in Dunfermline town,
 Drinking the blude-red wine;
 'O whaur shall I get a skeely skipper
 To sail this ship of mine?'

¹ *Scotichron.*, ed. Goodall, ii. 124; *Liber Pluscardensis*, lib. vii. cap. xxx.; Balfour's *Annals*, i. 75.

² See Motherwell's *Minstrelsy*; Robert Chambers's *Romantic Scottish Ballads*; Aytoun's *Ballads of Scotland*; Norval Clyne's *Romantic Scottish Ballads and the Lady Wardlaw Heresy*; Finlay's *Scottish Historical and Romantic Ballads*.

Then up and spake an eldern knight,
 Sat at the King's right knee ;
 ' Sir Patrick Spens is the best sailor
 That ever sailed the sea.'

The King has written a braid letter,
 And seal'd it with his hand,
 And sent it to Sir Patrick Spens,
 Was walking on the strand.

' To Noroway, to Noroway,
 To Noroway o'er the faem ;
 The King's daughter to Noroway,
 It's thou maun tak' her hame.'

The first line that Sir Patrick read,
 A loud laugh laughed he,
 The next line that Sir Patrick read,
 The tear came to his e'e.

' O wha is this has done this deed,
 This ill deed done to me,
 To send us out at this time o' the year
 To sail upon the sea?'

They hoisted their sails on a Monday morn
 Wi' a' the haste they may ;
 And they hae landed in Noroway
 Upon the Wodensday.

They hadna been a week, a week,
 In Noroway but twae,
 When that the lords o' Noroway
 Began aloud to say—

' Ye Scotismen spend a' our King's gowd,
 And a' our Queenis fee.'
 ' Ye lie, ye lie, ye liars loud,
 Sae loud's I hear ye lie !

' For I brought as much o' the white monie
 As gane¹ my men and me,
 And a half-fou² o' the gude red gold,
 Out owre the sea with me.

¹ As will suffice for.

² The eighth part of a peck.

‘ Be’t wind or weet, be’t snaw or sleet,
Our ship shall sail the morn.’
‘ Now ever alack, my master dear,
I fear a deadly storm.

‘ I saw the new moon late yestreen
Wi’ the auld moon in her arm;
And I fear, I fear, my master dear,
That we shall come to harm !’

They hadna sail’d a league, a league,
A league but barely three,
When the lift grew dark, and the wind blew loud,
And gurly grew the sea.

The ropes they brak, and the top-masts lap,
It was sic a deadly storm;
And the waves came o’er the broken ship
Till a’ her sides were torn.

‘ O whaur will I get a gude sailor
Will tak’ the helm in hand,
Until I win to the tall top-mast,
And see if I spy the land?’

‘ It’s here am I, a sailor gude,
Will tak’ the helm in hand
Till ye win to the tall top-mast,
But I fear ye’ll ne’er spy land.’

He hadna gane a step, a step,
A step but barely ane,
When a bolt flew out of the gude ship’s side,
And the salt sea it cam’ in.

‘ Gae, fetch a web of the silken claith,
Another o’ the twine,
And wap them into the gude ship’s side,
And let na the sea come in.’

They fetched a web o’ the silken claith,
Another o’ the twine,
And they wapp’d them into the gude ship’s side,
But aye the sea came in.

O laith, laith were our gude Scots lords
 To weet their leathern shoon,
 But lang e'er a' the play was o'er
 They wat their heads abune.

O lang, lang may the ladies sit
 Wi' their fans into their hand,
 Or e'er they see Sir Patrick Spens
 Come sailing to the land.

O lang, lang may their ladies sit
 Wi' their gowd kaims in their hair,
 A' waiting for their ain dear lords,
 For them they'll see na mair.

Half owre, half owre to Aberdour,
 It's fifty fathom deep,
 And there lies gude Sir Patrick Spens,
 Wi' the Scots lords at his feet.

The Aberdour here mentioned is more probably the place so called in Aberdeenshire, on the Moray Firth, than Aberdour in Fife. Professor Aytoun states that in the island of Papa Stronsay, one of the Orcadian group lying over against Norway, there is a large grave or tumulus which has been known to the inhabitants from time immemorial as 'The Grave of Sir Patrick Spens.' Though the storm first burst upon the ship soon after it had sailed from Norway, it might have drifted towards the Orkney Islands, and finally sunk near Papa Stronsay, where the body of Sir Patrick Spens might have been washed ashore and buried.

In consequence of this disaster a new Abbot of Balmerino would have to be elected in 1281, but his name is not certainly known; and after this period we have only notices of certain Abbots at particular dates, without the means of ascertaining precisely when their respective reigns began and ended. The Melrose Chronicle, which has supplied us with so many notices of the early Abbots, ends in the year 1270.

Perhaps the next Abbot was THOMAS, who witnesses a charter granted by Nicholas Hay of Errol—who died about the year 1303—to the Abbey of Cupar-Angus, confirming to that house a gift of an oxgate of land in the Carse of Gowrie, previously made to it.¹

In the year 1285 King Alexander III. grants to the monks a charter of protection for themselves, their lands, their men, and all their possessions and goods, movable and immovable, as well as those of their men; forbidding any one to molest, injure, or bring any unjust charge against them on pain of full forfeiture; or to take their own or their men's cattle in pledge in any part of the kingdom except in royal burghs, or for their debts; and commanding all sheriffs and bailiffs to compel those who owe the monks anything to make just and prompt payment of the same, on proof of their indebtedness.²

In 1286 Hervey of Dundee grants to the convent his house which he had lately caused to be built, with its garden, situated opposite to the house belonging to the monks of Cupar-Angus; reserving his right to occupy it during his lifetime. One of the witnesses to the charter is his brother, Adam the barber.³

Symon, son of Symon of Kynner, had given to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist of Jerusalem and the brethren serving God there,⁴ for the souls of his parents and predecessors, and for himself, his wife, his heirs, and all his boys, six acres of land in the Westertown of Kynner, with a house held by Mertham, son of Mertham, and a croft; which acres were near to, and west of Brigflat; namely, three acres extending from the house 'to the other road,' and three on the west side of the house extending to the marsh; with the common pasture

¹ Rogers' *Rental Book and Register of the Abbey of Cupar-Angus*, ii. 288.

² *Chartulary*, No. 53.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 44.

⁴ The Order of the Hospitallers was instituted for the benefit of pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. They afterwards became military, in order to protect pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, and were called Knights of St. John. They had numerous possessions in Scotland, as in other countries.

for eighty sheep and their followers of one year, and for four oxen, four cows, and two horses; subject to the condition that Hugo of Kilmanyn, Symon's 'kinsman and most special friend,' and his heirs and assignees, should hold the said land from the Hospital, paying to it a *reddendo* of twelve pence annually. Hugo afterwards grants these six acres, croft, and pasturage, along with ground for the erection of a building, where the house held by Mertham, son of Mertham, was wont to be, to the monks of Balmerino, by whom the *reddendo* of twelve pence is to be paid to the Hospital. This grant is confirmed at Balmerino by Sir John of Kynner in 1286. Among the witnesses to the charters are several of the neighbouring proprietors—Sir Henry and Sir John of Dundemor, Alexander of Ardiste, William of Forret, William de Ramsay of Clatty; also Sir John de Esex,¹ two burgesses of St. Andrews, and the 'community' of that city; Sir William, parson of Fliske; and Adam the chaplain, doubtless of Kilmany.²

About this time, when probably some important buildings were being erected at the Abbey, Hugo of Nidyn (Nydie) grants to the convent his whole quarry of Nidyn, that the monks may break and carry away stones from it at their pleasure; also a free road thereto through his land, namely, the road leading from the quarry through the town of Nidyn, on the west side of St. Gregory's chapel, to the ford of Burglyn (Bruckley), as he had caused the same to be used by his waggon in presence of his brother Richard, Matthew Marscall, Adam the monk and many others. He grants also a toft in the town of Nidyn, in which his mother Mary and his grandmother Gunnyld were wont to live; and the monks may also have twenty-four oxen on the common pasture of Nidyn. These were no doubt the draught animals used for the conveyance of stones to the

¹ John of Kynner is here styled *miles*, while *dominus* is the title (which we have translated *Sir*) given to other three persons. It is not clear on what principle the title *dominus* is applied to these and withheld from the others.

² *Chartulary*, Nos. 16, 17, 18.

Abbey; and the toft would be required as a lodging for the monks or their servants during the night, the journey being probably too long for the oxen to go and return on the same day. Hence also the necessity for pasture. Richard, Hugo's brother, afterwards confirms the gift. One of the witnesses is John of Blabolg (Blebo).¹

William, son and heir of Ældred of Burthlyn, or Burglyn, grants to the monks the old road through his land of Burglyn, by which they were wont to go with their waggons and other carriages to the quarry of Nidyn. And if it should happen that their waggons or carriages had to halt at any time at the ford of Burglyn (at the river Eden) on account of any hindrance in crossing, he gives the monks permission in such a case to unyoke and feed their beasts there, and to stay over night if necessary.²

Connected with Nydic is the following donation of somewhat later date. Richard of Nidyn, with consent of his wife Amabilla, grants to the Abbey a portion of land in his tenement of Nidyn, bounded on the east by the march existing there, on the west by the cattle road leading from Nidyn, on the north by the King's highway leading to St. Andrews, and on the south by the great moor. He gives also grass for two cows, one horse, and sixty sheep on the common pasture of Nidyn. One of the witnesses to the charter is John de Haya, laird of Athnauthan (Naughton).³

On the 14th of March 1289-90 the Abbot of Balmerino—whose name is not given—was present at a Scottish Convention or Parliament which assembled at Brigham in Berwickshire and confirmed the treaty of Salisbury for the marriage of Margaret the 'Maiden of Norway,' heiress to the Scottish throne, to Prince Edward of England. Along with the others who were present, our Abbot affixed his seal to the deed of agreement. He was also one of 'the community of Scotland'

¹ *Chartulary*, Nos. 46, 47.

² *Ibid.*, No. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 50.

—a body not clearly defined—who sent a letter to the English monarch counselling him that the marriage should be effected.¹ The object in view was the union of the two kingdoms. It was, however, frustrated by the lamented death of the young Queen near the Orkney Islands during her voyage to Scotland—an event which led to the disputed succession and the War of Independence.

In the year 1291 the Abbot and convent address a representation to Pope Nicholas IV., to the effect that certain clerics and laymen, alleging that they had some grounds of complaint against them, seized sometimes the monks, sometimes the lay brothers, and at other times their beasts and other property, under pretence of some evil custom, and detained them till they got whatever satisfaction they pleased, though such persons had neither ordinary nor delegated jurisdiction over them. The Pope, therefore, on the 28th of May issues a Bull forbidding any one to molest them on account of the said custom, to seize their goods without warrant of law, or to detain these in any way.²

On the same day the Pope addresses another Bull to the Bishop of Dunblane on account of information which had been communicated to him by the Abbot and convent of Balmerino, that certain ‘clerical and ecclesiastical persons, both religious (that is, monastic) and secular,’ and also earls, barons, nobles, knights and other laymen of the cities and dioceses of St. Andrews and Brechin, who held from the monastery and occupied castles, villages, granges, meadows, woods, mills, lands and other immovable goods, subject to an annual duty or rent, were not careful to pay such rent to the Abbot and convent as they were bound to do, whereby no small loss was impending over them and their monastery. In reply to the humble

¹ *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. i. ; Stevenson's *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 129 ; *Fac-similes of the National MSS. of Scotland*, vol. iii. No. 1.

² *Chartulary*, No. 59.

petition of the Abbot and convent that the Pope would provide a remedy for this state of things, he orders the Bishop of Dunblane, having first admonished these persons, to compel them by ecclesiastical censure, without appeal, to make entire payment of such rents; provided, however, that he shall not pronounce sentence of excommunication or interdict against their lands without a special injunction to that effect from the Pope himself.¹ We have no means of identifying the persons or possessions indicated by the very comprehensive terms of this Bull.

There remains to be noticed one more Papal Bull, probably of later date than any of the others recorded in the Chartulary, and differing in character from all of them. Other Bulls had been granted in answer to the request of the Abbot and convent combined; but for this one, application had been made to the Pope by the Abbot alone. A proceeding so unusual was, however, only too well justified by the unfortunate state of affairs then existing in the monastery. The Abbot informed the Pope that certain of the monks and lay brothers had fallen into 'the snare of excommunication'—some by laying violent hands on themselves ('on each other' is probably what is meant); some by retaining their own property—a violation of the monastic principle of having all things in common; and others by disobedience to the Abbot, as well as to his predecessors in office, or by forming a conspiracy against him; and that some of the monks while thus 'bound' had performed divine service and received ordination; and he humbly petitioned the Pope to provide 'for their welfare' in these circumstances. Accordingly the Pope, having full confidence in the Abbot's circumspection, grants to his beloved son authority to absolve for this time those monks from the sentences of excommunication according to ecclesiastical form, and to enjoin them in his stead—we know not what, as the remainder of the Bull is wanting in the Chartulary.²

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 67.

² *Ibid.*, No. 64.

This Bull is issued by a Pope Nicolas ; but in consequence of its not having the date—usually given at the end of such documents—it is uncertain which of the Popes of that name is meant. From the laxity of monastic discipline which the Bull discloses it might be supposed to belong to the pontificate of Nicolas V., which extended from the year 1447 to 1455, by which time it is well known that the cloistral life had greatly degenerated. But as the Balmerino Chartulary which contains the document was most probably written at a date considerably earlier than this, we may conclude that it was a Bull of Pope Nicolas IV., who reigned from 1288 to 1294 ; in which case the disorders described must have arisen in the Abbey only about sixty years after it was founded. Such laxity of discipline was, however, elsewhere prevalent even at that early period. In 1264 a Cistercian Abbot in England complained that the Order needed reformation in many things, that quarrels increased, that the strictness of monastic discipline was remitted, and that visitations of monasteries were only superficial.

A second ABBOT WILLIAM is the next ruler of the monastery whose name we meet with. A document to be presently mentioned is signed by him on the 7th of July 1296. In that year Edward I. of England, in his attempt to subdue Scotland, made an expedition with an armed force through a great part of the country, and compelled all classes in the districts through which he passed to swear allegiance to him. Setting out from Berwick he went, among other places, to Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Kinclaven Castle, Clunie Castle, where he abode five days, and thence through Forfarshire. At Montrose his vassal, King John Baliol, surrendered himself to him, and was sent in custody to England. It was, apparently, at Montrose that Baliol and others renounced the treaty they had previously made with France against England. On the 7th of July one of the witnesses to this renunciation is

Abbot William of St. Edward's of Balmerino. From Montrose Edward proceeded to Aberdeen, Banff, and Elgin. In returning, he was on Sunday the 5th of August at Arbroath Abbey, 'and it is reported that the Abbot told the Scots that there were only women in England.' On Monday he was at Dundee, on Tuesday at Baligarnache, 'the red castle,' on Wednesday at Perth, on Thursday at the Abbey of Lindores where he remained over the Friday. On Saturday he was at the city of St. Andrews, 'a castle and a good town.' On Sunday the 12th of August he was at Markinch, 'where are only the minster and three houses.'¹ On Monday he was at the Abbey of Dunfermline, 'where nearly all the Kings of Scotland lie.' By Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh he passed on to Berwick, where he arrived on the 22nd of August. 'And he conquered the realm of Scotland, and searched it, as is above written, within twenty-one weeks, without any more.' At Berwick 'he held his Parliament; and there were all the bishops, earls, barons, abbots, and priors, and the sovereigns of all the common people; and there he received the homages of all, and their oaths that they would be good and loyal to him.' Among those who took the oath of allegiance to him on the 28th of August were 'William, Abbot of Balmorinaghe, and the convent of the same place,' that is, apparently, he for himself, and also as representing the convent; the Prior of St. Andrews, the Abbots of Lindores and Dunfermline, and several Fife lairds. On the 14th March of a year not named homage was performed to Edward by 'John de Kyner,' and by two persons of the name of 'John de la Haye,' one of whom was probably laird of Naughton.² It was an ignominious act; but one which in

¹ Of this church the only original part still remaining is the tower; the top of which, however, has been altered within the present century by the erection on it of a spire and otherwise.

² Palgrave's *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 194-95.

the then existing circumstances of the country could hardly have been avoided.¹

Probably during the rule of Abbot William II. occurs the first certain instance of any portion of the Abbey property being feued to a vassal, on condition of his paying a stipulated feu-duty. The monks possessed house property in Dundee, and being doubtless in need of a place of lodgement and entertainment when they had occasion to repair to that town, which also they would often pass through on their way to Barry, 'Brother William, Abbot of Balmurynach,' and the convent grant in feu-farm, for the convenience of their house, to William Welyeuyth and his heirs a certain piece of ground in the burgh of Dundee, lying between the ground of Roger del Wend on the east and the Venel on the west, which Norman of Castle Street (*de vico castellano*) gave to them in charity; the *reddendo* or feu-duty to be eleven shillings of good and legal sterlings annually, payable in equal instalments at Whitsunday and Martinmas.² 'And the said William and his heirs shall provide for us and our successors sufficient hostilage on the said ground as often as we or any of our brethren may happen to repair to the said burgh for the convenience of our house.'³ It was a common practice, as already stated, for monasteries to have such lodging-places, while as yet there were no inns, in the various places to which their members were in the habit of resorting. They were provided with all needful apartments and furniture. Thus in the year 1552 a feu-charter of certain lands at Barry was granted by the Abbot and convent of Balmerino to Robert Forrester; and the *reddendo* included the furnishing of

¹ Stevenson's *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 26-31, 59-77.

² The term *Sterling*, 'which originally had reference to the eastern country of the early English moneyers, was afterwards applied to all money of a certain weight and fineness, wherever coined. This was the *denarius*, the well-known penny of silver.'—(C. Innes's *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 111.)

³ *Chartulary*, No 55.

a house for the Abbot and his factors when they went thither to hold their courts. There was also at Barry, near Deyhouse, a piece of ground called the Abbot's Horseward, which may have been the enclosure for his horse to graze in on the occasion of his visits; or the name may have been derived from its being fenced in for the rearing of horses, to which the monks paid great attention, and for which it is said they erected stables on the Links. The convent had likewise a lodging-house at Anstruther, which will be more fully noticed in the following Chapter.

In the year 1315, at a meeting which was virtually a Parliament, held in the parish church of Ayr, the Abbot of Balmerino, whose name is not given, signed, along with many other persons, a declaration to the effect that Edward Bruce ought to succeed his brother Robert Bruce as King of Scotland, failing heirs - male of the latter. Marjory, the King's daughter, consented to this declaration, which involved a deviation from the principle of strict hereditary succession. It was rendered necessary by the condition of the country at the time; but owing to subsequent events the intended arrangement never took effect.¹

¹ Robertson's *Index to Records of Charters*.

CHAPTER VIII

ABBOTS ALAN II., HUGH, PATRICK, AND
JOHN DE HAYLIS

' Years roll on years; to ages, ages yield;
Abbots to abbots, in a line, succeed:
Religion's charter their protecting shield
Till royal sacrilege their doom decreed.'

—BYRON.

ANOTHER ALAN is the next Abbot whose name occurs. In the year 1317 he and the convent enter into an agreement with Gregory de Schyrham, burgess of Dundee, whereby they grant to him two portions of burgage land in Dundee, lying between the ground of Hervey de Duny on the east and that of Simon of the Venel on the west side; the *reddendo* payable to the Abbey to be forty shillings of sterlings annually. To that part of the record of this transaction which was to be kept by Gregory were affixed both the seal of Abbot Alan and the common seal of the convent; and to the part which was to remain with the Abbot and convent were attached Gregory's own seal and the seal of the burgh of Dundee. This was virtually another instance of the feuing of a portion of the Abbey property.¹

In the year 1318 King Robert Bruce, having inspected the

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 34. This instrument appears to have been an *indenture*, though it is not so named. 'In contracts of this description two exact copies are written on one sheet of parchment—they are then divided, and a copy delivered to each party. To prevent forgery, the parchment is cut in a zig-zag manner (notched or *indented*), so that if any subsequent dispute as to the authenticity of either counterpart should arise, it could be easily settled by putting the two deeds together; and if they fitted into each other, the controversy was at once terminated.'—Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, vol. ii. p. 3.

charters granted to the Abbot and convent by Alexander II., and ascertained from them that the monks of Balmerino and their men inhabiting their lands were, and ought to be free from aids, armies, taxes, and all exactions, dues, and secular services; so that no such things, but only their prayers, could be demanded of them by the King or his officers; approves and confirms by his letters patent the tenor of these charters; and prohibits justiciaries, sheriffs, and all his other officers and servants from imposing on the monks any such burdens, on pain of full forfeiture. The document is dated at Scone the 12th of June; and a month later the King, being then in Perth, grants and confirms to the convent, by letters patent, the whole of his fishings of the 'Stok on the north side of the Tay' (near Perth); with the right of fixing stakes for hanging and drying their nets on the ground nearest thereto.¹

William de Candela, whose ancestor is said to have received from the Crown, in the twelfth century, a gift of the lands of Anstruther, from which place the family—one of the oldest in Fife—afterwards took the surname of Anstruther, had granted to the Abbey a piece of ground, 'seven score and ten feet' in length, adjacent to, and on the east side of the town of Anstruther, between the sea and the road leading to Crail, and had marked it off by boundaries, so that the monks might extend their marches seawards as much as they could; to be held by them and their assignees of him and his heirs in feu-farm for ever; the *reddendo* to be 'only half a merk of legal sterlings annually in name of blench duty.' He had also granted to the convent and their men and assignees every such liberty as their convenience might require to go and return through his lands—meadow and sown land excepted—with the privilege of leading water from the well under Motlau (Mote Law or

¹ *Chartulary*, Nos. 54, 57.

Court Hill?), on the north side of the said land, to their buildings by an underground aqueduct of stone or lead whenever they pleased; on condition that as often as they dug up the ground for this purpose they should again cover the aqueduct with earth. Henry, laird of Aynstroyir, and son of this William de Candela, confirms this grant made 'a short time ago' by his father; and also concedes to the monks and their assignees pasture for four cows and one horse in the common pasture of Anstruther. They may have also a brewery on their land free from all exaction or hindrance; and they may let their booths belonging to the said land when and to whom they please; and those who inhabit the said booths may spread their nets to dry upon his land when necessary; the *reddendo* to him and his heirs to be a hundred salt fish from every barrel; the monks and their assignees, if they hold the said land *in capite*, to be exempted from this burden. He also grants to the monks and their men clay, earth, and water for the erection and repair of their buildings, and for brewing whenever they please; and they may dry their malt and corn outside of their own and within his land; but their men must freely communicate with his men in selling and buying. And if the monks or their men shall incur any loss or damage through defect of his warranty and defence of their rights—which Heaven forbid—he subjects himself and his heirs to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of St. Andrews or his officials, who may compel them to make good such loss or damage. The list of witnesses to the charter of Henry of Anstruther includes—besides Adam, Prior of Pittenweem, and others—Thomas of Balcasky and 'Henry called Herwart.'¹ The last two, along with James, Bishop of St. Andrews, are also among the witnesses to a charter granted to the monks of Dryburgh by Henry of Anstruther, laird of the same, and his spouse

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 49.

Matilda, conferring on them a house and garden, with an acre of land in his 'town' of Anstruther. The Bishop was evidently James Bane, who filled the see of St. Andrews from 1328 to 1332. It thus appears that it was the same laird who was a benefactor of both Abbeys, and that Henry of Anstruther's charter to the monks of Balmerino was granted about the same time as the other. The same Henry Anstruther of that Ilk confirmed to the monks of Dryburgh at some time before 1332—as appears from the name of one of the witnesses to the charter—a gift of three booths in Anstruther, made by 'Henry and William his predecessors.'¹ The surname De Candela seems not to have been entirely discontinued by the family at the date of the above-mentioned William de Candela's grant to the monks of Balmerino, though, as we have seen,² another 'Henry of Ainstrother' had been witness to a charter more than a century earlier than the last-named Henry, and may have been one of the 'predecessors' he refers to—possibly his grandfather. The donations to the two Abbeys seem to indicate that Anstruther was an important fishing centre even at that early period; and they were probably made at the request of the monks of Balmerino and Dryburgh, in order that they might be provided with an abundant supply of fish for consumption on fast-days.

The monks of Balmerino had afterwards on their ground at Anstruther a chapel, dedicated to St. Ayle, and also a lodging-house for themselves. In 1535 Thomas Wood, its occupant, had to uphold the former and to provide the latter. By a feu-charter, which he obtained in that year, of the Abbey property there he was bound to keep in repair

¹ Sibbald's *History of Fife and Kinross*, pp. 341-2 (ed. 1803), where William de Candela's donation to the monks of Balmerino is erroneously stated to have been confirmed by his son *William*, instead of *Henry*; the date is set down as 1231 without any authority; and the extent of the ground given is stated inaccurately.

² See *ante*, page 57.

the roof, walls, windows, and internal decorations of St. Ayle's chapel; and also to receive in kindly hospitality the Abbot and any of the monks when they went to Anstruther, and provide for them and theirs beds, pillows, and all other necessary and suitable things; but they were to pay the cost of their own food and drink. In the same way, when 'the servant and provider of the convent' went thither to purchase fish, Wood had to furnish him and his servants with beds, pillows, and other necessaries; and also a house to store the fish in till they could be carried to the monastery; but, like the monks, he was to pay for food and drink.¹

In the year 1331 John of Dundemor grants to the monks of Balmerino the use of all the water running through his land of Dunberauch (Dumbarrow in Abernethy parish) with permission to conduct it to their mill of Petgornoch, and to dig turf for the construction of the channel, and for its repair when necessary; and he subjects himself and his heirs and assignees to a penalty of ten pounds sterling to be paid 'towards the subsidy for the Holy Land, or to the fabric of the church of St. Andrews,' if they should contravene this grant. The charter is witnessed at Dundemor by a distinguished company consisting of James, Bishop of St. Andrews; Adam, Abbot of Lindores; Sir David de Berkeley; Sir Alexander de Seton; Alan de Claphain; and others.²

Between the years 1328 and 1332 John de Haya, Laird of Athnauthan (Ardnaughton or Naughton) grants to the convent a charter concerning a piece of ground situated between his land of Galuran (Gauldry) and their land of Duchwarner (Dochrone), the right to which had been the subject of a long standing dispute between them and his

¹ *Charters of St. Ayle's*, in possession of the proprietor, William Halson Anderson, Esq., which include a beautifully written charter by 'Antonius, Cardinal of the Four Crown Saints,' dated at Rome on the 14th June, seventh year of Pope Paul III: (1541). Mr. Anderson courteously lent these charters to the Author for his perusal.

² *Chartulary*, No. 52.

predecessors the Lairds of Naughton. The ground in question was thus bounded—‘Beginning on the west side of the village of Galuran where his land and theirs meet, and extending eastward along the ancient King’s highway leading to the Ferry of Portinkrag; and from the said highway southward in a straight line to the fountain called Bridiis Wel; and thence to a certain stone lying on the moor; and thence to the marches of Kilmanyn; and thence to the footpath called Scongate; and then ascending along this footpath to the west side of Galuran already mentioned.’ To put an end to all disputes between him and the monks, and for the weal of his soul, and of the souls of all his predecessors and successors, he by this charter renounces, for himself and his heirs and assignees for ever, any claim or right of property which he or his predecessors had or could have had at any time in the said land, and gives it over to the convent in all time coming; in testimony whereof he affixes his seal to the charter, which is witnessed by James, Bishop of St. Andrews; William de Lyndesay, archdeacon of the same church; Sir Davit de Berkley, sheriff of Fyff; Sir David de Lyndesay, Laird (*dominus*) of Balynbrey (Ballinbreich); John of Kyner, John of Foreth and others. The place where the charter was granted and signed is not stated; but it was probably either Naughton or the Abbey.¹

Galuran in this charter, as printed, is a mistake for Galurau, that is, *Gallowcraw*, the proper name of the village. In the Manuscript it is twice written Galurau. In another copy also of the Chartulary, written in old cursive hand and now in the Advocates’ Library, the word is Galurau. The first notice of the place I have met with is in a charter granted in the early part of the thirteenth century by John de Haya of Adnachtan (Naughton) of a toft at Galuraw ‘in the territory of Adnachtan’ to the monks of Cupar-Angus.² The *Raw* may

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 51.

² Rogers’s *Rental Book of Cupar-Angus Abbey*, vol. i. p. 342.

have been a roadway, but more probably a row of houses. In an old charter of Naughton estate the word is written Gallowraw. In the sixteenth century it occurs in the forms Galraw and Galra. Subsequently it is written Galray, Gallary, Gallerie, Galdrie, and now Gauldry. The form Galdrie first appears in the Kirk-session books about the middle of last century; and old people in that village till a recent period pronounced the name without the insertion of the letter *d*. It is a curious circumstance that other two place-names have undergone a similar change. Gallowraw near Cupar-Angus—so written in the sixteenth century—appears afterwards in the form Gallowray, and is now called Gauldry. A place in Forfarshire near the North Esk was in the year 1505 called Galloraw, afterwards Galraw, and is now written Gallerie; and though the process of phonetic corruption has meanwhile been arrested, the insertion of the letter *d* in this word also may come in course of time! All these places doubtless received their original name from the circumstance that in the feudal ages criminals were executed at them, or in their immediate vicinity. As regards the barony of Naughton, the place of execution, which must at *some* time have been at Gallowhill, may have previously been at Gallowraw, about half a mile westward. If it was always at Gallowhill, then Gallowraw may have been so called from its being the way of approach—the row or route—to the place of doom. From the ancient connection of Balmerino with St. Bridgid's monastery of Abernethy, Bridiis Wel or Bride's Well may have been dedicated to, or named after St. Bridgid, or Bride. In consequence of the drainage of the land, this well cannot now be identified with certainty; but the one beside the open space and green in the south part of Gauldry seems to fit the position of Bride's Well, as described in the charter.

In the year 1336 the resources of the Abbey were subjected to a severe strain, and its monks were compelled to submit to what, from a patriotic point of view, they must have felt

to be a great indignity. King David II. being then a minor, and having been sent by his friends to France for safety, Edward III. of England invaded Scotland; and on his return from an expedition to the north came to Perth with Edward Baliol, who in 1332 had been crowned at Scone as the vassal king of Scotland. The walls of Perth had a short time previously been levelled with the ground by the partisans of these kings. The English monarch now ordered six monasteries, namely, those of Dunfermline, St. Andrews, Lindores, Balmerino, Cupar-Angus, and Arbroath, to rebuild these walls 'very strongly with squared stones and mortar, and to a suitable height; with towers, and gates, and cornices'; which was accordingly done at their expense. 'Now the building of this town entailed much hardship upon the aforesaid places; for the Prior of St. Andrews paid 280 merks of good money in cash for the building of the tower and gate. In like manner the Abbot of Lindores built the Speygate and the tower which stands at the bend of the water, as a token whereof that tower is commonly called *The Monk Tower* to this day.' Such is the account given in *The Book of Pluscardin*. According to Fordun, the monasteries were only required to build the three greater sides of the wall,¹ with as many towers, whereby they were greatly impoverished. It is probable that the Abbot of Balmerino was one of those described by Fordun as 'the Abbots, Priors, and Estates of Fife, Fothreve, Stratherne, and Gowry' who had submitted to Baliol after the victory he had gained at Dupplin Moor in the year 1332, and who were present at his coronation at Scone, which followed that disaster. There is, however, no reason to believe that their submission and attendance were quite voluntary acts.²

Sometime before the year 1356 Davit de Berkeley, with consent of Margaret his spouse, grants to the Abbey his fishing

¹ *Partes* in his *Chronicle*; in the *Scotichronicon* the word is *portas* (gates).

² *Liber Pluscardensis*, ix. 34; Fordun's *Chronicle; Annals*, cxlvii, clv; *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, vol. ii. p. 323.

on the Tay, in Angus, called Cruchuc, situated between Partinkrag and Dundee. It is probably this fishing which afterwards appears under the names of West Cruik, Ferrydurris, and Kilraig. Duncan, Earl of Fife, is one of the witnesses to the charter.¹ The boundaries of the fishing ground show that Partinkrag, or Portinkrag, was the name then applied to the place now called Broughty (Brugh-Tay, the castle on the Tay); and this is confirmed by similar language in the Register of Arbroath Abbey; from which we learn that Gillebride, Earl of Angus, gave the land of Portincraig, with the fishings, both of which were on the north shore of the Tay, towards the founding of a hospital there, which subsequent Earls transferred to the monks of Arbroath.²

This grant of the fishing of Cruchuc is the last of the benefactions to the Abbey recorded in the existing Chartulary. But several other possessions bestowed on it by unknown donors, and not so recorded, still remain to be mentioned.

One of these consisted of thirty acres of land near Crail, called Gastoun. This land was conferred by King Alexander II., in the year 1233, on Walter, formerly the 'Messenger' to the then recently deceased Queen Ermengarde, 'for his service,' and probably in fulfilment of her wishes. It was then called Drumrauach (Drumrack), or formed part of Drumrauach, and is described as situated in the moor of Crail, near to the lands of Ysaac de Drumrauach and on the east side of them. It afterwards passed into the possession of William of Galliston (Gastoun), who either gave his name to it or, more probably, derived his name from it—the word being apparently a corruption of Gallows' Town. In the year 1278 he resigned it to Sir John Hay, Laird of Balcomy, from whom it was subsequently acquired by Adam Marescall, who is elsewhere designed

¹ *Chartulary*, No. 45.

² *Reg. Vetus de Aberbr.*, pp. 35-37, 81. At (South) Ferrytown, now Portincraig, there was anciently a chapel dedicated to St. John, with 'the lands of Chapeltown.'—(*Reg. Mag. Sigill.*, vol. vi. No. 523.)

of Segy. As the charter by which the Abbey obtained this land is wanting in the Chartulary, which, however, contains the other documents relating to it, the donor and date of the gift are unknown. But from the circumstance that 'Adam the monk' is in the Abbey charters mentioned in connection with a Matthew Marscall, it appears not improbable that Adam Marescall and Adam the monk were one and the same person, who may have conferred the land in question on the convent when he became a member of it.¹

The Abbey possessed also Gadvan, or Gadden, and Johnstoun, both of them in Dunbog parish. It had a Preceptory or small religious establishment at Gadvan, which is said to have occupied the site of the present mansion of Dunbog, and to have included the land forming its garden and enclosures, and also what is now the glebe of the minister of Dunbog—the whole extending to twenty-four acres. When or by whom these possessions were bestowed on the Abbey does not appear. The first notice we have of them is in the year 1486, under which date the Register of Arbroath Abbey² specifies the *tithes* of Johnstoun and of 'the acres of the Prior of Dunbolg' as belonging to that house, on which the church and tithes of Dunbog parish had been conferred, according to Sibbald, by Alexander Cunin, Earl of Buchan, in the reign of Alexander II. The next mention of Gadvan and Johnstoun does not occur till the year 1529, when a feu-charter of 'the lands of the town of Johnstoun, between the lands of Balmaddy and Dunboug,' was granted by the Abbot and convent of Balmerino and 'Sir Andrew Gagye,³ Master of the Place of Gaduane, annexed to the said monastery,' to John Betoun of Creich, whose father, David Betoun, had previously purchased the lands of Dunbog and Contrahills from Alexander, Lord Home. The charter of 1529, which was confirmed in

¹ *Chartulary*, Nos. 41-43, 46-48.

² *Reg. de Aberbr.* Pars Altera, p. 248.

³ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iii. No. 898.

the same year by King James V., received 'the manual subscription of the said Andrew' in addition to the common seal of the convent.¹ Again, in 1603, James Betoun of Creich obtained a Crown charter of various lands, including—besides the barony of Dunbog and Contrahills—'the lands of Gadven with the manse (*mansio*) and meadow, of old held of the monastery of Balmerino, excepting the chapel of the same; also the town and lands of Johnstoun formerly held of the said monastery and of the Preceptors of the Place of Gadven annexed to the said monastery.'²

The establishment at Gadvan thus included a manse or domicile, and also a chapel for the use of its members—which could not have been identical with Dunbog parish church, as this belonged to Arbroath Abbey—and its Superior was indifferently styled Master, Prior, or Preceptor, who, while acting as the deputy of the Abbot, appears to have held a semi-independent position of his own; as is proved by his signing the charter of 1529 in his official capacity, while the Abbot and convent affixed to it the seal of the chapter.

A Crown charter of the year 1630 mentions 'the third part of Eister Colsey' (also called Coilliessy or Cowissay, in the parish of Abernethy) 'in the barony of Ballinbreiche, which formerly belonged to the Preceptory or Ministry of Gaduane, annexed to the Abbacy of Balmirrinoch'; and specifies, as part of the *reddendo* to be paid by its owner, 'the ancient duty and wonted service [rendered] to the said Place of Gaduane.'³

Sibbald says that two or three monks resided at Gadvan. It is more probable that its occupants were lay brothers superintended by the Prior, and cultivating the land attached to the Preceptory; for the Cistercian statutes did not permit monks to reside permanently out of the monastery. Pos-

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iii. No. 898.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi. No. 1492.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. viii. No. 1543.

sibly, however, the strict observance of this, as of other of the early rules of the Order, may have been relaxed; for the Prior or Preceptor of the establishment at Dunbog was himself a monk of Balmerino Abbey. This appears from the fact that Andrew Gagye, who held the office in the year 1529, signs, along with the Abbot and monks, various charters between 1549 and 1551; which he does, not as Prior of Dunbog, but as a member of the convent. As he would have frequent occasion to ride over from Dunbog to Balmerino, he would thus have opportunities of signing charters. He may, however, have permanently returned to the Abbey before those years, and have been succeeded by another monk of the convent as Prior of Dunbog.

It would be interesting to know when and under what circumstances Colsey, Johnstoun, and Gadvan were acquired by the Abbey; and more especially how a Preceptory or Ministry came to be established at the latter of these places rather than at any other of the detached possessions of the monks. The expression 'annexed' to the monastery of Balmerino, employed in reference to Gadvan in the above-quoted charters, is unusual in documents connected with the Abbey property. It suggests the idea that there may have existed at Gadvan at an earlier period a religious establishment of some kind, which was endowed with the lands of Gadvan, Johnstoun, and 'the third part of Colsey'; and that this establishment, with its whole endowments, was subsequently conferred on Balmerino Abbey. There is, however, no positive proof of the correctness of this supposition, though it is a probable one. Preceptory was a term often used by the military Orders.

Henry Laing mentions a 'Tack of the Teinds of Lochleven, by Robert, Abbot of Balmerino, to James, Earl of Morton, A.D. 1530.'¹ But as the convent certainly possessed no church in that district, and as no other reference to such

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals* (Bann. Club).

tithes has been found, there is evidently some mistake in the title of the Tack. Perhaps it should be a 'Tack of the lands of Lochmyle' to be presently mentioned.

Rent-rolls of the Abbey property and Crown charters of dates subsequent to the Reformation enumerate among its possessions 'the lands of Lochmyle (or Lochmyle) with the myle and loch thereof, lying in the barony of Abernethy'; Nether Aberargie in the parish of Abernethy; 'the lands of Carpullie (Carpowie or Carpow) situated between the lands of Dunmore and Quarrelhop'—now forming part of Glenduckie farm, near Dunbog;¹ lands of Pitgrunzie, or Geenside, in the barony of Abernethy; besides the salmon fishings of Poldrait, on the North Inch of Perth; and of Stockgreen, or Stock and Garth, or Stoking-garth, on the Tay at Kinfauns. Certain portions of land in Balmerino parish, as at present bounded, which did not at first belong to the Abbey, must have been afterwards acquired by it; namely, the lands somewhere about Balmerino which once belonged to Thomas de Lundin; and those of Cathills, now forming part of Naughton estate, if they were not identical with De Lundin's lands, and if, as is most probable, they were not included in the donations of Queen Ermengarde.

The monks of Balmerino had now extensive landed property in several parts of Fife, Angus, and Perthshire; burghage possessions in various towns, and houses to lodge in when they had occasion to go thither; the revenues of three parish churches; three chapels—probably built before this time—in their outlying dependencies; building materials from the quarry of Nydie; water supply for their several mills; peats from Swannire; game from their lands of Balmerino and Barry; sea-fish from Anstruther, and salmon from the Tay. The resources of the convent were thus both ample

¹ As an earlier form of the word Carpow was *Carpullie*, so the ancient name of another Carpow, situated between Newburgh and Abernethy, was *Kerpul*, a cognate word.

and varied. Most of their possessions had been granted to them before the end of the reign of Alexander III. No more monasteries for monks were erected in Scotland after that event except the Charterhouse at Perth. The age of church endowment was past; and the Chartularies of other Abbeys as well as that of Balmerino record few donations after that period, but only the administration of property conferred on them ere the struggle for national independence had, by the sacrifices it involved, greatly impoverished the people and checked their liberality.¹ Nor, indeed, was it desirable that monasteries should be farther enriched.

The minute specification of boundaries and privileges, which so many of the Abbey charters contain, proves that property had acquired a degree of value, and that the country had made advances in civilization and material wealth greater than are commonly supposed to have marked those remote ages. The reigns of William the Lion and the Second, and Third Alexanders were eminently prosperous and beneficial. The War of the Succession which followed was the first of many causes which checked the nation's progress during several centuries following; and it is asserted by our best informed historians that the Scottish people were never so wealthy and civilized at any period down to the Union with England in 1707 as at the death of Alexander III. in 1286. The flour-

¹ Yet so late as between the years 1531 and 1538 Master Gilbert Strath-auchin, canon of Aberdeen and Moray, founded in the south part of the church of the neighbouring parish of Creich a chapel; and in the latter year, Master James Strath-auchin, his nephew, executor, and canon of Aberdeen and Moray, mortified, in terms of his uncle's will, annual-rents amounting to forty merks from various lands north and south of the Tay in pure charity to Master William Seitoun and Sir Thomas Mortoun, chaplains, and their successors serving at the altar of the Blessed Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Blessed Andrew the Apostle in the said chapel with twenty shillings annually for the sustentation of the said altar, &c.; the patronage of the chapel to pertain alternately to the nephew of the founder and his heirs and the heirs of his executor; whom failing, to Andrew Seitoun of Perbroth and his heirs-male bearing the name and arms of Seitoun; and the said chaplains to give account of the 20s. of annual-rent to the Abbot and convent of Lundoris.—(*Reg. Sig. Mag.*, vol. iii. No. 1877.)

ishing state of the country previous to that calamitous event, and the change in this respect produced by it are referred to in the following brief 'Sang' preserved by Wynton,¹ and supposed to be the oldest fragment of Scottish poetry extant:—

'Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in lüive and lé,²
Away wes sons³ off ale and brede,
Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and glé :

'Oure gold wes changyd into lede.
Cryst, borne into Vyrghnyté,
Succoure Scotland and remede,
That stad⁴ [is in] perplexyté.'

It is not to be supposed that the large possessions of the monastery were devoted to the sole purpose of maintaining, probably, some five and twenty monks and a greater number of lay brothers. Their own portions were indeed but scanty. Much would be required for the support of their servants and dependants who, along with themselves, were engaged in the cultivation of their lands, the working of their mills and fishings, and the management of their cattle and sheep. The Abbey buildings, too, would from time to time be receiving additions and repairs; and we may believe that no expense would be spared in beautifying the great Abbey Church, though it was not the practice of monks to expend much on the fabric of those churches which had been given to them as sources of revenue. The Abbot's outlay in the maintenance of his own dignity, as well as in the entertainment of distinguished guests; in attending Parliament, and the Diocesan Synods, and 'General Provincial Councils' of the Church; and in his periodical visits to the parent monastery of Citeaux as well as his annual visits to that of Melrose, would be considerable; while much would be spent in charity to the poor, for which monks were celebrated.

¹ *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*, Book VII., 3619.

² Love and tranquillity.

³ Plenty.

⁴ Standing.

In consequence of the paucity of existing records our knowledge of the system adopted in the management of the Abbey property, especially in the earlier periods of its history, is to a great extent inferential rather than positive. Small and detached possessions situated at a distance from the monastery were probably from the first let to tenants. In certain other places, however, the monks appear to have kept the greater part of their lands in their own hands, cultivating them from Granges, or spacious farm-steadings, where were lodged the lay brothers and hired servants who performed the heavier part of the field work; and where also the Cistercian rules required an oratory, or chapel, to be provided for their use. On the north side of the Cloister Garth at Balmerino there was such a Grange, of which a portion still exists; though it would not be necessary to have a chapel there, as in all probability the lay brothers and servants worshipped at first in the Abbey church. This Grange may be supposed to have been for a considerable time the centre of agricultural operations for a great part of the Abbey lands in the parish (the arable portion of which was then much smaller than at present), while probably the cattle were housed at the place still called 'Byres,' at a short distance from the monastery, and the crops of grain stacked and threshed at a barn which might be situated on the rising ground east of the ravine of Barnden. At a later period another Grange was erected, no doubt from considerations of convenience, on the southern slope of the high ridge overlooking Balmerino, from which the lands in that quarter would be cultivated. It was called the New Grange. An oratory may have existed there, though no mention of it occurs. It was contrary to the rules of the Cistercian Order that a Grange should be superintended by any of the monks except the cellarer of the Abbey; nor were the monks usually sent to work at distant Granges, except at haymaking and in harvest. The cellarer would doubtless have charge of the

Grange at Balmerino; while New Grange would be managed by the lay brother called the master of the Grange, under the superintendence of the cellarer. At Barry the monks had another Grange, from which their lands situated there, or the chief portion of them, would also be cultivated by the lay brothers and hired servants under a Master. There is no mention of any Grange in connection with the extensive Abbey property of Pitgorno in Strathmiglo parish; from which it may be inferred that these distant lands were let to tenants from the first. The Papal Bull of the year 1291, already quoted, shows that a considerable portion of the Abbey property must have been let to tenants by that time; and probably soon after it a piece of ground in Dundee was feued. At a later period, the system of letting and even of feuing the Abbey lands came to be extensively practised. As regards the wooded lands near the Abbey, the Wood of Balmerino, extending along the south bank of the Tay to Corbieden, and no doubt also the game, were under the charge of the Abbey forester. He appears to have lived near the site of the present mansion of Birkhill, where certain lands were termed Forester's lands till the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹

ABBOT HUGH is the next Superior of the monastery whose name occurs. He witnesses a charter granted by Thomas the Senescal, or Steward, Earl of Angus, to Andrew Perkier, burgess of Dundee, of the lands of Kingennie and others. The charter is undated, but was confirmed at Perth by David II. on the 10th of March 1368.² Abbot Hugh is witness to a charter which the names of the other witnesses prove to have been granted between the years 1354 and 1370; and as a successor was in office in 1369, the time of Abbot Hugh's rule must be limited by this date.³ Nothing more is known of him.

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 1267.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. No. 112.

Petruccio Ubaldino, a citizen of Florence who visited this country in the sixteenth century, while referring in his *Description of Scotland* to certain of our monasteries which had been none the less honoured in ancient times as houses of religion by their being also schools of literature, mentions Balmerino Abbey as one of four which had been most esteemed in this respect; the others being those of Cupar-Angus, Portmoak, and Pittenweem.¹ Yet with the doubtful exceptions of St. Alan the first Abbot and the author of the *Acts of the Monastery of Balmerino*, I have not hitherto found any monk of Balmerino mentioned as having attempted literary work. There appears, however, to have been written between the years 1349 and 1355 a portion of the Annals of Scotland of which a member of the convent was probably the author. The book was never printed, and what has become of it is unknown; but it was thus described in the year 1708 by Dr. Mackenzie, who had both seen and perused it:²—

Liber Coenobii De Balmerinoch

‘This book is a fair MS. in a large quarto, in parchment, belonging to the Right Honourable John Lord Balmerinoch. Who the author was is uncertain, but it is most presumable he hath been an Abbot or Monk in the same Abbey, and hath written his history in the reign of David II., for, relating the title of King Robert Bruce to the Crown, and mentioning his daughter Marjory, he takes notice of her son Robert as Steward of Scotland *anno* 1349 without designing him either Earl of Strathern, which title he got in 1356, or King, which he was in 1370 on the death of his uncle King David II. Moreover, he mentions Elisabeth Mure as only wife to the above Lord Robert Stewart, which proves our author wrote before the Stewart married his second wife Eupham Ross, Countess-dowager of Murray [in 1355],

¹ *Descrittione del Regno di Scotia*, p. 3 (Bann. Club ed.), first published at Antwerp in 1588.

² *The Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, by George Mackenzie, M.D., vol. i. p. 468.

which, by the bye, plainly shows that the blot of bastardy thrown upon Robert III. is of a modern date, and not vouched by our latter Historians from the properest authorities. This author's chief design seems to have been an history of Scotland from the death of Alexander III. to his own time; taking in such antecedent particulars as had a necessary relation to the subject and period of time he was engaged upon. To give his reader a clear view of affairs, he deduces the genealogy of the Royal family from Malcolm III. and Queen Margaret, and is more exact and particular as to the Pedegree of the two principal competitors, viz. :—Bruce and Baliol, and their descendants, than any I have hitherto observed. He is very exact in his chronology as to the death of the excellent King Alexander; the constituting of the six Governors; the death of Duncan, Earl of Fife and Queen Margaret; the competition of Bruce and Baliol &c.; the Battels of Berwick, Dunbar &c.; the resignation of Baliol; submission of the Scots to King Edward; the attempts of Wallace and his successors in office; the death of Cuming by King Robert, whose repeated misfortunes in his entry to the Government he relates, and ends his history as to that King with his victory obtained over Cuming, Earl of Buchan, and Philip Mowbray, at Inverury, in *anno* 1308. And then glanceeth at the coronation of King David Bruce, and concludes his book with an account that John Stewart Earl of Angus, Thomas Randolph son and heir to the Earl of Murray, and other nobles were knighted at that solemnity.'

Scottish monasteries frequently possessed for the use of their inmates a copy, or an abridgment, of Fordun's *Chronicle*, or of the *Scotichronicon*. Of this nature, probably, were the *Liber Balmerinensis*, *Liber Lindorensis*, *Liber Cuprensis*, and *Liber Sconensis*, which Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *Memoria Balfouriana*, mentions in a list of MSS. collected by Sir James Balfour—the titles of these volumes denoting nothing more than that they belonged to the respective Abbeys.¹ The

¹ Sibbald's work is a small and now very rare 12mo volume entitled, '*Memoria Balfouriana*, sive Historia Rerum Pro Literis promovendis, gestarum a clarissimis Fratribus Balfouriiis D.D. Jacobo, Barone de Kinaird, Equite, Leone Rege Armorum; et D.D. Andrea, M.D., Equite Aurato—Authore R.S. M.D. Equite Aurato. Edinburgi &c. MDC,XC,IX.' The list of MSS. is at page 20 of the volume.

Liber Pluscardensis, while it is founded on the *Scotichronicou*, contains additions of historical value, and is believed to have been written in the Priory of Pluscardin. The *Liber Coenobii de Balmerinoch* (Book of the Convent of Balmerino), as described by Mackenzie, appears to have been not a copy of any known History, but an original work, and written before the composition of Fordun's Chronicle. Its title, and the fact that it was the property of Lord Balmerino,¹ seem to prove that it was a different volume from the *Liber Balmerinensis*, which belonged to Sir James Balfour; while the *Liber de Balmorinach*, or Chartulary of Balmerino Abbey, is not an historical narrative. Mackenzie's conjecture is therefore in all probability correct; and we may reasonably conclude that the *History* which he describes not only *belonged* to Balmerino Abbey, but was an original work written by one of its Abbots or monks.

ABBOT PATRICK was probably Hugh's successor. On the 20th of April 1369 he and the convent grant to William of Aynstruyir and Mariota of Potness (?) his spouse, and their heirs, a feu-charter of land in the burgh of Crail, situated in its High Street and on the north side thereof, between the ground of Laurence of Willmerston on the east, and the ground of St. Mary on the west side; the feu-duty to be three shillings sterling annually; and the property to revert to the convent on a failure of heirs or non-payment of the feu-duty. The ground thus feued had been previously held of the Abbey by the said Mariota and Richard [son] of Walter, no doubt her

¹ In the collection of Balmerino Papers now in the library of Lord Balmerino's descendant the Earl of Moray, at Donibristle, there is a MS. of Bower's *Scotichronicou*. But this cannot be the MS. described by Mackenzie, not only on account of its different nature, but because in a colophon at the end of the MS. it is stated to have been written by one of the chaplains of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, who bequeathed it to the canons of Inchcolm. From them it no doubt came into the possession of Lord Doune, Commendator of Inchcolm and ancestor of Lord Moray.—(See Skene's *Fordun*, pp. xv, xvi; and *Sixth Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 635.)

previous husband. The charter is confirmed to George Dyschinton, its subsequent owner, a burgess of Crail, by Richard, a later Abbot of Balmerino, but the date of the confirmation is not given.¹ Abbot Patrick is a witness to a charter, which the names of the other witnesses prove to have been granted between the years 1373 and 1381, by Sir Andrew de Leslie of that Ilk in favour of Hugh Barclay.² He is a witness to another charter, granted by David de Barclay, Laird of Brechin, to Hugh Barclay his cousin, of the lands of Kindesleighth (Kinsleith). The names of the other witnesses show that the date of the charter was between 1354 and 1385, but do not enable us to fix it more precisely.³

Some one having complained to the King that another person had unjustly sued him in the court of the Abbot of Balmerino concerning a 'lay tenement' which the complainer held of the King *in capite*, or by a charter the cognizance of which belonged by right to the King's court, the King addresses a letter to the Abbot of Balmerynaucht, enjoining him to desist from entertaining the case if the facts were as alleged. Though this letter appears only in a collection of ecclesiastical styles or forms of writs, it seems to refer to a real incident. The precise date is not given, but it must have been between the years 1371 and 1399.⁴

JOHN DE HAYLIS was probably the next Abbot. His name occurs in various documents ranging from 1408 to 1435; and he appears to have borne a prominent part in the public affairs of his time.

In the year 1408 King Henry IV. of England grants to this Abbot a letter of safe-conduct while returning from France

¹ Charter belonging to the Burgh of Crail, which the author had an opportunity of perusing.

² Colonel Leslie's *Hist. Rec. of the Family of Leslie*, vol. i. p. 25.

³ *Reg. de Pannure*, vol. ii. pp. 222-3.

⁴ Robertson's *Concilia Scotie*, vol. i. p. ccxxxviii.

through England. The following is a translation of this document, which was issued under the Privy Seal of that monarch:—

‘SAFE-CONDUCT FOR THE ABBOT OF BALMORENOGH, ABOUT TO
RETURN FROM FRANCE.

‘The King, by his letters-patent which are to extend to the 1st of March next, has taken into his safe and secure conduct, and under his special protection, keeping, and defence John Hayles, Abbot of Balmorenoh in Scotland, in his coming and passing safely and securely out of the kingdom of France through the dominions of the King of England towards the parts of Scotland, by sea and land, according to his own pleasure, along with twelve horsemen in his company; and also their horses, goods, and equipment of whatsoever kind, without any annoyance or demand on the part of the King, or of any other person in his dominions; the King being witness, at Westminster, the 25th of October.’¹

The Abbot on this occasion had probably gone to France on some embassy, and not for the purpose of attending the General Chapter of his Order at Citeaux, since Abbots travelling to that assembly were forbidden by the Cistercian statutes to have more than two horses, with one lay brother and one servant.²

On the 26th of April 1416, in the fourth year of the reign of Henry V., another letter of safe-conduct is granted to this Abbot; John Forester of Corstorfin, knight; and Walter de Ogilvy, esquire; with forty horsemen, going to England as Commissioners to treat for the ransom of King James I. of Scotland, then held in captivity by the English sovereign.³ On the 19th of August 1423 a Council held at Inverkeithing appointed, on the death of Henry V., an embassy for the same purpose, consisting of the Earl of March, Chancellor; James Douglas of Balveny; the Abbots of Cambuskenneth and Balmerino, and others.⁴ A fac-simile of their Commission, issued

¹ *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. ii. 189.

² *Instit. Gen. Capit.* (A.D. 1134), cap. xlv.

³ *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii. 217.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*.

in the name of Murdoch, Governor of Scotland, may be seen in Anderson's *Selectus Diplomatum Scotiæ*. On the 16th of September of the same year a letter of safe-conduct is granted to them, with fifty-four retainers, going to London in the performance of this embassy.¹ Similar letters are furnished to this Abbot and other persons going to Durham, with a retinue of twenty attendants, on the 13th and 20th of December of the same year.² On the 9th of June 1425 a warrant for safe-conduct till Easter following is granted to the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane; the Abbot of Melrose; the Prior of St. Andrews; John, Abbot of Balmurynach; Sir William Hay and other laymen, as ambassadors from the King of Scots, setting out for the Court of Rome with fifty attendants.³ If the incidents and adventures which this Abbot of Balmerino must have met with on those numerous journeys, and the course of public affairs in which he was engaged, were fully known to us, his history would doubtless be exceedingly interesting.

In the year 1422 we find the same Abbot and other persons chosen as arbiters in a dispute between Sir Andrew Gray, Laird of Fowlis, and Sir John Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee.⁴ In 1424 he was appointed one of the Auditors of the public tax imposed on the whole lands of the kingdom according to their value at the time, as well as on the revenues of Churchmen.⁵ This valuation was called the New Extent, and the purpose of the tax was to raise the sum of £30,000 for the liberation of King James I. from his captivity in England.

On the 8th of April 1435 Bishop Wardlaw and the 'Prior and chapter of his Cathedral Church of St. Andrew' enter into a contract or indenture with Abbot John de Haylis and the convent of Balmerino, whereby the latter and their

¹ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, ii. 237.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 244-5.

³ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland; Rotuli Scotiæ*, ii. 253.

⁴ Douglas's *Peerage*.

⁵ *Acts of Scot. Parl.*

successors may have in all time coming, freely and without question or demand, a baptismal font or baptistery in the chapel of St. Alus situated within their lands; and may freely administer in that chapel all ecclesiastical sacraments, necessary and voluntary, to their own servants alone, inhabiting the lands in which the chapel is situated; provided that no other parishioners, without leave asked and obtained from their curates, shall be admitted to any sacraments there, and that no prejudice in respect of other parochial matters shall result from this agreement; the Abbot and convent to pay twenty-six pennies of the usual money of Scotland annually as Synod and Cathedral dues from this chapel to the Bishop and his successors. To that part of the indenture which was to remain with the Bishop the common seal of the Abbey was affixed; and to the part which was to remain with the Abbot and convent the common seal of the Prior and chapter of St. Andrews, and the Bishop's seal, were affixed.¹

This is the first mention of the existence of the chapel of St. Alus, Aile, or Ayle, situated at Balmerino, and probably then recently erected. No other notice of it occurs till near the Reformation. Ordinary chapels of ease were usually situated in remote parts of parishes for the convenience of the people residing there. The sacraments were not administered in them; and those who frequented them had still to attend the parish or Mother church at the chief festivals—Christmas, Easter, Whit-Sunday, and others—because in it alone they could receive the sacraments. But as St. Ayle's chapel was probably situated, as we shall find, at no greater distance from the Abbey church than a few hundred yards; and as the Bishop granted the privilege of administering the sacraments in the chapel, it is evident that this was not an ordinary chapel of ease, and was to be used rather as a substitute for the Abbey church in its character of a *Parish*

¹ *Chartulary*, App. IV. As to the form of a document called an *indenture*, see *ante*, p. 190 note.

church than as supplementary to it. It is probable that by this time a considerable portion of the Abbey lands in Balmerino parish had ceased to be cultivated by the monks themselves and the lay brothers, and were let to tenants; and that owing to this or other causes these parishioners—who might be described as ‘servants,’ as they were certainly dependants of the convent—had so much increased in number as to render their admission into the Abbey church inconvenient to the monks, for whose daily devotions it was primarily intended. The exclusion of ‘other parishioners’ from the sacraments in St. Ayle’s, unless they had obtained leave from their curates, had probably special reference to the inhabitants of the adjacent portions of the estate of Naughton, who, though still parishioners of Forgan, might, from their greater proximity to St. Ayle’s, prefer to attend it.¹

It might be supposed that this chapel would be served by one of the monks, since there is no express mention in the existing records of the monastery of any chaplain as specially appointed to officiate in St. Ayle’s. But a priest called ‘Sir Alexander Car, chaplain’ (*capellanus*), appears in the year 1526 as selling a piece of ground in Dundee, from which a *reddendo*

¹ There was a chapel of ease, mentioned as early as the year 1198, at Dundemore (Denmuir) in Abdie parish, where the roofless walls of one of probably much later erection still exist. A dispute between Henry of Dundemore and the Abbot and convent of Lindores (to which the church of Lindores or Abdie belonged) concerning this chapel was settled in a Synod held at Perth by the Bishop of St. Andrews on the 2nd of June 1248; and the terms of the agreement were, that all the parishioners of Abdie residing at Dundemore, excepting Sir Henry and his household, should present themselves three times yearly in the Mother-church of Abdie, namely, at Christmas and Easter, and on St. Andrew’s day (Lindores Abbey being dedicated to St. Andrew), and should there only receive the sacraments; that Sir Henry’s chaplain should pay to the Mother-church of Abdie all the offerings made in his chapel; that he should receive by the hands of the chaplain of Abdie for the time being twenty-five shillings yearly; and that Sir Henry should maintain his chaplain in all necessaries, asking nothing from the Abbot and convent but the yearly stipend of twenty-five shillings and the first equipment of books, vestments, and chalice for the chapel—maintaining the same at his own expense thereafter.—(See Dr. Thomas Dickson’s Summary of the *Register of Lindores Abbey in Proceed. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. xx. p. 157.)

of fifteen shillings annually was to be paid by the purchaser to the Abbot and convent of Balmerino; which indicates that Car was in some way connected with the Abbey—even if only to the extent of holding this ground from it in feu. In 1552, and again in 1555 he signs, as a notary, a document at the Abbey of Balmerino; and in the former of these instances is styled chaplain (*sacellanus*). In 1562 he appears to be living at Balmerino.¹ In none of these cases, however, is he called a monk of the Abbey, nor does he sign any charter as such. But it seems probable that it was of St. Ayle's he was chaplain, and if so, that this chapel was served by a priest who, though subject to the Abbey, was not one of its monks, and acted as vicar or curate of the parish. We shall meet with Car again.

From a charter in Naughton charter-chest (of which the author has been favoured with a perusal) granted in the year 1551 by the Abbot and convent to Thomas Wilson and his spouse, of four oxgates of land in the northern portion of their manor of Balmerino, in which St. Ayle's chapel is mentioned in connection with the boundaries of that land, it might be inferred that the chapel was situated somewhere near the mill-burn at Balmerino. Sixty or seventy years since, there stood, west of that stream, and north of the road leading past the lower end of the mill-dam, a fragment of a building which, according to some, had been a portion of St. Ayle's chapel, though others assert that it had been part of the Nethermiln. On the other hand, as Kirkton is mentioned, in the Balmerino Writs, in a charter of 1571 while St. Ayle's was still standing, if that hamlet's name was derived from its proximity to the chapel, rather than from its connection with the Abbey, it would follow that St. Ayle's chapel probably stood near to, or within, the present graveyard. Its precise situation thus remains uncertain.

It is an interesting fact that the convent possessed—as we

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iii. No. 435; *Balmerino Chartulary*, p. 68; *Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews*, p. 146.

have seen—another chapel dedicated to St. Ayle, which was situated at Anstruther. The date of its erection is unknown. The first mention of it which occurs is in the year 1504. Though the above-mentioned agreement between the Bishop of St. Andrews and the convent does not state whether the Chapel of St. Ayle to which it refers was situated at Balmerino or Anstruther, it must be the former place that is meant, as the language used would not have been applicable to the small property possessed by the monks at Anstruther. Moreover, if it was the latter place that was meant, this would no doubt have been expressly stated.

Alban Butler identifies St. Ayle with St. Agilus or Agil, whose 'day' was the 30th of August. He was the son of Agnoald, a courtier of Childebert II., king of Burgundy. By the advice of the celebrated Irish missionary St. Columban (who must not be confounded, as he has sometimes been, with Columba), the parents of Agilus consecrated him to a religious life in the monastery of Luxeuil under its Abbot Eustatius. At the suit of St. Agilus King Thierry put a stop to the persecution raised by Queen Brunehault against Columban on account of his refusing to women an entrance into his monastery; and his regulation concerning their exclusion was confirmed. Afterwards Agilus and Eustatius were sent by the bishops to preach the Gospel to the heathen beyond Mount Jura. They also penetrated into Bavaria, and their mission was very successful. Sometime after their return, and in the year 636, Agilus was appointed first Abbot of Rebais in the diocese of Meaux, where he died about 650, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.¹ It would have been interesting to know the reasons which led to the dedication of both of the chapels at Balmerino and Anstruther in honour of this continental saint, to whom it does not appear that there was any other dedication in Scotland.

¹ Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, under 30th August.

In the year 1436 three Cardinals, the Prior of St. Andrews, and the Abbots of Kelso, Melrose, and Balmerino were ordered by the Pope to see to the execution of a Bull for annulling all proceedings against, and restoring to his livings, Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale and Papal Nuncio, who had been by Parliament deprived of his benefices and found guilty of treason. The act which was regarded as so criminal by Parliament, and so meritorious by the Pope, was his having cited to Rome the Bishop of Glasgow to answer for his conduct in promoting, as Chancellor, statutes hostile to Churchmen, and derogatory to the authority of the See of Rome.¹

¹ *Concilia Scotiae*, vol. i. p. lxxxiv.

CHAPTER IX

ABBOTS RICHARD, JAMES, AND ROBERT

'Inversion strange! that unto One who lives
For self, and struggles with himself alone,
The amplest share of heavenly favour gives;
That to a Monk allots, both in the esteem
Of God and man, place higher than to him
Who on the good of others builds his own.'

—WORDSWORTH.

ABBOT RICHARD was in all probability the successor of John de Haylis. On the 8th of May 1441 he witnesses a protestation by the Abbot and convent of Melrose against their appearing in the King's court for the lands of Kinross. In the same year he witnesses a document at Cupar-Fife.¹

In 1445 Abbot Richard was one of thirty-six persons, of whom six were Bishops and nine were Abbots, deputed by Parliament to hear the claim of the prelates that the Papal Bull might be enforced in Scotland for the abolition of an old Scottish custom whereby the movable goods, or personal estate, of a Bishop lapsed to the Crown at his death, whether he died testate or intestate. The claim of the prelates was granted, and the custom complained of was eventually abolished.²

Abbot Richard, in the year 1459, made a treaty at Dundee with the Abbot of Arbroath concerning a piece of ground at Perth, in the Watergate near 'the Spey,' their controversy about which they had chosen eight arbiters to settle. The Abbot of Balmerino consented that the ground in question should in all time coming remain in possession of the Abbot

¹ *Liber de Mailros*, p. 565; Anderson's *Oliphants in Scotland*, p. xxix.

² *Concilia Scotiæ*, vol. i. p. civ.

of Arbroath and his successors, on condition that they should pay to the monastery of Balmerino fifteen shillings of annual rent. Abbot Richard was accompanied by some of his monks, and with their concurrence he renounced all claim to the ground in dispute. Whereupon the Abbot of Arbroath took instruments by a notary-public in presence of certain witnesses, one of whom was 'brother John Mussilburgh, Professor in Sacred Theology and Vicar-general of the Preaching Friars,' that is, the Dominicans, or begging Friars of that denomination.¹

In 1459 King James II., being at Perth, granted to the convent a charter confirming that previously given by King Alexander II.—in the year 1234—which, as we have seen, defined certain boundaries of the Abbey lands in Balmerino parish.²

In the year 1464 an arrangement is made by the Abbeyes of Balmerino and Arbroath respecting the church of Barry, which, as we have seen, had been the subject of a treaty between these houses upwards of two centuries before. The matter of controversy now is the payment of the ordinary and extraordinary episcopal burdens, and the repairs of the parish church of Barry. The agreement made is to the effect that the monastery of Arbroath shall pay all episcopal burdens due by that church according to the treaty made of old between them; namely, the procurations of the Bishop and archdeacon, the expenses of the archdeacon and dean, the charitable subsidy, and the pension of the chaplain or vicar due by ancient use and wont. Arbroath Abbey shall also, but for this time only, suitably repair the choir of Barry church within and without, at sight of the Bishop of Brechin and the Dean of Angus; and shall pay to Balmerino Abbey twenty shillings annually, which it shall levy from the lands belonging to Arbroath Abbey in the north Ferry of the water of Tay; failing which, from its nearest circumjacent lands; and in future Balmerino Abbey shall uphold the choir

¹ *Registr. de Aberbr.* Pars Altera, p. 109; *Balmerino Chartulary*, App. V.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. ii. No. 736.

of Barry church in all its requisites, but the above-mentioned burdens must be discharged by the Abbey of Arbroath. The deed of agreement is executed at Dundee in presence of the Bishop of Brechin, 'the magnificent and powerful lord, David, Earl of Crawford, and many other grandees and discreet men';¹ and the seals of both monasteries are affixed to it. It may be explained that before the Reformation the parson, or the possessor of the tithes, had to keep in repair the choir or chancel of a parish church, while the parishioners had to maintain the rest of the fabric. The 'procurations' were 'payments in money made to the Bishop by the rectors of parish churches in place of the entertainment which they had to provide for him when he visited the churches in his diocese in person.'² The procurations of the archdeacon were probably of a similar character. The 'charitable subsidy' was a tax which a bishop might levy from all the clergy of his diocese in a time of great distress.

Abbot Richard was still in office in 1465.

ABBOT JAMES seems to have been the successor of Richard.³ His term of office was long, as his name occurs in documents ranging from 1466 to 1507. He was appointed, or at least had his appointment confirmed, by Bulls of Pope Paul II. on the 5th of March 1466. On the 18th of July of the same year Alexander Rate, canon of Elgin cathedral, acting as procurator for Abbot James, made an offering (*obtulit*) or payment of 200 gold florins to the Papal treasury. This sum seems to have constituted the *commune servitium* which, according to Brady, was the payment to the See of Rome of 'the fruits of the first year, or of a certain sum of money fixed by the

¹ *Reg. de Aberbr.* Pars Altera, p. 133; *Balmerino Chartulary*, App. VI.; *Concilia Scotia*, i. p. clxxxviii.

² See Rodgers's *Rental Book of Cupar Abbey*, vol. i. p. 44.

³ James is the fourth Abbot whose name I have been enabled to add to the list of those known to the Editor of the Chartulary, the other three being Abbots Thomas, Alan II., and Patrick.

Apostolic Chamber, and which was to be paid by those prelates who, by the votes of the Cardinals, obtained bishoprics or abbeys.¹ This, the *annat*, as it was called, or first year's income, paid by Bishops and Abbots, if not by every priest on his presentation to a benefice, was one of the chief sources of the Papal revenue. After the Reformation the first year's fruits were paid (in Scotland) to the Crown.

The office of Abbot's Bailie, embracing the civil and criminal jurisdiction, or *regality*, which belonged to the Abbot as temporal lord of the Abbey lands, was, as has been already stated, usually bestowed on some lay proprietor in the neighbourhood. It was an office of considerable importance on account both of the nature of its duties and of the emoluments attached to it, and was given only to those who were staunch friends of the Church. The Abbey lands of Balmerino, Pitgorno, and Barry had been constituted—at what period does not appear—three distinct baronies; and, in the absence of information to the contrary, it might be presumed that an Abbot's Bailie would be appointed to each of them. There is, however, no mention of such an official connected with Pitgorno, though baronial courts were held there as well as at Balmerino and Barry.

The names of the Bailies of the barony of Balmerino before the Reformation are not certainly known; but on the 5th of December 1599 a Crown charter was granted to John Kinneir younger, of that Ilk, by which, 'because he and his predecessors had been for these many years Bailies to the Abbots of Balmerino of all the lands, baronies, fishings, and other things whatsoever belonging to its Commendator,' the King constituted him and his heirs-male hereditary Bailies of these lands and baronies, and ordained that all sasines of the lands be given by the said Bailie and his deputies; and that the clerks to be chosen by him, and no others, be notaries for these sasines; and

¹ W. Maziere Brady's *Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875; with appointments to Monasteries, &c.*, Rome, 1876; vol. i. p. 167, *Balmorenoch*; also *Preface*, pp. xvi, xviii.

the King confirmed all the emoluments both of the spirituality and temporality¹ of the monastery formerly granted for the exercise of the said office, and gave the same anew to John Kinneir, reserving the office of Bailiary of the barony of Barry disposed to Sir James Elphinstoun of Barnetoun, the King's secretary.² It appears probable that the Kinneirs of Kinneir, who had been so generous benefactors of the Abbey, were originally appointed hereditary Bailies of all the three baronies; and if so, that Pitgorno as well as Balmerino still remained under their jurisdiction after Barry had been constituted a separate Bailiary. The latter event took place on the 14th of May 1506, when Abbot James and the convent granted a charter of the Bailiary of that barony, during their pleasure, to Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure.

This charter illustrates the nature of the duties discharged by an Abbot's Bailie. It empowers Maule to hold, in name of the Abbot and convent, justiciary courts for the barony when and where, within its bounds, he might think necessary and expedient; to appoint officers under him; to cause suits to be called; to administer justice to complainers; to punish transgressors and absentees from his courts; to levy fines and escheats, and apply them to the use of the monastery; to prosecute and defend its rights and privileges; to repledge and bring back to the liberty of the barony its men and their goods and chattels from before any judge by whom, or from any place in which, they might be arrested; to decline to submit to such judges, their courts, or officers, and to protest for the right of the convent; and to do all things known to belong to the office of Bailie; and the Abbot and convent were to hold as ratified and approved whatsoever their Bailie might choose to do in their name with respect to the foresaid

¹ The *temporality* denoted the Church lands and other civil rights and possessions; the *spirituality* included tithes, manses, and glebes.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 981; and also the MS. copy of the same in Gen. Reg. House.

things, 'under hypothec and obligation of all the goods past, present, and future of the monastery.'¹ From a charter of the barony of Barry granted to Sir James Elphingstoun in the year 1600 we learn that there was a 'Courthill' there—doubtless the remarkable artificial tumulus or barrow at Grange of Barry—on which the Bailie's courts were held, and sasine given of the lands that were feued out.²

On the 28th of January 1506–7 Abbot James and the convent grant a feu-charter of the lands of the 'town' of Pitgorno to Hugh Moncreif, the King's 'familiar' or servant, and his spouse Jonet Uchiltre and their heirs, in return for the assistance they have received from him against John Evyot of Balhousy concerning their fishings on the Tay, and towards the augmentation of the rents of the monastery. The nature of the 'cause' against Evyot is not stated.³ No later notice of Abbot James occurs.

ABBOT ROBERT FOSTER or FORESTER was the last Superior of the monastery.⁴ His term of office was of greater length than even that of his predecessor. His name appears in various documents from 1511 to 1559. He must have been appointed at an age comparatively early for an Abbot, which he would probably not have been if elected by the convent; but, as we shall see, monks had previous to this period been deprived of the privilege of electing their Superior. Before we relate the important events of Abbot Robert's time we must glance at certain matters belonging to the preceding century which have not yet been noticed.

In the course of our narrative several particulars have been mentioned in regard to which the monks of Balmerino did not

¹ *Reg. de Panmure*, vol. ii. p. 269.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 1049. A spot called *Courthill* at the Priory of Pluscardin was used for the same purpose.

³ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. ii. No. 3081.

⁴ His surname *Foster* is found in the *Reg. de Panmure*, vol. i. p. xxx. Its correct form was *Forester*.

strictly adhere to the original rules of the Cistercians. In relaxing the severity of these rules, however, they did but follow the example of other communities of their Order. In the year 1475 Pope Sixtus IV. granted to the Superiors of Cistercian monasteries power to dispense with the obligation to abstain from flesh meat. But there is reason to believe that he thus only gave formal sanction to what had already been the practice in those houses. During the fifteenth century, indeed, the bonds of discipline appear to have become more and more loose among monks of every class in regard to 'weightier matters' than abstinence from animal food. As early as at some period between 1401 and 1445 the Abbot of Pontigny was sent to Scotland by the heads of the Cistercian Order to restore religion then sunk to a low condition.¹ In the year 1424 King James I. addressed a letter to the Abbots and Priors of the Augustinian and Benedictine monasteries of Scotland, in which he informed them that the daily increasing corruption of the cloistral life during his reign compelled him to endeavour to rouse them from their torpor and sloth, so that the ruin which threatened their houses might be averted; and he earnestly exhorted them to adopt without delay suitable measures for the restoration of discipline and the revival of pristine fervour of devotion, lest the munificence of Kings in providing them with rich endowments and splendid edifices should now be regretted, in view of the decay of religion in their monasteries.²

This letter proves that gross irregularities in conventual life were already prevalent in Scottish monasteries, as they were also throughout Europe. In the fifteenth century 'the renunciation of property, abstinence and simplicity in food and clothing, and other artificial virtues, strictly enjoined by the monastic rules, were rarely practised. Not only the Abbots and other Superiors kept luxurious tables, dwelt in

¹ Stuart's *Records of Kinloss*, p. xl.

² *Concilia Scotie*, vol. i. p. lxxxix.

magnificent halls, wore costly garments, and were attended by youths of good families as pages, in rich liveries; but the private monks also spurned the sober fare, homely garb, and devout retirement of their predecessors. They kept horses, and upon various pretences were continually going about in public; they lived separately, upon portions allowed them out of the common stock; they bought their own clothes, which were of the finest materials that could be procured; and the common dormitory in which they slept was now partitioned off into separate chambers.¹ Various attempts were made by the General Chapter at Cîteaux to correct in Cistercian monasteries such abuses—which were far from being the worst that were ascribed to the monks—and towards the end of the same century it commissioned the Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Cupar-Angus to visit and reform every house of the Order in Scotland; when he deposed the Abbots of Melrose, Dundrennan, and Sweet-Heart or New Abbey—presumably on account of their infractions of discipline.² On the death of the Abbot of Dunfermline in the year 1474 the monks of that house chose one of their own number to succeed him; but King James III. set aside the election, and promoted to the vacant office the Abbot of Paisley. He also appointed the new Abbot of Paisley, and from that time the monks of other monasteries also were deprived of the privilege of choosing their Superiors; the King either taking to himself both their nomination and election, and then getting the Pope to confirm the appointment, or inducing the Pope to require the monks to elect the person whom the King recommended. A still greater abuse was the granting of Abbacies *in commendam*, or in trust, to favourites of the Court—bishops, secular priests, or laymen—who had not taken the monastic vows, and did not even reside in the monastery. In such cases the discipline of the convent was administered by the Prior, who was

¹ Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 238.

² *Harleian MS.* 2363, Section 6 (British Museum).

appointed by the Commendator. The latter personage enjoyed a third of the revenues of the Abbacy, while the remainder was devoted to the maintenance of the monks. It does not appear, however, that there was any Commendator of Balmerino previous to the Reformation.

The Commission of the Bailiary of Barry granted to Sir Thomas Maule in the year 1506 was several times renewed by Abbot Robert and the convent to the same person and his son Robert. Thus Sir Thomas obtains a charter of the Bailiary on the 10th of February 1511, which is signed by Abbot Robert and eight monks. On the 19th of June in the same year the grant is extended to nineteen years' duration. Again, on the 10th of February 1554, Robert Maule of Panmure obtains the Bailiary for three years, and afterwards again for five years; and on the 3rd of October 1558 the office is conferred on himself during his life, and on his heirs after him 'for the term of three nineteen years.'¹

The contract of the marriage of Thomas, eldest son of Robert Maule of Panmure, with Elisabeth Lindsay, daughter of the Earl of Crawford, is still extant, dated at Balmerino, 8th January 1526, and subscribed by 'David, Erl of Craufurd' and 'R. Maill (Maule) with my hand on the pen.' The latter 'wos ane man that had beine brought vpe rudlie vithout letters, so that he could nather red nor vreit.'²

In 1532 Abbot Robert was a member of a Royal Commission, chiefly composed of dignified Churchmen, appointed to visit and consider the privileges of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. In the Report which they gave in they stated that they found the Regents and students to be free from all taxation, and recommended the King to confirm this privilege.³

The increasing corruptions in the Church were now calling

¹ *Reg. de Panmure*, vol. i. pp. 279, 280, 309.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. pp. 302, 309.

³ *St. Andrews University Commissioners' Report*, 1837, p. 181.

loudly for reformation. But most of all had the monks departed from their original strictness and purity of life. The literature of the period, and even the statutes of Church Councils, furnish too plentiful evidence of the truth of this statement, which has been questioned by some modern writers. The monks of Balmerino were reputed to be no better than others, and are subjected to ridicule by Sir David Lindsay in his *Satire of the Three Estates*, which is said to have been acted at Cupar-Fife in the year 1535.

In 1533 the General Chapter of Citeaux again attempted to restore the discipline of the Cistercian monasteries; and commissioned the Abbot of Karoli-locus (Karlstadt?) to visit and reform those of Scotland. The object chiefly aimed at both by the General Chapter and their Commissioner was not, as might have been expected, the correction of the graver offences alleged against the monks, but only the discontinuance of their possession of private property, which was a violation of the monastic principle of having all things in common. The monks, especially those of Melrose, Newbotle, and Balmerino, had assigned to them at that period, and, as they asserted, for a hundred years previously, separate portions and pensions for their food and clothing, and also separate gardens for their private use. The Commissioner, therefore, in his Visitation Roll, ordered the abolition of these indulgences. His injunctions having been disregarded, the Abbots of Cupar-Angus and Glenluce, who had been specially deputed as Commissioners by the General Chapter, addressed a letter, dated at Edinburgh the 1st of October 1534, to the Abbot of Melrose, in which they informed him that they had learned in the course of their visitations, as well as from meetings of Abbots and of many of their monks, that the reformation of the Order in this kingdom, especially in regard to 'the vice of private property,' had been impeded chiefly by him; that though during the previous year he and the wiser members of his house had accepted the Visitation Roll of the previous

Commissioner, yet in violation of its tenor, he still permitted his monks to have their separate portions, pensions, and gardens; that his monks had asserted before the Commissioners, and in his own presence, that they had nothing but what their Abbot had given and permitted them to have; and that the monks of other Cistercian houses had declared that they would voluntarily carry out the required reform when the convent of Melrose, the parent monastery of the Order in Scotland, had shown an example. The Commissioners therefore commanded him, on pain of deposition from his Abbatial office, to comply forthwith with all the injunctions contained in the Visitation Roll, and cause them to be executed. If his monks should refuse or delay to obey him in regard to any of its articles, they ordered him, having previously admonished them, to excommunicate them within twenty days; and when his own monastery had been reformed, to compel by ecclesiastical censures, if necessary, the other convents—that of Balmerino being one—which were subject to him as their Father Abbot, to live according to the Rule, and to make a similar reformation. If he should disobey these injunctions, at least in regard to the reform of his own monastery, they cited him to appear personally at Citeaux on the second day of the next General Chapter, with intimation that, whether he appeared or not, proceedings would be instituted against him.

The monks of the three monasteries mentioned had petitioned the Commissioners for exemption from the required reforms, so far as that they might be allowed to retain their private gardens; to distribute in any way they pleased what might be left of their portions; and to receive each a sum of money, for the purchase of clothing and other necessaries, from a treasurer to be chosen by the convent and removable by them; and they promised that if these requests were granted, they would accept the Visitation Roll, and obey it to the best of their power.

To this petition from Melrose, Newbottle, and Bahmerino the Commissioners replied, that the three indulgences asked were so repugnant to the indispensable vow of poverty taken by monks as to render it improbable that the General Chapter would dispense with their prohibition. Nevertheless, being desirous of bringing these monasteries to some commencement of reform, they granted a mitigation of the prohibition to the following extent—till another settlement of the question should be made by the General Chapter. 1. That the monks might have their gardens, but as common property, in such a way that no one should have a greater right in any of them than another; also that a passage must be opened from garden to garden, and the fruits and produce of all of them be applied to the use of the convent. 2. That the remains of their portions must be distributed to boys or servants outside of the cloister by one only of the convent whom they should choose; and that no monk should keep more than one servant,¹ who was to frequent the cloister but as rarely as possible, and never without the knowledge of the Superior. 3. That they should receive money, for the purchase of necessaries only, from a treasurer of the convent to be chosen by them, until a stock of clothes, both white and black, with tunics, cloaks (cows?), shoes, cinctures, and other garments and necessary things should be procured by the Abbots or other officers of the convents, in order to be kept by a *Vestiary* instituted by the monks, and should be supplied to them without delay. The Commissioners ordered each of the Abbots of the three monasteries, under pain of excommunication, within three days after their return to their respective houses, to explain all the foregoing conditions to their convents assembled in chapter, and cause

¹ 'Nemo fratrum ultra unum servitorem retineat.' Both Fosbroke (*British Monachism*, ch. lvii.) and Morton (*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 241) have misread these words in the original MS.; the former making them *ultra annum servitorem*, 'should not keep a servant more than a year'; and the latter, *ultra unam portionem*, 'double portions were forbidden.'

them to be understood; and to accept and preserve the Roll of reform or visitation as above relaxed, and obey it in all points. If the several convents should within three days give full obedience, they ordered the Abbot of Melrose, before next Pentecost, under pain of excommunication, to expend in the purchase of necessaries for the monks 200 merks; the Abbot of Newbotle £100; and the Abbot of Balmerino 100 merks, Scots money.

In reply to this answer of the Commissioners, the monks—probably by delegates from the three monasteries—prepared at Edinburgh a memorial which they addressed to some consultative body (*Reverendi Domini consultatores*) who may have been Abbots acting as assessors to the Commissioners. In this document they set forth many specious reasons against the abolition of their indulgences—such as, that Scotland is less fertile, and has less abundance of wine, oil, grain, nuts, and other requisites of monastic life than France and other countries; that their predecessors, men more holy and learned in the statutes of the Order than they, had from beyond the memory of man lived as they themselves now did; and that to suppose that those men were thus living in a state of condemnation was offensive to all faithful Christians. They could not be truly said to possess private property when they had nothing without their Abbot's permission for the procuring of necessaries. For these and similar reasons they were not bound to comply with the demand for a pretended reformation; and they requested that further proceedings might be delayed till a General Chapter could be assembled. These arguments of the monks were rejected by the body to whom they were addressed; but whether any, or what result was effected by the Visitors does not appear.¹

In the year 1536 an annual tax on Prelates was granted by a Provincial Council of the Scottish Church for the mainten-

¹ *Harleian MS.* 2363, No. 3, foll. 3-8, 10-17.

ance of the College of Justice, or Court of Session, then recently established. The tax amounted to £1425, 18s. Of this sum £11, 4s. was to be contributed by the Abbot of Balmerino.¹

Balmerino has always been celebrated for the salubrity of its climate, and an incident of the period at which we have now arrived proves that the reputation which it bore in this respect in Queen Ermengarde's time was still maintained. The incident referred to was the selection of the Abbey as a place of sojourn for the restoration of the health of another Queen. In 1536 King James V., having proceeded to France with the intention of finding a consort in that kingdom, was introduced to the Princess Magdalen, eldest daughter of the French monarch. This lady, however, was in so delicate a state of health as to require to be carried in a chariot, being unable to ride on horseback like the other ladies of the Court. 'Yitt,' says Lindsay of Pitscottie, 'fra [the] tyme shoe saw the king of Scotland, and spak with him, shoe became so enamoured with him, and loved him so weill, that shoe wold have no man alive to hir husband bot he allanerlie.'² Her affection was reciprocated by the Scottish monarch. Lesley says, she 'wes ane young ladie of pleasand bewtie, guidlie favour, luffing countenance, and cumly manners, above all uthers within the realme of Fraunce.'³ Her health rallied about this time, and though sage counsellors disapproved of the union, it was at length assented to by her father; and the marriage was celebrated in Paris on the 1st of January 1536-7, amid great rejoicings. After remaining for a considerable time at the French Court to witness the fêtes which were got up on their account, King James and his bride set sail for Scotland, and landed at Leith on the 28th of May, with a convoy of many French and Scottish ships. 'And when the queine,' says Pitscottie, 'was

¹ *Concillie Scotie*, vol. i. p. cxxxvi; *Misc. of the Bannatyne Club*, vol. ii. pp. 51-3.

² *Chron. Scot.*, p. 367.

³ *Hist. Scot.*, p. 152 (Bann. Club Ed.).

cum vpoun Scottis eard, shoe bowed hir down to the same, and kissed the mould thairof, and thanked God that hir husband and shoe was cum saiff throw the seas.¹ She was received with the reverence and love of the whole people as she passed with the King to the Abbey of Holyrood; and great preparations were made in Edinburgh and other chief towns to celebrate her arrival. But the universal joy was soon to be quenched in grief.

‘After the first pleasurable excitement,’ says Miss Strickland, ‘caused by the flattering nature of her reception in Scotland was over, the young Queen began to flag. She could not conceal, either from herself or others, that she was ill at ease. The spring was cold and ungenial, and Edinburgh is about the worst place, on account of the prevalence of east wind and fogs in such seasons, to which a delicate invalid, with a hereditary tendency to consumption, could be brought from a milder climate. Neither of the palaces there were desirable residences for her. Holyrood was as much too damp and low as the Castle, on its lofty rock, was high and bleak. King James saw the expediency of removing her without delay. Being very anxious about her, he made his physicians hold a consultation, in order to select the most salubrious place in his dominions for her particular case. We should have thought they would have recommended the soft air of Rothsay, or the vale of Glasgow; but they decided on a bracing temperature, as appears by the following quaint notice in Martine’s History of the See of St. Andrews: “[It is reported that] being a tender lady, the physicians choosed this place (St. Andrews) and the Abbacie of Balmerinoch, as having the best aers of any places in the kingdom, for her residence and abode.”

‘To Balmerino, therefore, or the Sailors’ Town, as its Celtic name signifies, a picturesque village on the Firth of Tay, Queen Magdalen was removed. She was lodged in the

¹ *Chron. Scot.*, p. 373.

beautiful Abbey which had been founded by her royal predecessor Queen Ermengarde, the consort of William the Lion, out of gratitude for her restoration to health, in consequence of a temporary residence on that spot. The ruins of the Abbey are still to be seen, situated on a gentle eminence above the bold rocky shores of the river Tay. Magdalen derived immediate benefit from the change of air; and perhaps if she could have been content to remain quietly there for a few weeks or months, equally good effects might have resulted to her as had formerly been the case with Queen Ermengarde. But as King James could not be with her in this monastic house, her desire of his society induced her to return to Holyrood, where she could enjoy his company.' A letter sent to Queen Magdalen's father, dated the 8th of June 1537, which, Miss Strickland thinks, must have been written after her return from Balmerino, proves that she regarded herself as convalescent, and was hoping for a cure; yet her end was near.¹

Though Martine's book was not written till nearly a century and a half after Queen Magdalen came to Scotland, and though the statement which Miss Strickland quotes from it is given by him only as a report, yet as he had abundant sources of information, there appears to be no reason for doubting its truth. We may therefore well believe that St. Andrews and Balmerino Abbey were, on account of their bracing climate, chosen or recommended by Magdalen's physicians for her temporary residence. Yet it is not quite certain that she ever came to either of these places. Miss Strickland does not quote what Martine adds, in reference to the *Novum Hospitium*, or 'New Inns,' intended to be her domicile at St. Andrews—'Yea the tradition also goes, that for the queen's reception and accommodation here, so many artificers were convened and employed, and the materials so

¹ *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, i. 322.

quickly prepared, that the house was begun and finished in a month. But in all appearance she never came to it; for after her arrival [in Scotland] she first dwelt, and within a short time died, at Halyrood house.¹ Her death took place forty-nine days, according to the most trustworthy accounts, after she landed at Leith. As regards Balmerino, Miss Strickland does not quote any authority showing that the intended visit to it was actually made; nor do contemporary writers mention it. Nevertheless she may have had good ground for her statements; for we can hardly admit the alternative, that the circumstantial account which this accomplished historian gives of the Queen's sojourn at the Abbey is but the product of a lively imagination. If Magdalen did not come to St. Andrews, to occupy a domicile so hurriedly erected that its walls must have been damp and unhealthy, this would render her visit to Balmerino all the more probable. When a young girl, Magdalen had declared her wish to be a Queen, whatever her realm might be. She gained her wish for a brief period, though she was never crowned. All classes lamented her untimely death, for she had not quite completed the seventeenth year of her age. Out of respect for her memory mourning dress was worn; and this, in the opinion of George Buchanan, was the first instance of its use by the Scots, which after forty years, he tells us, was not very common, though public manners were ever growing worse and worse! (Bellenden, however, informs us that on the death of William the Lion, the King's servants were clothed 'in dule weid' all the year following.)² It is believed that Queen Magdalen regarded with favour the doctrines of the Reformers; and if she had been spared to her husband and the country, the history of the Scottish Reformation might have borne a different character from that which the actual events assumed

¹ *Reliquie Divi Andreae*, p. 190.

² *Buchanan's Works*, ed. Ruddiman, vol. i. p. 276; Bellenden's *Hist. and Chron. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 333.

under Mary of Lorraine. Her death was the occasion of Sir David Lindsay's poem, *The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene*, which, however, is a mixture of fact and fable. Buchanan wrote a Latin epitaph upon her, of which Miss Strickland gives a metrical translation.

King James V. paid a visit to Balmerino Abbey in 1539, as appears from a charter which he granted there on the 6th of July in that year.¹ He seems to have been then living in St. Andrews, where his second consort, Mary of Lorraine, had borne to him a son a few weeks previous to this visit. There is a tradition that the same monarch, being on one occasion at the Abbey, was walking on the road leading from Balmerino to Byres, and conversing with an old woman who lived in the neighbourhood, but did not know who he was; and that as one after another of his servants or courtiers, meeting their royal master, did reverence to him, the woman in astonishment at length exclaimed, 'They could not make more ado if you were the King himself!'

In March 1546 a 'General Provincial Council' of the Scottish Church, which met at St. Andrews on the summons of Cardinal Beaton, imposed on the clergy a tax of £2500 for the expenses of deputies from Scotland to the famous Council of Trent then sitting. The tax was levied, and Balmerino Abbey would have to pay the sum apportioned to it; but no Scottish delegate appears to have attended the Council, on account of the dangers which now threatened the Church in Scotland.²

¹ The charter referred to was in the possession of the late David Hunter, Esq., of Blackness, Dundee, who communicated to the Author the fact and date mentioned.

² *Concilia Scotia*, vol. i. cxlv.

CHAPTER X

ABBOT ROBERT : DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERY

'Threats come which no submission may assuage,
No sacrifice avert, no power dispute ;
The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
And, 'mid their choirs unroofed by selfish rage,
The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage ;
The gadding bramble hang her purple fruit.'

—WORDSWORTH.

HAVING traced the history of the Abbey thus far, I have now to relate the events which brought about its suppression.

'The first of these was an attack made on it by 'our auld enemies of England,' as our southern neighbours were then commonly described. During the childhood of Mary Queen of Scots determined efforts were made by Henry VIII. of England to bring about a marriage—to be accomplished in due time—between her and his own son, afterwards Edward VI., while the French King and Mary's mother were equally desirous of her union with the Dauphin. Ere Mary was a year old, the Regent Arran by formal treaty agreed to Henry's demands, but several causes, which may all be summed up in the fixed aversion of the nation to an English match, prevented the fulfilment of the treaty. The result was, that the English monarch ravaged by fire and sword the southern counties; but he failed even thus to induce the Scots to consent to his purpose. Another object of these atrocities was, strange to say, the propagation of the Reformed doctrines, which had now taken root in both countries. Henry had recently suppressed the monasteries of England—the lesser ones in 1536, and the greater in 1539—and when his generals crossed

the Border, the surest way they could take to gratify his hostility, alike to the independence of the Scots and to the Church of Rome, was to despoil the abodes of the monks, which had generally been respected in time of war. The Earl of Hertford, who invaded Scotland in 1544, and again in 1545, not only burnt and sacked Edinburgh and Leith; as well as a vast number of villages, towns, and castles; and many collegiate and parish churches, Friars' houses and Hospitals in Lothian, the Merse, and Teviotdale; but also gave to the flames the great Abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh and Kelso; and even this amount of havoc came short of his royal master's desires. The ruins of the last-mentioned magnificent structures are commonly but erroneously associated in the popular mind with the violence of the Scottish Reformers alone.

After the death of Henry VIII. the same policy was continued by the Protector Somerset, who in 1547 marched into Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and on the 10th of September defeated the Scots in the great battle of Pinkie. Meanwhile an English fleet commanded by Lord Clinton had been advancing along the east coast, and after effecting a settlement of troops in the island of Inchcolm entered the Tay, and towards the end of September landed a force at the Castle of 'Broughty Craig.' When a few shots had been fired, the castle was treasonably surrendered by its keepers, and Sir Andrew Dudley was appointed its captain. From the letters of Lord Clinton, Dudley, and others—written about this time to Somerset—it appears that there were on both sides of the Tay those who favoured the English interest and the reformation of the Church. Dudley reports that he has 'overtures from divers gentlemen that fear the Word of God'; that there is 'much desire in Angus and Fife to have a good preacher, and Bibles and Testaments and other good English books of Tyndale and Frith's translation'; and that Balfour 'the Laird of Monquhany has offered to deliver up

St. Andrews.' From Broughty Castle the English ravaged the surrounding country, and both by land and from the Tay proceeded to attack Dundee. That town was twice bombarded and occupied, and as often evacuated by them; and Broughty Castle was twice unsuccessfully besieged by the Scots under the Earl of Argyll. Wyndham, the English admiral, who had executed the bombardment of Dundee with the guns of his ships, when reporting on the 18th of December his movements to Somerset and requesting reinforcements, promises that he 'will not leave one town, nor village, nor fisher boat unburned from Fifeness to Combe's Inch' (Inchcolm); and he 'trusts soon to suppress an Abbey or two.' A week later he proceeds to carry out the latter purpose; and Balmerino Abbey being the nearest, an expedition is organised against it.¹

Choosing for the time of his assault the night of Christmas, on which he probably judged that the monks would be fast asleep after that season's festivities, Admiral Wyndham sailed up the Tay, and landed near the Abbey a force of three hundred men, of whom fifty appear to have been harquebusiers. The monks, aware doubtless of the fate so recently experienced by the Border monasteries, had made preparations against an attack from the English fleet, and had provided for the defence of the Abbey a supply of 'harqubuses of croke.'² With these pieces they opened fire on the enemy. Some horsemen also were brought out—doubtless tenants or

¹ *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland from 1509 to 1603*, vol. i. pp. xii, xiii, and 66-73.

² The *harquebus*, *arquebus*, or *hackbut*, was an old species of gun, whose stock had a trigger arrangement like a crossbow. It had originally the butt in a right line with the barrel, and, being fired from the chest, was not well fitted for taking aim with, as the eye could not be brought near enough to the barrel. This defect was remedied by giving the butt a hooked form, whence, according to some, it was called *harquebus à croc*, or *harquebus of crock*, that is, a 'gun with a hook.' According to others, the *hackbut of crock* was so named from its being furnished with a hook for fixing on a rest and keeping the weapon in its place.—(See *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, vol. iii. p. 514; iv. pp. 96, 233.)

feuars of the Abbey lands—who must have been placed there in readiness for such an emergency. The skirmish was disastrous to the defenders. Four of the horsemen were killed, and the Abbey, ‘with all things that were in it,’ was given to the flames. Elated by their success, the English proceeded to burn the neighbouring villages, and finished their night’s work by setting fire to the stacks of corn which at that season of the year they would find in the enclosures of the tenants of the Abbey, and probably also within the precincts of the Grange on the north side of the cloister. The Admiral himself appears to have been surprised that a place which he describes as ‘very strong’ was so easily taken; which is perhaps to be explained by the supposition, that though the monks had previously prepared for an attack, they were off their guard when it was actually made.

There was at least one stout defender of the Abbey whose exertions were not unrewarded. In 1554 the Abbot and convent confirmed to Henry Bane and Alisone Petillock his wife, by feu-charter, seven acres of Cultra, with pasture for five cows and two horses or mares with their followers on the lands of New Grange and Corby, ‘for services in defence of the Monastery against invaders in those tempestuous days of the Lutherans.’¹

This *Battle of Balmerino*—if such it may be called—must have made a deep impression on the minds of the parishioners of all classes; and tradition might have been expected to keep alive the remembrance of it. But the event, not having been noticed by any historian of the period, and having apparently been overlaid in the popular recollection by another attack made, as we shall see, twelve years after this by the Reformers, had become utterly unknown—a lost chapter in the annals of the Parish—till it was brought to light by a brief notice of it in the Calendar of State Papers already

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. v. No. 1338.

quoted, and published in 1858. The original document which contains the account of the burning of the Abbey is preserved in the State Paper Office, London, being a despatch from Admiral Wyndham to Lord Grey describing his operations for the defence of Dundee, and requesting fresh munition and instructions. It is dated from the river Tay two days after the attack. The portion of it which relates this disaster will be found in the Appendix,¹ and was printed for the first time in the previous edition of the present work.

It is somewhat surprising that Lindores Abbey appears to have escaped a hostile visit from Admiral Wyndham. Four years previously, however, as reported by Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, to Henry VIII., 'the work' of despoiling monasteries 'began at Dundee by destroying the houses both of the Black and Grey Friars,' and 'afterwards the Abbey of Lindores was sacked by a company of good Christians, as they were called, who turned the monks out of doors'; and Wyndham may have judged it needless to attack it so soon again.² But he 'burned a nunnery within two miles of St. Johnstoun's'—that of Elcho, a Cistercian house near Perth—and 'brought away all the nuns and many gentlemen's daughters.' Before the English evacuated Dundee they set fire to the town, and partially destroyed its churches, especially that of St. Mary. While they held possession of Broughty Castle they made several hostile incursions into Fife, and burnt Scotsraig. Lindsay of Pitscottie states that the presence of the English ships in the Tay caused the barons and gentlemen of Fife to watch nightly for the safety of their goods and gear, especially when any ships arrived in the Firth, and that at length certain Scotsmen confederated with the English to land and burn the 'East Ferry' and the district around, when a number of Fife gentlemen, with the Provost and citizens of St. Andrews, having got knowledge of their intention, came in the early morning and concealed themselves till the English

¹ No. viii.

² Hill Burton's *Hist. Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 250 (ed. 1873).

had landed at Portincraig. They then passed between them and their ships, and slew eight score of their best soldiers and sailors, which was a great loss to them in the guiding of their ships. ‘But fra that time’ (Pitscottie dryly adds) ‘they desired not to land in Fife.’¹ The English did not finally surrender Broughty Castle and the strong fort they had erected on Balgillo Hill till February 1549–50.

The precise amount of injury done to the buildings of Balmerino Abbey during the attack above described cannot now be determined. But as the event occurred during night, it may be presumed that no stone walls were demolished. The conflagration probably consumed the wood-work that was easily accessible. It must also have destroyed numerous treasures of art, and manuscripts accumulated, doubtless, in the Abbey during the previous three centuries, the loss of which must excite our keen regret; and the lament of the Prophet would recur to the monks as well as to other parishioners—‘Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised Thee, is burned up with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste.’ The injury done to the monastery could only have been partially repaired between this period and the Reformation. Before we reach that event, however, several other matters require to be noticed.

In consequence of the burning of Dundee by the English, certain rents drawn from that town by the convent of Balmerino, as well as by other parties, were subjected to deduction, probably in virtue of an old Act of Parliament giving partial relief to tenants of ‘brunt lands in burghs.’ In proceedings in the Burgh Court of Dundee in 1554 ‘“Dane John Bonar”’ (monks being called *Dean* as an honorary title²) “for the Abbot and

¹ *Chronicle of Scotland*, p. 505.

² ‘All monkrye, ye may heir and se,
Ar callit Denis, for dignitie;
Quhowbeit his mother mylk the kow,
He mon be callit Dene Androw,
Dene Peter, Dene Paull, and Dene Robart.’

—(Sir David Lindsay’s *Experience and Ane Courtier*).

Convent of Balmerinock, grantit him payit of all annuals awing of Sanct Mark's tenement in the Flukergait (the old name of the Nethergate), and to require nae mair in all time to come but twelve shillings yearly." Legal action had, however, to be taken for the recovery of part of the rents. Sir James Young refused to pay an annual from the land of his Chaplainry (of St. Colm's altar in St. Mary's church), but the factor for the Abbey "productit in judgment ane charter purporting that Sanct Colm's land in the Flukergait is awing to the Abbot and convent thirty pence yearly, whilk wes admittit be the Bailies ane sufficient probation." Maister James Scrymgeour likewise refused to pay "ane annual-rent—now defalkit to eight shillings sixpence because the land wes brunt—awing to the Abbot and convent of Balmerinock be the space of twa years," and this having been proved to the Bailies, they ordained "officers to pass and distrenze the readiest guidis and gear being upon the land"; on which "Maister James, present in judgment, confessit and consentit to the giving thereof."¹

It appears to have been a practice of long continuance to send from each of the Scottish monasteries one or more of its inmates to study at a University. Thus, of the statutes which Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews (1515–21) ordered to be published annually in his Diocesan Synod, one enjoined that in order that the University of that city might have a plentiful supply of students, and that 'religion'—that is, the cloistral life—might the more abound in virtue and knowledge, and the 'religious' be better instructed in the Gospel, so that the Catholic Church might be more fully equipped in its contest with 'barking heretics,' who were making havoc of the faith, the Superiors of the nine greater monasteries of the diocese should each send two monks; and those of the four lesser houses—Kelso, Dryburgh, Coldingham, and Balmerino—one monk each to reside and study continuously at the University

¹ Maxwell's *Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation*, pp. 72-3.

‘according to the ancient, approved, and laudable custom.’ Their maintenance was to be provided by their respective monasteries, and for each monk of the prescribed number whom they failed to send a fine of £20 Scots was to be imposed, and applied to pious uses at the will of the Archbishop.¹

Again, in the year 1549, a Council of the Scottish Church which assembled in Edinburgh ordained that from the monasteries of every diocese of the kingdom a few ‘religious’ of greatest capacity for learning should be sent to the University nearest them, or to any other they might prefer, to reside there and study Theology for four years at least, on the completion of which period others should succeed them. Three such students were to be sent from St. Andrews Priory, and the same number from Arbroath Abbey; two from each of the Abbeys of Cupar (Angus) and Dunfermline; and one from each of those of Lindores and Balmerino.²

The duty of preaching having come to be scandalously neglected by the clergy of every rank, the same Council of the Church enacted, among several canons for the correction of this failure, one providing that in every monastery a licentiate in Theology, religious or secular, should be found and maintained who should every reading day, or at least every week, be obliged to read and expound Sacred Literature within the monastery, in such a way as might be expedient for the auditors, and preach in the church attached to the monastery. To the preacher in Balmerino Abbey the rectory—that is, the greater tithes—of Logie-Murdoch was assigned for his maintenance; and to the preacher in Lindores Abbey the vicarage of Dundee was assigned.³ At another Council of the Church held in the year 1552 a confession that these and divers other canons prescribed had not yet taken effect, on account of the troubles of the time and many impediments, was followed by

¹ Robertson's *Concilia Scotia*, pp. clxxxvii, cclxxxiv.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

³ *Concilia Scotia*, pp. 100-1, 116.

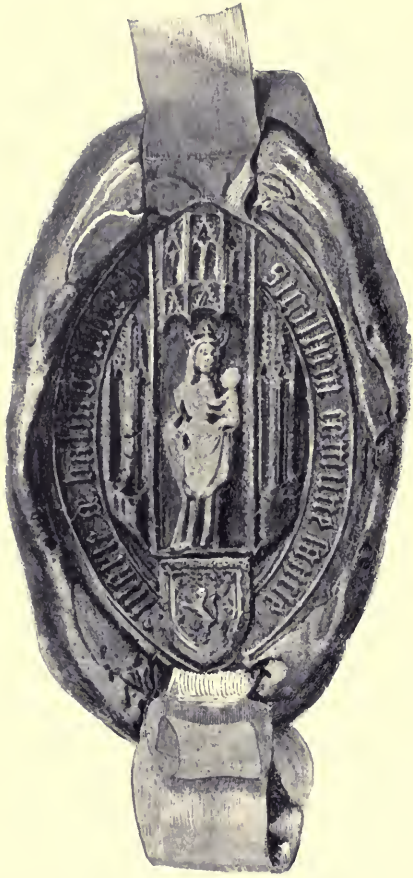
provisions for their immediate enforcement.¹ It may therefore perhaps be presumed that the canons would now be obeyed at Balmerino Abbey. These and numerous other reforms enjoined by the Council were utterly inadequate to ward off the ruin impending over the Roman Catholic Church in this country.

It is probable that long before the period at which we have now arrived the greater part of the lands of Balmerino Abbey was let to tenants, and that some portions were feued. In a letter from King James V. to Pope Paul III. in the year 1540 he says:—‘It has been, Holy Father, the established custom in this kingdom for all ecclesiastical prelates’—a phrase which included the Superiors of monasteries—‘to let their lands and tithes for nineteen years to their tenants and renters.’ To give a single example, in the year 1544 four acres of land, with the tithes, or *teinds* as they are called in Scotland, included, west of Byres of Balmerino, were let by the convent for nineteen years, and the rent was 30s. and 8 poultry.

As regards feuing, the rule of the Canon law was, at first, that the heritable property of the Church could not be alienated either by feu or sale. But the Pope afterwards assumed the power of authorizing alienations, which without his consent were void. The Primary Bull of Pope Innocent IV. to Balmerino Abbey forbade, as we have seen, its monks to alienate their lands without the consent of the Chapter, or the major or wiser part of it; leaving it to be inferred that when this consent was obtained, such alienations were ecclesiastically valid without any special permission from Rome. Previous to the Reformation, indeed, confirmation, either by the Sovereign or the Pope, of feus of Church lands was not required in Scotland by express enactment.² Yet several feu-

¹ *Concilia Scotiæ*, p. 128.

² Forbes's *Treatise of Church Lands and Tithes*, p. 144.



COMMON SEAL OF THE CONVENT OF BALMERINO.

charters of the lands of Balmerino Abbey were confirmed by both the Pope and the Crown.

Though feus were common in some monasteries from an early period of their existence, it does not appear from any extant records that the monks of Balmerino had alienated much of their land till the time of Robert, the last Abbot. During his rule the convent, probably foreseeing the approach of the storm which was soon to sweep away the whole monastic system, began to feu their lands and fishings to the existing tenants and others—in some instances to their own relatives—for such sums of ready money as they could obtain, reserving only the superiority and annual feu-duties. In so doing they but followed the example of most other Churchmen of the period. In many of the feu-charters granted by them an anxiety is observable to specify reasons sufficient to justify the alienations—such as the repair, convenience, or advantage of the monastery, and the sums of money received in the great and urgent necessity of the convent; while it is stated that the Canon law permits the feuing of lands and tithes. Before the year 1559 almost the whole of the Abbey lands and fishings had thus been alienated. In numerous cases the feu-duties appear to have consisted of the rents formerly paid by the tenants, with something added for ‘augmentation,’ that is, of the revenue of the monastery.¹

In *early* times the affixing of the Common Seal of an Abbey to a feu-charter served as evidence of the consent of the convent, since this was never done except at a solemn meeting when the monks were assembled in Chapter, all being present, and the majority consenting. Latterly, to prevent fraud or forgery, subscribing by the convent was enjoined by Parliament.² There are still in existence, and generally in the possession of those whose lands were originally feued from Balmerino Abbey, many feu-charters subscribed by the

¹ See *Appendix*, Nos. VII., X., XXVII.

² Forbes, p. 147.

Abbot and monks, and which once had the Common Seal of the convent appended to them, though in most cases this has disappeared.

The Common Seal, which was oval-shaped and pointed at the two extremities, contained a full-length figure of the Blessed Virgin and Holy Child standing within a Gothic niche richly ornamented. In the lower part of the Seal was a shield bearing the arms of Scotland. Round the border was the Scroll:—

sigillum comūne sancte marie de balmorynach.

Translation—THE COMMON SEAL OF SAINT MARY OF BALMORYNACH.

In the Chapter-house, Westminster, there is a detached Seal of an Abbot of Balmerino, but not bearing his name. It is oval-pointed, and contains the figure of the Abbot with the crozier in his left hand. On the dexter side of the figure there appears to be a *fleur-de-lis*, and three mullets of six points. The scroll runs thus:—

S' ABBIS. SCI. EDWARDI IN SCOCIA.

Translation—SEAL OF THE ABBOT OF ST. EDWARD IN SCOTLAND.¹

These two seals show that as the Abbey was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Edward, so it was sometimes named after one of its patron saints, and sometimes after the other; and the same variety of designation occurs in other ancient documents.

I have not met with the names of the *common monks* of Balmerino—with one or two exceptions—till the time of ROBERT the last regular Abbot, to whose reign belong all the pre-Reformation charters subscribed by the convent which I have seen—perhaps all that are now extant. Nor are any of the *Priors* mentioned by their title, though, according

¹ H. Laing's *Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, Nos. 982, 983.

J abbat of last Petre
 Et ego Jacobus m. s. 2
 Et ego Jacobus Garte
 Et ego Petrus
 Et ego Johannes Bonar ad id
 Et ego Andreas burer ad id
 Et ego albertus loyff ad id
 Et ego Adamas Steynberg ad id
 Et ego albertus gregg ad id
 Et ego albertus bimby ad id
 Et ego Johannis Guff ad id
 Et ego Sandy London
 m. s. papa
 Et ego Johannes Galvorton
 m. s. papa
 Et ego allang hale ad id
 Et ego gregorius malthe ad id

Signatures of Abbot and Fourteen Monks of Balmerino, in 1537.

to the Cistercian rules, there must have been such an official. In the year 1511 the Commission of the Bailiary of Barry to Sir Thomas Maule is signed by Abbot Robert and eight monks, whose names are WILLIAM MURRAY, RICHARD ULE, ALEXANDER NEFOY, THOMAS AYR, WILLIAM BAUCH, JAMES HARWOD, THOMAS HARTHOWR, and ALEXANDER SWINTON.¹

On the opposite page will be found a fac-simile of the signatures—fifteen in number—attached to a Tack of four acres of land at Barry, granted by the convent to Robert Downie, and dated the 24th of October 1537. With the exception of JAMES HARWOD, the monks are all different from those who sign in 1511. The names and other words are here printed in full; the translation of the first two lines being:—‘[I] ROBERT, Abbot of Balmerinloch, subscribe. And I, JAMES MYLLAR [subscribe] to the same.’

ROBERT, Abbot of Balmerinloch, subscribo.

Et ego IACOBUS MYLLAR, ad idem.

Et ego IACOBUS HARWOD, ad idem.

Et ego WILLELMUS MOWAT (?), ad idem.

Et ego IOHANNES BONAR, ad idem.

Et ego ANDREAS BUTOUR, ad idem.

Et ego ALEXANDER LEYSS, ad idem.

Et ego THOMAS STEVYNSON, ad idem.

Et ego ALEXANDER GAGYE, ad idem.

Et ego ANDREAS WEMYSS, ad idem.

Et ego IOHANNES HOGG, ad idem.

Et ego DAVID LOWDEN, manu propria.

Et ego IOHANNES HALYBORTON, manu propria.

Et ego ALLANUS HAW, ad idem.

Et ego GEORGIUS MATTHOW, ad idem.

As two of the monks sign, each *manu propria* (with his own hand), it might be supposed that the rest were unable to write, and that their names were subscribed by another hand. But to say nothing of the improbability that only two out

¹ *Registrum de Panmure*, vol. ii. p. 280.

of fourteen common monks were able in that age to sign their own names, such a supposition appears unwarrantable when we find that in several other charters Lowden and Halyburton sign their names just as the other monks do, without adding *manu propria*; and that in one charter JOHN YESTER—a monk to be presently mentioned—signs his name without these words though he was a notary-public, and therefore able to write.

In other charters, granted about the same period or at later dates, occur the additional names of ANDREW GAGYE, JOHN MILLER, ANDREW GRIG, ANDREW MURRAY, ANDREW LAWYAR, JOHN YESTIR, AND PATRICK YESTIR. The two last names, which occur in a charter of the year 1555, have not been found in earlier documents. This seems to show that these men had not been deterred from entering the monastery by the treatment to which the English had subjected it in 1547. While the charter of 1537 and another of 1541 contain each fifteen names, others of 1547 and 1550 have eleven each. One of 1555 has only eight subscribers; but another of the same year has twelve. From these facts, as well as from the circumstance that the consent of only the majority of the chapter was required to give validity to an alienation of land, as has been already stated—not to mention other reasons—it may be inferred that charters were not in every case signed by all the monks of the convent, and that the whole number of the brethren was thus probably greater than that of the subscriptions which any single charter bears. The names in extant documents show that the common class of monks about the same period—the first half of the sixteenth century—was drawn from the humbler rank of the neighbouring inhabitants. On the other hand, the Superiors of Religious houses, as well as the secular clergy at that time, were mostly connected with families of good social position.

In no record have the names of any of the *converts*, or lay brethren, been found. As the practice of leasing or feuing the Abbey lands became more frequent, it is probable that

the number of these brethren would diminish. In 1540 the converts in Melrose Abbey were not quite so numerous as the monks.

In the year 1554 the Abbot of Balmerino signed the Band to the Duke of Chatelherault (Earl of Arran) warranting him against any action for his intromissions with Queen Mary's money, jewels, and other property.¹

It appears that in 1557 one of the monks slew a man. All that we know of the deed is contained in the following extract from the Register of the Privy Seal,² which records that after the lapse of eight years the criminal received a respite for nineteen years:—

'Ane respitt maid to Dene Patrik Zeister sumtyme monk of Balmerino^t for the crewell slauchter of unquhile Johnne Bane in Balmerino^t committit aucht zeiris syne or thairby; and for all actioun and cryme etc. And for the space of nyntene zeiris nixt to cum eftir the day of the dait of the samine but ony revocatioun to endure, etc. At Edinburgh the vj day of October the zeir of God j^mv^el^{xv} zeiris,' (1565).

We have now to notice a matter in which the monks were at variance with their Abbot, and grave allegations were made against some of the officials of the monastery.

On the 29th of November 1557 the Queen's advocates raise an action in the Court of Session against Abbot Robert and the convent, John Forester a natural son of the Abbot and chamberlain of the Abbey, Sir Alexander Ker (or Car) chaplain and notary, and Dean Andrew Boytour Sub-Prior of the Abbey—alleging that the Abbot and convent had infest Andrew Fairny of that Ilk, his wife, and son in the 'twa part' of Grange of Barry etc., by virtue of which the Fairnys have possessed the property for eighteen years or thereby, and do so still; but that the Abbot and convent and John Forester have within the past year forged a charter, and precept and instru-

¹ *Acts Scot. Parl.*

² Vol. xxxiii. fol. 105.

ment of sasine, of these lands, ante-dated as if granted in May 1536, to the said John; and that he, alleging that these documents have been in the keeping of the Abbot and convent continuously since they were executed, has obtained, by collusion, letters requiring delivery thereof to him; that the Sub-Prior, writer of the Abbey Register, has inserted a copy of the documents in the Register Books of the Abbey of the same date as the forged charter, so that the falsehood and forging of them might be less suspected; and that the documents were written by Ker. The advocates, therefore, call for the production of the said documents and Register Book with a view to their improbation. The case is continued.

On the 20th of December following, the monks of the convent raise an action against the Fairnys on the one part, and John Forester on the other—alleging that the former have been in possession of the lands above mentioned for twenty years or thereby; that the latter having molested the Fairnys in their peaceable brooking thereof, they have obtained decret against the convent for warrandice, conform to their charter; also that Forester, by collusion with his father, has had the convent charged to deliver to him his ‘evidentis’ of the lands, and that thus either of these parties, by virtue of their letters, ‘intendis to put thame [the monks] to the horn, to their hewy dampnage and skayth, that are poor religeous men, and obedient to their said Abbot, and hes nowther *nolle* nor *velle* by his awyis (*i.e.* against his advice), and nevir knew, hard, nor saw ony siklike pretendit evidentis as is above writtin, be ressonne ther wes nevir sik evidentis maid, nor being in their keeping, nor yit being *in rerum natura*.’ The convent, therefore, call both parties to produce the decreets they have obtained, that the Lords may find which of them is orderly proceeded. No appearance being made for John Forester, his letters are suspended, and the other party’s letters found orderly proceeded.

This litigation was continued for several years. It may be

sufficient to state that on the 25th of May 1559 decret is granted that the Abbot and convent shall warrant the lands to the Fairnys. On the 5th of February 1560-1 the Queen's advocates raise an action against John Forester for forgery of the instrument of 15th November 1536. On the 10th of March 1562-3 Forester is assolizied from the action for forgery, reserving his adversary's right to object against the instrument when the process of reduction against the Fairnys is heard. Here my information regarding the case ends.

Abbot Robert in his declining years took part in an act of cruel persecution. Walter Myln, parish priest of Lunan in Forfarshire, a man venerable for his piety as well as for his great age, was tried in the year 1558 for heresy, that is, for belief in the Protestant doctrines, which he had embraced during an early residence in Germany. Foxe, who gives an interesting account of his trial,¹ which took place in St. Andrews Cathedral, informs us that there were present the Archbishop with other four Bishops, the Abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerino, and Cowper (Angus), besides several Doctors of Theology and friars. Though eighty-two years of age, Myln made an able and vigorous defence. He was, of course, found guilty, and sentenced to be delivered to the temporal judge that he might be burnt as a heretic. But no one could be got to act as his temporal judge till an ignorant and cruel domestic of the Archbishop undertook the odious office—Patrick Learmond, Provost of St. Andrews and Bailie of the Archbishop's regality, to whom in his latter capacity such duty belonged, having refused to perform it. Neither a cord to tie Myln to the stake, nor a tar barrel to burn him could be got from any of the citizens for money; and the ropes of the Archbishop's pavilion had to be used to bind him. He was committed to the flames upon the rising ground north

¹ See Laing's ed. of *Knox's Works*, vol. i. p. 308; and p. 550, where Foxe's account is inserted.

of the Cathedral on the 28th of April 1553. In the following year the images in the Cathedral were taken out by the Reformers and burnt on the same spot. Myln's death excited universal horror and indignation. When his end was near, he had said, 'I trust to God that I shall be the last in Scotland that shall suffer for this cause.' His hope was realized. The principles of the Reformation, which had been struggling for recognition during thirty years, and the zeal of whose adherents was greatly stimulated by the affecting circumstances of his martyrdom, were now on the eve of triumph; 'the handwriting was on the wall'; and in little more than a year after Myln's death the Abbots of Balmerino and Lindores, as well as other Abbots, had to witness the ruin of their monasteries. How this came to pass has now to be told.

The Reformation was in Scotland characterized by proceedings of a more violent and lawless nature than in England. In the latter country it was effected mainly by the prerogative of the Crown, and was thus conducted in a more orderly, though, as regards the monasteries, in a scarcely less severe manner than in the northern kingdom. Here, though the movement was headed or supported by influential nobles and barons, who were zealous for the truth and hungering for the Church lands, and also by many Abbots and Priors, it was opposed by the Court and almost the whole body of the Bishops. The people therefore took the principal part in the work of reformation; and, roused by the fervid eloquence of Knox, and having at every step to contend with opposition in high places, they gave vent to their hatred of 'Popery' by destroying the monasteries, and stripping the churches of images, altars, and other superstitious decorations. We have seen that as early as the year 1543 certain Religious houses in Dundee, and also the Abbey of Lindores, had been sacked by a mob. The movement, however, appears to have been then practically confined to those places. But in 1559 and onwards it was more systematically and extensively prosecuted.

It commenced on the 11th of May of that year at Perth, where the images and other symbols of Romish worship in St. John's church were cast down and destroyed, and the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, as well as the magnificent Charterhouse, were demolished in two days, so that nothing but the walls remained. From Perth the 'Lords of the Congregation,' as the reforming barons and other magnates were called, repaired to St. Andrews, where they had requested their friends from other places to assemble. There they were joined by Knox after he had preached at Crail and Anstruther, where the people had been moved by his preaching to purify their churches—St. Ayle's chapel in the latter of these towns, which belonged to Balmerino Abbey, being probably one of those so dealt with. At St. Andrews Knox preached on Sunday the 11th of June and the three following days, in disregard of a message sent by the Archbishop to the Lords, threatening that if he presumed to do so 'he should gar him be saluted with a dosane of culveringis, quherof the most part should lyght upon his nose.' The subject of his famous sermon on the Sunday was the ejection of the buyers and sellers from the Temple of Jerusalem, which he applied to the corruptions of the Church of Rome, and to the duty of those in power to reform them. The result was that the Provost and Bailies, as well as the citizens for the most part 'did agree to remove all monuments of idolatry; which also they did with expedition.'¹ This work commenced on the 14th of June. A few days after, 'the Abbey of Lindores,' says Knox, 'a place of black monks, . . . was reformed, their altars overthrown, their idols, vestments of idolatry, and mass books were burnt in their own presence,

¹ *Knox's Works*, vol. i. pp. 347-9. In a '*Historie of the Estate of Scotland*' printed in the Miscellany of the Wodrow Society (p. 59) it is stated that Knox's sermon was made in 'the parish Kirk.' Spottiswoode (vol. i. p. 276) makes the same statement. Knox himself does not distinctly say in what church he preached. There is neither proof nor probability that the fabric of the Cathedral was materially injured at this time.

and they commanded to cast away their monkish habits.’¹ Balmerino Abbey was next visited by the Reformers—apparently in the third week of June 1559—as appears from the account of their proceedings given by Bishop Lesley, a keen opponent of Protestantism. He states that the Earl of Argyll and the Prior of St. Andrews—better known afterwards as the Regent Moray—came from Perth to St. Andrews, and there ‘caused cast down alteris, burne the images of all the kirkis within that citie, and to pull downe the freris places, kirkis, and bigginis, with the college kirke of Heuche, and all uther privat chappellis within the toun; and conventit a gret cumpanie of the cuntrie men, and passèd to the abbayis of Lundoris, Balmerino, the parishe kirkis within Fyfe, and did the like; and from that to Cuper, quhair thay remaned.’² In his Latin History Lesley gives a similar account of what was done; and says that ‘all the most worthless manikins of the common people, flocking to them’—that is, to the Reformers marching from St. Andrews—‘as to a foul sink, they proceed to the monasteries of Lindores and Balmerino.’³ David Camerarius (Chambers), who lived in the early part of the following century, states that the reforming mob applied fire to ‘the very celebrated Abbeys of Lundores, Balmerino, and Cwper,’ injuriously treated the monks and priests, and devoted to their own uses the sacred vessels and ornaments.’⁴

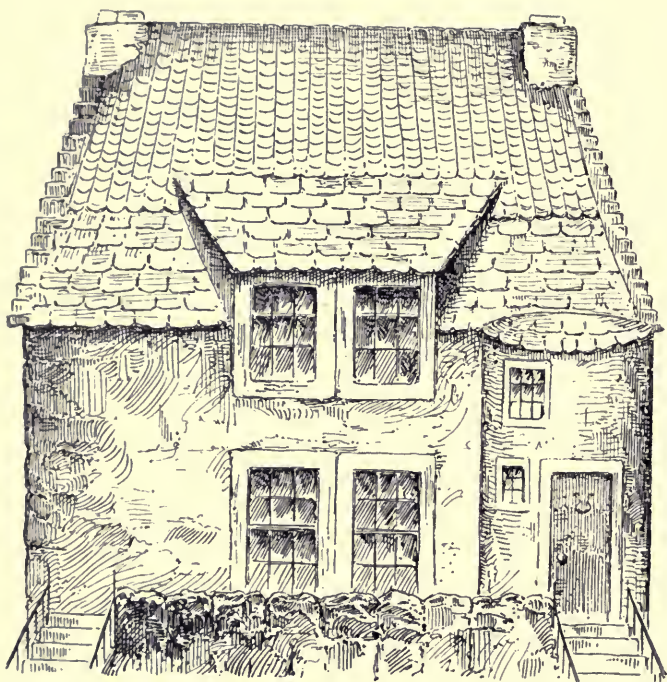
As in the previous attack by the English, it is uncertain in what condition Balmerino Abbey, and especially its Church, was left when the reforming rabble had done their work. The domestic buildings of the monks were everywhere the chief

¹ *Knox's Works*, vol. vi. p. 26.

² *History of Scotland*, p. 273. The curate of Cupar took so much to heart the removal of the ‘instruments of idolatry’ from his church that on the next day he committed suicide.

³ *De Origine, etc. Sclorum*, p. 507 (ed. 1675).

⁴ *De Sclorum Fortitudine, etc.*, Parisiis, MDCXXXI. p. 271. This author must be distinguished from another of the same name who was concerned in the conspiracy for the destruction of Darnley.



ST AYLE'S HOUSE, ANSTRUTHER.

(From a Sketch made about fifty years since.)

objects of hostility; and it is probable that the ruination of those at Balmerino, as elsewhere, would be so thorough as to prevent their being ever again used for their original purposes. But as regards churches, the practice of the Reformers was merely to destroy 'the monuments of idolatry' which they contained. Only in some few and peculiar cases were the *fabrics* demolished. If we may estimate the work of the mob at Balmerino from what they did at Lindores, the Abbey Church would be left standing, though stripped of its images and decorations; for it is now known that the Church of Lindores Abbey was so left, and was not even unroofed. But whatever may have been done at the Reformation, the Church and other buildings of Balmerino Abbey were not reduced to their *present* scanty extent till a period comparatively recent. This subject will be resumed in a following Chapter.

As regards the fate of the several chapels which belonged to the Abbey, that of St. Ayle's at Balmerino will be noticed later. There is no record of the means by which the chapel at Gadven, or that of St. Mary at Gateside, ceased to exist. Whether St. Ayle's chapel at Anstruther was, or was not dealt with by the reforming mob in 1559, a portion of it remained till modern times. About a hundred years ago the upper portion of its east gable, which contained a mullioned window, was removed; and the rest of it was taken down by the present proprietor. On the ground beside its site there still stands an old building called St. Ayle's House, and believed to have been connected with the chapel. Its exterior is entire, but has undergone alteration. It has surrounding walls, and an arched gateway in tolerably good preservation. The round outside staircase, dumpy chimneys, and wide fireplace give evidence of some antiquity. The lintel and rybits of the chapel window above mentioned are built into the wall of the present fishyard—for the place, true to its ancient character, is still devoted to the same useful purpose as in monastic times. 'St. Ayle's acre' lay about eighty yards farther north.

The despoiling of Balmerino Abbey must have brought to an end the conventual life and worship of the monks, as they could no longer continue their daily and nightly Church services, nor live in community. While we must lament the fate of the sumptuous buildings—which might have been utilized as a seminary of learning, or in other ways for the good of the Parish and adjacent district—and the loss of the valuable and interesting objects of various kinds which must have perished under the ruthless hands of its fierce assailants, whether English or Scotch, we must still more rejoice that the country was delivered from Romish error and superstition; that the Gospel in its purity was soon to be preached to the people; and that the external organization of the Church was to be restored to a form more nearly resembling that of primitive times.

As the Reformation did not receive Parliamentary sanction till August 1560, the monks of Balmerino, though driven from their snug quarters, would for a year or two longer continue to enjoy the *revenues* of the monastery. Thus we find Abbot Robert and the convent—doubtless in order to make the most of their altered circumstances, as well as to save themselves trouble by procuring their whole income to be paid to them in one sum—granting on the 4th of August 1559 to the notorious James Balfour, parson of Flisk, and Andrew Balfour of Montquhany, his father, a ‘Tack of the fruits, rents, profits, teinds, fishings, and other duties pertaining to the Abbacy, for five years after Martinmas 1559, for the yearly payment of 900 merks, Scots money.’¹ If this sum represented, as it seems to have done, the Abbey revenue from its possessions without as well as within Balmerino Parish, it was much less than the real value; and the Balfours must have made ‘a good thing’ of their Tack.

¹ ‘*Inventar of Writts*’—a large MS. volume which belonged to the Lords Balmerino, and is now in the possession of the proprietor of the Balmerino estate. From this source much original information has been obtained for the present work. It will be quoted as the *Balmerino Writts*.

The Privy Council having in 1561 enacted that the old clergy should be allowed to retain two-thirds of their revenues during their lifetime, and that the remaining third should be appropriated partly for stipends to the parish ministers, and partly for the use of the Crown—of which enactment many Abbots and Priors, and also Commendators, reaped the benefit—rentals, said to have been undervalued, of most of the benefices of the kingdom were given in. The *Thirds* were uplifted annually by Collectors appointed by the Crown. This was called the *Assumption of Thirds*. The revenues of Balmerino Abbey ‘lifted out of the baronies of Balmerinoch, Pitgorno, and Barrie; together with the kirks of Balmerinoch, Logie-Murdoch, and Barrie, and the fishings upon the river Tay,’ were thus found to consist of the following particulars in money, grain, and poultry:—

Money, £704, 11s. 2d.

Wheat, 4 chalders.

Beare, 21 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks.

Meall, 15 chalders, 12 bolls, 2 firlots.

Aittis, 1 chalders, 14 bolls, 2 firlots.

Poultry, 763.¹

Out of the Third of this revenue, which consisted mainly of feu-duties, there was then paid to the Sovereign £100, and in 1591, £271.

Abbot Robert did not long survive the attack on the monastery in 1559. The precise date of his death is unknown. Lesley places it in 1558; but we have seen that he was alive in August 1559; and there is evidence that he died before the 5th of February 1560–1. At this period, on the death of the Superior of a Religious house the Sovereign generally appointed a layman in his place, called the *Commendator*, who enjoyed, along with the convent, the benefice; and sat

¹ From a MS. in the Advocates' Library. See also Keith's *History of the Church and State of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 375 (ed. 1850).

and voted in Parliament as Abbot or Prior, according to the nature of the previous office. In this way JOHN HAY was appointed Commendator-Abbot of Balmerino after the death of Abbot Robert.

As regards the common monks, in 1560 it had been enacted that 'priests, friars, monks, and other kirkmen' should be allowed to continue in the enjoyment of their pensions and livings if they would embrace Protestantism; 'otherwise all should be taken from them for their obstinacy. Whereupon it came to pass that some of them became readers, and some preachers also.'¹ When a monk died, his 'portion' became the property of the Crown. Many of the monks were reduced to beggary through the avarice of those who got possession of the Church lands.

' Hope guides the young, but when the old must pass
The threshold, whither shall they turn to find
The hospitality—the alms (alas!
Alms may be needed) which that House bestowed?'

The number of monks, however, who embraced Protestantism was great. In the Cistercian Abbey of Culross there were, according to the Abbot's statement, 'nine monks, five whereof had recanted, but the other four would not by any persuasion. And he mentions a certain allowance he had given to those that had recanted; but had given nothing to the others'—surely a cruel, as well as an ineffectual method of conversion.² Martine informs us that of thirty-four canons in St. Andrews Priory no fewer than fourteen became preachers in churches belonging to the Priory; and some continued about the monastery till their death.³ The first Protestant minister of Leuchars was John Ure, formerly a canon of the Priory, to which Leuchars church belonged. In 1573 it was

¹ Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 13 (ed. 1842).

² Keith, vol. iii. p. 377.

³ *Reliq. Div. Andr.*, pp. 169-70.

stated that 'seeing the most part of the persons who were Channons, Monks, and Friars within this realme have made profession of the true religion, it is therefore thought meet, that it be enjoined [to them] to pass and serve as readers at the places where they shall be appointed.'¹ It does not appear from existing sources of information that any of the monks of Balmerino became Protestant ministers; but several, probably all of them, embraced Protestantism, and continued to reside at Balmerino; and at least two of them did so till the year 1586. The 'convent' is mentioned in two charters dated so late as 1588 and 1600 respectively. None of the monks were alive on the 9th of July 1606.

In thus arriving at the termination of the proper history of the Abbey—that is, of the cloistral life of the monks—extending, as it did, over a period of three hundred and thirty years, we should bear in mind that the monastic system was not overturned till it had for some time lost whatever usefulness it once possessed. In the earlier stages of its development it was virtually a protest against the ignorance, barbarism, and lawlessness which then prevailed. It embodied an earnest though misguided reaction from worldliness and the worship of physical force. In the monasteries were reared the noblest characters that adorned the Church in those ages—the leaders in every enterprise of Christian zeal. The tenacity of life the monastic system exhibited, as well as the extension which it attained, proves that it had in it elements of truth and goodness, since no institution can flourish widely and long if it is rooted in falsehood or misconduct. But the period of the cloister's usefulness and honour passed away. The primary cause of the change was the vast amount of wealth which was heaped on the monasteries. This, in process of time, induced luxurious living, which in a mode of life so unnatural became the parent of vice. Thus they who had

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, vol. i. 280.

renounced the world were overcome by the world; and the word Monk, which had once been associated with ideas of austerity and saintliness, became at length synonymous with indolence and laxity of morals. There were other causes, too, for the general contempt into which the Monastic Orders had fallen from about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The world had not been standing still during the previous ages. Amongst various causes of progress, the printing-press had done much to loosen the bonds of superstition. An intellectual awakening had everywhere taken place. Men were beginning to examine into the verity of those things in the belief and practice of which they had been trained; and when the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in the language of the people came to aid and direct this spirit of inquiry, monachism was one of the things weighed in the balances and found wanting. The monks had in fact outlived their day, even as the nation had outgrown its childhood. When knowledge and true religion were being greatly extended, and law and civilization had attained some form and power, the monasteries were seen to be neither necessary nor beneficial; and the conventual life, wanting as it too generally did the salt of morality, had nothing in it that could save it from extinction. Finally, the unbounded devotion of the monks of every Order to the interests of the Papacy, when the nation was making determined efforts to throw off its yoke, excited against them such a spirit of hostility as caused the already full cup of indignation to overflow; and when the demand for reformation of the Church at length came in tones which refused a denial, the loudest cry raised was for the demolition of the Houses *then* misnamed Religious. Let us be thankful for the overthrow of Romanism, and of the monastic system, its strongest buttress. But let us also have the candour and right feeling to acknowledge our indebtedness to the monks of the Middle Ages for the sacred truth, the arts, and the civilization which their peaceful retirement,

studies, and labours preserved and bequeathed to us. And let us not forget that when the Gospel was at length to be purified from Romish error, the monks themselves were the chief agents in the good work. For as the decaying fruit of the tree is found to contain a new seed which it has secreted within itself, and out of which are to be evolved other forms of life and beauty; so the germ from which was to be developed the Protestant Church, was engendered amid the corruptions of the cloistral life. The Reformers in all countries, from Luther downwards, generally arose from among the Monastic Orders. And as the monks were the first to preach again the pure Gospel, so they were among the foremost to die for it. A large proportion of those who suffered death in Scotland for embracing the Reformed faith had been monks or friars.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMMENDATORS: JOHN HAY, HENRY KINNEIR, JOHN KINNEIR, AND ROBERT AUCHMOUTY. THE ABBACY ERECTED INTO A TEMPORAL LORDSHIP

‘As with the Stream our voyage we pursue,
The gross materials of this world present
A marvellous study of wild accident,
Uncouth proximities of old and new.’

—WORDSWORTH.

JOHN HAY, the first Commendator-Abbot of Balmerino, was probably descended from the ancient family of that name who had been Lairds of Naughton, but were now extinct in the principal male line. His appointment as Commendator would entitle him to the whole of the Abbey revenues till 1561, and after that year to two-thirds of them, subject during both periods to the maintenance of the surviving monks; the remaining third after 1561 being reserved for the use of the Protestant ministers and the Crown.

Commendator Hay was also Prior of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire,¹ the revenues of which were ‘set’ or valued after the Reformation at £400. A canon-regular of that house, named John Hay, and mentioned in 1522-5, was perhaps the same person who was afterwards promoted to be Prior.²

¹ Knox, *Works*, vol. ii. p. 482.

² Dates favour their identity; but a Proclamation by Mary in 1568 describes Hay the Prior as having been first a ‘simple clerk’ (*i.e.* a cleric), while the Earl of Moray, who was Prior of St. Andrews, is said to have been a ‘monk.’ Both Priories were houses of Augustinian canons.—(See *Topography and Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff*, vol. iii. pp. 484-7 (Spalding Club); Macpherson’s *History of Monymusk*, pp. 162-5, 189.)

Hay was appointed Principal Master of Requests in 1554, according to Mackenzie; but according to Sibbald, in 1561.¹ The duty which originally belonged to that office was to represent to the Sovereign the complaints of the people, but this was afterwards performed by his Secretary. Commendator Hay was likewise a Privy Councillor, and was employed by Queen Mary and her advisers in various missions of a confidential nature. During her childhood—in 1544—he was sent by the Regent Arran as ‘Legate to Christian III., King of the Danes, Norwegians, Goths and Vandals.’² Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, ambassador of Queen Elisabeth, writing to her from Edinburgh in May 1565, describes Hay as one ‘who hath reputation here to be a wise and honest man’; and he adds, ‘I take him to be most affected towards the Earl of Moray.’³

On the 3rd of October 1562 Queen Mary, who was then at Aberdeen, ratified by a letter under the Privy Seal a yearly pension of £31, 4s. 4d. which Commendator Hay and the convent had conferred upon David Watt during his lifetime for service done to them by him, to be paid out of the fruits of the Abbacy, and for the sure payment of which they had assigned to him the feu-duties of their fishings of Kilburns and lands of Cathills, which her Majesty ordained the feuars thenceforth to pay to him. The letter gives no information about Watt or the nature of the service rendered by him.⁴

In January 1564–5 occurred another ‘Queen’s visit’ to Balmerino. It would appear that Queen Mary had become tired of her palace of Holyrood on account of the censures which John Knox and the other Protestant leaders passed on her balls, concerts, and banquets; and especially in consequence

¹ Mackenzie’s *List of the Officers of State*, appended to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit’s *Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, pp. xxviii, 189; Sibbald’s *History of Fife and Kinross*, p. 263 (ed. 1803).

² *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. pp. 203, 213 (ed. 1724).

³ Keith, vol. ii. p. 286.

⁴ *Reg. Sec. Sigill.*, vol. xxxi. fol. 44.

of their personal remarks on herself and her fair attendants. She accordingly escaped from Edinburgh as often as she could, and took delight in visiting the provinces. One of the places to which she frequently resorted was St. Andrews. There, in January and February 1564-5, exchanging the pomp of royalty for the repose of domestic life, she resided in a merchant's house, attended by a few chosen friends, including, doubtless, some if not all of her 'four Marys.' An incident which took place during this visit to St. Andrews gives us an interesting glimpse of her unrestrained and happy life on those excursions from her capital. Randolph, the agent of Queen Elisabeth, had followed Mary to the Ancient City bearing a packet from his royal mistress on the subject of the proposed marriage of the Scottish Queen to the Earl of Leicester. But Mary refused to enter upon this business. 'I sent for you,' she said, 'to be merry, and to see how, like a bourgeois wife, I live with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your grave and great matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassy until the Queen come thither; for, I assure you, you shall not get her here.' When Randolph expressed his surprise that her love for his Mistress had apparently cooled, it pleased her at this to be 'very merry,' he writes, and she called him 'by more names than were given him in his christendom. . . . Very merrily she passeth her time. After dinner she rideth abroad.'¹

It was while on her way to make the visit to St. Andrews during which the incident above related occurred, that Queen Mary, in course of her progress thither, came to Balmerino—perhaps on the invitation of her Master of Requests, and to see a place associated with the names of two former Scottish Queens. 'In the end of January,' writes John Knox, 'the Queen past to Fyfe, and, visiting the Gentlemen's houses, was

¹ Keith, vol. ii. p. 261, note 2.

magnificently banquetted everywhere, so that such superfluity was never seen before within this Realme, which caused the wilde fowl to be so dear, that partridges were sold for a crown a piece.¹ Misfortunes soon afterwards crowded upon Mary, but she was still popular; and, though already a widow, had only in the previous month completed her twenty-second year.

The Registers of the Great Seal and Privy Seal enable us to some extent to trace the Queen's progress through Fife by documents she signed at different places; and the information thus obtained is supplemented by other records. She was at Edinburgh on the 16th of January (1564-5); and having crossed the Firth of Forth, was at Falkland Palace on the 22nd and 23rd of the same month. Proceeding northwards, she was on the 24th at 'Cullerny' Castle; on the 26th at Ballinbreich Castle. At the latter place she signed a letter giving to Mr. John Leslie, parson of Oyne, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, the chanonry and prebend within the Cathedral Kirk of Murray called the archdeanery thereof, with houses, manses, etc., and the rents thereof due since its vacancy. This was the future Bishop of Ross, Mary's zealous and steadfast friend and defender. On the 28th of January she was at Balmerino. Here she must have been lodged in some of the Abbey buildings then standing—most probably in the Abbot's, at that time the Commendator's House, which was in existence till the present century. Her visit to Balmerino could not have occupied more than two days, as she arrived at St. Andrews on the evening of the 28th of January, which was a Sunday, and there wrote, or at least signed a letter to Queen Elisabeth, asking a safe-conduct for one of her subjects.²

¹ Knox's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 471.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*; *Reg. Sigill. Secr.*; Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 531 and *note*; Prince Labanoff's *Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tome i. p. 253, where the 25th is given as the date of Mary's letter written at St. Andrews, but other records show that this is a misprint for the 28th.

Whatever was the length of her visit to Balmerino, Mary found time here to write a letter of a remarkable character. It was addressed to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, nephew of Cardinal Beaton, and uncle of Mary Beaton, one of the Queen's 'four Marys.' He was then resident in Paris, where at the Reformation he had taken refuge, and was employed by Queen Mary, after her return to Scotland, as her ambassador at the French court. The letter was written mainly for the purpose of putting Queen Elisabeth's ambassador at Paris on a wrong scent, as Prince Labanoff expresses it; and is altogether a curious specimen of subtle statecraft—of the feminine variety. It is in the French language. In giving the following translation of the letter I may explain that the Queen mentioned in it was Catharine de Medici, Mary's mother-in-law but not her friend, who now governed France; that the allusion it contains to Mary's pension has reference to the fact, that after the assassination of her uncle, the Duke of Guise, her pension or dowry as widow of the French king, Francis II., was not regularly paid; and that the Cardinal who was to be written to was Mary's other uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, younger brother of the Duke of Guise:—

'MY LORD OF GLASGOW,—I send this bearer more for show than for anything of importance—purposely to set people a-guessing what it is. Appear to be much annoyed that he has delayed so long; and, if it is possible, manage so that the ambassador of England may think he has come on business of importance; and go hurriedly to the Queen to demand an audience, and on the pretext of my pension, of which you will speak to her, contrive matter for conversation to occupy her long enough to make people think there is something of importance in this despatch. N. . . will acquaint you with the state of my affairs, whereby you will know the advantage we can derive from them; and on the next day speak again to her, if you can, and write to the Cardinal, as if it were all very urgent, but do not touch upon anything of it to him, except that you send him my letters to let him know my news; and send back to me as soon as you can, with the like diligence,

one of your people with all the news you can hear. And in this juncture I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

‘ From Balmerino, this 28 January, 1565.

‘ Your very good mistress and friend,

‘ MARIE R.’¹

There still exist portions of an ancient road which, according to tradition, led from Balmerino Abbey to St. Andrews. Proceeding either up the ‘ Kirkton Loan,’ or southwards from the Abbey along the course of the present public road, it passed eastward on the north side of the present Manse, and then close in front of Naughton House. Thence it led southwards to Gauldry, and across the moor to Kilmany valley, and leaving the present road near ‘ Brighthouse,’ passed over the hill towards the Gare Bridge, by which it crossed the Eden. By this route the youthful Queen, with her merry ‘ troop ’ of ladies and other attendants, most probably travelled to St. Andrews. It was her custom on such occasions to be mounted on horseback, for in those days roads were rough and wheeled carriages rare. Perhaps she rode a milk-white steed, as we know she often did at the stag-hunt or the hawking.

‘ Light on her airy steed she sprung,
Around with golden tassels hung,
No chieftain there rode half so free,
Or half so light or gracefully.’

It may be mentioned that Queen Mary remained at St. Andrews fourteen days on this occasion. During that time, however, she was at Struthers on the 7th of February. She afterwards visited Lundie, Durie, and Wemyss Castle. At the last of these houses she first met, on the 17th of February, her future husband the ill-fated Darnley, her union with whom was the beginning of her misfortunes.²

Returning to our Commendator, we find—probably as a

¹ Labanoff's *Recueil*, tome i. p. 250. See the original in Appendix No. IX.

² Dr Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 531 and note; *Reg. Sigill. Secr.*

mark of the Queen's goodwill towards him, or as compensation for entertaining her during her visit to Balmerino—that the Third (amounting to £234, 13s. 4d.) of the money part of the Abbey revenue, and the Third (about 5¼ chalders) of the meal for crop 1565 were 'remitted and gevin fre be our Souvrane Lady to Mr. John Hay Abbot thairof, att command of hir hienes writing.'¹

On the 10th of February 1564-5, when the Tack granted by Abbot Robert to the Balfours had expired, the Commendator, with the consent of the convent—that is, such of the monks as still remained at Balmerino—granted to John Kinneir of that Ilk another Tack of the 'rents and fruits' of the Abbacy for nineteen years after Martinmas 1564, for the yearly payment of 900 merks as before. This Tack was confirmed under the Great Seal on the 27th of July 1565.²

On the 15th of May 1565 Commendator Hay was present at a Convention of the nobility held at Stirling, when Queen Mary announced her purpose of marrying Darnley, and it was unanimously approved. This is said to have been the first time that Commendators sat in Council after the Queen's return from France.³

On the 14th of June of the same year Mary sent Hay as her ambassador to Queen Elisabeth, bearing the following letter:—

'Richt excellent, richt heich and michtie Princesse, oure dearest suster and cousin, in oure maist hertlie maner we commend ws unto zou.⁴ For certane materis of importance tending to the

¹ *Accounts of the Sub-Collector of the Thirds of Benefices.*—(General Register House.)

² *Balmerino Writs.* The Sovereign's confirmation of the Tack under the Great Seal is not contained in the existing Register of that Seal; and the same remark is applicable to several other documents which are stated in the Balmerino Writs to have been thus confirmed.

³ Keith, vol. ii. p. 280 note (1).

⁴ This use of *z* for *y*, as also that of *y* for *th*, was a substitution for the Old-English *ȝ* and *þ*, the equivalents of *y* and *th*. *Ye* was pronounced *the* and *zou* was pronounced *you*.

maintenance and conservatioun of the gude intelligence and amytic standing betwix ws, we have presentlie direct towartis zou the berair heirop oure trusty and weilbelovit counsalour maister John Hay, Commendatere of Balmerynoch, oure principall Maister of Requestes ; praying zou thairfore, gude suster, to grant him audience, and in sic thingis as he sall declair unto zou on oure behaulf, to gif him ferme credett as unto oure selff. And sa, richt heich, richt excellent and michtie Princesse, oure dearest suster and cousyn, we commit zou to the tuitioun of almichtie God.

‘Gevin under oure signet, at oure toun of St Johnstoun [Perth], the 14th day of june, and of oure regne the 23th zeir, 1565.

‘Zour richt gud sister and cousigne,

‘MARIE R.’¹

The purpose of this mission was to induce Queen Elisabeth to consent to Mary’s marriage with Darnley, and to intercede for the liberation of his mother the Countess of Lennox—who, being the sister of King James V., was Queen Mary’s aunt—and also for liberty to the Earl of Lennox, Darnley’s father, to pass and repass between England and Scotland as often as he pleased. Elisabeth ‘flew into a rage’ whenever Hay mentioned the marriage, and her answer to Mary’s request in favour of the Lennoxes was to send the Countess, who had hitherto been confined to her own apartment, to the Tower; and to summon Lennox and Darnley, who were her subjects, to return to England under the penalty of outlawry or forfeiture.² In the following month Hay was sent to the Earl of Moray to make known the goodwill of Lennox and Darnley towards him, and to assure him of the falsehood of the report which had gone abroad that they were meditating to slay him. Lennox at the same time offered to fight with any one who should dare to avow this.³

¹ Labanoff’s *Recueil*, tome i. p. 271; Keith, vol. ii. p. 292.

² *Spanish Calendar, Elizabeth*, i. 441, quoted in Dr. Hay Fleming’s *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 345; Keith’s *History*, vol. ii. p. 293 (where Mary’s instructions to Hay are given in full) and p. 297.

³ Keith, vol. ii. p. 333.

James Halyburtoun, Provost of Dundee, enjoyed a yearly pension of 300 merks for life from the Abbacy of Balmerino. The reason why, or the date at which this pension was conferred, does not appear. But Halyburtoun, who was a notable man in his day, and an able and strenuous supporter of the Reformation, had, for his resisting the Romanizing schemes of the Queen, been summoned before the Privy Council to answer for the crime of treason, and, not compearing, was put to the horn. On the 24th of August 1565 Commendator Hay received, by a letter under the Privy Seal, a gift, for himself, his heirs, and assignees, of the escheat of Halyburtoun's pension from the Abbacy, and of the liferent of the pension. And if the gift thus made by letter should for that reason be ineffectual, their Majesties (Mary and Darnley) promised, *verbo regis*, that as soon as the liferent pension should come into their hands and be at their disposal by the forfeiture of Halyburtoun, *or in any other manner*, they would grant it in the surest form and way that Hay would be pleased to accept.¹

In the Parliament held in April 1567—the last which Mary was allowed to hold—John Hay was one of four Commendators who, with four bishops, were chosen to represent, among the Lords of the Articles, the spiritual Estate. At a meeting of the Privy Council in May of the same year he was superseded as Master of Requests by Thomas Hepburn, parson of Oldhamstocks, who was admitted to that office on the 17th of the month. This was two days after Queen Mary's marriage with Bothwell, and was probably one of its results; and in the Queen's Proclamation after her escape from Lochleven our Commendator is described, among Moray's supporters, as 'the dowbill flattering traytour, Maister Jhone Hay, quhome we promoveit fra ane puir simple clerk to ane abot and pryour.' Hepburn's appointment must have

¹ *Reg. Secr. Sigill.*, vol. xxxiv. fol. 33.

been cancelled soon after; for on the 27th of August 1567, King James (that is, Moray, now Regent, in his name) 'made and confirmed' John Hay as Master of Requests during his life, and gave him a yearly pension of 300 merks out of the Thirds of benefices or other rents of the King, for his performance of the duties of that office. Whether Halyburtoun's pension had been restored to him, and this new gift of 300 merks to Hay was to compensate him for the loss of the other is uncertain. In the Parliament held in December of the same year—the first of the infant King, James VI.—at which the Regent Moray presided, amongst the Lords of the Articles Hay and other six Commendators, with three Bishops, were chosen as representatives of the spiritual Estate.¹

On the 31st of December 1569 the Commendator received from the Crown a gift of the escheat of the whole goods, movable and immovable, gold and silver coined and uncoined, corns and cattle, etc., belonging to John Kinneir of that Ilk, who, as we have seen, had obtained a Tack of the rents and fruits of the Abbey, but had not paid to the Commendator certain of the teinds of Logy 'as a part of the patrimony of the said Abbay,' for the crop and year 1568. For this offence Kinneir was denounced as a rebel and put to the horn by a decret of the Lords of Session, and ordained 'to devoid and red himself, his servandis and guidis, furth of the Abbay and Houssis of Balmerinoch, yairdis, houssis, and doweattis perteing thairto, to the effect the said Commendatar may entir thairto.'²

On the 1st of June 1573 the Commendator and convent of Balmerino granted to Henry Kinneir, son of John Kinneir of that Ilk, a 'Tack of the teinds, teind sheaves, and other profits, rents, and duties of the towns and lands, with the pertinents, of the parochines and parish kirks of Logie and

¹ Keith, vol. ii. pp. 555, 589, 781; *Reg. Secr. Sig.*, vol. xxxvii. fol. 5; Dr. Hay Fleming's *Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 488.

² *Reg. Secr. Sigill.*, vol. xxxviii. fol. 120.

Balmerinoch, for nineteen years after Lambmas 1573 for 100 merks yearly.¹

John Hay died at Edinburgh on the 3rd of December 1573.² He was succeeded as Commendator of Balmerino by the above-mentioned Henry Kinneir; and as Prior of Monymusk by Alexander Forbes, Master of Arts, who was appointed on the 13th of August 1574 by charter under the Great Seal.

HENRY KINNEIR had in 1569 been provisionally nominated to the Commendatorship of the Abbey, which was to be given to him after the decease of John Hay.³ That event having now taken place, he was presented to the office by letter under the Great Seal on the 7th of May 1574 from the Regent Morton in name of King James VI., who was then a minor. In the Leith Convention of 1572 (which modified the constitution of the Church and introduced Episcopacy as a temporary measure) it was arranged that Abbots and other Heads of religious houses were to be continued as part of the spiritual Estate of the realm, and examined by the Church, before their admission, as to their qualifications and fitness to give voice in Parliament; and they were to act as Senators of the College of Justice—eight of the fifteen Lords of Session, including the President, having been originally Churchmen. Henry Kinneir is accordingly described in his presentation as having been found by his Ordinary, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, to be a true professor of the Christian religion, conspicuous by his good behaviour and life, learned, and a Candidate in Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews, who had completed the twenty-first year of his age; and had made oath that he would obey the royal authority according to use and wont; and the Archbishop is required to give him

¹ *Balmerino Writs.*

² *Reg. Confirmed Testaments* (Knox's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 482).

³ *Reg. Presentations to Benefices.*

institution into office, which he is to hold during life. He was promoted to the bench, and his name occurs in a list of the Lords of Session of the year 1575. In 1583 the 'Abbot of Balmerino' was one of two 'Kirkmen Extraordinary' who were Lords of Session, the other being the 'Abbot of Newbottle.'¹

In Henry Kinneir's presentation to the Commendatorship, above referred to, the King—that is, the Regent in his name—reserves an annual life-pension of £500 out of the two [third] parts of the Abbey revenues to James Douglas,

The image shows a handwritten signature in cursive script. The text of the signature is 'Henricus commendatarius de Balmerinoche'. The signature is written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

SIGNATURE OF COMMENDATOR HENRY KINNEIR.

'natural son of the Regent'; and out of the third of these revenues £80 as stipend to the minister of Balmerino and Logie; £20 to the reader of Logie; and to the minister of Barry £60 inclusive of its vicarage so soon as it shall be vacant.² The Commendator and convent—doubtless in compliance with a stipulation by Morton—afterwards granted to this James Douglas (of Spott) a precept conferring upon him the pension of £500. The doles to be given to the ministers for the performance of duty, when contrasted with the liberal provision made by the Regent for his bastard son, of whom no duty was required, form a striking illustration of the manner in which the revenues of the old Church were alienated from those objects—religious, educational, and

¹ *Estimate of the Scottish Nobility*, p. 41 (ed. by Rogers).

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iv. No. 2232.

charitable—to which the Reformers sought to have them appropriated.

In August 1574 Commendator Henry Kinneir and the convent 'chapterly gathered' granted to Alison Gagye and her heirs a feu-charter of a house and garden at Bottomcraig, which had always previously been given *gratis*, with a cow's grass on the common pasture of Bottomcraig, for the yearly payment of two dozen chickens at Whitsunday, reserving to Jonet Bane, her mother, her liferent of the house and garden, which were then occupied by her. On the 28th of January following, the same Commendator and the convent granted to David Carnegie of Panbride a tack of the teinds of his lands of Easter Cruvy, in the parish of Logie, for nineteen years from Lammas 1575, for 'divers great sums of money' then paid to them, and a yearly rent of twenty merks. These two documents, which have been printed in the Appendix to the Abbey Chartulary, are chiefly noteworthy as containing, besides Kinneir's own signature, those of THOMAS STEWINSON and JOHN YESTER as then forming the 'convent'—the only survivors of the old fraternity. Their names occur as still forming the convent down to the year 1586. As it is also mentioned as existing in 1600, and as Yester had died before that year, the 'convent' must at last have consisted of Stevinson alone—*ultimus Romanorum*—the last of the Romans. He signed a charter as a member of the convent so early as the 5th of August 1535—the first signature of his I have met with. As he could not have become a monk, according to the Cistercian rules, till he was at least sixteen years of age, his life must have been a long one.

JOHN KINNEIR, son of Commendator Henry Kinneir, obtained in 1581 a gift of the benefice of the Abbacy, which his father then demitted into the King's hands for a new grant of it to the said John, who was accordingly appointed, on the

17th of April 1582, 'Abbot and Commendator of both the temporality and spirituality for life, there being reserved to his father his liferent thereof, and to the ministers of the churches of the benefice the stipends then assigned, or to be assigned to them out of its Third.'¹

In July 1585 the 'Commendator of Balmerinoch' was present at a meeting of Parliament at St. Andrews, *Rege presente*, as one of those representing the spiritual-Estate, and signed an Act empowering his Majesty to enter into a Protestant League with England.²

In April 1586 Commendator Henry and the convent gave to John Kinneir of Barnden—apparently his son above mentioned—with confirmation under the Great Seal, a tack of the fruits of the Abbacy for nineteen years after the following Martinmas, for the annual payment of 900 merks, as contained in James Balfour's Tack.³

In 1587 was passed the celebrated Annexation Act, whereby the *temporality* of Church benefices was annexed to the Crown; the 'castles, mansion-houses, and pertinents' of the dignified clergy being exempted from the annexation. This Act, as we shall see, affected the Abbacy of Balmerino.

In 1587-8 the King gave to James Meldrum of Segy the lands and barony of Barry, belonging to the Abbey, till he should pay to him the sum of £10,000 which he had spent in the public service. There is no farther mention of this, and Meldrum's possession of Barry was doubtless brief.⁴

On the 19th of December 1588 occurred certain transactions the record of which is interesting for this reason among others, that it specifies in detail the adjuncts and surroundings of the Abbey Place. Commendator Henry Kinneir and the

¹ *Balmerino Writs*; also *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. v. No. 391.

² Spottiswoode's *Hist. Ch. Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 329 (ed. 1851).

³ *Balmerino Writs*.

⁴ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. v. Nos. 1384, 1439.

convent resign into the King's hands—for a new gift, as the sequel shows—‘the Manor-Place, of old called the Monastery of Balmerino,’ with houses, dove-cots, and other things within the inclosure and precinct of the same; the garden and orchard of the monastery, ‘with the place upon which the Church of the monastery was formerly situated—there being no parochial church (*nulla ecclesia parochiali existente*)¹—and the yard or waste ground adjacent to it called the Cemetery of the Convent.’ At the same time Christina Beatoun, wife of the said Henry Kinneir, as the free tenant, and John Kinneir their eldest son, as feuar, resign the Wood of Balmerino with its lands; Barnden salmon fishing adjacent to it, and extending to Flisk Wood; four acres of Barncroft; the Green, with the plumyard possessed by John Yester, and inclosed by a stone dyke; with house and garden occupied by Richard Leyis; the Overmiln, miln-lands and miltures; John Boyd's house; the malt-kiln and barn; the ward and nutyard, with the power of holding milture courts and of thirling the tenants of the monastery to the miln, with teinds of corn and fish; also the arable gardens of Balmerino, estimated at four acres; the fruityard and ‘brint-girnel,’ with corn teinds; the lands of Woodflat extending to five acres, the lands of Harlands to four acres, the lands of Crossfaulds to four acres, of which the fourth (acre) called Loiremereiswoll (Lorimer's Well—Priorwell?) lies between the common road to the Cross, the Byres bridge, and the aqueduct; the barnyard, with usual common pasture, etc. Whereupon the King, on the same day, ‘considering that by the Reformation of religion within our kingdom the buildings of the said monastery have sustained great damage without any repair,’ etc. gives the above-mentioned subjects in feu to Commendator Henry Kinneir and Christina Betoun his spouse, and to the longest liver of them in life-

¹ The meaning intended to be conveyed by these words was probably that the Abbey Church was not a parish church.

rent; and to John Kinneir and his heirs, for certain specified feu-duties.¹

It would appear that Henry Kinneir was deprived of his interest in the Abbacy for rebellion — the nature of his offence is not stated—and a gift of his life-rent escheat was conferred by the King on James Bartlett (or Barclay) in Cultra on the 8th of March 1600.² Bartlett, however, died before the 1st of October of that year; and it appears that by his death or from some other cause Henry Kinneir regained his interest in the Abbacy.

Now comes the beginning of the end of the Abbacy of Balmerinoch.

In July 1600 King James VI., on account of service done to him by Sir James Elphingstoun of Barntoun, his Secretary, who had incurred great expenses in performing the duties of his office, and had been deprived of the ordinary pension enjoyed by his predecessors, confers on him and his heirs, by charter under the Great Seal, the lands and barony of Barry (the Bailyary of which he had bestowed upon him in the previous year) with salmon fishings, etc. in the counties of Perth and Forfar, which the King of new incorporates in the free barony and regality of Barry; and he unites to it the advowson of the rectory and vicarage, and vicar-pensionary of the parish church of Barry, resigned by the Commendator and

¹ MS. *Reg. Sigill. Mag.* and print, vol. v. Nos. 1608, 150. These properties (excepting the Abbey Place with its immediate surroundings, and the lands of Woodflat, Harlands, Crossfaulds, and Barnyard) had been feued by the Commendator and convent in May 1580, with confirmation under the Great Seal in March 1580-1 to James Betoun of Creich and his heirs, but they appear to have returned to the Kinneirs either with Cristina Betoun or in some other way before 1588.

² *Balmerino Writs*. The year anciently commenced on the 25th of March (Ladyday), and continued to do so in England till 1753. In Scotland, by royal proclamation it was made to commence, in the year 1600, on the 1st of January, as in France. But as the change was not at once generally adopted, it is often difficult to know, in the case of a date between the 1st of January and the 25th of March, to which year it is to be assigned. This has led to much confusion of dates in the early part of the 17th century.

convent of Balmerino; and the King ordains that one sasine, to be taken at the Courthill of Barry, shall stand for the whole. The *reddendo* is fixed at a silver penny in the name of blench duty; and the rents and profits of the hereditary Bailiary of the barony are granted to Elphingstoun for the performance of that office; 'and the King promises to ratify this infestment in his next Parliament.'¹

Commendator John Kinneir appears to have died before 1603; and his death opened the way for the bestowal of additional favours on the new baron of Barry.

On the 20th of February 1603 the King, considering that the Monastery of Balmerino is now vacant by the death of John Kinneir the last Commendator, confers on Sir James Elphingstoun his Secretary (one of the Lords of the Privy Council and a Senator of the College of Justice) and his heirs male, the Place of the Abbacy, with houses, gardens, and other things within its precinct; the barony of Balmerino; annual rents belonging to the Abbacy in the burghs of Dundee, Perth, and Crail; the barony of Barry, with fishings above mentioned; the barony of Pitgorno; also the patronage of the churches of Balmerino, Barrie, and Logy, rectories and vicarages, and the vicarage-pensionary of Barry, with the teinds, fruits, etc. formerly belonging to the monastery; all which the King incorporates in the free temporal lordship and barony of Balmerino; granting to Elphingstoun the title and honour of a free baron and Lord of Parliament to be called Lord Balmerino, with the right to use suitable arms; the Place of the Abbacy to be the 'principal messuage.' The King, moreover, suppresses the monastery, renounces his right to the Thirds, etc.; ordains that the said lands, etc. shall be taxed not among Church lands, but with barony [lands?] and temporal lordships; and that the said lordship shall be valued and retoured at ten merks of Old and thirty merks of New Extent.

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 1049.

The *reddendo* to be the service of one Lord and baron in Parliament, with £100 of blench duty. And the King promises that this infestment shall be ratified in the next Parliament.¹

On the 3rd and 4th of November 1603, Lord Balmerino enters into a contract with Henry Kinneir, whereby the latter with consent of his wife and his son David, renounces the Abbacy in favour of Lord Balmerino, who, on the other hand, agrees to set in tack to Henry Kinneir during his lifetime the Abbey Place, yards, and orchards, with the cornyards, wood, park, and dove-cot, the overmilm, the eastwood, and fishings; and to present David Kinneir to the church of Auchterhouse, which—probably with a view to this arrangement—had three weeks before been demitted by Alexander Tyrie, ‘parson and vicar thereof,’ into the hands of Lord Balmerino its patron.²

On the 18th of February 1604 the King constitutes Robert Auchmouty (son of David Auchmouty advocate in St. Andrews, and in 1593 member of Parliament for that city) ‘Commendator and Abbot of the Abbacy and of the haill spirituality of the same, vacant in his Majesty’s hands by the decease of John Kinneir, or by the rebellion and inhability of Henry Kinneir.’ This charter seems to be inconsistent with that of 20th February 1603 conferring the Abbacy with teinds, etc. on Elphingstoun.³ On the 14th of May 1605 Robert Auchmouty resigns into the King’s hand the Abbacy, etc. as above, that the King may dispose of it to whomsoever he pleases; and on the same day he resigns the kirks of Balmerino, Barry, and Logy, parsonages and vicarages thereof, that the King may grant the patronage of them to whomsoever he pleases.⁴

Such notices as we have of the later Bailies of the monastery may be here introduced. In May 1587 Commendator Henry Kinneir, in consequence of a decret-arbitral, made over

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 1411.

² *Balmerino Writs.* As regards the right of *property* in the above-mentioned subjects, see Appendix, No. XXVII. § 1.

³ *Balmerino Writs.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

to David Setoun of Parbroath the heritable office of the Bailyary of Balmerino—a transaction of which we have no farther account or explanation.¹ In December 1599 John Kinneir, fiar of Kinneir, obtained from the King—in whose hands it was, in virtue of the Annexation Act—a grant of the hereditary Bailyary of all the lands and baronies of the monastery by a charter of which the substance has already been given, but reserving the Bailyary of Barry, which had been granted to Sir James Elphingstoun.² In February 1619 David Kinneir, fiar of that Ilk, was served heir of John Kinneir of that Ilk in the office of Bailie of Balmerino; and on the 8th of April of the same year he resigned it, with the teinds of Logie, to Lord Balmerino,³ with whose family it remained.

As regards the Bailyary of Barry, in 1590 the King made to Patrick Maule of Panmure a heritable gift of this office ‘which had been used and exercised by Sir Thomas Maule of Panmure, knight, and his successors by virtue of the letters of tack made by the Commendators of the Abbacy of Balmerino past memory of man.’⁴ In July 1599 the King, as has already been indicated, granted to Sir James Elphingstoun and his heirs male and of tailzie the hereditary office of Bailie of the lands and barony of Barry.⁵ This Bailyary was again acquired from Lord Balmerino by the Earl of Panmure in 1667, and was still in that family in the year 1686.

The value of the Bailyary of Balmerino—or the *Regality* of the Abbey—may be inferred from the large sums allowed by Parliament in 1747—when hereditary jurisdictions were abolished—as compensation for the loss of such offices. The Earl of Airlie obtained £1400 for the Bailyary of Arbroath Abbey; and £800 was given for that of Cupar-Angus Abbey.

¹ *Balmerino Writs*.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 981.

³ *Balmerino Writs*, Thomson's *Retours*.

⁴ *Registr. de Panmure*, vol. ii. p. 316.

⁵ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 947.

The regality of Dunfermline Abbey was valued at £2,672. That of Balmerino appears not to have been valued, probably as having been forfeited at the rebellion then terminated.

The erection of the Abbacy of Balmerino into a temporal lordship, in favour of Sir James Elphinstoun, was ratified by the Parliament held at Perth in the year 1606. In the Act which was passed on the 9th of July in that year the Estates, after making reference to Sir James's services—first in the King's private affairs, and then as his Secretary and as President of the College of Justice—find and declare that the *temporality*, property and superiority, with the feu-duties, of the Monastery, are in his Majesty's hands by the Annexation Act of 1587; that the *spirituality* of the benefice, containing the Abbey Place and Monastery, with the houses, yards, orchards, and their pertinents, within the precinct of the Abbey, together with the teind sheaves, and other teinds, fruits, rents, and duties, both parsonage and vicarage, of the parish kirks and parochines of Balmerino, Barry, and Logie, and of the vicarage-pensionary of Barry, which come under the general exception from the said Annexation, and which later on pertained to Mr. Robert Auchmouthie, undoubted Commendator of the spirituality of the Abbey, have been resigned by him—'thair being nane of the Convent thair of now on lyfe'—by his letters-patent under the Common Seal of the Abbey into his Majesty's hands; and that the baronies of Kirknewton and Ballerno, with the patronage of Kirknewton, pertain to his Majesty by the Act of Annexation of the Earldom of Gowrie to the Crown in the Parliament of 1600; therefore the Estates of Parliament find it necessary and expedient that the King shall unite the baronies of Kirknewton and Ballerno, and the patronage of Kirknewton, with the Abbacy of Balmerinoch, both spirituality and temporality; that thereafter his Majesty shall erect and incorporate all the above-mentioned baronies, with the teinds of the Kirks of Balmerino, Logy, and Barry, and the patronage of Kirknewton, in one free barony and estate of a temporal lordship

of Parliament; that the same—with such badges and arms as Sir James Elphinstoun may think expedient—shall be disposed to him and his heirs-male of tailzie and provision; and that to this effect his Majesty and the Estates of Parliament annul the said general annexation of the kirk lands to the Crown, in so far as it extends to the temporality of Balmerino Abbey. They likewise annul the Act of Annexation of the Earldom of Gowrie to the Crown, in so far as it extends to the baronies of Kirknewton and Ballerno, with the patronage of Kirknewton; and they ordain that an infestment be made to the effect above stated, remitting and discharging the Thirds of the Abbacy, both victual and money; all monks' portions; first year's fruits, and fifth penny of the Abbacy,¹ because the King will be relieved of the sustentation of the ministers at the foresaid kirks; that Lord Balmerino shall pay all taxes, reckoning the said lordship as £32, 4s. 5d. land of Old Extent;² that he shall have relief from the heritable owners and the tacksmen of the lands and teinds; and shall have power to reduce, for reasonable cause according to law, all infestments, tacks, and titles of any part of the lands, teinds, and other things above specified; 'AND TO THE EFFECT FOIRSAID, HIS MAJESTIE AND ESTAITTIS OF PARLIAMENT HES SUPPRESSIT AND EXTINGUISCHIT THE MEMORIE OF THE SAID ABBACY OF BALMIRRENOCH, THAT THAIR SALL BE NA SUCCESSOUR PROVYDIT THAIRTO, NOR NA FORDER MENTIOUN MAID OF THE SAME IN ONY TYME HEIREFTIR'; reserving to the Crown all regalities and privileges, 'gif ony be,' previously possessed by the Abbots and titulars of Balmerinoch.³

On the 20th of December 1607 the King grants to Lord Balmerino a charter under the Great Seal in terms similar

¹ The 'fifth penny' was a tax imposed on benefices in 1584 (along with the fruits of the first year), for the support of the royal bodyguard. In 1587 both of these imposts were remitted in cases where the holder of the benefice was serving the cure.—(*Acts of Parliament*, vol. iii. pp. 298, 430.)

² Another account of the 'Old Extent' of the lordship of Balmerino makes it £24, 4s. 5d.

³ *Acts of the Parl. of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 341-3.

to those of the Act of Parliament; fixing the valuation of the lordship of Balmerino at the former sum of Old Extent, and at £96, 13s. 3d. of New Extent; and ordaining that fit ministers be provided for each of the churches above mentioned, *who shall be nominated by his Majesty*, and have stipends of specified amount paid by Lord Balmerino. The *reddendo* includes £101 of blench duty and the furnishing of Communion elements, and *relieving the several parish ministers of all taxes* and burdens on the tiends and rents of the churches, or for the repair of the same.¹ In the deed of infestment, the Abbey Place is appointed to be the principal messuage of the lordship of Balmerino, and the blench duty is fixed at 200 merks.²

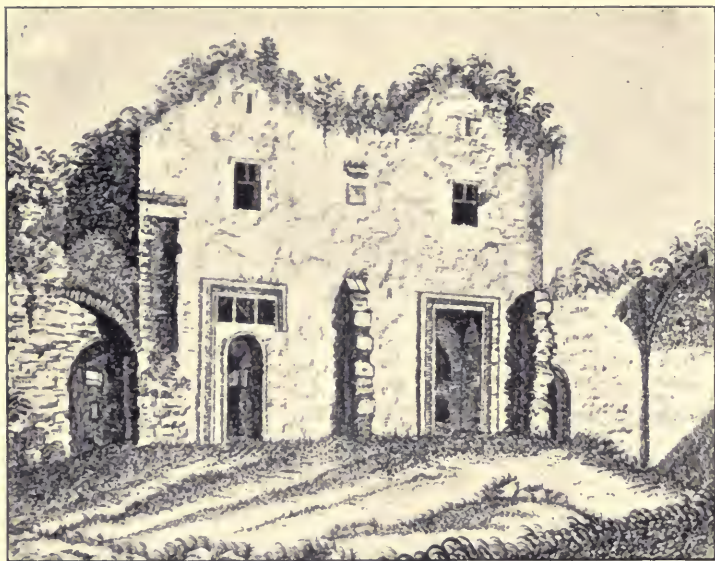
It is to be observed that the greater part, if not the whole of the lands forming the *temporality* of the Abbacy, in Balmerino parish and elsewhere, having been previously feued, the feuars were not deprived of their possessions by the Act of Parliament, as certain expressions in it might be supposed to imply; and that Lord Balmerino obtained little more than the superiorities or feu-duties. Most of the lands forming the *present* estate of Balmerino were afterwards bought back by the Balmerino family at various periods down to 1702.

In the same year in which the Abbacy of Balmerino was conferred by Act of Parliament on Sir James Elphinstoun there were no fewer than seventeen 'erections' of Church lands into temporal lordships. Regret has often and justly been expressed that the endowments of the old Church were lost to the nation by being thus misappropriated to the aggrandisement of the few. When the Religious houses were suppressed, the intentions of the original donors of their property ought to have been respected. This would have

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 2001.

² *Balmerino Writs.*

been, though not literally, yet in the changed circumstances substantially done if their revenues had been applied to the three great objects desired by the Reformed Church—the sustentation of the ministry; the endowment of colleges and of burgh and parish schools; and the maintenance of the poor. The Church property was amply sufficient for the carrying out of all these objects on the most liberal scale.



BALMERINO ABBEY. CARDONNEL'S VIEW OF THE EXTERIOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM THE EAST. A.D. 1788.



BALMERINO ABBEY. GROSE'S VIEW OF THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM THE EAST. A.D. 1797.

CHAPTER XII

THE ABBEY BUILDINGS AND THEIR EXISTING RUINS

‘Amid the change mere living brings,
Amid these ruins of the years,
Here surely one can feel the tears—
The slow, dumb tears of mortal things.’

—G. W. WOOD.

THERE being no notice of the Abbey buildings in the Char-
tulary, nor, so far as is known, any contemporary descrip-
tion of them, the means of determining their original style
and extent, and the relative position of certain portions
of them, are now very scanty. The greater part has long
ago disappeared; but the remains of the Chapter-house, with
some other fragments, still form a picturesque group. Such
meagre notices as we have of the architecture of the mon-
astery were written after it had gone to decay. All tradi-
tional accounts, however, represent it as a fabric of great
beauty. Father Hay, in his *Scotia Sacra*, says it was ‘for-
merly a faire and noble structure.’ Spottiswoode in his *Account
of the Religious Houses* (A.D. 1734) writes:—‘Balmerinach was
an Abbey of a beautiful structure . . . which was of old
a stately building, pleasantly situate near the shore, hard by
the salt water of Tay, and is now for the most part in ruins.’
Defoe, the celebrated author of *Robinson Crusoe*, during his
tour in Scotland in 1727, was induced to visit it, but was
disappointed with what he saw. ‘I turned,’ he says, ‘to the
north-east part of the country to see the ruins of the famous
monastery of Balmerinoch, of which Mr. Cambden takes
notice, but saw nothing worthy of observation, the very
ruins being almost eaten up by time.’ In 1760 Pococke,

Bishop of Ossory, a very extensive traveller, came to Balmerino; but his brief notice of the Abbey ruins contains little of interest, and some scarcely excusable errors.¹ Pennant (1769-72) calls it 'a most beautiful Abbey.' Cardonnel (1788) writes of it in similar terms.

The largest and most important of the Abbey buildings was, of course, the great Church of St. Mary and St. Edward, in which the daily services of the monks were performed. I may first advert to the fate of this edifice after the Reformation, which, however, is difficult to trace. Henry Kinneir's charter of the year 1588, which, as we have seen, makes mention of the 'Place on which the Church of the monastery was formerly situated,' might lead us to infer that the Church had before that time been entirely demolished. But the other statement in the same charter, that 'the buildings of the monastery have sustained great damage without any repair' seems rather to indicate that though the Church and other buildings had been despoiled, they were still not incapable of being repaired. The Old Statistical Account of Balmerino, published in 1793, asserts that the Abbey Church 'served as the parish Church till the year 1595, when it was removed to the east side of the den'—the first of which statements we now know to be altogether erroneous. Again, in a letter written by the Rev. Andrew Hutton of Kilmany to General Hutton in 1789, he says:—'In 1611 the Church was translated to about a quarter mile's distance to the eastward, because (it's said) the countess [Lady Balmerino, who was no Countess] could not bear the noise of the Psalms on Sunday.'² The translation, however, was only that of St. Ayle's chapel, and was not the result of the *condition* of the Abbey Church. I shall return to this subject.

Thomson, in his *History of Dundee*, states that when the

¹ Pococke's *Tours in Scotland*, p. 264 (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

² See this letter in Appendix, No. XX.

transept of the parish church of that town received a new roof, which, according to him, took place in 1588—forty years after it had been burned by the English—‘the wooden work of the roof of the whole transept was brought from Balmerino, being, in fact, the entire roof of the Abbey Church there, the dimensions of which were about co-extensive with those of the transept.’ (The roof of the Abbey Church was in reality much larger.) He adds, that in 1788–9, when the nave (or Steeple Church) was re-erected, the south transept again received a new roof, and ‘the old oaken roof from Balmerino when taken down was sold. A portion of it was purchased by the late James Guthrie of Craigie, Esq., for the purpose of making gate-posts in several of his fields at Craigie, some of which were to be seen since 1820. A very considerable portion was also purchased by the heritors of Monifieth for the purpose of roofing their old parish church, which was taken down to make way for the erection of the present one in 1812.’¹

In the New Statistical Account of Monifieth it is stated that ‘a great part of the present church [of Monifieth] is built of the materials of the old Abbey of Balmerino. That edifice was dismantled, and the stones shipped down the Tay, by the second Lord Balmerino [1613–49], for the purpose of repairing the old church of Monifieth: his object being to save expense, as he was the chief heritor in the parish.’

According to these very circumstantial accounts—which, having no means of confirming or disproving them, I give for what they are worth—the old church of Monifieth was once repaired with stones from Balmerino Abbey; and again, after a long interval, with timber from the same source, which for two centuries previously had been doing duty in the roof of the transept of Dundee parish church.

Mr. Maxwell, in his *Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation*,

¹ Thomson's *History of Dundee*, p. 295.

shows, from the records of the Dundee Burgh Court, that towards the end of the year 1560 the Abbey of Lindores was unroofed, its choicest timber carried off to Dundee, and used in roofing its new Tolbooth—the old one having been burned by the English—and that this ruthless spoliation of Lindores Abbey church was carried out with the concurrence and approval of the Provost, Bailies, and Council. Neither in the work referred to, nor in Mr. Maxwell's other volume, *The History of Old Dundee*, is anything quoted from the Burgh Records referring to the spoliation of Balmerino Abbey, as related by Thomson. But the absence of such notice does not of itself disprove the alleged fact, though Mr. Maxwell shows that the roofing of the transept of the Dundee church took place somewhat later than the date given by the previous historian, and that the whole of that transept was not roofed at the same time.¹ Unless Thomson—or tradition—has confounded Balmerino with Lindores, and also the church of Dundee with its Tolbooth, which seems unlikely, his statements derive some degree of support from the fate of Lindores. The people of Dundee, having already learned to unroof one venerable Abbey Church, would be all the more ready, if allowed by the Commendator of Balmerino, to perpetrate another and similar act of vandalism there.

The Register, recently printed, of the Kirk-Session of St. Andrews, which was also the Court of the Superintendent of Fife, in whose province Balmerino was included, has furnished new information regarding St. Ayle's chapel, which leaves no room for doubt that that edifice was used as the parish church of Balmerino after the Reformation. The chapel is mentioned in a minute of March 1562-3, when certain persons under discipline are ordered by the Superintendent to compeyr in the public essemble of the congregacion of Sanct 'Talis [Ayle's] kirk'; and from an entry of a similar

¹ *Old Dundee Prior to the Reformation*, p. 186; *The History of Old Dundee*, p. 251.

kind in the Register under the preceding June, which mentions 'Balmerinaucht parroche kyrk' as the place where certain delinquents were to compear, as well as from other entries, it is clear that these two designations denoted the same edifice.¹

It thus appears that the Abbey Church—in whatever state it was left by the reforming mob—was not used for Protestant worship, but that St. Ayle's chapel, which two centuries before had been practically, though not formally, constituted the parish church of Balmerino, continued to be so used after the Reformation. Moreover, the parish itself is, in a minute of St. Andrews Kirk-Session of the year 1568, several times called 'Sant Teal parrochion.'²

On the whole it appears probable that the Abbey Church may have stood for a considerable period after the visit of the Reformers in 1559; and though its internal decorations had been destroyed, it may still have retained, like that of Lindores, its roof unimpaired. Even if the timber of this portion of it was not removed by spoilers from Dundee, it would in course of time fall into decay from natural causes, and the ruin of the walls would thus be accelerated. The same result would happen in the case of the other buildings of the monastery. As the Abbey Church was not required—or at least was not used—for Protestant worship, and the domestic portions of the structure were probably no longer occupied by the monks; and as the revolution which had taken place in the religious faith of the parishioners had doubtless destroyed their reverence for both Church and Monastery, so none of them had any interest—apart from the love of Art, which was at that period extinguished by a different class of ideas—in preventing the decay of the buildings. Least of all were the Commendators, who had got possession of the Abbey property, desirous

¹ *Register of St. Andrews Kirk-Session*, pp. 146, 182 (Scot. Hist. Society).

² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

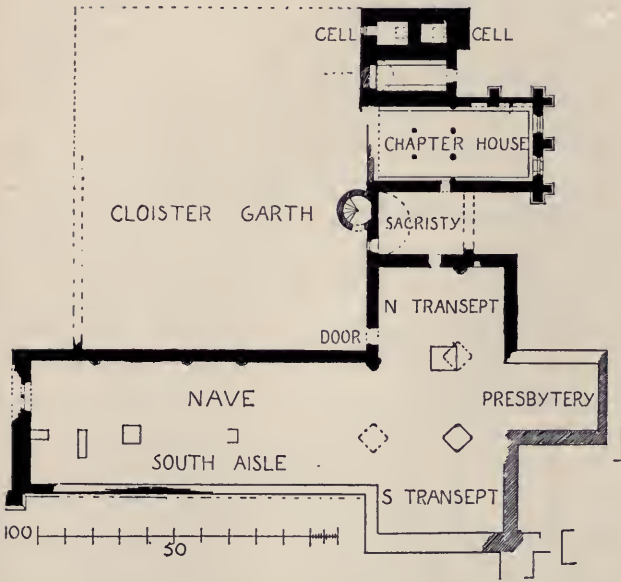
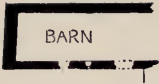
to uphold them. Their doubtful right to enjoy such property would not be strengthened by the preservation of a great and beautiful Church, the existence of which, if another revolution should ever take place, might help to bring about the restoration of their lands to a religious use. Being thus uncared for, the buildings eventually became a quarry for the neighbourhood; and many carved stones which once adorned the Abbey walls may still be seen in the houses, and even the fences, around Balmerino. Now, however, the ruins are most carefully preserved.

Referring the reader to the account of the general plan and component parts of a Cistercian monastery given in a previous Chapter, I shall now briefly describe the existing ruins of the Abbey, and indicate the probable situation or arrangement of those portions of the fabric which have altogether disappeared.

The spacious Church, which had its ornate pillars, arches, doorways and windows, and richly carved woodwork, is, with the exception of a few remnants, no longer in existence; and the spot where was heard by day and night for centuries the solemn chanting of Psalms and medieval hymns by white-robed monks, and over which there passed many a stately procession, while the strains of the organ pealed through 'long-drawn aisles,' is now marked only by trees and heaps of grass-covered rubbish.

'No matins now, no vespers sung,
Time mocks at last the human tongue.'

The Church was in the form of a Latin cross, of which, as was usual in such structures, the head was the east end. A few years ago all that was visible consisted of the north and west walls of the north Transept, and the north wall of the Nave, to the height of from 5 to 15 feet, with small fragments of the west front. A ground-plan of the ruins, given in the volume containing the Abbey Chartulary by Turnbull its



BALMERINO ABBEY. GROUND-PLAN.

editor, and printed in 1841, places a row of pillars along the central line of the Church from east to west, thus dividing the Presbytery and Nave longitudinally into two arcades of equal width. For this arrangement it is now certain that there is no authority. Another ground-plan, published in 1884 by Mr. George Shaw Aitken in his tastefully executed work, *The Abbays of Arbroath, Balmerino, and Lindores, Illustrated and Described*, assigns to the Nave both a north and a south aisle—Mr. Aitken having been misled by local information, which then seemed to be perfectly trustworthy but has since proved to be erroneous, to the effect that a row of pillars that had, about the year 1831, been removed, had stood in what is now known to have been really the line of the south wall of the Nave; and he naturally concluded that the Nave must have been considerably wider than it actually was, and that it must have had two aisles. In 1896 the present writer, with a view to the preparation of an accurate ground-plan of the Church—which till that time had been impossible—was allowed by the proprietor to make excavations by which the desired object was in a great measure attained. The information thus acquired, which showed, among other things, that the Nave had only a south aisle, has been turned to good account by Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross in the second volume of their splendid work, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, which gives a ground-plan of the Church as complete as can be made till the site is cleared of the rubbish and trees which doubtless conceal many interesting details.

The architecture of the Church was in the First-pointed style of Gothic. The length of the Nave was about 127 feet, its width about 45 feet; length of the Presbytery or eastern section of the cross, which had no aisle, about 33 feet, its width about 25 feet; length along the Transepts about 98 feet; width of the Transepts about 46 feet—all these being the interior dimensions. The whole length of the Church was about 206 feet within the walls; being 10 feet longer than

St. Giles's, Edinburgh, 4 feet shorter than Dunblane Cathedral, and 7 feet shorter than the Church of Lindores Abbey.

Only three of the vaulting shafts of the Nave are at present visible against its north wall. Irregularity in their situation, as well as in that of several foundations of piers or other erections in the Nave, cannot, in the present state of the ground, be satisfactorily explained; but there is sufficient reason to conclude that the bays of the Nave were six in number. Spaces in its western portion were probably set apart for the lay-brothers, and, at first, for other parishioners. Of the four great piers of the crossing, which doubtless supported a central Tower, the foundations of three have been laid bare—the two eastern ones, and the north-west one at the junction of the Nave and the north Transept. The Transepts had each an eastern aisle of probably two bays. The moulded base of a respond may still be seen attached to the north wall of the north Transept, which indicates the relative position of the piers of both Transepts.

The principal doorway of the Church was in the west front of the Nave, facing the central line of the chief arcade. It was a double doorway with a central pillar. There was another doorway in the west wall of the north Transept, and a third, round-headed, in the north wall of the same. The south-west corner of the Nave, from which the rubbish has been removed, is of beautiful workmanship, with an angle buttress. Foundations of various structures, the purpose of which is uncertain, have been laid bare at the south-east corners of the south Transept and Presbytery. The rubbish covering the site of the Church abounds with oyster shells which, as in other ancient buildings, were embedded in the mortar of its walls, between the courses of the stones.

Before we leave the Church it will be proper to advert to an incident connected with the removal of its remains at a period comparatively recent. The writer of the article on Balmerino in *Chambers's Gazetteer of Scotland*, published in

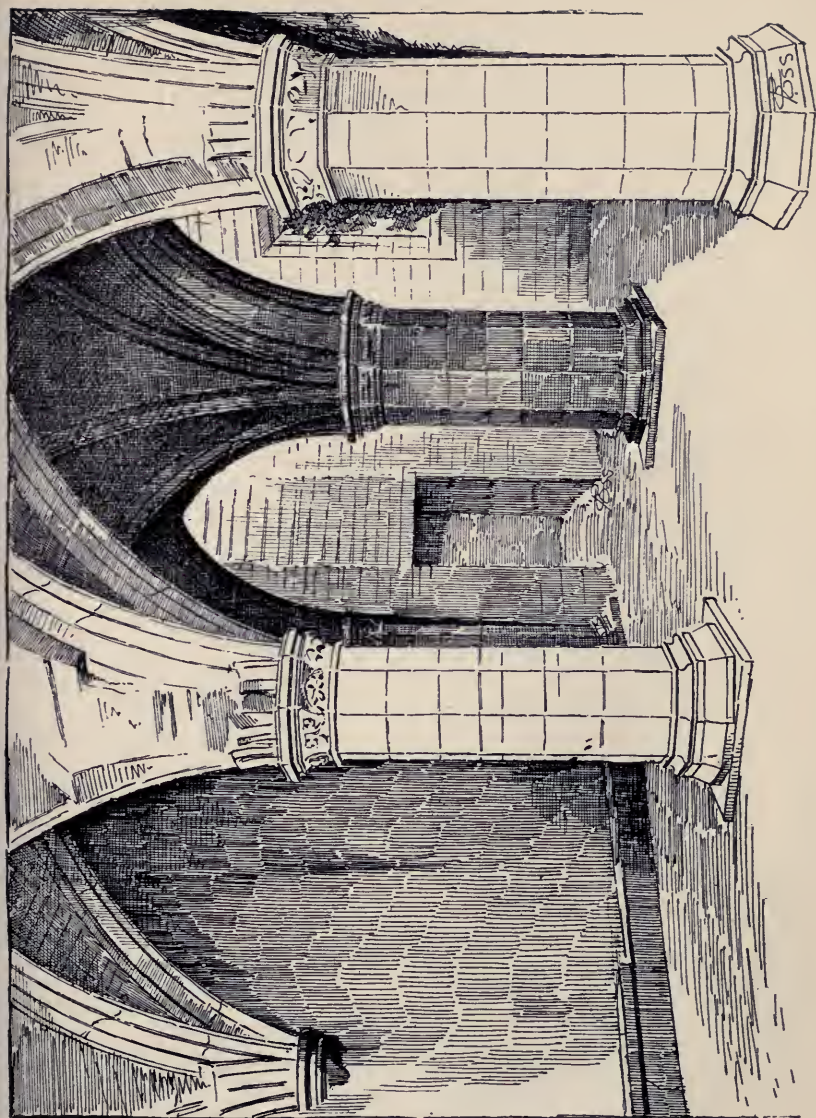
1832, referring to the Abbey ruins, says:—‘Recently much of the rubbish has been cleared off for the useful purpose of building drains and park dykes; among other desecrations, the site of the *magnum altare* (high altar) has been trenched, and the bones of Queen Emergarde dispersed as curiosities through the country.’ The following account of the same matter was received many years ago by the present writer in a letter from a person of intelligence now deceased:—‘Being at Balmerino on the evening of the day on which a stone coffin was discovered in the ruins of the Abbey, I went along with Mr. William Jack, farmer, Demons, to see it. It had been cut out of one white freestone, and very neatly executed, exactly the shape of the body, and covered over with a freestone slab, which was then lying about in broken pieces. It was found near the east wall, and, I think, about the middle of the ruin. It was of moderate size, about the length of an ordinary-sized female. The bones were lying in a heap. I brought off a thigh-bone, and Mr. Jack took the skull, which was in a wonderfully good state of preservation, and sent it to Dr. Small, the antiquarian, who was then living at Abernethy. This was, so far as I can remember, in the summer of the year 1831 or 1832. The coffin was generally supposed to be that of Queen Emergarde, and, I believe, was broken down by Mrs. Mitchell (the farmer’s wife) for sand to her kitchen floor. It was discovered by Mr. Mitchell’s servants when carting away the lime rubbish and earth for manure.’ From these statements it appears not improbable that the stone coffin may have been that of the Foundress of the Abbey, who, according to Spottiswoode, was interred before the high altar. Certainty on the question, however, cannot be attained till it be seen what a thorough clearing away of the rubbish may reveal. In any case, only a person of distinction would have been buried in that part of the Church. Mr. Mitchell is said to have also carted away to St. Andrews, where he was building a house, a great quantity of hewn stones from

the piers and south wall of the Church, till compelled by the proprietor's ground-officer to discontinue his operations. The ground on which stood the most easterly portion of the Church, whether trenched or not, appears to have been either then or afterwards subjected to the plough, which, however, did not penetrate to the foundations recently disclosed.

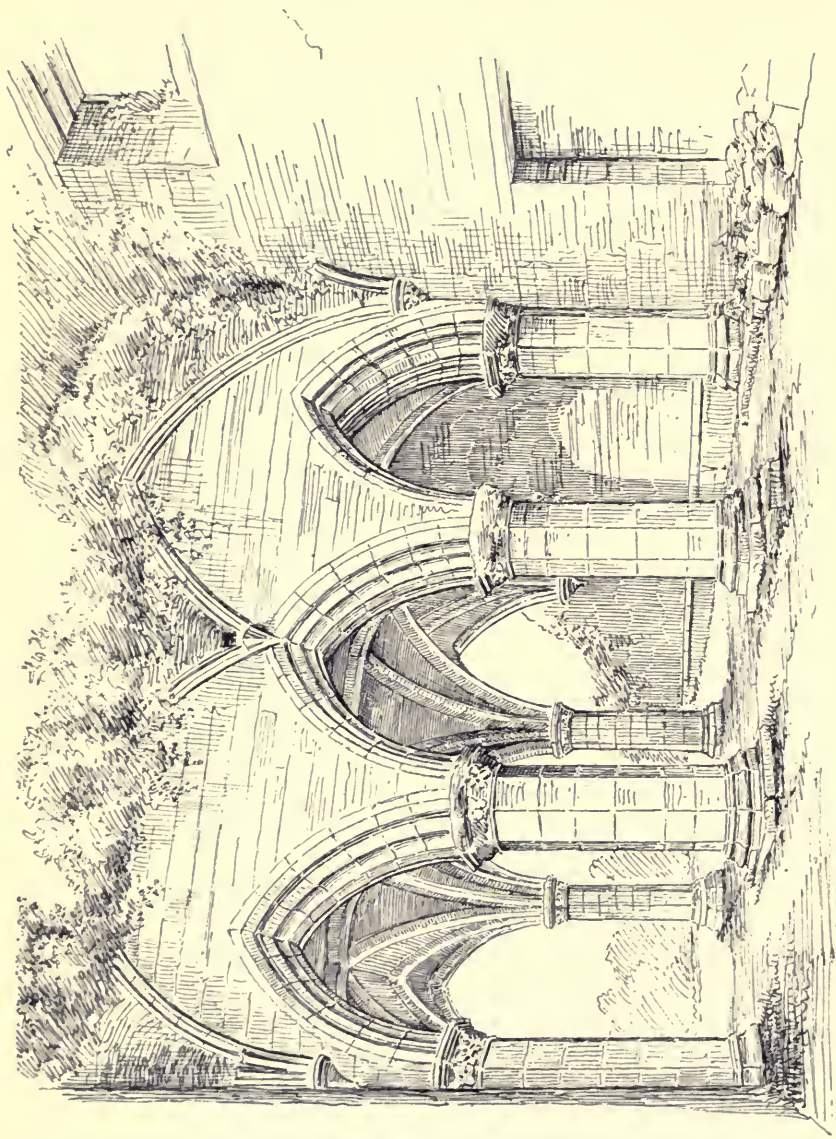
As already stated, the Cloister Garth or quadrangle, around three of whose sides were ranged most of the other buildings of the monastery, was usually on the south side of the Nave of the Church; but at Balmerino, as at Melrose, it was on the north side. Only the structures which formed the east side of the Garth now remain.

Adjoining the north Transept of the Church, and connected with it by the doorway already mentioned, is an apartment about $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length from west to east, and 18 feet in breadth, having a barrel-vaulted roof, and stone benches along its north and south walls. The east wall is almost wholly gone. This was probably the Sacristy, which in Cistercian monasteries usually occupied that situation.

A small doorway—not original—in the north wall of this chamber leads into the Chapter-house. This is now the most entire and interesting part of the ruins, and awakens in the mind of the visitor keen regret that so few of the Abbey buildings have been preserved. The Chapter-house consists of two distinct portions, different in style and age, but of similar dimensions, each being about 28 feet square. The western compartment is divided by pillars into three arcades of equal width extending from west to east—the usual arrangement in Cistercian Chapter-houses. There now remain only four isolated pillars and the two responds placed against the walls in a line with the eastern pillars. The other two pillars have no responds, there being in the north and south walls only rounded corbels from which the vaulting springs. These pillars are more slender than the eastern ones. All of them are octagonal, having moulded bases, and capitals ornamented with leaves of



BALMERINO ABBEY. CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM SOUTH-WEST.



BALMERINO ABBEY. INTERIOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE, FROM SOUTH-EAST.

plants, which are different on each pillar, some of them being still very perfect. The vaulting is groined, and one of the three bosses contains armorial bearings which are almost effaced. The compartment is incomplete at its west end, where the vaulting is gone, and a pillar attached to the south wall is said to have fallen between the years 1782 and 1789. Of the three arched openings which doubtless formed the west front the middle one would be the doorway, and the two side ones windows unglazed, the Cistercian practice being, as we have seen—at least in earlier times—to have all these open. Stone benches were placed along the walls, but the one at the south wall has disappeared. Masons' marks are still visible on the pillars, as well as on some of the remaining fragments of the Church.

The eastern portion of the Chapter-house also had a groined roof, which was considerably higher than that of the western compartment. The roof was supported by a central pillar as in the still existing Chapter-houses of the Cistercian Abbey of Glenluce in Wigtonshire, the Cluniac Abbey of Crossraguel in Ayrshire, and the Cathedrals of Glasgow and Elgin. The beauty of the vaulting may be inferred from that of the corbels and portions of the ribs still attached to the wall, the lines of which are as sharply defined as when they left the workmen's hands. In the east wall were two square-headed windows. The Abbot's seat was doubtless placed against the middle of the east wall, between these windows. The stone benches which were placed along the three walls, as in the two of the western compartment, have been removed, as well as the external buttresses of the walls, of which buttresses only the bases remain.

If a Chapter-house was built when the Abbey was founded, it could not have been either of these compartments with their present architectural features, which are of the Decorated style. The existing western chamber in all probability constituted the Chapter-house for a considerable period before the eastern one was erected. When that event took place, the

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older compartment, with the necessary alterations on its east wall, may have served as a vestibule to the new one. There is an example of this at St. Andrews Priory, where the original Chapter-house was at a subsequent period superseded by a later one, to which it thenceforth probably served as a vestibule.

The present condition of the eastern compartment shows that it had been converted into a dwelling-house, possibly by some of the Commendators, but more probably by the first Lord Balmerino for himself or his servants. The beautifully groined vaulting and the central pillar were demolished, and a wooden floor for an upper chamber inserted; the window nearest to the south wall was changed into a round-headed doorway surmounted by a window of three square-headed lights; a circular stair was built in the south-east corner; recesses were made in the north wall; on the west side, at the northern arches, two fireplaces were constructed, the flues of which pierce the vaulting; the small square-headed windows in the upper part of the north and east walls were probably then inserted. At the same period the Sacristy was converted into a kitchen and brewhouse with a vent to each—the oven being still entire in 1787, as stated in Mr. Hutton's letter already quoted; the large doorway leading into the north transept of the Church was partly blocked with masonry; and the present small doorway for access from the Chapter-house was made through the north wall of the Sacristy. The view of the interior of the Chapter-house, from the east, contained in the second volume of Grose's *Antiquities of Scotland*, published in 1797, represents one of the two archways, where the fireplaces had been constructed, as at that period closed with masonry, and the other one as open. Both this view and another, given in Cardonnel's *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, published in 1793, seem to indicate that the east and west walls of the Chapter-house were then higher than they now are, and that it had a roof sloping from a central ridge.

Adjoining the Chapter-house, on its north side, is a barrel-

vaulted apartment, having a pointed doorway in its east wall, and stone benches against its north and south walls. If the apartment on the south side of the Chapter-house was the Sacristy, this must have been the Slype, or passage from the Cloister Garth to the precincts. There appears to have been another doorway in its west wall, which is now patched up with masonry, the jambs having been first torn away. In Mr. Hutton's time cattle were housed here. In Turnbull's Plan this apartment is called the Fraternity, or day-room of the monks, but its small dimensions—about $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $11\frac{1}{2}$ —and want of windows, refute such a supposition.

Immediately north of the Slype are three cells, two of which have entrances only by hatchways in their vaulted roofs. Beneath one of these is the third cell, or cellar, also vaulted, having an entrance in its west wall reached by a descent of four steps from the ground outside of it. The two former, or at least the eastern one, whose floor is on the ground level, were probably penitentiaries, or places of imprisonment for refractory monks, with which it is known that Cistercian monasteries were provided. The eastern cell has a stone bench on each side, and its floor is 9 feet 8 inches in length by 6 feet 8 inches in width. Its height is about 14 feet, and it has two small openings in the walls for light. In the north and south walls, about half-way between the floor and the roof, there are holes for timber joists, which show that it was divided at one time—probably after the Reformation—into an upper and lower apartment. In the north wall there is a recess, where latterly there may have been a doorway, and a thin new wall has been built outside of the vacant space.

Over the several apartments now described, forming the eastern side of the Cloister Garth, there was doubtless a second story, containing the Scriptorium, or writing and Library, above the older Chapter-house,¹ and also a passage leading from

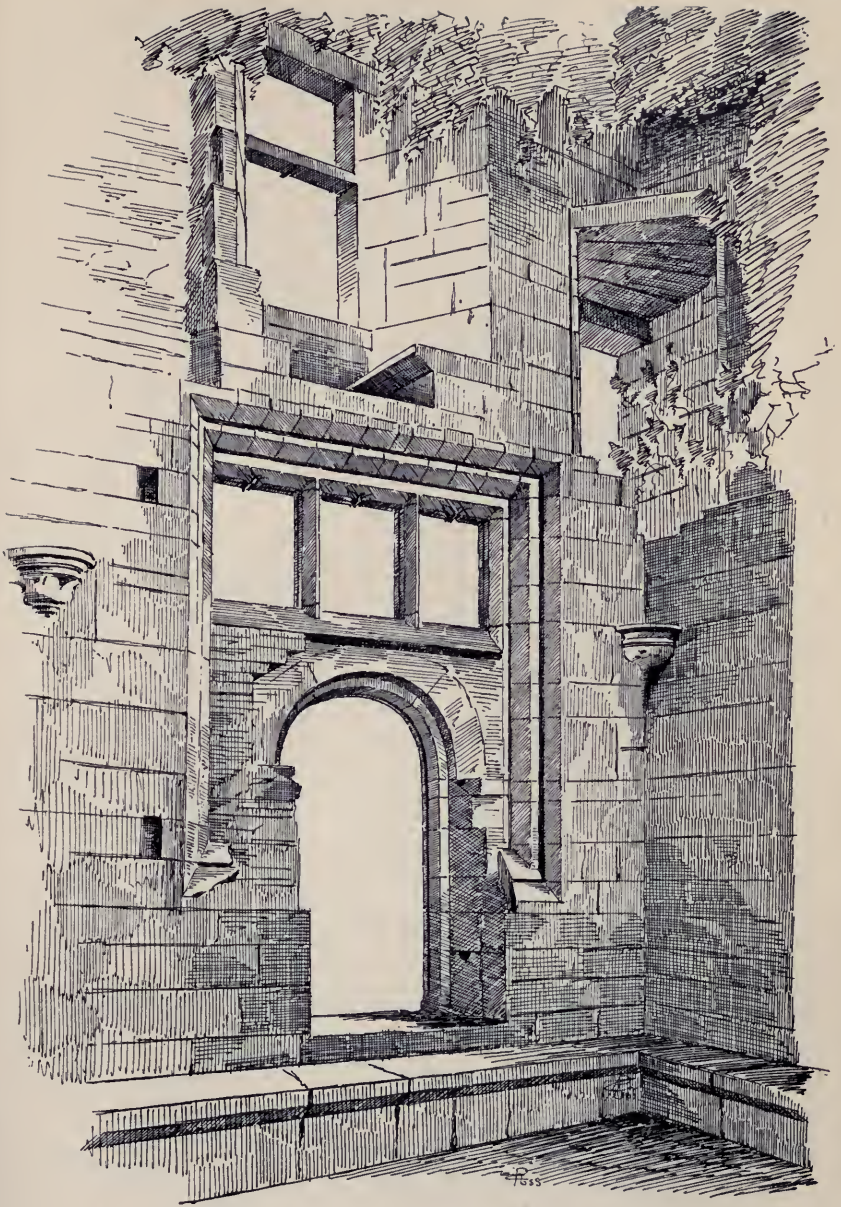
¹ At Crossraguel Abbey the windows of the Scriptorium and Library still exist.

the monks' Dormitory to the north Transept of the Church, through a doorway in the north wall of the latter, and thence down to the floor of the Transept by a broad stair, by which the monks went to the night services.

The arrangement of the buildings which formed the north and west sides of the Cloister Garth is now only matter of conjecture, though there is reason to believe that the foundations of a great part of them still remain underground. Cistercian usages, as we have seen, would lead us to expect the Fraternity, with the monks' Dormitory over it, to have been situated next to the Slype, or to the cells just mentioned; the Kitchen to have been west of the Fraternity; and the Refectory, or dining-hall, west of the Kitchen. Though, in Cistercian monasteries, both the Refectory and the Fraternity usually stood with their axis at right angles to the north (or south) walk of the Cloister Garth, yet at Newbotle—a Cistercian house—and probably in *Scottish* monasteries of all Orders, the Refectory had its axis parallel to one of these sides of the quadrangle. Near the Refectory, cellars for the storage of provisions would be provided.

On the west side of the Cloister Garth was doubtless situated the long building called *Domus Conversorum*—the house of the converts or lay-brothers—with their Dormitory over it. It would probably be connected with the western part of the Nave of the Church by a doorway, through which they would go to such of the services as they had to attend. About seventy years ago, near the situation of the present farmhouse, there was a monastic building of considerable size and height, which was then used as a stable. This may have been the house of the lay-brothers.

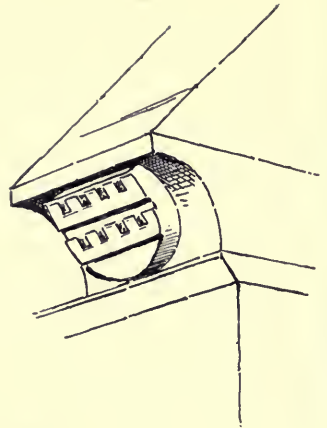
About 30 yards east of the Chapter-house there stood in the first quarter of the present century a detached Mansion of two stories in which the Lords Balmerino had dwelt. Old charters, of a date subsequent to the Reformation, mention as existing in the same place a building then called the



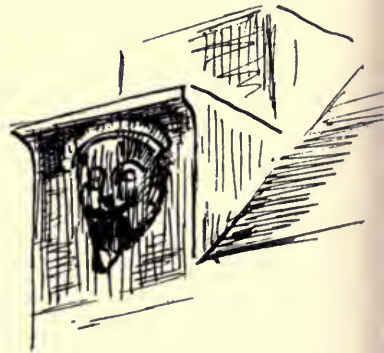
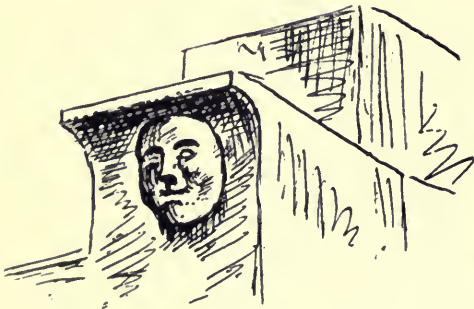
BALMERINO ABBEY. SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF CHAPTER-HOUSE.



BALMERINO ABBEY. CARVED STONE
NOW IN FARM BUILDING.



ARMS ON SKEW PUTT OF BARN
OR GRANARY.

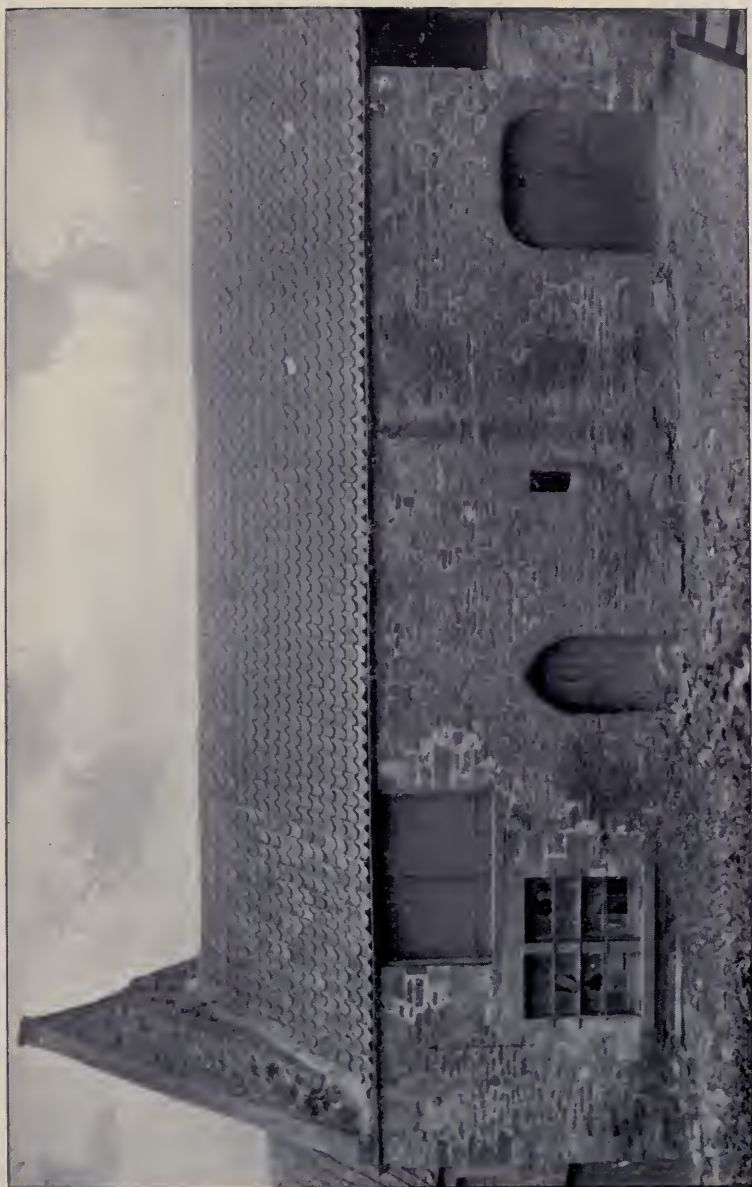


TWO FIGURES ON A DOVECOT AT RAVENSBY, BARRY, WHICH
BELONGED TO BALMERINO ABBEY.

Commendator's house, from which it is evident that the two were one and the same edifice. This had doubtless been originally the residence of the Abbot. Its front faced the west. It had three doors—one in its front, approached by a stair; another on its east side leading to a garden attached to it; of the third—the kitchen door—the situation is uncertain. The house was built of 'fine hewn stones' according to my informant who had seen it. 'Two stone windows in the front,' says Mr. Hutton in the letter already referred to, 'have the impression of arms on them; and on the north end there is a bartizan, as they call it, looking towards the river.' Either the bartizan or the house itself was covered or roofed with lead. In 1789 the farmer at Balmerino lived in part of this house. It was afterwards abandoned, and the farmer occupied a house of one story which stood where the farm stables now are. The only surviving portion of the Abbot's house is a cellar popularly called 'Lord Balmerino's wine-cellar.' It has a vaulted roof of good masonry, an aperture in its east wall near the roof, in its west side a window of two lights, and what was probably the opening into a staircase. It measures about 18 feet by 16 feet. The round arch of its doorway is formed of only two stones, and there are remains of an extension of the cellarage northwards. It was probably from one of the windows of the Abbot's house that the stone, showing a coat of arms, was taken which has been built into the west gable of one of the farm buildings, close to the public road. Its upper part bears a small cross with the word DEUS (God) beneath it. Below this is a shield containing a chevron; but the rest of the blazon has been effaced by the insertion in it of a modern date, 1849. On the right side of the shield are the letters $\frac{A}{I}$, and on the left $\frac{P}{O}$. The situation of the *Hospitium* or Guest-house, and of the Infirmary—indispensable parts of every Cistercian monastery—is unknown.

North of the Cloister Garth there was apparently another court, which was entered from the west by a large arched gateway, having a small one either on each, or on one of its sides. According to some accounts, there was also an arched gateway at the east end of the inclosure. These gateways were removed in the early part of this century. On the north side of the western entrance was the large granary or 'girnel' which still exists, distinguished by its thick walls, high-pointed gable which contained a dove-cot and two arched doorways, one of these being pointed, and its arch formed of two stones. The modern alterations in the south wall of this building can be easily recognised. The skew at the north-west corner of the gable contains a coat of arms 'two bars embattled'—probably those of the Abbot who erected it; but even the most learned in the science of heraldry have not yet found any coat identical with it. The granary appears to have formed part of the original Abbey Grange.

A few years ago a mutilated effigy was taken out of the west face of Balmerino Pier, into which it had long previously been inserted. It is the figure of a man in armour, but wanting the head, arms, and limbs. The hoop-like plates on the back of the tunic, and some chain-work at the neck, may still be discerned. Another headless figure—of an ecclesiastic according to some, of a woman in the opinion of most ladies who have seen it—was recently dug up near the ruins. The drapery, which is well executed, is uninjured. These two figures, which have been placed beside each other on the sward east of the Chapter-house, were both of them intended to stand erect—the backs being as carefully carved as the fronts. They are nearly equal in size, and may have been effigies of the Blessed Virgin and St. Edward the Confessor, to both of whom the Abbey was dedicated; or of Queen Ermengarde and her husband King William the Lion. Sibbald states that Ermengarde's 'statue' was at the Abbey 'within these few years'—that is, about two centuries ago.



BALMERINO ABBEY : ANCIENT BARN OR GRANARY. (*The square openings on the left are modern.*)

The mutilated condition of the two figures just described suggests to the mind a picture of the reforming mob in 1559 tearing down the ornaments, and smashing the 'monuments of idolatry' in the beautiful Abbey Church. Towards the end of last century an image of the Virgin with the Holy Child in her arms was dug out of the ruins, and given to Mr. David Martin, 'painter and antiquarian.' It was said to have stood in a niche above two basins cut out of the stone benches near the entrance of some apartment of the Abbey [the doorway leading from the Sacristy into the north Transept of the Church] 'probably for holding holy water.'¹

In the year 1860, when workmen were digging a foundation for new farm-buildings near the Abbey, they found a good specimen of the English gold coin called an *angel*, having on the obverse the figure of the archangel Michael piercing the dragon with a spear. On the same side was the inscription—HENRIC . DE . GRA . REX . AGLI . Z . FRANC'. Translation—*Henry by the grace of God King of England and France*. On the reverse was a cross surmounting a ship as its mast, and the legend—PER . CRUC . TUA . SALVA . NOS . X . PE . REDE. Translation—*By Thy cross save us, O Christ, Redeemer of sinners*. On the right side of the cross was H for Henry. The arms were those of France quartered with the arms of England; and the coin appeared to be of the reign either of Henry VI. (1422–61) or of Henry VII. (1485–1509).

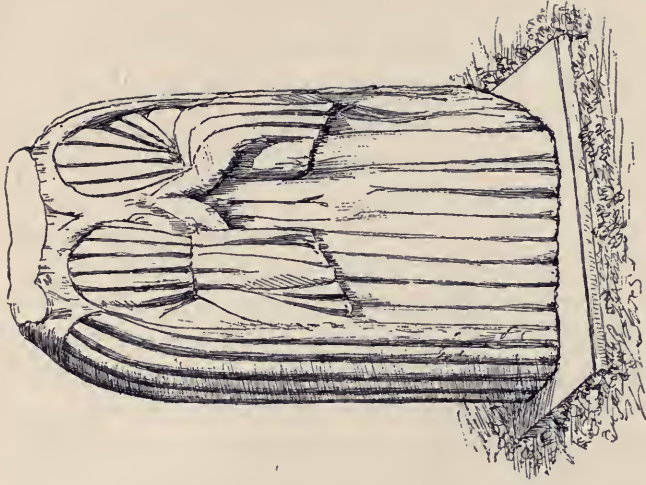
The situation of several portions of ground, and of buildings around the Abbey, some of which have been mentioned in a previous Chapter, may now be indicated. The cemetery, or, as it is described in a charter of the year 1619, 'the waste land lying to the Abbey kirk called the Convent's kirkyard,' was immediately south of the Church. Extending from east to west, across the middle of the field adjoining this cemetery on the south, may still be seen a ridge slightly elevated above the ground on either side of it. It marks the

¹ O. S. A.

site of a portion of the wall which enclosed the Abbey precincts. At both ends of this ridge the wall turned northwards. On the west, it extended along the east side of the public road towards the Abbey Grange. The Abbey Gateway must have been somewhere in this wall, if it was not identical with the gateway already described. On the east, the wall appears to have followed at first the course of the stream till it reached the edge of the ravine, and thence was continued along its western crest. Within this boundary wall, and south and east of the cemetery, were the garden and orchard of the monastery, where, seventy or eighty years ago, many large fruit and other trees were growing.

South of the ridge and wall now described, and extending westward to the road, were the 'overyards,' which seem to have been identical with the ground called in 1619 'the arable yards of Balmerinoch estimate to four acres.' It is probable that these were the private gardens of the monks, for their possession of which they were taken to task, as we have seen, in the year 1533. East of these 'overyards,' apparently, was the 'orchard or fruityard called Heriot's or Barrett's (?) yard' (which seems to have been distinct from the orchard already mentioned), 'with the walls and ruinous houses adjacent thereto called the Brunt Girnel'—doubtless one of the buildings burnt by the English Admiral's force in the year 1547, and never repaired.

In the ravine or 'den' east of the Abbey were the 'ward' (that is, enclosure) 'and nutyard,' and also the 'Overmiln' (near the dam of which is the 'Wards well' or Monks' Well). North of the Overmiln was the Nethermiln, at a little distance south of the present miln, but on the west side of the burn. All the grain to be ground into meal, raised on the Abbey lands in this parish, had to be brought to these milns. Water for the Nethermiln was carried from the stream flowing past Byres by a lade along the middle of the west slope of the ravine, while the burn which flows past Bottomcraig supplied



EFFIGY.

FOUND AT BALMERINO ABBEY.



EFFIGY IN ARMOUR.

the Overmilm. Both were meal milns. Near the Nethermilm was a brewhouse. (The Abbey itself was probably supplied with water from the 'Ladewells' in the face of the hill to the south of it.) The road from Kirkton to Balmerino after crossing the burn (the bridge over which was not erected till about a hundred years ago) turned northwards, and led down the west side of the burn to the Nethermilm; and the present road between the two rows of houses standing west of the bridge did not then exist.

On the knoll south of the Nethermilm, and west of the lade which supplied it, stood the large 'Dovecot of Balmerino.' North of the existing Abbey granary, and near the site of the present stackyard, stood the 'Malt-kiln and barn,' to which the 'ward and nutyard' already mentioned are described as being 'adjacent.' The Nethermilm, dovecot, malt-kiln, and barn were in existence about seventy years ago.

West of the Abbey, and of the road leading from Balmerino to Byres, was situated the 'Green of Balmerino, with the plunyard, within ane stone dyke,' which was occupied after the Reformation by John Yester, the *quondam* monk. The 'Green' was probably used for 'weapon-shawings,' and still existed in 1723. The 'Butts' at Byres are mentioned in 1695, and were evidently an old name then. So early as the reigns of James III. and IV. Parliament enacted that neither football nor golf, nor other sports unprofitable for the defence of the realm be practised, but that shooting (archery) be used, and bow-marks made in every parish, which doubtless explains the existence of these 'Butts' at Byres. The Green and plunyard were probably identical with a field which in the early part of this century was bounded on the east, south, and west sides by a 'dyke' or wall of considerable height. The east wall occupied the site of the present hedgerow on the west side of the public road leading to Byres. The north half of the field thus enclosed contained many fine old trees, the last of which—a plane—was cut down about the year 1863.

A few old trees near the Abbey are worthy of special mention. (1) A Spanish chestnut tree on the east side of the Abbot's house, and close to it, has by some been thought to be as old as the Abbey; but this is probably an over-estimate. At a foot from the ground it measures $19\frac{1}{2}$ feet in circumference; at four feet from the ground $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet. In 1793, as appears from the Old Statistical Account, it measured—at what height it is not stated—15 feet in girth. Its length of trunk is only about 5 feet. Some decayed parts, where a limb seems to have been broken off, were formerly covered with zinc plates, and now are carefully closed with cement to exclude the weather. The venerable patriarch is still, however, in a healthy and vigorous condition:—

‘The spring
Finds thee not less alive to her sweet force
Than yonder upstarts of the neighbouring wood,
So much thy juniors, who their birth received
Half a millennium since the date of thine.’

(2) A very large walnut tree. (3) Another old Spanish chestnut farther south. (4) Two very large beech trees, one of which has a circumference of 15 feet above the spreading out of the roots. The other was greatly damaged during the tremendous storm of 17th November 1893, which proved so disastrous throughout Scotland. In 1775 Lord Hailes thus wrote to James Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Johnson:—‘The gentleman at St. Andrews who said that there were but two trees in Fife ought to have added, that the elms of Balmerino were sold within these twenty years to make pumps for the fire-engines.’¹ This statement shows that the trees of Balmerino were already celebrated for their size before wood was plentiful in Fife—at least in its eastern parts.

The thoughtful reader who has perused the foregoing narrative may feel disposed to agree with the sentiments

¹ Croker's ed. of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, vol. iii. p. 100 (ed. 1831).



ANCIENT SPANISH CHESTNUT TREE AT BALMERINO ABBEY.
(TAKEN IN WINTER.)

of Wordsworth, whose *Ecclesiastical Sonnets* have been quoted in it so frequently in reference to Monks and Abbeys:—

‘ Monastic Domes ! following my downward way,
Untouched by due regret I marked your fall !
Now, ruin, beauty, ancient stillness, all
Dispose to judgments temperate as we lay
On our past selves in life’s declining day ;
For as, by discipline of Time made wise,
We learn to tolerate the infirmities
And faults of others—gently as he may,
So with our own the mild Instructor deals,
Teaching us to forget them or forgive.
Perversely curious, then, for hidden ill,
Why should we break Time’s charitable seals ?
Once ye were holy, ye are holy still ;
Your spirit freely let me drink, and live !’

PART III

HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT MINISTERS
AND PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

THE REFORMED CHURCH ; MR. ARCHIBALD KEITH,
MR. PATRICK AUCHINLECK

‘ With what entire affection do they prize
Their Church reformed ! labouring with earnest care
To baffle all that may her strength impair ;
That Church the unperverted Gospel’s seat ;
In their afflictions a divine retreat ;
Source of their liveliest hope, and tenderest prayer.’

—WORDSWORTH.

As an introduction to this portion of our History, and as a help towards a right understanding of many of its incidents, it will be proper to give a brief account of the ecclesiastical system which displaced Romanism, and thenceforth regulated Church life in Balmerino, as in every other Scottish parish.

The aim of the Reformers—however imperfectly realized—was ‘ that the reverent face of the primitive and apostolic Church should be reduced agane to the eyes and knowledge of men.’¹

The principles of the desired reformation may be said to have attained supremacy in Scotland in 1560. In July of that year a Committee of the Estates nominated eight Protestant ministers for the chief towns ; and of these John Knox was restored to the charge which he had formerly held in Edinburgh. About the same time five other preachers were appointed to superintend the religious condition of as many large districts of the country. On the 17th of August Parliament approved and ratified the Confession of Faith—an admirable exposition of Protestant theology—submitted to it at its request by Knox and other five ministers. Eight

¹ *Laing’s Edition of Knox’s Works*, vol. ii. p. 264.

days later, Parliament abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope within the realm; repealed all statutes which sanctioned Roman doctrines and rites; and prohibited the celebration of, or attendance at mass under the penalty of confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and, for the third, death, though the last of these punishments, at least, does not appear to have ever been inflicted. These Acts, however, as Queen Mary refused to ratify them, were not recorded among the Parliamentary statutes till the year 1567, after her abdication and the appointment of the Earl of Moray as Regent.

The year 1560 was also rendered memorable by the first meeting, which took place on the 20th of December, of the General Assembly of the Church, a body destined to play an important part in subsequent Scottish history. The first Assembly consisted of no more than six ministers and thirty-six commissioners or elders, who immediately nominated forty-three more persons as those most qualified to be ministers or readers in charges unsupplied. For a considerable time the Assembly met twice every year.

Knox and the other ministers who had drawn up the Confession of Faith were also commissioned to frame a constitution for the reformed Church. The scheme they prepared, as set forth in the Book of Policy—otherwise known as the First Book of Discipline—was a very elaborate one. Only its leading features can be here noticed.¹

There were to be no bishops in the *prelatic* sense of that term. As the number of Protestant preachers was as yet utterly inadequate, the country was to be divided into ten or twelve provinces or dioceses, and a minister placed over each as superintendent, whose duty was not only to preach and perform other pastoral work at his own church, but to visit and preach throughout his province; to place ministers or readers in churches not yet supplied; to take account of

¹ The best copy of the First Book of Discipline is that given by Knox (*Works*, vol. ii.).

the diligence and conduct of ministers, the order of the churches, and the manners of the people; and to see that provision was made for the instruction of youth, and the maintenance of the poor. He himself was to be liable to censure and correction by the ministers and elders of his province. The institution of superintendents was a temporary expedient, and they were to be admitted in the same way as other ministers. Though the General Assembly, to which they were subject, afterwards requested that several more should be added to the five already nominated, yet for various reasons this was never done; and commissioners or visitors were appointed to do similar work from one Assembly to another. The meetings of the superintendents twice every year with the ministers and delegated elders of their provinces originated the half-yearly Provincial Synods which are still held.

The ministers were to be chosen by the people, or appointed with their consent, and after due examination admitted by the superintendents, with prayer, in presence of the congregation. As to ordination, the authors of the Book of Discipline declared that 'albeit the Apostillis used the imposition of handis, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremonie we juge is nott necessarie.' Many of the early ministers, however, had been ordained priests before the Reformation.

Ruling elders, as distinct from teaching elders or ministers, and deacons were to assist the minister in the public affairs of the church, the elders more especially being associated with him in the judgment of causes and the oversight of the people. The deacons were to collect and distribute the revenues and alms of the church. Both elders and deacons were to be elected by the people, but only for a year, lest by long continuance in office they should 'usurp a perpetual dominiun in the church.' They might, however, be re-elected. Their meetings with the minister every week or oftener formed the court still known as the Kirk-Session.

It was in consequence of the scarcity of persons qualified for the ministry that the ancient office of reader, above referred to, was at this time revived. His duty was to read the Holy Scriptures and the Common Prayers in a congregation destitute of a pastor. This duty was also commonly performed by a reader in those churches—at least in the larger ones—which were provided with a minister. In 1574 the plan was adopted, in accordance with the parsimonious policy of the Regent Morton, of putting one minister in charge of three or four churches, with a reader under him in each of them. Readers were not permitted to administer the sacraments; but they might exhort the people, and if approved in that duty might afterwards be promoted to the ministry. When parish schools were instituted, the offices of reader, schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk were generally united in the same person.¹

The Common Prayers above mentioned were those of the Book of Geneva. In 1557 the Protestant Lords had authorized the use of the English Liturgy, or Second Book of King Edward VI., and it was read in some parts of the country. Afterwards the Liturgy drawn up by Knox and others at Frankfort in 1554, and published two years later for the use of the congregation of English refugees at Geneva, was adopted in Scotland. In 1562 this Book of Geneva was reprinted in Edinburgh with additions, and in that year the General Assembly enjoined its use in the ministration of sacraments, in marriages, and in burials. In 1564, when it was again printed in Edinburgh, in an improved and enlarged form, and conjoined with a metrical version of the Psalms, the Assembly ordained it to be used 'in prayers'—that is, in the ordinary service on Sundays—as well as in

¹ The schoolmaster of Logie still enjoys an endowment of fifty merks annually, the produce of an old 'mortification' of a thousand merks by a laird of Logie to the reader. Similar endowments exist in Monimail and some other parishes.

marriages and ministration of the sacraments. It was known as the Book of Common Order, and is often called Knox's Liturgy. The minister was not rigidly confined to the forms it supplied; and his prayer immediately before sermon and, if he chose, the one after it were extemporaneous. It was recommended in the Book of Discipline that the Common Prayers should be used also in family worship.

It was further enjoined that men, women, and children should be exhorted to exercise themselves in psalm-singing, so that, when assembled in church, they might be able with one heart and voice to praise God—a part of the service in which the people before the Reformation had no share, and now greatly delighted.

In large towns there was to be sermon, or at least the reading of Common Prayers and Scripture, daily; in smaller towns Common Prayers and sermon on one day in every week besides Sunday; and every church was to have a Bible in English. In towns possessing schools and learned men there was to be a weekly meeting of ministers and readers for the exercise of 'prophesying,' or interpretation of Scripture, to which the people were to be admitted as auditors. Ministers and readers residing within six miles of such towns were to take part in those meetings, or 'Exercises,' as they were called; from which, about the year 1581, Presbyteries were evolved, the meetings of which then, and long after, always commenced with the interpretation of a portion of Scripture by two or three of the members.

Two of the seven sacraments of the Roman Church—Baptism and the Lord's Supper—were alone recognized. As regards the former, Knox's Liturgy enjoined that the infant to be baptized should be 'accompanied with the father and godfather,' but there is no mention of the latter of these sponsors in the Book of Discipline. This sacrament was to be administered after sermon on Sundays or week-days, and with water only; and the use of oil, salt,

wax, spittle, and conjuration, and of the sign of the cross, was forbidden.

Though the Lord's Supper is mentioned in Knox's Liturgy as being 'commonly used once a month,' in the Book of Discipline it is stated to be sufficient that this sacrament be administered four times in the year; and it is recommended that the festival days of the Roman Church should be avoided. (In 1562 the Assembly appointed it to be observed four times in the year in burghs, and twice in country parishes.) Those intending to communicate, especially such as were suspected of ignorance, were to be examined previous to each celebration; and all who could not say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments were to be excluded. The people were not to be defrauded of the cup as in the Church of Rome, and were to sit at a table, as being the position equivalent to that taken when the Supper was instituted. The minister was to break the bread and distribute it, and hand the cup, to those nearest to him, who, in like manner, were to give them to others till all had partaken, as being 'nyest to Christis actioun, and to the perfite practise as we reid it in Sanct Paull.' During the 'action' it was thought necessary 'that some comfortable places of Scripturis be red, quhilk may bring in mynd the deith of Christ Jesus, and the benefite of the same.'

Marriage was to be performed in church, and in the audience of the people, on Sundays before sermon. (Kirk-sessions for some time after the Reformation commonly ordained that parties who desired to be married must first be tried upon their knowledge of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments.)

At funerals there was to be no reading—that is, prayers—or singing, lest these things should be thought to profit the dead; nor was any kind of ceremony to be used 'uther than that the dead be committed to the grave with such gravitic and sobrietie, as those that be present may seame to

fear the judgmentis of God, and to hate synne, which is the caus of death.' Yet each church might use its liberty in this matter, subject to the Assembly of the whole Church. In Knox's Liturgy it is stated that when the interment has been completed, 'the minister, if he be present, and required, goeth to the church if it be not far off, and maketh some comfortable exhortation to the people touching death and resurrection.' Funeral sermons were disapproved of. (Yet Knox himself preached a sermon on the death of the Regent Moray.)

Every master of a household was to be commanded either to instruct, or cause to be instructed, his family and servants in the principles of the Christian religion; and every year, at least, all persons come to maturity were to be publicly examined by the minister and elders on their knowledge and belief of the same.

As the 'order of Ecclesiastical Discipline' was judged necessary for 'the reproving and correcting off these faultis which the civill swerd doeth eather neglect, eather may not punische,' evil-doers of every rank and calling, rulers and preachers, as well as the poorest of the people, were to be subjected to the discipline of the Church, and excluded from participation in prayers and sacraments till they professed their repentance; and if their offences were public and heinous, they were to do this in presence of the congregation. Those who remained impenitent were to be excommunicated.

Out of the revenues of the Church provision was to be made for the sustentation of the ministers (including that of their widows and children), of the teachers of youth, and of the poor. Stipends of specified and moderate amount were to be given to superintendents, ministers, and readers, in proportion to their respective needs and spheres of labour. It was not thought necessary to make provision for elders and deacons, because they were to hold office only for a year,

and were not, like ministers, prevented by their official duties from earning their living by secular employments.

A comprehensive system of national education was proposed, embracing a school in every parish, in which should be taught the elements of religious and secular knowledge; a grammar school or college in every notable town; and a course of instruction—which was sketched out in great detail—in the existing Universities. Attendance at the parish schools was to be compulsory; and to the poor education was to be free. From these schools the aptest pupils were to be sent to the grammar schools, and, if they had poor parents, and especially if they came from country parishes, were to be both maintained and educated at the public expense. From the grammar school, in like manner, those of greatest capacity were to be sent to the University and trained for the learned professions; and it was required that education in all its stages should be under the control and supervision of the Church.

The Book of Discipline was approved and subscribed by many members of the Privy Council, yet it never received, as did the Confession of Faith, the sanction of Parliament. For this there were two reasons. One was the strictness of the ecclesiastical discipline proposed to be exercised. The other and chief reason was, that the Protestant nobles and barons, having already acquired part of the possessions of the old Church, wished also to secure, as by various devices they were in course of time successful to a great extent in securing, for themselves the remainder. Their concurrence had been readily obtained so long as the zeal of the Reformers was directed against the errors of Romanism. But when the authors of the Book of Discipline proposed that after the reformation of the Church was effected, the funds required for the sustentation of the ministry, the education of the people, and the support of the poor should be obtained from the ecclesiastical property, they met with determined oppo-

sition. Only paltry sums could for some time be procured for the first of these objects, while the other two were neglected. In 1567 Parliament enacted that all teachers, whether public or private, in universities and schools must be 'tried' by the superintendents or visitors of the Church, and this jurisdiction was afterwards transferred to Presbyteries; but it was not till a later period that parochial schools were established by the State. Yet in the interval many were instituted through the influence of the Church; and these formed a goodly instalment of the grand scheme of national education planned by Knox and his associates. Though important parts of the comprehensive polity set forth in the Book of Discipline were thus never carried out, most of its proposals other than financial were put in operation by the Church herself in the exercise of her intrinsic powers; and the means of religious instruction and improvement so amply provided by the agencies of preaching, teaching, and catechising, and by the correction and restraints of Church discipline, produced marked and enduring effects on the moral and intellectual condition of the Scottish people.

Some of the methods and regulations prescribed in the Book of Discipline were in course of time modified or discontinued. Thus ordination to the ministry by imposition of hands was restored in 1578 by the Second Book of Discipline, which also appointed that elders and deacons should hold office during life. Presentation to churches by the former patrons, if it was ever suspended by giving to the parishioners the election of their ministers, was resumed. In 1565 the ecclesiastical leaders acknowledged that the right of presentation belonged to the patrons, while they claimed for the Church the right of collation. In 1567 Parliament gave legal effect to both of these rights. In 1579 the General Assembly allowed marriages to be solemnized in church on any day of the week (the banns having previously

been proclaimed on three Sundays) if there was a sufficient number present, and if the ceremony was conjoined with preaching.¹

MR. ARCHIBALD KEITH was the first Protestant minister of Balmerino. He is said to have been appointed in 1560—at the very commencement of the Protestant establishment—to serve both the churches of Balmerino and Logie-Murdoch.² We shall see that he is expressly mentioned in December 1562 as minister of ‘Logy and Balmerino,’ and in terms which seem to imply that he had been in office for some time previous to that date; and there is evidence that there was a minister at Logie so early as 1561, who, doubtless, was Mr. Keith. It is certain that Protestant services were regularly held in June 1562 in St. Ayle’s chapel, then used as the parish church of Balmerino. In the existing scarcity of preachers Logie was thus for a time united to Balmerino, no doubt on account of its ancient dependence on the Abbey. The circumstance that Logie is once or twice mentioned as the first of the united charges is probably accidental. In September 1561 Logie possessed a reader, whose name was David Forret, and also deacons. At Balmerino likewise there was perhaps a reader, though I have not found any express mention of such an official, or of any stipend assigned to him. One of the *quondam* monks may have acted as reader, maintained by his pension from the revenues of the Abbey; or perhaps the reader of Logie may have officiated at each of the churches when the minister was conducting the service in the other one. There would doubtless be deacons also at Balmerino, though no notice of them occurs. At both churches elders would be associated with Mr. Keith. We shall see that they

¹ In 1581 the Assembly forbade ministers to celebrate marriages, or to administer the sacraments, in private houses under pain of deposition.

² Appendix to *Selections from Minutes of the Synod of Fife* (Abbotsford Club).

are expressly referred to as holding office in Balmerino parish in 1568.¹

Mr. Keith's duties would be arduous. The people had hitherto been taught that religion consisted mainly of the so-called sacrifice of the mass, prayers and masses for the relief of souls from an imaginary purgatory, confession of sins to a priest, adoration of images, invocation of the Virgin Mary and departed saints, observance of saints' days, and other superstitious practices. Previous to the Reformation the prayers of the Church were said in a tongue unknown to the people, and the few sermons that were preached were largely composed of silly legends about saints, laudation of the virtues of indulgences, and such like. Education, or acquaintance with Scripture, was extremely limited. Such being the condition of the people, much instruction would be needed to eradicate from their minds error and superstition, and to implant a knowledge of the genuine truths of the Word of God. The process would be slow and gradual, even though the people eagerly listened, as we know they did at that period, to the preaching of the pure Gospel. The simplicity of the Protestant Church services would form a striking contrast to the pomp and ceremonies they had previously been accustomed to witness.

When both the minister and reader were present the service was as follows. The bell, which had been rung at seven o'clock in the morning, was rung again at eight, when the people assembled, uncovered their heads, and said a short prayer. The reader then entered the lectern or reading-desk, and read the public prayers from the Book of Common Order, while the people knelt. He next gave out one or more Psalms to be sung. He then read some large portion of Scripture; and whatever book of the Old or New Testament was begun was 'orderly read to the end' on successive Sundays.

¹ *Register of St. Andrews Kirk-Session*, vol. i. pp. 124, 146, 125, 300 (Scot. Hist. Soc.).

At a later period the Psalm-singing came after the Scripture lesson. These exercises lasted about an hour. When they were ended, the bell was rung the third time. The minister then entered the pulpit, knelt for private devotion, and after an extemporaneous prayer for a blessing on the Word to be preached, gave out his text and delivered his sermon, during which the people sometimes applauded, and often sat with their heads covered—the latter being a practice which prevailed also in England after the Reformation, and was not quite extinct in Scotland till the eighteenth century at least. The minister next read from the Book of Common Order one of the intercessory prayers for Christ's Church and for all men, or extemporised one to the same effect, and then said the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. A Psalm followed, the singing of which (and of the other Psalms also) was concluded with the Doxology; after which the minister pronounced the Benediction. Such was generally the order of divine service for about eighty years after the Reformation. Sometimes there was an additional prayer, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and also another Psalm, before sermon. When the minister was absent, the reader's service consisted of the Common Prayers, singing, and reading of Scripture as above, without sermon, though there might be exhortation.

In the afternoon the young were examined, in the audience of the people, in Calvin's Catechism, which was first reprinted in Edinburgh in 1564, and was usually joined to the Book of Common Order. The Catechism was divided into fifty-five sections, so as to be gone over in about a year; and when the examination was concluded, the minister expounded to the whole congregation the doctrine of that day's portion. When there was neither catechizing nor preaching in the afternoon, the Common Prayers were read.¹ The custom of commencing service so early as eight o'clock in the morning was doubtless

¹ See Sprott and Leishman's edition of the *Book of Common Order and Directory* (Introductions).

a survival from pre-Reformation times. A later hour was afterwards adopted.

A plan having been authorized in 1561, as we have seen, for allowing two-thirds of the benefices of the old clergy to be retained by them during life, and for appropriating the remaining third partly to the sustentation of the Protestant ministers, and partly to the use of the Crown, commissioners were appointed by the Privy Council for the purpose of 'modifying' or apportioning stipends to the ministers, which usually ranged from one hundred to three hundred merks. These sums were frequently ill paid. Mr. Keith's stipend must have been paltry in amount, as appears from the following statement in the Records of the General Assembly,¹ under the 29th of December 1562:—

'Mr. Archibald Keith, minister of Logie and Balmerinoch, was discernit be the Kirk to be translated fra the forsaid kirks to sick place as where his stipend sould be more abundantlie givin him, in case he be not reasonable satisfiet be the Lords appointit to modifie the ministers' stipends, provydit that he change not at his awin privat opinion, but to have therein the judgement and appointment of the Kirk, who sall give their judgement herein or this Assemblie be dissolved.'

The promised judgment is not recorded. It forms, however, a striking illustration of the treatment of the Protestant ministers by those in authority, that in a parish every acre of which was Church property the minister was placed on a starvation allowance. 'Thair was none within the Realme,' says Knox, 'more unmercyfull to the poore Ministeris then war thei whiche had greatest rentis of the Churches'; that is, who had got possession of the largest portion of their revenues. In December 1567 Parliament granted the whole of the Thirds of benefices for the use of the Protestant ministers 'ay and quhill (until) the Kirk cum to the full possessioun of thair

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part i. p. 28 (Ban. Club Ed.).

proper patrimonie, quhilk is the Teinds.'¹ By this small concession stipends were somewhat increased.

As Balmerino parish was included in the province of which Wynram had been appointed Superintendent, cases of discipline originating in it, probably after having first come before the Kirk-session of Balmerino, were, for some years subsequent to the Reformation, disposed of at St. Andrews by the Superintendent and his council, which consisted of the elders and deacons, or Kirk-session, of that city. The first of such cases was that of Alexander Car, who, as we have seen, had been in monastic times a 'chaplain'—probably of St. Ayle's. His offences and the Superintendent's decision regarding them are stated in the Register of St. Andrews Kirk-session under the 3rd of June 1562:—

'The quihk daye, Alexander Car, sumtym called Schyr Alexander Car, and Madd[e] Sanderis . . . delated to the Superintendent, summond, comperand and accused, confessis thar gyiltines, ar desyrus and contentit to contract and solemnizat mariaige, for avoyding of sclander, mutuall societie and help of ather toward other, and weyll of thar barnis . . . In respect of the quhilk, the Superintendent ordenis tham to compeyr in the essemble of Balmerinaucht parroche kyrk this nixt Sunday the xiiij of Junii instant, and thar confes thar ald lang transgression and offencis, ask God mercy and the congregacion forgyfnes, and to solemnizat thar mariaige wythin xl dayes nixt heirefter, under pan[e] of excommuniacion.'²

The next case is that of John Yester, formerly a monk of the Abbey. The Balmerino Writs show that after the Reformation he had married, and in the absence of other information it might appear probable that, having become a Protestant, he followed still farther the example of Luther

¹ The Commendator of Arbroath, in a letter dated 19th July 1567, speaks of the ministers as 'frustrate of their livings, dieing in the street for hunger and cold.'—(*Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Peterkin's ed., p. 62.)

² *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, vol. i. p. 146.

by disregarding his vow of celibacy, and voluntarily taking to himself a wife. But the St. Andrews Kirk-session Register furnishes a very different explanation of his marriage. On the 18th of March 1561-2 he had been taken under discipline by the Superintendent, and had promised to abstain from the company of Helen Bunche. This promise he had broken, and on the 3rd of March in the following year 'comperis Johane Zeasteris, sumtym monk in Balmerinach, summond to underly disciplyn for cummyng in contrar of his promys . . . to absteyn fra cumpany . . . wyth Eleyn Bunche . . . Quhilk offencis the said Jhon Zeasteris confessis, offerris hym redy to underly disciplyn of the kyrk, and also offerris hym redy and wylling to solemnizat mariaige wyth the said Eleyn; and this nixt Sunday hymself to compeir, and do his exact diligence to caus the sayd Eleyn compeir wyth hym at Sanct Talis (St. Ayle's) kyrk, consent to the proclamacion of thar bannis, and wythin xl dayes at the farrest nixt heirefter solemnizat thar mariaige. In respect of the premissis and that the same salbe deuly performit, the Superintendent ordenis the saydis Jhon and Eleyn this nixt Sunday following to compeyr in the public essemble of the congregacion of Sanct Talis kyrk, and thar mak public satisfaccion befoyr proclamacion of thar bannis, and to fulfyll the foyrsayd premissis in all punctis under pane of excommunicacion.'¹

Before 1567 Mr. Keith was translated to Longley (St. Fergus), in Aberdeenshire, where he had 200 merks for stipend, with Peterugie (Peterhead) and Crimond also in charge. He ministered and resided successively at these places, where he was the first Protestant minister, as he had been at Balmerino and Logie, and died at Crimond before the 25th of February 1595.²

MR. PATRICK AUCHINLECK OR AFFLECK was the second Protestant minister at Balmerino, with a reader under him

¹ *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, vol. i. p. 180.

² *Scott's Fasti Ecclesie Scoticanæ*, vol. iii. Part ii.

at Logie. It is uncertain when he was admitted: the first mention of his incumbency occurs in the year 1571.

Previous to the Reformation the ceremony of marriage had been preceded by a formal act of espousal before a priest and three or four trustworthy witnesses. Two cases from Balmerino parish, which were tried before the Superintendent Wynram at St. Andrews, show that this ancient custom, otherwise known as *handfasting*, still continued to be practised, though in a different manner, under the name of 'contract.' It was afterwards forbidden by the General Assembly, and with good reason, as parties who were handfasted frequently lived together as husband and wife without being regularly married. This, however, is not asserted of the persons concerned in the two cases now to be adduced, which were processes raised at the instance of members of the fair sex against their faithless swains, not to obtain from them pecuniary compensation for breach of promise, as the method now is, but to have them compelled by ecclesiastical authority to make good their espousals by marriage in face of the Church.

On the 11th of August 1568, Margaret Wilson having, in her process before the Superintendent, been required by him 'to produce witnes for probatioun of promis of mareage betwix hir and Patrik Gourlay, producit Richart Leis in Balmernocht, Alexander Gyllet in Kilbyrnis, syster sone to the mother of the said Margaret, Johne Brown in Coultray, William Gourlay in Souththeild, William Gourlay in Lucheris, David Grig in Fordell, Henry Gourlay in Lucheris. And Johne Michel in Balmernocht, and Thomas Stevinson thair, [probably the *quondam* monk of that name] somond and nocht comperand, the Superintendent sett the first day of September nixt to cum, to do diligence for Johne Michel and Thomas Stevinson; and to produce utheris witnes sa mony as the partie plesis, and Christen Braed and Patrik Gourlay [are] warnit to compeir the said day.' Christen Braed, however, did not compear.

Richart Leis, who was probably the session-clerk, 'deponis that, upon the x day of Junii last bipast, the saidis Margaret and Patrik being in Christen Braed hows in the Demins of Balmerynocht, the deponent [did] write the contract of mareage betwix the saidis parteis, and referris hym thairto; and forthir, befor diverss famous witnes, saw thair handis layit together; and being requirit quhat wordis war pronuncit, the deponent can nocht tell.'

'Johne Brown . . . deponis and sayis, that [he] the deponent layit the twa parteis handis together, and said ilk ane of them was content of utheris to go to mareage; and the deponent sperit at Patrik Gourlay, Ar ye nocht content? And he ansuerit and said, And (*i.e.* if) I war nocht content the mater had nocht cum sa far fordward! And [they] kissit [each] utheris; and the deponent thareftir said, Ye maun mary wythin xl dayis.'

'William Gourlay in Souththeid . . . deponis, that he kennis the contract maid betwix the parteis, bot kennis nocht the promis of mareage.' With his evidence that of the other two Gourlays, Gillet, and Grig, agreed.

The case was resumed on the 1st of September, when Thomas Stevinson, being 'sworn, resavit, and examinat, deponis that he was present at the contract-making betwix thame, and saw Johne Brown, walcar,¹ ane of the eldaris of Sanct Teal (St. Ayle's) parrochion, lay the parteis handis together; bot Patrik Gourlay spak nocht ane word: and forther kennis nocht in the caus.'

'Johne Michelson (or Michel) . . . deponis that he was present, etc., and saw thair handis laid together be Johne Brown, ane of the eldaris, etc.; and [it] being demandit be hym of them gyf they war content of [each] utheris, hard them say that they sa war.'

On the 15th of September, the case being again resumed,

¹ That is, *walker* or *fuller*. It appears probable that there was a 'walk-mill' at Cultra at that period.

‘comperit Andro Bartelaytht and Robert Thomsoun in Balmerynocht . . . quha war resavit and sworn; and forthir probation renuncit in presence of Patrik Gourlay. . . . Robert Thomsoun . . . deponis that . . . upon the day of the contract-making . . . he was present in Christen Braed hows; quhair he saw and hard Patrik Gourlay cry on Margaret Wilson, being at the burn-syde weschyng claitht, and said, Margaret, sen we sould eik and end of this mater lat us go til it. And thaireftir incontinent they cam into the hows; and Johne Brown in Cowtray sperit at Patrik Gourlay, Ar ye content to have this woman to your wyf? And he said, Ye! And [in] lik maneir sperit at Margaret gyf sche was content to have Patrik to hir husband, and she said, Ye! And then the said Johne Brown, ane of the eldaris of Balmerynocht, said, I sal lay your handis togethir’—and other words which need not be quoted.

‘Andro Barelaidht, quha and Margaret Wilson ar sister bairnis, [gave evidence] conform to Robert Thomsoun.’

‘The Superintendent, in respect of the depositiounis of witnes producit of befoir and this day, fyndis the promis of mareage betwix Patrik Gourlay and Margaret Wilsoun sufficientlie provin; and thairfor decernis and ordanis thame to proceed to the solemnization of mareage betwix thame wythtin forty dayis undir paine of excommunication; and letteris to be gevin furtht heirupon als oft as neid beis.’¹

The other case was commenced on the 30th of March 1569. ‘The quhilk day, James Thomsoun, dwelland in Balmerynocht, being somound wytht my Lord Superintendentis lettres, to heir him decernit to complet and perform the band of matrimonie wytht Jonet Smytth, according to his promis maid to hir thairupon, the saidis parteis compering be thame selves, the said James denyit al promis. The seat (Session) assignat this day aucht dayis to preve the sam. *Partibus apud acta citatis.*’

¹ *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, vol. i. pp. 298-302.

On the 6th of April, the following witnesses were 'productit by the said Jonet, Daid Kay in Southt Ferritoun of Portin Craig, Thomas Kay his brother thair, and Simon Adam thair, in presence of the said James, nathyng being objectit aganis them,' etc.

'*In primis*, the said Daid Kay, sworn,' etc. 'deponis that, foure yeris syne or thairby, [he] the deponent was present in Simon Adam hows quhen James Thomson and Jonet Smytht maid mutual promis of mareage ilk ane to uthir, and at that tyme ilk ane [was] content of uthir, in presence of Sande Mathow in Kilburnis, Henry Boytour, Simon Adam, and Thomas Kay, and was contentit that thair bannis sould bein proclamat on Sunday nixt thaireftir. And in verification heirop the deponent promittit (promised) of his gear to the said James iiij lib., and Simon Adam promittit iiij bollis malt.' The evidence given by this witness was confirmed by that of Thomas Kay.

'Simon Adam, father of law to Jonet Smytht . . . deponit conform to the first wites; and forthir deponis that he hard and saw the promis maid, and held up handis for performing of the premissis.'

On the 6th of July, Jonet Smytht produced the Superintendent's letters duly executed and indorsed upon Mathow and Boytour, to bear witness in the action. But 'na persoun comperand, the seat referrit the ordour to be takin thairintil to the Superintendent.'¹ The case, however, does not again appear in the Register, so that we know not whether the jilted Jonet gained her action and a husband or not. Let us hope that she did, and that David Kay and Simon Adam had to hand over their promised wedding gifts, both of money and malt.

On the 30th of March 1569, another case came before the Superintendent, being the first occurring in Balmerino parish

¹ *Reg. St. Andrews K. S.*, vol. i. pp. 315-16, 321.

that is recorded in which a delinquent had to appear in sackcloth at the church door. Usually such persons had to stand at the door till prayers were ended. They were then allowed to enter the church, and sit on the 'stool of repentance,' that they might hear the sermon, at the conclusion of which they had to return to their station at the door, as they were not permitted to join with the congregation in prayer. The following is the record of the case referred to: 'Katharine Awat, dwelling in Balmerynocht, being somoind wytth my Lord Superintendentis lettres, dilatit . . . confessis the offence,' which was a heinous one; 'heirfoir [the Superintendent] ordenis hir to stand thre Sundais in sek claytth in the maest patent kirk dur of Balmerynocht; and in the last Sunday to be resavit to the kirk. And forthir ordenis thame (her partner in guilt and herself) to be committit to the magistratis of the reylm, to be punesed according to ordour takin.'¹ In the following year the General Assembly enacted that heinous transgressors should appear not only in sackcloth, but bare-headed and bare-footed—a penance prescribed also in the Church of England.

In 1571–2 the stipends of the minister of Balmerino and the reader at Logie are stated for the first time, as follows:—

'*Balmerynoch and Logy*—Mr. Patrik Auchinlek, minister, iiij^{xx} (fourscore) merkiis, Lambnes 1571, and xl merkis mair sen beltyin (Mayday) 1572. Henry Leche reidare respective xvij li. lambnes 1571.'² In 1574 the latter *item* is given as xix li., xiiij s., iiij d.

In 1576 these stipends, and the sources whence they were obtained, are thus stated:—

'*Balmerinach, Logymurtho*. Maister Patrik Affleck, minister, his stipend lxxx li. to be pait out of [the] therd of the Abbay of Balmerynach.

¹ *Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, vol. i. p. 315.

² *Register of Ministers and thair Stipends sen the year of God 1567* (Maitland Club).

‘Henry Lietch, reidare at Logymurtho, his stipend xvij li. with the kirk land of Logiemurtho, to be payit as follows, viz. the thrid of the vicarage of Logymurtho v li., vj s., viij d., and out of the therd of Balmerinoch xj li., xij s., iiij d.’¹

The minister’s stipend, reckoned according to the prices of bere and oatmeal at that period, would only amount to little more than four chalders.² Such were the privations to which ministers were subjected for many years after the Reformation, that they were mainly dependent on the charity of the people, and were sometimes compelled to resort to secular callings for the means of subsistence. In the records of the General Assembly, under the year 1576, we find the following, among ‘Questions resolved by the whole Assembly’:—‘Whether if a minister or reidar may tap aile, bear, or wine, and keep an open tavern?’ The answer given by the Assembly was not a prohibition of such employment as unsuitable for a minister even though he were starving, but an injunction as to the manner in which he should carry it on:—‘Ane minister or reidar that taps aill, or beir, or wyne, and keeps ane opin taverne sould be exhortit be the Commissioners [of the Assembly] to keep decorum.’³

We have now to mention a curious incident in which the minister of Balmerino was very probably concerned. It had been customary in the Roman Catholic Church to have dramatic

¹ *Books of Assignment and Modification of Stipends.*

² The prices in Fife were then, *communibus annis*, in Scots money:—

Wheat	£26	12	4	the chalder (16 bolls).
Bere	21	6	8	
Oatmeal	16	0	0	
Oats	13	6	8	

—(*Miscellany of the Wodrow Society*, p. 395.)

Previous to 1603, when James VI. succeeded to the English throne, the value of Scots money in comparison with that of England varied. In that year it was finally determined that the proportion of the latter to the former should be as 12 to 1; that is, the English pound was to be equal to £12 Scots, and the English shilling to 12s. Scots.

³ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Part i. p. 378 (Bannatyne Club Ed.).

representations of events in sacred history, known as 'miracle-plays' and 'mysteries,' of which the Passion-play still performed at Ober-Ammergau in Bavaria is a survival. The Reformers were not always hostile to such exhibitions. Luther is reported to have said, that they often did more good, and produced a deeper impression, than sermons. Both sacred and secular plays were often acted on Sundays. In Scotland the custom lingered for some time after the Reformation. An instance is thus referred to in the Register of St. Andrews Kirk-session under the 21st of July 1574:—

'Anent the supplicatioun gevin be Maister Patrick Authinlek [or Auchinleck] for procuring license to play the comede mentionat in Sanct Lucas Euuangel of the forlorn sone (that is, the parable of the prodigal son) upon Sunday the first day of August nixt to cum, the seat hes decernit first the play to be revisit be my Lord Rectour, Minister; M. Johnne Rutherfur[d] Provest of Sanct Saluatour Colledge; and Mr. James Wilke, Principal of San[ct] Leonardis Colledge, and gyf they find na falt thairintill, the sam to be play[it] upon the said Sunday the first of August, swa that playing thairof be nocht occasioun to wythdraw the pepil fra herying of the preaching, at the howre appointed alsweil eftir nune as before nune.'¹

The ministers, elders, and deacons of St. Andrews were summoned before Commissioners nominated by the General Assembly, to answer for their having granted this permission; and ministers and all others were soon afterwards forbidden, under severe penalties, to have plays on the canonical Scriptures performed either on Sundays or on other days. The Assembly at the same time ordained that secular plays should be examined before they were acted, and that they were not to be played on Sundays. In 1576 the Assembly refused permission to the town of Dunfermline to play upon Sunday afternoon 'a certane play quhilk is not made upon the Canonickall parts of the

¹ *St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, vol. i. p. 396.

Scripture, in respect of the Act of the Assemblie passed in the contrair.¹

Mr. Patrick Auchinleck above mentioned was master of the grammar school, and also an elder, in St. Andrews; yet there is great probability that he, and the minister of Balmerino of the same name, were one and the same person. It may, indeed, seem incredible that the incumbent of Balmerino could hold another office in St. Andrews involving, for most part of his time, non-residence in his parish. Yet in 1563 it had been found that ministers, exhorters, and readers were in the habit of dwelling in towns far distant from their churches—doubtless, in most of such cases, because, from various circumstances, either there were no manses in their parishes or these were otherwise occupied—and the Assembly ordained those who had manses to dwell in them. As we shall see, there was no manse at Balmerino till many years after Mr. Auchinleck's incumbency; and there is some reason to believe that his successor, Mr. Thomas Douglas, resided at St. Andrews. There were other cases of pluralism, as well as of non-residence, after the date of the Assembly's injunction. Mr. William Ramsay, who was an elder in St. Andrews from 1562 to 1569, and one of the Masters of St. Salvator's College from 1561 to 1570, was also minister of Kilmany from 1564 to 1568.² Mr. Andrew Simson was master of the grammar school of Perth, and during four or five years after the Reformation—while holding this office and teaching 300 scholars—was also minister of two parishes, Cargill about nine miles north of Perth, and Dunning about the same distance south-west of it. He was translated in 1566 to the parish of Dunbar, where also he was master of the grammar school as well as minister, and distinguished for his eminence in both offices.³ In favour of the identity of the

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Part i. p. 375.

² See *St. Andrews K. S. Register*, vol. i. p. 4 and note.

³ See Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 261-3.

master of the grammar school of St. Andrews and the minister of Balmerino is the rarity of the name Patrick Auchinleck. But a weightier argument is the fact, that the minister of Balmerino having been presented to the church of Alves in Morayshire in the year 1577, the elder of the same name disappears after that date from the Register of St. Andrews Kirk-session, in which he is previously several times mentioned. Their identity, though not certain, is for these reasons exceedingly probable.

In April 1576 Mr. Patrick Auchinleck appeared at the General Assembly as Commissioner from the city of St. Andrews, and protested in its name that the Assembly's sentence declaring the incompatibility of their minister, Mr. Robert Hamilton, holding also the Principality of the New College, 'prejudge not the toun of Sanct Andrews, nor ingender any prejudice to them touching their minister, without they be called or heard.'¹

In November 1577 Mr. Auchinleck was appointed minister to the household of the Regent Morton, and obtained a gift from his Majesty of 'an yearly pension of iij li. from the superplus of the Thirds of Benefices.'²

It was on the 8th of January 1577-8 that Mr. Auchinleck was presented to Alves. In the following June he was appointed Commissioner for Moray; and in October of the same year complaint was made to the General Assembly that 'haying a benefice in Murrey, [he] serveth not there'—a charge frequently made against those parish ministers who had also to perform the duties of Superintendents or Commissioners of provinces, and were thus frequently and necessarily absent from their own parishes, while visiting the districts assigned to them. In Mr. Auchinleck's case, however, no such explanation of his absence is stated by him or for him. Having been called before the

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Part i. p. 351.

² *Scott's Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 472.

Assembly, he 'was commanded to enter his cure in Murrey, as he will be answerable to the Assembly. He promised to obey.'¹ In 1580 he was a member of the Assembly held in Dundee, and one of eleven who were chosen as 'Assessors' to the Moderator. He died at Elgin on the 5th of April 1581, leaving a widow, Margaret Guthrie.²

A Latin poem of seven lines on the subject of teinds, entitled *Patricii Authinlecti Carmen* ('The Poem of Patrick Authinlect'—in all probability the minister of Balmerino—is given in 'Tracts by David Ferguson, Minister of Dunfermline, 1563-1572,' printed for the Bannatyne Club. The brief poem is given below.³

¹ *Booke of the Universall Kirk*, Part ii. pp. 416, 421.

² Scott's *Fasti*, vol. iii. Part i., under *Alves*.

³ 'Quisquis de decimis bonisque sacris
 Quæ sacris dominus dari ministris
 Mandauit, dubitas, et anne nostro
 Solui tempore debeant requiris,
 Hunc vnum legito rogo libellum
 Istam qui eloquio pio sacroque
 Rem totam aperiet tibi que pandet.'

CHAPTER II

MR. THOMAS DOUGLAS

' We sail the sea of life—a calm One finds,
And One a tempest—and, the voyage o'er,
Death is the quiet haven of us all.'

—WORDSWORTH.

MR. THOMAS DOUGLAS, designed of Stonypath, was minister of Balmerino and Logie in 1578, as appears from the Books of Assignation of Stipends. Henry Leiche was still reader at Logie, and also in the following year; and he performed the same duty at Cupar. The *name* of the reader at Logie is not given in the above-mentioned record under 1580, though his stipend is stated at the same amount then as previously; nor is there mention of a reader at Logie, or of his emoluments, after that date. Henry Leiche appears to have been a member of the Kirk-session of St. Andrews from 1582 to 1584. Before the 12th of January 1586 he was admitted minister of Crail; and was elected to Auchtermuchty in December 1590, where he died in 1613. As a specimen of a minister's library, nowise contemptible in those days, when books were costly and stipends inadequate, the number and value of the volumes possessed by Mr. Leiche at his death may be here stated:—'Of theologic buikis and utheris buikis twenty four mekill greit buikis, with twelf scoir and sixtein uther glaspit buikis; price of theme all, j^cxl li.' (£140).¹

On the 21st of March 1580-1 the King, by letter under the Privy Seal directed to Mr. Thomas Buchanan, Provost of Kirkhill, Commissioner over the kirks within Fife, and nephew

¹ Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 469.

of the celebrated George Buchanan, presented 'Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister,' to the vicarage of Logie, vacant by the decease of 'umquhill Mr. Thomas Forrett, last vicar and possessor thair of.'¹ Mr. Forrett may have been a Protestant minister, appointed in order that, by the disjunction of Logie from Balmerino, each of these parishes might have its own minister; in which case he could only have been in office one year or part of a year, and after his death the two parishes must have been again united under the ministry of Mr. Douglas. But it is much more probable that Mr. Forrett had been the vicar of Logie previous to the Reformation, continuing to enjoy after that event two-thirds of the vicarage stipend, while the remaining third and the kirk-land were given to the Protestant reader. In favour of this supposition is the fact, that from 1576 to 1580, and, doubtless, previous to that time, the reader at Logie had one-third of the vicarage as part of his living; while, after Mr. Forrett's death and Mr. Douglas's presentation to the vicarage, the stipend of the latter, as minister of the united parishes, included the whole vicarage of Logie.²

Mr. Douglas was Laird of Stonypath, and belonged to an ancient family. In 1411 Sir James de Douglas of Robertoun obtained a charter of the lands of Stanypathe from his father James de Douglas, lord of Dalkeith, descended from the first Earl of Dalkeith, who lived in the time of King David II. and was an ancestor of the Earls of Morton.³ The minister of Balmerino was apparently a descendant of this person. His property of Stonypath was in Peeblesshire, and must not be confounded with another of the same name two miles west of

¹ *Register of Presentation to Benefices.*

² In the General Assembly of 1580 one of the Articles proposed to the King and Council was, 'that all benefices vaikand [by the death of the Roman Catholic incumbent or otherwise] where ministers are plantit, be gine to ministers serving the cure where they vaike,' that is, to the Protestant ministers already placed there.

³ Douglas's *Peerage* (ed. Wood).

Whittinghame, in the county of Haddington, which at some period between 1574 and 1628 was acquired by another branch of the Douglasses, after it had for a long time been possessed by a family named Lyle.¹

In addition to Stonypath, Mr. Thomas Douglas either inherited or purchased a considerable amount of other landed property. He possessed eight oxgates of the town and lands of Langtoun and Dubend in the barony of Caldercleir and regality of Dalkeith, a tenement in Edinburgh, and the lands of Broomhoilles in the lordship of Newbotle and constabulary of Haddington.² In Balmerino parish he obtained in 1602 a charter under the Great Seal of six acres in Scurrbank, the third part of the lands of Drumcharry and Bottomeraig, two acres of Leadwells, the lands of Park and Poyntok, Craigingrugie's Fauld extending to four acres, three acres in Harlands, and one in Woodflat, with pasturage on the three last-named places and on the outfields of Byres. He retained these various lands, however, with the exception of Scurrbank, for only six months.³ In 1620 King James VI., by feu-charter under the Great Seal, of new granted to him in liferent, and to James Douglas his eldest son, the half of Dron Easter and Wester; and to him and his wife Mary Kinneir in liferent, and to James their son, a fourth part of the lands of Ardet, with the manor, and a pendicle called the Sithill; and another fourth part of the lands of Ardet called the Cowplawhills, acquired from the Earl of Duncaster and Barclay of Innergellie; all which the King incorporated into the free tenandry of Cowplawhills.⁴

In 1585 Mr. Douglas's stipend stands in the Books of Assignation as augmented to 'j^cxxxiiij li., vj s. viij d.; thair of the haille vicarage of Logymurtho xvj li., and the remanent, to be paid out of the thrid of the Abbay of Balmerinoch, extends to j^cxvij li., vj s., viij d.'

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iv. No. 2279; vol. viii. No. 1315.

² *Abbreviate of Retours.* ³ *Balmerino Wrils.*

⁴ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. viii. No. 22.

In 1588 his stipend is further increased to 'the haille vicarage of Logymurtho xvj li., and the remanent to be pait out of the third of the Abbay of Balmerinach, extending to j^elxxx li., vj s., viij d.' with the addition of 'iiij li., xj s., j¹/₂ d.; xiiij bollis, iij firlotts, $\frac{1}{2}$ pairt peck beir; j chalder, xj bollis, ij firlotts, j peck, $\frac{1}{2}$ pairt peck meall; to be pait out of the third of the Abbay of Lunderis.'

Though the plan had been adopted of placing one minister in charge of several churches, the General Assembly at length condemned this arrangement, and took means to put an end to it. Consequently, on the 20th of November 1589 Mr. Douglas was one of fourteen ministers of the Presbytery of St. Andrews (in which Balmerino parish was then included) that 'hes tain thaim,' the Presbytery minutes inform us, 'to be ministers at ane kirk only, and hes demittit the rest.' Accordingly, on the 16th of January following, the Presbytery ordained 'Mr. Thomas Douglas only to be imbuikit at the kirk of Balmerinloch.' Thus Logie became vacant. Mr. Douglas, however, may have continued to officiate there some time longer, as the next minister, Mr. John Loutfut, is not mentioned till 1595. The latter was presented to the vicarage of Logie in 1600; and thenceforth that parish was always served by its own incumbent.

Previous to the Reformation those who officiated at Cathedral or Abbey churches, if they were canons or monks residing within the precincts of the Cathedral or monastery, had no need of manses or glebes. At Balmerino—whether St. Ayle's church had been served by a member of the convent or by a secular chaplain—there was no manse or glebe. In 1563 and 1572 Parliament transferred the manses and glebes of the Roman clergy, where such existed and came to be unoccupied, to the Protestant ministers; but no express provision was made for ministers who officiated at Cathedral or Abbey churches. In 1581, and again in 1586, the General Assembly requested Parliament to make such provision. On the 17th

of March 1590-1, the Presbytery of St. Andrews ordained 'Mr. Thomas Buchanan and Mr. James Melvin to give institution to Mr. Thomas Douglas to the personage of Balmerinoch, and give in lyk maner designation of his manss and gleib.' On the 1st of July following the Presbytery of new ordained two of its members to design a manse and glebe to Mr. Douglas at Balmerino.¹ An Act of Parliament was passed in 1592 extending the enactments of 1563 and 1572 to parishes connected with Cathedral and Abbey churches, and providing that ministers serving such cures should have a sufficient manse either within the precincts of the Cathedral or Abbey, or near to the church; and also that they should have a glebe of at least four acres Scots, situated near to the manse. The injunctions of the Presbytery of St. Andrews in 1590 and 1591 having been ineffectual, they issued a similar order on the 28th of July 1593; and from the provisions of the Act of Parliament of 1592 it may be presumed that a manse and glebe were given to Mr. Douglas for the first time soon afterwards. They were somewhere near the Abbey—the precise situation is unknown—till the year 1682, when they were excambed for a house and land at Bottomcraig, as shall be noticed under that date.

If there was a manse at Logie for its vicar, it must have become about the year 1595 uninhabitable; for Mr. Loutfut had to build one for himself. It had been ordained by the General Assembly which met in Dundee in 1593, that where there was no manse, or where it was ruinous, the parish must build one or repair it; and that in the case of their failing to do so, if the minister built one at his own expense, his heirs should retain possession of it till the next incumbent refunded the amount of his outlay. Mr. Loutfut having died in 1612, Margaret Forrett, his widow, petitioned the Synod in the following year, that security should be taken of his successor for the

¹ *Presbytery Minutes.*

repayment to her of the cost of the manse. The value she set upon it was 740 merks; but the Synod appointed a committee, of which Mr. Thomas Douglas was a member, to inspect and value it; and they estimated it at 500 merks. The Synod therefore ordered this sum to be paid to the minister's widow. In 1590, or soon thereafter, the church of Logie also was 're-edified.' (*Synod Min.*)

In the charter, previously mentioned, of the Abbey lands and tithes obtained by Lord Balmerino from the Crown in 1607, by which he was held bound to pay out of the tithes sufficient stipends to the ministers of Balmerino, Logie, and Barry, these stipends were each fixed at four chalders of victual, and 100 merks additional in money, with an allowance for communion elements and a sufficient manse and glebe; the ministers being at the same time relieved of the burden of keeping their respective churches in repair. It appears from the Books of Assignation that in the year 1615 the money part of Balmerino stipend was 200 merks, and that Mr. Douglas still retained his 'pension' from the Abbey of Lindores, which was slightly increased—to the extent of two bolls, one firloft, of bere—above its amount in 1588.

With regard to the ministers of the three parishes named being relieved of the obligation to repair their churches, it has been already stated that previous to the Reformation the parson or rector of a parish, or other recipient of the teinds, was obliged to uphold the chancel, while the parishioners had to keep in repair the main body of the church. An Act of the Privy Council of the year 1563 apportioned the burden between the parson and the parishioners (that is, the heritors); the former being subjected in one-third, and the latter in two-thirds of the expense incurred, whether the church had, or had not a chancel.

Many notices of Mr. Douglas occur in Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland, the minutes of the Synod of Fife and of the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and other records of the

period. A paper in Calderwood, under the year 1585, makes mention of 'manie dissolute persons . . . whose corrupt lives could never abide ecclesiasticall discipline, [being] loosed to invade the lives, and shed the blood of the ministers of God's Word, whereof lamentable examples are in sindrie corners of the countrie, as Mr. Thomas Douglas,' and others.¹ The minutes of St. Andrews Presbytery contain many entries referring to this 'invasion' of Mr. Douglas and its perpetrator.

On the 20th of October 1586 John Forret, brother of the Laird of Forret, appeared before the Presbytery, in compliance with the advice of some of his friends, for the removal of the 'sclander' (or scandal) which he had committed by the shedding of the blood of Mr. Thomas Douglas, and declared his willingness to submit himself to the Church, though he could not understand that he had committed sklander against the Church by his having offended Mr. Douglas. Afterwards he 'denyit that he had offendit Mr. Thomas, and affirmit that the said Mr. Thomas had offendit him.' Both parties were ordered to appear again on next 'fuirsdai' (as Presbyteries then met every week), and seventeen witnesses—among whom were George Stirk and David Stirk, probably of Ballindean—were summoned to give evidence regarding the 'invasion' of Mr. Douglas. Subsequently, the Presbytery found it sufficiently proven by the report of three ministers who had been appointed to examine the witnesses, that 'Jhone Forrett and his servand lay in waitt for the said Mr. Thomas Douglas for the space of thre hours efter his sermond maid at Balmerinoche, and thairefter at ane convenient place persewed and invadit him, and drew his bluid, and, except certane persons readders had intervenit, the said Mr. Thomas had bene in danger of his life.' The Presbytery further appointed commissioners to pass to the King's Majesty and Lords of the Secret (or Privy) Council, and humbly to supplicate 'that the said Jhone may be severelie punished in

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 424 (Wodrow Society Ed.).

example of uthers, and [that] the said Mr. Thomas may without danger resort and returne fra his kirks, and do at all uther times his lauchtfull busines.’¹ The Register of the Privy Council² accordingly contains the following account of the case :—

‘ Holyroodhouse, 25 November, 1586.

‘ Complaint by Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister at Balmerinoch, as follows :—

‘ Upon 10th May 1584, “ being Sunday,” the complainer “ cumming fra the kirk of Balmerinoch quhairat he had bene dischargand his office and cure, toward Sanctandros in quiet and peceable maner,” Johne Forrett, brother german to David Forrett of that Ilk, and Jhone Young his servant, “ umbesett the said complenaris way at ane pairte thair of callit the Gowlis den, quhair thay had lyne at awaitt for his cuming by three houris efter sermone, and thair maist cruellie and unmercifullie invadit and persewit him for his bodilie harme and slauchtar, hurte and woundit him in the shouldare to the effusion of his blude in grite quantitie, and did that lay in thame to have slane him,” which “ they had not faillit to have accomplissit wer [it] not they wer stayed be sum personis that intervenit and red him oute of thair handis.” . . . Mr. Thomas Douglas . . . the pursuer, appearing personally, John Forrett and Johnne Young, the defenders, failing to appear, are to be denounced rebels.’

On the 22nd of December 1586 three members of Presbytery are sent to John Forret in order to induce him to submit to the discipline of the Church ; and in the week following he appears, and confesses that he ‘ sklanderit the kirk in committing of the said fact, and for his offens submittis himselve to the kirk willinglie.’ (There is here a blank in the Presbytery minutes from the 20th of April 1587 to the 9th of October 1589.)

The General Assembly interested itself in this case. Amongst ‘certan greeves’ of the Assembly given in to His Majesty on the 20th of February 1587–8 occurs the following :—

¹ *St. Andrews Presb. Min.*

² Vol. iv. p. 117.

'Item, Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister of Logy, was cruellie invaded by Johne Forret, brother to the Laird of Forret, as he came from his kirk on Sunday, and his blood shed, and no remedie putt therto.'¹

On the 7th of May 1590 the Presbytery again orders Forret to appear, and satisfy for his 'sklanders' against the Church. He accordingly returns on the 14th of May, when an extraordinary scene is witnessed by the Presbytery. Having first confessed that he was guilty of another offence of which he stood accused, and promised to satisfy for it:—

'Secundlie, being desyrit to satisfie for the sklander committit aganis the kirk in drawing of the bluid of Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister at Balmerinloch, he denyit the fact, notwithstanding of the tryall quhairbie he was conviet of the said fact. Ane Act quhairbie he confessit the same, and submittit himself to the kirk, wes producit and red in his presence; quhilk tryall and actis he querrelit of falsett, saying we mycht writt upon [him] in our buikis quhat we pleasit, saying he wes not of purpouss to persew the said Mr. Thomas, and gif it had bene his purpouss to have persewit him, it suld not have bene his bluid, bot his lyfe. Quhairunto Mr. Thomas answerit, that he praisit God that his lyfe wes never in his hand, bot, contrare, the said Jonis lyfe wes in his hand, and God gave him victorie over him at that tyme; in signe and takin quhair of the said Mr. Thomas brak the said Jhonis sword. Upon the quhilk occasioun [that is, in presence of the Presbytery] he utterit sic language to the said Mr. Thomas, Thou nor nane that appertenis to the[e] dar stand up and vow that in my face. And thairupon he cutt his gluif, and kuist the half thair of to the said Mr. Thomas, provoking him; sayand, Gif thou or ony in the kin dar tak it up and meit me in ony place. And quhen as Mr. Nicol Dalgleis said he was far in the wrang falsefeing the actis and processis of the presbitrie, quhilk we behuifit to hald for treuth, and all his alledgances in the contrare for leis, and that he behaifit himself ungodlie and barbaruslie in using sic minassing and bosting in the presence of this auditour, and wes not to be sufferit and to be h[e]ard in so doing, bot aucht to be commandit to depart from us,

¹ Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 661.

that we mycht do our turnis in Goddis fear without molestatioun, the said Jon answerit, I ken you weill aneuch, we sall meit in ane uther place; and quhen Mr. Nicol answerit, Suppose ye slay ane minister this day, ane uthir the morn, the thrid the thrid morn, thair wil be ay sum that wil call blak blak, condemn your wick-itnes, and discharge thair conscience notwithstanding all your bosting; as for me, this is the first day that ever I saw yow or knew yow. I have no[ch]t to say to you, but I heit thir your maneris. And thir thingis were done in presens of the hail brethering-assemblit in the New Colledge scholes, quihilk extraordinar and ungodlie behaviour the hail brethering condemnit as ane greit contempt of the majestie of God in the person of his servantis thair convenit, and as ane wechtie sklender done to the hail kirk of this cuntrie. And therfor ordanis commissioun to be gevin to M^{ris} Androw Melvin and Thomas Douglas [*blank*] till propon this matter to Mr. Rot. Bruice, and the presbitrie of Edr., that thai may complain to the Kingis Majestie, that ordour may be takin with sic ane extraordinar sklender. Ordanis Mr. Patrik Wemyss to teach in Balmerinoch kirk on Sunday nixttocum.'

Four weeks after this scene Forret appeared again, and offered to satisfy the Church according to such form as the Presbytery should appoint; and his offer was accepted. Subsequently, however, the Presbytery refused to prescribe a form of repentance to him till he should make 'ane mair simpill and cleir confessioun of the sklender committit be him aganis the kirk, and that in the presence of Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister at Balmerinoch.' It is evident throughout the whole proceedings that Forret's object was to get himself freed from Church censure without making any real acknowledgment of his guilt.

On the 2nd of July 1590 the Laird of Forrett promised to renounce 'the dewitie of ane brother to Jon. Forret gif he satisfiit not the kirk for his offence.' There is no account of further proceedings in the case; but in the Presbytery minute of the 26th of January 1590-1 John Forrett, brother-german to the Laird of Forrett, is mentioned as dead. It appears that he met with a violent death, and that John

Kinneir, son and heir-apparent of David Kinneir of that Ilk, was concerned in his slaughter. In 1593, in fulfilment of a decreet-arbitral, dated the 30th of April 1591, concerning this affair, 'and especially for the payment of £2000 ordered for satisfaction of the said slaughter,' the Kinneirs sold to David Forrett of that Ilk the lands of Torforrett.¹ The Kinneirs and Mr. Thomas Douglas were connected by marriage. Probably in consequence of John Forrett's conduct, the General Assembly in August 1590 petitioned the King for 'a law and ordinance against them that trouble and hurt ministers going to their kirks, and executing their offices.'²

In addition to his having been 'invaded' by the brother of the Laird of Forret, Mr. Douglas had been in danger of suffering similar treatment at the hands of the Laird himself, as appears from the following entry in the Register of the Privy Council: ³—

'Band executed at Sanct Androis and Fingask, 24 August [1587] and witnessed by Thomas Cunninghame, Johnne Bower, Williame Hill, and Thomas Paty, registered by James Kay, writer, as procurator for the parties, containing caution in £1000 by Johnne Forrett of Fingask and David Watsoun, citizen of Sanct-androis, for David Forrett of that Ilk, that he will not harm Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister at Logy.'

The minutes of the Presbytery of St. Andrews contain the following entries:—

11th June 1590—'Ordanis Mr. Thomas Douglas to baptiss the Laird of Forrettis bairin at the Kirk of Balmerinoch.'

2nd July 1590—'Ordanis the minister of Kilmany to baptiss the Laird of Forrettis bairne upon conditioun that he acknowledge his falt in presenting ane bairn of his to the Bischop of Sanct Andros to be baptisit [the Bishop having been] suspendit for the tyme fra all functioun in the kirk, and

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. vi. No. 750.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 107.

³ Vol. iv. p. 211.

that he also at the first occasioun be reconcilit to Mr. Thomas Douglas, quhilk the said Laird promessit to fulfil in presens of the haill brethering.' In view of his sentiments, as expressed in the previous extract of the same date, it may be presumed that he fulfilled this promise.

28th October 1590—'Ordanis ane writting to be direct to the Laird of Forrett, desyrand him and his servandis not to resort to the kirk of Kilmany, for eschewing of farder inconvenientis, and to desyre him to resort to the kirk of Balmerinoche according to the Act of the Presbitrie, ay and quhill their awin parochie kirk be re-edifit.'¹

4th June 1590—'Ordanis everie minister within this Presbitrie be publict [intimation] to intine to their congregations the present necessitie and strait of the kirk of Geneva, with exhortationis to support thair extreme indigence be reasoun of the lange saige [by the Duke of Savoy] according as brotherlie love and charitie requyris.' Contributions were appointed to be gathered from Balmerino and the neighbouring parishes by 'Mr. Andrew Melville and the ministers of the kirks: gentlemen—the Abbot of Lindores, and Robert Carnegie, guidman of the Grange.'

17th March 1591—'Ordanis the Sessione of the kirk of Balmerinoch to caus certane personis within thair parochin, violatoris of the Sabbath day, publictlie to mak thair publict repentance thairfor, and thaim of the said parochin that hes commissioun of the King travail to upleft twentie sh. fra everie ane of thame, according to the Act of Parliament.'

When Presbyteries were being formed—about 1581—it was proposed to erect one at Falkland, but the General Assembly

¹ Sir Robert Sibbald states that Forret 'was the estate of the name Forret since King William's time at least, now [in 1710] is the heritage of Mr. Michael Balfour, eldest son of Sir David Balfour, a lord of the Session and of the Justiciary, son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmiln, who planted a great many barren trees here, specially on Forret hill.'—(*History of Fife and Kinross*, p. 415, ed. 1803.) John Forret of that ilk was a member of Parliament in 1560, but could neither read nor write.—(*St. Andrews Kirk Session Register*, vol. i. pp. 112, 127.)

in April 1582 ordained that all the ministers 'be-east Leven' should be included in the Presbytery of St. Andrews, and those 'be-west Leven' in that of Dunfermline. Cupar Presbytery was first formed in October 1592 by the separation of its parishes—including that of Balmerino—from St. Andrews Presbytery on account of a division between the majority and minority of that Presbytery regarding the election and admission of a minister at Leuchars. In 1611 the Presbytery of Cupar was transferred to Falkland in obedience to a letter from the King dated the 5th of August of that year. But in that and the following month the brethren, who objected to the change, petitioned his Majesty that the meeting should be continued at Cupar, because 'Falkland in winter, or efter greit weittes in sommer is not accessibill'; and their petition was granted.¹ We shall see that during a few years after the Revolution Cupar Presbytery was again united to that of St. Andrews.

In February 1596-7 the Synod of Fife appointed Mr. Douglas as one of seven of their number to remonstrate with the King 'in all humble reverence and dutiful manner' against certain changes which he wished to make in the constitution of the Church with a view to the subversion of its discipline.² This was only a few years after the Act of Parliament of 1592—the charter of the Presbyterian Church—had been passed with the King's hearty concurrence, whereby the Church was effectually established on a purely Presbyterian basis, former Acts of a contrary nature abrogated, and the jurisdiction of the Church courts and the chief provisions of the Second Book of Discipline legalized.

In 1601 Mr. Douglas was one of two commissioners or visitors sent by the General Assembly to Perth and Strathearn. Their commission was a very comprehensive one. They were to try the brethren in the ministry in those districts 'in their

¹ Row's *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society Ed.), pp. 85, 90, 151; *Minutes of the Synod of Fife* (Abbotsford Club Ed.), pp. 27-28, 38.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 578; James Melvill's *Diary*, p. 386.

life, doctrine, qualificatioun, and conversatioun, and how they have behaved themselves touching the rents of their benefices, whether they have sett tacks of the same but (*i.e.* without) consent of the General Assemblie or not, and so delapidated the same; to depose such as deserve deposition,' to plant ministers where necessary, and for other similar purposes; and to report to the next General Assembly.¹

We have now to notice another 'invasion' of Mr. Douglas, as narrated in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*,² derived from the records of the High Court of Justiciary.

'INVASION OF A MINISTER, near the Tolbooth (Edinburgh), where the Privy Council were sitting in judgment.

'June 29, 1603—Walter Grahame, servitour to Mr. Robert Williamsoun, wryter.

'Dilatit, accusit, and persewit be Dittay (indictment) of the crymes following, viz. . . . That the said Walter . . . vpone deidlie malice consautit be him aganis Mr. Thomas Douglas of Stannypeth, minister at Balmirrieno, and haifing forget a quarrell aganis him, for the revenge of certane injurious speiches allegit gevin be the said Mr. Thomas Douglas to the said Mr. Robert Williamsoune, his maister, vpon the xxj day of Junij instant, he, vpone the xxij day of the said moneth of Junij, preparit to himself ane grit fourenuikit battoun of aik, of purposis to have fellit the said Mr. Thomas Douglas thair. Lykas the said Walter set vpone him, behind his bak, vpone the hie streit of the burch of Edinburghe, in the time of the said [Trinity] ffair, a lyttill beneth the Stinkaud-Style [near the Tolbooth], the Lordis of Secreit Counsall being within the said burch, and haifing sittin at Counsall in the Tolbuith of the said burch nocht passand ane half-hour befor the violence and invasioun following; and thair maist schamefullie, barbaruslie, and crewallie, without regard to the person of ane minister, and haifing never spokin with him ane word of befor, invadit him, for his slauchter, with the said batoun; strak him thairwith twa straikis vpone the heid, behind the richt lug, and hurt and woundit him thairwith to the effusion of his bluid in grit quantitie . . . and [then] the said Walter fled and gat away' etc. On being afterwards

¹ Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 123.

² Vol. ii. p. 416.

apprehended, Graham confessed his crime ; and the assize, or jury, finding him guilty, he was sentenced to be ‘ scurgit fra the Castell hill to the Nether Boll . . . and his richt hand to be strucken af at the Nether Boll, and thairefter to be banischet his Majesteis hail Dominiones, and on nawyis to returne agane within the samyn during his lyfetyne, vnder the pane of deid.’

At a meeting of the Synod of Fife in 1607, when the King’s Commissioner demanded of each of the brethren, separately, whether he would accept the so-called bishop (Gledstones) to be constant Moderator of the Synod, as the King had commanded, or not ; those who should answer in the negative being declared to be rebellious, and threatened with being ‘ put to the horn ’ (that is, denounced by blast of trumpet, and outlawed); all refused except seven ministers, of whom Mr. Douglas was one ; he being, apparently, not so averse to the measures of the Court as the majority were, who said, ‘ that they would rather abide horning, and all that can follow thereupon, than lose the liberty of the Kirk ; the office is unlawful ; the man is unworthy.’¹ At the General Assembly of 1610, Mr. Douglas was one of four members of Cupar Presbytery who consented to a modified Episcopacy.²

On the 12th of July 1608, John Menzeis of Carlippis as principal, and David Lindsay of Balgrayis as surety, were bound, under a penalty of 1000 merks, ‘ not to harm Mr. Douglas of Stanepeth.’³

In 1610 there was a dispute about a ‘ desk,’ or seat, in St. Ayle’s church, of which the Synod took cognizance, as appears from the following entry in its minute of April 1611 :—‘ The brether appoynted be the Synod halden in St. Androis, in the month of October bypast, to deall for removing ane debait arysen for placing of ane desk in the kirk of Balmerinocht, reported that they had put the same to ane end.’ This dispute did not refer to the appropriation of a seat already existing, but to one newly,

¹ Calderwood, vol. vi. p. 676.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 106.

³ *Reg. Privy Council*, vol. viii. p. 662.

or about to be, erected. Till a long period after this date there were very few fixed seats in Scottish churches. Most of the people brought their own stools or chairs, and either left them in the church or carried them home. Those who desired to have a seat or pew to sit in had to erect it at their own expense after they had obtained permission from the Kirk-session, who, and not the heritors, at that period gave such permission. In the year 1739 the Court of Session declared that to the heritors belongs the right to dispose of the area of a parish church.

A modified Episcopacy having been introduced in 1610, Mr. Douglas was several times thereafter appointed by Archbishop Gledstones Moderator of the Presbytery, or, as it was now called, the Exercise of Cupar, and he was for some time on the Synod's 'Committee for Privy Censures.'

We have seen that a new church is said to have been erected at Kirkton—according to one account in 1595; according to another, in 1611.¹ That church ceased to be used in 1811, when the present parish church—the fifth of which we have historical notice—was erected; and the hewn stones which had formed one of its doorways were removed to serve a similar purpose in a house in Gauldry, where they remained till a few years ago, when the house was converted into part of a farmstead; and they are now preserved at Naughton. The doorway formed by them was square-headed, with moulded lintel and jambs; and on the lintel the date 1612 was carved in relief, which seems to indicate that the church, or at least this doorway, was then erected. Unfortunately the plan and style of this edifice are now unknown, though we shall hereafter meet with notices of some of its parts. But from all accounts it was of that unsightly style of architecture which parsimony and bad taste have inflicted on Scotland from the Reformation downwards, when 'the idolatry of superstition was superseded by the idolatry of covetousness.'

¹ See page 286.

Leighton, while repeating the erroneous statement that the Abbey church was used as the parish church till the year 1595, and referring to the new church said to have been then erected, says:—‘The wood-work of the Abbey seems to have been used in the erection of this church, and some of the carved work was used to ornament the fronts of the pews. A carved oak pannel is in the Museum of the Fifeshire Antiquarian Society, which was taken from the parish church when it was taken down [in 1811], and which had originally formed a pannel in front of one of the stalls, or the pulpit in the Abbey church. The carving, which is very rude and in all probability as old as the erection of the Monastery, represents at the top of the pannel a man on horseback, and below this a person in a fantastic dress doing penance, and undergoing flagellation from the hands of another, who has a rod or whip raised for the purpose. Underneath these two figures is another individual looking up to the person doing penance, and holding a dish or cup towards him.’¹

When the new church was erected, the oak panel—which is now preserved in the Duncan Institute, Cupar—*may* have been taken from the Abbey; but as the previous parish church was really St. Ayle’s, this piece of carved work more probably belonged to that edifice.

Tradition asserts that at the time of the erection of the church at Kirkton the earth or ‘mould’ of the Convent graveyard (which must have been also the parish burying-ground, as it is unlikely that there was a graveyard at St. Ayle’s) was, strange to say, carted away and deposited around the new edifice; but that this desecration was stopped by the ghosts of the dead forbidding the workmen to disturb their repose! This removal of the dust of the departed, however, may have been the result of the residence of the first Lord Balmerino at the Abbey, and of some alterations then made on its precincts.

In April 1613 Mr. Douglas and Mr. Patrick Lyndsay were

¹ *History of the County of Fife*, vol. ii. p. 79.



CARVED OAK PANEL, FROM BALMERINO ABBEY OR
ITS CHAPEL OF ST AYLE.



appointed by the diocesan Synod of St. Andrews as commissioners for dealing with Balfour, Lord Burleigh, about his taking the Communion. (*Syn. Min.*)

In May 1614 the following entry occurs in the minutes of the Synod :—‘ Anent the complaint maid be Jhone Hay of Little Tarvatt and James Hay of Fudie against Mr. Thomas Douglas, bearing in effect that the said Mr. Thomas had taken from the said Jhon Hay vj^{cc} ten libs. (£610) penaltie of ane band besyd the principall soume and hail profittes, and siclyk had seduced the said James, being ane simple young man, [and] caused him leave his friends and dispone his lands, and deceived him be ane backband containing dyvers uncouth clauses, and binding the said James to impossibilities ; the said Mr. Thomas denying the complaint. In respect Mr. David Kinneir, minister at Auchterhous, who is not ane member of this Synode, is lykwayes delated be the complainers to have concurred with the said Mr. Thomas in the foresaid seductione, it is thought meitt that the complainers prosecuitt thair actione against the saids Mrs. Thomas and David befor the Lords of the High Commissioun, to whome the Synode referres the same.’ I have found no further account of this matter ; but a renunciation by Mr. Thomas Douglas to Mr. James Hay ‘ of annual rent of 200 merks furth of Little Tarvet,’ contained in the Register of Sasines for Fife, probably refers to it.

The minute of the same meeting of Synod mentions a complaint made by Mr. John Durie, minister at Logie, against Mr. Douglas, and a petition from the former that the action subsisting between them might be submitted to some of the brethren as umpires, in compliance with an Act of Assembly concerning such cases. It was accordingly submitted to umpires chosen by both parties ; but the result is not recorded, nor is the matter in dispute specified.

In April 1617 the Synod, at the Archbishop’s desire, nominated fifteen of the brethren, of whom Mr. Douglas was one, or any six or seven of them as the Archbishop should

advertise them, to attend along with the Bishops at the approaching meeting of Parliament, and to concur with, and assist by their advice the Bishops and others from various parts of the country, in regard to such questions as might be proposed by them to Parliament, without committing the Synod to their views or counsel. This appointment of assessors to the Bishops was disliked by those who were still attached to Presbyterian principles, as being designed to supersede General Assemblies of the Church, which they held to be the sole guarantee of her liberties.

In the General Assembly held at Perth in 1618 the celebrated Five Articles were passed, against the wishes of the nation. The first of these Articles was, that the Lord's Supper should be taken by the communicants kneeling. At the Synod held at St. Andrews in 1619 the ministers had been interrogated as to the observance of this posture. Mr. Douglas reported that 'he gave the elements with his awin hand to al the people, bot not kneeling, because he perceived the people vtherwyse inclyned. He hes promised to kiep the prescryved ordour and forme in al poynts, and to vrge his people to conformitie.' There appeared to be great unwillingness on the part of some of the neighbouring ministers to comply with the new method, and various excuses were made for their non-conformity.

In the year 1619 the Laird of Bottomcraig was killed by the Laird of Kirkton, who was at feud with him.¹ Strange to say, Mr. Douglas was accused of having been accessory to the deed, as appears from the following entry in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, under the 10th of March 1619 :—

'MR. THOMAS DOUGLAS, minister at Balmirrienoche, Dilailit of airt and pairt of the slauchter of vmquhile Thomas Crichtoun of Bodumcraig : committed betwix Balmirrienoche and Cupar in Fyfe, upon the xiii day of Februar last, 1619.

¹ For an account of this incident see Part iv. chapter iii.

‘The Justice, in respect of the seiknes of Jeane Carmelie, the defunctis relict, quha can nocht be present to concur in this persute, continewis this matter to the thrid day of the next Justice-air (Court) of the scherefdome of Fyfe, or sooner, vpone fyftene dayis wairning: And ordanis the pannell to find caution for his re-entrie; quha ffand James Douglas of Moirtoun, portioner of Gogar, etc.’

Crichton’s wife died soon after the above-mentioned date. The charge against Mr. Douglas must have been either fallen from or found to be erroneous.

The practice of the Presbytery or Exercise of Cupar, in having a ‘constant Clerk,’ appears to have originated in the refusal of Mr. Douglas to take his turn, along with the other brethren, in acting as Clerk. In October 1619 the Moderator, on his being examined by the Archbishop in Synod in reference to the order observed by the brethren ‘in their meetings at exercise and otherwise,’ reported certain complaints from the Presbytery. One of these was ‘anent the disobedience of Mr. Thomas Douglas, quha being requyred be the Moderator to be sryb to the presbyterie this last half yeir in his awin course, conform to Acts maid thereanent, stubbornlie refusit aither to do it be himself in his awin courss, or to substitut another. The said Mr. Thomas was graivlie rebuikit for his undewtiful refusal, and ordinit to conform himself to the Act maid in the Synod in April 1617; and for eschewing al controversie heirefter anent the supplying of that office, it is apoynted that in al tyme cumming they sall have a constant and ordinar clerk, to be intertained upon the common expenses of the hail breithren yeirlie, conforme to the tenor of the foirnamed Act. (*Syn. Min.*)

In April 1626 the Moderator and brethren of the Exercise of St. Andrews were appointed by the Archbishop and Synod to determine some dispute between Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton and Mr. Douglas. At the October Synod this matter, the nature of which is not stated, was referred to the Exercises

of St. Andrews and Cupar, to which the disputants were to state their respective complaints. (*Ibid.*)

Towards the close of his life Mr. Douglas stated—‘By the providence of God I have bestowed my travelis in the ministrie with God’s blessing these fifty-eight yeiris . . . in respect of my auld aige and new infirmitie that has fallin vnto me sene Martimise last, quhilk I tak to be ane fleing gout thruch my bodie, quhilk mak me altogider wnable to trauel ane myll aither on futt or horse.’¹ He died on the 2nd of April 1634, in the fifty-sixth or fifty-seventh year of his ministry in Balmerino, to which he had probably been translated from another parish. He had, however, as we shall see, an assistant for about the last thirteen years of his life. His wife, Mary Kinneir, was probably of the family of Kinneir of that Ilk; and his daughter Jean was married in 1618 to David Kinneir of that Ilk, who bound himself by matrimonial contract to infest her in the liferent of Denbrae and Tor-Kedlock. Mr. Douglas left a legacy of 500 merks to the schoolmaster of Balmerino. He appears to have possessed a large share of the character of the race from which he was sprung, which, in an earlier age, would have been displayed in doughty deeds of Border warfare.

On the 14th of August 1634 Mr. Douglas’s son James, designed of Ardit, was served heir to him in his lands of Stonypath, Langtoun, Dubend, tenement in Edinburgh, Broomholes, and acres in Scurrbank. Anne, daughter and heiress of James Douglas of Stonypath and Airdit, married Sir William Douglas, second baron of Glenbervie (descended from the Earls of Angus), who thus acquired James Douglas’s lands.² Their only son, Sir Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, commanded the Royal Scots at the battle of Steinkirk in

¹ Scott’s *Fasts*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 472.

² Stonypath was acquired from the Douglasses by James Cleland, President of the College of Surgeons in 1657, and ancestor of Dr. Jamieson, author of the Dictionary of the Scottish language.

1692, where he fell. The title then devolved on his cousin, Sir Robert Douglas, who changed the name 'Airdit' to 'Glenbervie,' which, however, was afterwards displaced by the original designation. Sir Robert Douglas, author of the *Peerage and Baronage of Scotland*, was the representative of this family.

CHAPTER III

MR. WALTER GREIG

‘ Ungrateful Country, if thou e’er forget
The sons who for thy civil rights have bled !
But these had fallen for profitless regret
Had not thy Holy Church her champions bred,
And claims from other worlds inspirited
The star of Liberty to rise.’

—WORDSWORTH.

MR. WALTER GREIG was appointed assistant and successor to Mr. Douglas in the year 1621. His incumbency, like that of his predecessor, was very long—extending over more than half a century of the most eventful period of our national history. He appears to have taken a prominent part in the ecclesiastical proceedings of those times; and as the minutes and other registers of the Kirk-session of Balmerino which have been preserved commence in 1632, they supply us with many illustrations of Church life, as well as other interesting facts in the history of the parish during his ministry.

The valuation of the tithes of the parish—an important event for its landlords and ministers—which took place in 1631 and 1637, calls for a brief explanation. Originally the tithes, or teinds, were drawn in kind. Every tenth sheaf was the property of the parson. After the Reformation the teinds, as well as the Church lands, in country parishes having been to a great extent gifted by the Sovereign (under the burden of the Thirds for payment of stipends, and for the use of the Crown) to laymen, these were found to be much more rigorous in exacting the teinds than the old clergy had been; while such severity was endured all the more impatiently because the fact

was well known to the cultivators of the soil, that the bestowal of this kind of property on laymen was a gross perversion of the purpose for which teinds were paid. As no grain could be carried off the field till it had been teinded, whatever might be the nature of the weather—though the time for drawing the teind was to some extent limited by law—the farmer often experienced much loss by the delay or caprice of the tithe-collector; while the latter was frequently defrauded of his just rights by various artifices on the part of the farmer. The teinds were thus a source of constant irritation between those two parties—so much so that, even previous to the Reformation, churchmen in many cases consented to commute the teinds due to them into a fixed annual payment of grain or money. But the system was not effectually rectified till it was taken in hand by King Charles I. The revocation by that monarch, soon after his accession in 1625, of all grants of Church lands and tithes made by James VI. having excited great alarm among the possessors of such property, they petitioned him to modify his purpose. A compromise was eventually agreed to, and the parties interested entered into four submissions, whereby the matter was referred to the King's own decision. Accordingly, in 1629, he issued four decrees-arbitral, which were ratified by Parliament in 1633, and by which it was ordained, among other things, that all teinds should be valued, and that the fifth part of the rental inclusive of the teinds, or the fourth part exclusive of them, should be held to be their value. The right was at the same time conferred on heritors to purchase the teinds of their own lands from the titular who possessed them, subject to the payment of a sufficient stipend to the minister; and the price was fixed at nine years' purchase, the minister's stipend and six per cent. of an annuity to the Crown—which is not now exacted—being first deducted from the annual value.¹

¹ The following teinds, however, cannot be sold:—Those formerly paid to Bishops, those granted to Burghs, etc., for pious uses, and those belonging to Colleges and Hospitals.

In 1627 a 'Commission of Surrenders and Teinds,' and in 1633 'Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks and the Valuation of Teinds' were appointed, who were authorized to nominate Sub-Commissioners within each Presbytery for the same purposes, and for allocating to each minister an adequate stipend to be paid out of the teinds of his own parish. Thus a considerable part of the teinds of the whole country was soon valued either in victual or money, according as the rent was paid in the one or the other; but generally in victual, because rents were then in most cases paid in that commodity. The functions of those Commissioners, and of others who were continuously appointed after them, were at the time of the Union transferred to the Court of Session, which still performs these duties.

This settlement of an irritating question, the credit of which is due to Charles I., was a great boon to the Church; while its terms were very favourable to the landlords. It was, however, bitterly disliked by those who had got possession of the teinds. It is still the basis of the system by which the stipends of ministers are paid; heritors, though they may have purchased the teinds of their own lands, being yet liable for successive augmentations of stipend till the whole amount of the teinds, according to the valuation, is exhausted.¹ But they are not further liable, and have exclusive right to all increase of rent, since the teinds, once valued, can never be augmented. Many lands to which the Decrees and Act applied, and which, because they were not then arable, or for other reasons, were not valued at the time of the settlement above described, have been valued since; and the value of the teind is, in every case, held to be the fifth part of the rental *at the time of valuation*. This, together with the great increase in the rent of land since the seventeenth century, explains why it is, that the best and longest cultivated lands

¹ It was in 1617 that the stipend of each minister—then ranging from five to eight chalders—began to be paid, not out of a general fund, as previously in most cases, but out of the teinds of his own parish.

pay, in most cases, less teind than those of inferior quality if more recently brought into cultivation.¹

The greater part of the parsonage or victual teinds of the original parish of Balmerino, of which Lord Balmerino was titular—though some of the proprietors had acquired the teinds of their own lands—was valued in the year 1631. The teinds of such portions of the present estate of Naughton as were then in the parish of Forgan, of which the Archbishop of St. Andrews was titular, were valued in 1637.²

We now have recourse to the records of Balmerino Kirk-session. The earliest existing entry is as follows:—

26th August 1632—‘The minister and elders fand that the kirk had neid to be poynted, and thairfoir nominat George Stirk and James Seathe to be stenteris and ingathereris of ane taxation to that effect; who thocht that ane mark of ewerie plough, and 4d. of ewrie aicer of land [of small holdings] suld suffice; and thairfor ordinat it so to be exacted; wherunto all condiscendit.’ Repairs and improvements of the fabric of the church, and, at a later period, of the school were sometimes ordered by the Session alone to be made, at other times by them and the heritors conjointly.’

7th October 1632—‘That day gathred for the releiff of the laidis holden captives by the Dunkirkers [*blank*] pundis, ten schillingis.’

14th October 1632—‘David Murdoch and Margaret Goslen, both in this parochie, were contracted, and layed downe five merks.’ They were married on the 15th November. In 1575 the General Assembly ordained that parties purposing marriage should come before the Kirk-session, and ‘give in their names,

¹ In England tithes were not valued and commuted into a fixed charge till so late as the year 1836. This, along with the fact that all *rectors* of parishes draw the *whole* tithes, explains why the value of many livings in the Church of England is so much higher than that of any in Scotland, where the minister, in most cases, receives for stipend only a *portion* of the teinds, the remainder being retained, under legal sanction, by the proprietors of land.

² See Appendix, No. XV.

that thair bands (banns) may be proclaiuit, and no farther ceremonies usit,' that is, the ceremonies practised at espousals or handfasting previous to the Reformation. The term 'contract,' however, was still used, being incorrectly applied, as above, to the giving in of the parties' names for proclamation. The parties had, in every case, to lay down, or produce security or caution for the payment of, a sum of money—five merks as above, at a later period £4 Scots, in this parish—as a pledge that their marriage would be duly completed; that there would be no excess at the wedding; and also—in order to prevent the occurrence of the evils which had too often followed handfasting—that they would give no ground for scandal in the interval before marriage. Thus in 1668 the Balmerino Session expressly enacted—what, indeed, had been the practice long before—'that no person suld receive back ther mariage plaidg untill the man partie come first befor the Session to seek it, and declare'—that they were free from scandal. When the conditions mentioned were fulfilled, the marriage 'pledges,' 'pawns,' or 'pands,' as they were termed, which had been deposited in the kirk box, were in due time returned. Thus another couple in Balmerino parish were 'contracted' on the 7th of October 1632, and married on the 12th November following; a third couple were contracted on the 3rd of November of the same year, and married in December; and on the 29th July 1633 these three couples 'received back their pledges.' If scandal was caused, the pledges were forfeited, and applied to the relief of the poor, or some other parochial purpose. This rule continued in force till the end of the seventeenth century, when, as we shall see, it was modified.

It had been ordained by the 'packed' General Assembly of 1610 that all presentations to churches in time coming should be directed, not to the Presbytery as before, but to the Bishop of the diocese; and that every minister should, at his admission, swear obedience to his Majesty and the Bishop. The

Court of High Commission was one of the King's tools for the enforced establishment of Episcopacy. These remarks will explain the following statement in Row's History, under December 1635 :—

‘The Bishop of St. Androes caused summond Mr. Walter Greig, minister at Balmerino, before the High Commission. He had been minister there fourteen years, and with the Bishop's awin consent was first admitted fellow-helper to Mr. Thomas Douglas, an aged minister, and after his death served that cure without any lett five or six [more correctly, less than two] years; yit, because he was not conforme, they lay this fault to his charge, that he had not taken on that ministrie lawfullie upon him, because he had never received collation fra his ordinare the Bishop. And, therefore, for intruding of himself into that place he behoved to remove; but the Bishop gave him [till] Pasch nixt to provyde himself, by removeing to some other place, for he was a married man and had sixe children. And albeit Mr. Walter cleared himself of any intrusion, yit they would not alter their wicked conclusion.’ He did not remove, however; but to what cause he owed permission to retain his charge does not appear.

To return to the Session minutes :—

3rd January 1636—‘The Sessione convened, and finding that the loft in the kirk stood werie vnconvenientlie, concludit all in ane voice that with all possible diligence it suld be remowit and sett wpon the west gavell of the kirk.’

13th March 1636—‘It was concludit by the Sessioun that the Laird of Grang seatt suld be lifted, and sett upone north east end of the kirk at the end of the board.’

5th June 1636—‘It was appointed and agreed upone, that becaus the Sessioun culd not be holden conveniently upon the Sabbath, heirafter it suld be keped upone Waddensday at ten houris, and to begin upon Waddensday nixt the aucht instant.’

29th November 1636—‘The Sessioun mett for to deall

twentie pundis given by my Lord Balmerinoch unto the poore; and because that money was not yet delivered, we took it out of the box, and five pundis owt of the purs, and aucht sh.'

27th February 1637 — 'The quhilk day it was acted by the Session, that if any browster suld be fund to sell aill to anie upon the Sabbath, after or befor noon, betwixt the ringing of [the] hindmost bell and the dissolving of the preaching, sall pay 40 sh. and mak their repentance befor the pulpitt; and if any sall buy it, sall pay twentie sh. and mak his repentance.'

The attempt made in 1637 by King Charles I. to impose Laud's Liturgy on the Scottish Church caused the nation to unite in a Covenant to preserve its form of religion; and among those who resisted the King's measures the second Lord Balmerino took a leading part.¹ It was the Confession and Covenant prepared in 1581 by Craig, under instructions from James VI., containing an abjuration of Romanism, which that monarch had himself signed and commanded his subjects to sign, that was now renewed. There was added to it, however, a summary of the Acts of Parliament condemning Romanism, and also a solemn resolution to resist the Episcopal innovations, which contained these significant words:—'We promise and swear by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life.' This Covenant was first signed on the 28th of February 1638 in Greyfriars' Church, and on a flat tombstone in its churchyard, Edinburgh, by vast multitudes, with extraordinary enthusiasm. The scene has often been described. The enthusiasm proved to be contagious, and

¹ Forgan church was one of the very few in which Laud's Liturgy was read by the minister.

rapidly spread over most parts of the country,¹ including the parish of Balmerino, as appears from the Session minutes:—

18th March 1638 — ‘The Confession off Faith, together with the band [*i.e.* the Covenant] wer publicly red in the kirk; all the persons present held up their hands in testimonie of their consent, except 11.’

9th September 1638 — ‘The minister, elders, and deacons being convened in their Session, they all with ane consent chose Michaell Balfour off Grange to repair to the Presbyterie of Couper the next day off the metting of the said Presbyterie, and thereafter, as suld be thocht expedient, to concurr for choosing Commissioners to be sent unto the General Assemblie.’

This was the famous Assembly that sat in Glasgow Cathedral in November and December of that year, and overturned Episcopacy, which James VI. and Charles I. had laboured so long, and by the most arbitrary means, to establish. Mr. Greig was not himself a member of this Assembly; but he was one of those who subscribed a notable document connected with it. The Presbyterian leaders had great difficulty in obtaining a warrant to cite the Bishops for trial before the Assembly. The difficulty was overcome by getting a complaint or indictment drawn up against them, which was then sent to every Presbytery within whose bounds a Bishop had his residence. The indictment was referred by those Presbyteries to the ensuing General Assembly, and thus, in accordance with the rules of procedure in Presbyterian Church courts, it formed the initial step in the trial of the Bishops, which resulted in the deposition of the whole fourteen, and the excommunication of eight of them. The indictment just mentioned was signed

¹ ‘I was present,’ says Livingstone, ‘at Lanark, and at several other parishes, when on a Sabbath, after the forenoon’s sermon, the Covenant was read and sworn, and may truly say, that in all my lifetime, except one day at the Kirk of Shotts, I never saw such motions from the Spirit of God, all the people generally and most willingly concurring. I have seen more than a thousand persons all at once lifting up their hands, and the tears falling down from their eyes.’—(*Life*, p. 22, quoted by Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 83.)

by fifty-nine persons—nobles, barons, ministers, and burgesses—as representing such members of these classes as were not commissioners to the General Assembly. The subscribing ministers were only five in number, and included, besides Mr. Greig, his neighbour Mr. John Macgill, minister of Flisk.¹

In 1639—Presbytery having been restored—Mr. Greig and Sir John Leslie of Newton and Birkhill, an elder, were sent by the Synod of Fife as corresponding members to the Synod of Angus. (*Syn. Min.*)

9th July 1639 — The Session again chose the Laird of Grange as their Commissioner to the Presbytery, to concur with the Presbytery in choosing Commissioners to the next General Assembly. Mr. Greig was a member of this Assembly, which repeated the abolition of Episcopacy in the Scottish Church; and the King, who had refused to ratify the proceedings of the Assembly of 1638, now confirmed the extinction of Episcopacy, with the secret purpose of restoring it if it should be in his power to do so.

27th October 1639 — ‘The whilk day we celebratt the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, whilk was the first tyme wherein we begin to have it twice in the yeir.’ The half-yearly celebration was, apparently, not continued long; it certainly ceased after the year 1651, when, as we shall see, was commenced the practice of holding numerous week-day services in connection with the Communion.

25th December 1639 — ‘The minister recommendit unto the elderis the practise off famelie exercises, and required not only the practise off it in ewrie ane off their owne families, bot also in the families within their quarter.

‘That day it was intimatt that their was ane ordinance in the Generall Assemblie halden at Edinburgh [in 1639] for catechising in the owk dayes, wherwnto the wholl Sessioun condiscended, and appointed the said catechising to be kept

¹ Stevenson’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 268–70 (ed. 1840).

ewerie Weddensday at ane afternoon.’¹ On the 4th of February 1649 the Session appointed the weekly catechising to be on Wednesdays ‘at ten hours, and that ewerie quarter sould resort to the samen *per vices*, and all others that pleased to come.’ Parishioners were sometimes rebuked before the Session for not coming to the ‘examine.’

In December 1639, a man accused before the Session of ‘excessive drinking night and day confessed his fault, and acted (bound) himself of his owne accord to pay 20 libs. if ever he suld be fundin in ane browstir hows after seven houris at ewen.’

We have now to notice an important era in the history of the parish—the institution of a parochial school by the heritors, in 1640 or 1641. That there was a school of some kind, however, in the parish previous to this date appears from the following entry in the Session minutes under the 26th of March 1637:—‘The whilk day the Session concludit that everie bairn that comes to the school sall pay 10 sh.’—doubtless as the quarterly fee. The reader may have acted as teacher, without, perhaps, other salary than the school fees and the small dues paid to him in connection with baptisms, proclamation of banns, etc. The new institution is thus mentioned in the Session minutes:—

7th May 1640—‘That day the Presbyterie of Couper did visitt this kirk, and all the heritors who were present did condescend to have ane schooll, and did consent to contribut two merks for everie plough, for the intterteining their off.’ After some delay, which may probably be explained by the previous teacher being continued for another year, on the 5th of December 1641 ‘Mr. James Sibbald was entered to be schoolmaster and reader.’ As a stent imposed for another purpose a few years later, at the rate of one merk for every plough in the

¹ The words of the Act of Assembly are:—‘that every minister, besides his paines on the Lord’s day, shall have weekly catechising of some part of the paroch, and not altogether cast over the examinatione of the people till a little before the Communion.’

parish as then bounded, yielded only twenty merks, Mr. Sibbald's salary at first could not have been more than forty merks, or £2, 4s. 5½d. sterling, besides the school fees and small dues. The school was situated at Balmerino, and is mentioned as being still there in 1748. As a new schoolhouse was erected in 1766, it was doubtless at that time the school was removed to Bottom-craig, where it continued to be till 1830.

It was in the year 1616 that it was first enacted—by the Privy Council—that a school should be established in every parish 'when convenient means may be had for entertaining it'—that is, when the parishioners were willing to defray the cost. In 1633 Parliament ratified this enactment, and empowered the Bishops, with consent of the heritors and parishioners, to lay a stent upon the land for the support of these schools; and this was followed by a great increase in their number. After the restoration of Presbytery, a more stringent Act was passed—in 1646—ordaining that a school be established, by the advice of the Presbytery, in every parish not already supplied; and that the heritors provide a commodious schoolroom, and a stipend to the teacher of not less than 100, and not more than 200 merks, besides school fees and the small dues already mentioned. This statute, however, was one of those repealed by the Rescissory Act of 1661; and the permissive Act of 1633 was thus revived, and practically constituted the law on the subject till after the re-establishment of Presbytery at the Revolution, when many parishes still remained unsupplied. In 1696 an Act of Parliament was passed which repeated the chief provisions of the statute of 1646, and made it compulsory to establish, by advice of the heritors and minister, a school in every parish; while it gave to each heritor a right of relief against his tenants for one-half of the proportion of salary due by him—a right which was seldom taken advantage of by the heritors. Yet so late as 1758 there were 175 parishes in the Highlands still unprovided with schools.

5th March 1641—The church being again in need of repair,

and the heritors having been convened, they appointed a stent of 22 merks to be divided 'among all the pleughs and aikeris, reckoning my Lord Balmerinoch's rent to two pleuches, as sufficient for the purpose.' (*Sess. Min.*)

The civil war, which led to the execution of Charles I. and Cromwell's usurpation, had now commenced. In 1639 the Covenanters, having taken up arms, marched an army of 22,500 men¹ to Duns Law; and the King advanced at the head of an English army to oppose them. A treaty was then concluded, and both armies were for the time disbanded. In the following year hostilities were resumed. The Covenanters reassembled their army, crossed the Tweed on the 21st of August, and established themselves in and around Newcastle. There they remained till the summer of 1641, when, affairs having taken a new turn, they again marched home. During both of these periods ministers of the Church were sent in succession to the army as its chaplains; who, by their prayers and stirring addresses, animated the courage of the Covenanting soldiers. One of these ministers was Mr. Walter Greig:—

7th March 1641—'The whilk [day] the minister schew unto the Session that he was appointed by the Presbyterie to goe to the armie, to attend Colonell Leslie's regiment of horse, lyk as he went upon the 8 day.' The minister himself adds:—'Upon the eicht of Junii I returned.' (*Sess. Min.*)

The excitement of campaigning—though, at this time, only for three months—would be to Mr. Greig a great change from the quiet of a country parish. As illustrating what must have been his experience, and also, doubtless, his equipment in the field, we may quote the following graphic account of the Covenanters' army when encamped on Duns Law, given by the celebrated Robert Baillie, one of the chaplains serving there,

¹ Mr. Hill Burton remarks that the raising of such an army was, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants of Scotland at that time, 'such a feat as if a British war minister of the present day could place an army of some 600,000 effective men on the march.'—(*Hist. Scot.*, vol. vi. p. 263, ed. 1873.)

and afterwards Principal of Glasgow University :—‘ I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and picks, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle ; but, I promise, for the offence of no man except a robber in the way ; for it was our part alone to preach and pray for the incouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power cheerfullie. . . . The crowners (colonels) lay in kennous lodges (canvas tents) high and wyde ; their captaines about them in lesser ones ; the sojourns about all in hutts of timber covered with divott or straw. Our crowners, for the most part, were noblemen : Rothes, Lindesay, Sinclair, had among them two full regiments at least from Fyfe ; Balcarres a horse troop,’ etc. ‘ Our captaines, for the most part, barrons or gentlemen of good note ; our lieutenants almost all sojourns who had served over sea in good charges ; everie companie had, flying at the Captaine’s tent-door, a brave new colour stamped with the Scottish Armes, and this *ditton*, FOR CHRIST’S CROWN AND COVENANT, in golden letters. . . . Our soldiers were all lustie and full of courage ; the most of them stout young plewmen ; great cheerfulness in the face of all . . . everie one encouraged another ; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors dailie raised their hearts ; the good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of heaven, to which their drumms did call them for bells . . . made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished. Had you lent your eare in the morning, or especiallie at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing Psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed : true, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved.’¹ Baillie’s testimony is confirmed by that of William Row, in his description of the state of the Covenanters’ army in and about Newcastle in the year 1641, when Mr. Greig was with it as chaplain.² In a letter to Baillie, dated 17th October

¹ Baillie’s *Letters and Journals*, vol. i. pp. 211–14.

² Supplement to *Autobiography of Blair*, p. 163 (Wodrow Soc.).

1640, the Earl of Argyll wrote:—‘For truly, as I hear, our ministers works more upon the sojourns nor all other discipline could.’¹

The examination of the people—which was held in the church—preparatory to the Communion, as required by the First Book of Discipline, is thus noticed in the Session minutes:—

30th February 1642—It was ‘ordainit that intimatione suld be maid to warne all the people to come to the examinatione with all possible diligence, and, the examinatione endit, to celebrat the Lord’s Supper, whilk was done.’ (The Communion was on the 6th of March.) The examination was distinct from the weekly catechisings on Wednesdays.

In 1642 it was proposed, by whom it is not stated, to ‘transport’ or translate Mr. Greig to some other parish not named; and the heritors, elders, and deacons, being convened with the minister on the 31st of July, appointed ‘George Hay, fiar of Nawchtone, and Michael Balfour of New Grange their commissioners to the Assembly National at St. Andrews on the 1st of August [to which all the parties interested had been summoned], in conscience to ther dutie to God, to thair owne soull, and to thair minister, to stryve by all lawfull meanes to impd and hinder the said transportatione.’ Their opposition must have been successful, as Mr. Greig remained at Balmerino; but there is no previous or subsequent mention of this matter in the Session minutes, or in the printed records of the Assembly.

In April 1643 Mr. Greig was one of ten ministers of the Synod of Fife—another being Mr. Samuel Rutherford—who were chosen to assist in the trial and election of Regents, or Professors, for vacant places in the two ‘Philosophie Colleges’ in St. Andrews. (*Synod Min.*)

We return to the Session minutes:—

3rd September 1643—‘The quhilk day Mr. James Sibbald, reader, red the ordinance [of the Committee of the Estates]

¹ Baillie’s *Letters*, etc., vol. i. p. 267.

directit for chairging all men betwix 60 and 16 to be in thair airmes againe the nixt advertisement.'

This was for a second invasion of England, to be noticed presently.

The following very interesting entries refer to the 'Solemn League and Covenant' agreed upon in August 1643 by the General Assembly and the Convention of the Estates. This was not a mere renewal of the National Covenant of 1638, but was intended to procure a 'covenanted uniformity' on the Presbyterian pattern between the Churches of Scotland, England, and Ireland; and it was adopted by the English Parliament and the Westminster Assembly on the 22nd of September 1643:—

22nd October 1643—'The quhilk day the Covenant was red and explicat be the minister, and intimat to be subschryved and sworne to keip, with solemne humiliacione, and fasting, and praying, the nixt Sabbath day; and the hoall elders and all others being demandit quhat they thought of the same, answered all in ane voyce, that they war most willing to subschryve it, and wald most heartlie and willinglie sweare to it, to observe and keep the same.'

29th October—'The quhilk day the Covenant was red be the minister, and efter the people had all verie solemnie sworne to observe and keip the same, it was verie heartlie subschryved be thame selfes quha could subschryve thame selfes, and be Mr. James Sibbald, reader heir, for thame that can not wreat thame selfes, at thair commandis.'

Mr. Greig's services as an army chaplain were again required during a second invasion of England:—

22nd January 1644—'The quhilk day the minister took his journey to goe with the airmie.'

It was to Lord Balcarres's regiment of horse that Mr. Greig was sent as chaplain on this occasion. He was absent till the beginning of June. On the 7th of that month the Commission of the General Assembly represented to Parliament 'that divers ministers that were commanded to repaire to the army did

laick necessary maintenance; and humbly intreated them to provyde for them some competent meines to that effect.'¹ From this it appears probable that Mr. Greig also, during his period of service, may have had sometimes but scanty rations. He had, at all events, to take his share of other hardships which those who have had experience of winter campaigning can readily appreciate. As Leslie and the Covenanting army had already—on the 19th of January—crossed the Tweed, Mr. Greig could only have joined them on their march thence to Sunderland, which they entered on the 5th of February. We read of a snowstorm which prevented them from harassing the King's forces who were retreating, because they could not see them. On another occasion they made a march of 'eighteen Scottish miles when it was a knee-deep snow, and blowing and snowing so vehemently that the guidè could with great difficulty know the way, and it was enough for the followers to discern the leaders.'² They sat down before Newcastle, but its siege proved to be an affair almost as tedious as that of Sevastopol in our day. Newcastle was not taken till the 27th of November, so that Mr. Greig did not see its fall. He missed only by a single month witnessing the battle of Marston Moor, which was fought on the 2nd of July, when the Scottish Covenanters and the English Parliamentary army defeated Prince Rupert who commanded the King's forces. The county of Fife was very zealous in the Presbyterian cause, contributing largely to the army, and suffering severely in some of the engagements.

Following the above-quoted entry in the Session minutes are the names of the ministers of Cupar Presbytery who officiated in Balmerino church every Sunday during Mr. Greig's absence with the army till the 2nd of June, except on the 14th of April, when the record is:—'The quhilk day no preaching, but reading heir.' This refers to the reading of the Scriptures and the

¹ Balfour's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 175.

² Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 358 (ed. 1873).

prayers of the Book of Common Order by Mr. Sibbald, reader and schoolmaster, and requires explanation. In 1580 the General Assembly held in Dundee declared readers to be no ordinary office-bearers in the Church, and in the following year forbade their further appointment. These Acts, however, appear to have remained, from whatever cause, a dead letter. The Assembly of 1638 by two distinct resolutions virtually sanctioned the office of reader; and there is abundant evidence that it was still generally in use, as at Balmerino. But after the Westminster Assembly's Directory for public worship was adopted by the Church of Scotland in 1645, the prayers in the Book of Common Order ceased to be used; the reader's service was gradually discontinued; and the practice of 'lecturing'—that is, of expounding some large portion of Scripture before sermon—was introduced; yet readers were retained in some churches long after this period for the reading of Scripture before the commencement of the regular service. The schoolmaster of Balmerino continued to be called 'reader' as late as the year 1712 at least, though there is no certain evidence that he still performed the duty from which that title was derived.

28th July 1644—'The quhilk day the thanksgiving wes solemnie keipit for the victorie be God's providence obtainit in England'—that of Marston Moor. (*Sess. Min.*)

8th September 1644—'The quhilk day the fast [was] solemnie keipit heire, and ordainit to be keipit solemnie everie Sabbath until the tyme it sall [please] God in his mercie to settle peace in this kingdome.' On the 13th of October public fasts were intimated for the following Tuesday and Thursday. These fasts appear to have been appointed on account of the heavy losses sustained by the levies from Fife in the army operating in England. Both before and after this period, fasts in connection with the course of public affairs were very frequent. (*Ibid.*)

On the 12th of January 1645 Mr. Greig read from the pulpit an Act of the Presbytery of Cupar, which presents an unfavourable picture of the religious condition of the people at

a time when so much zeal was shown in the cause of the Covenant. The purpose of the Act was to restrain the profanation of the Lord's day. As the minutes of the Presbytery of Cupar of this date are not now extant, it is proper to give its substance here. It ordained that—'quhosoever heirefter sal presume to prophane the Lord's day, ether by making of barganes or keiping of trysts about civil effairs, or by tipling or drinking in taverns or alehouses, or by bringing wyne or eal to ther meittings in uther houses, or any tabling thame selves or drinking efter sermone, or by playing on the streits or feilds befor sermone in tyme heirof, or efter the samine, sal both declare ther publict repentance befor the pulpet, and also sal pay 20 sh. conforme to the Act of Parliament theranent *toties quoties* . . . and if baptisme or mariage fal upon the Lord's day, that, before they get the benefite of the kirk, both the parent and the brydgroome, and lykwyse the maister of the innes or alehouses, sal give assurance to the minister that they, with al ther freinds, followers, and guests, sal in drinking use all Christian sobrietic and moderatioun, with certificatioun that the contraveiners heirof sal declar ther publict repentance befor the pulpit; and least any sould think that this Act does give secret allowance for excessive drinking [at baptisms and marriages] upon weik dayes, the brether earnestlie recommend to Kirk-Sessiones the pressing of ane former provincial [Synod] Act maid theranent, with the censure and penalty contenit therein; to the end that on the Lord's day all may set thame selves to a more serious meditation of God's sacred Word and wonderful works, to holy conference, catechising, reading, and praying of God's glorious name, requyring all elders and deacones to attend diligentlie to the observation, and delation, and censuring the transgressours.'

2nd March 1645—'The quhilk day thair came a letter fra Captaine Balvaird, shewing that 3 of his sojers quha went for this paroch, gat not cloths from the publict. To thame wes given 6 dollars out of the box, to be gathered in againe through the paroch, as was condiscondit be the Sessione.' (*Sess. Min.*)

An old practice being still prevalent of assembling great multitudes at 'penny bridals,' which led to evil results, the Synod of Fife, in May 1645, required ministers peremptorily to execute an Act of the Justices of the Peace for restraining penny bridals to the number of twenty persons. It also enjoined that the large companies of people who still assembled at marriage 'contracts,' and at baptisms, should be limited to six or seven persons; and the 'hostleres' who made great feasts were to be censured. Similar injunctions were issued in 1647 by the Synod and Presbytery, whereby the number attending penny bridals was not to exceed twenty-four; and the limit of those who attended 'contracts and banquets of this kynd' was to be 'the just half heiroff.' 'Penny bridals' were so called because each person invited to them gave a contribution for the feast that was then made, and also to help the newly married couple to commence housekeeping.

On the 15th of August 1645, Montrose nearly annihilated the Covenanters' army under Baillie at the battle of Kilsyth, where three regiments from Fife were cut off almost to a man. Three married men from Balmerino parish were among the slain,—probably the three already mentioned. The Session register has the following touching references to them:—

24th September 1645—'The quhilk day Jhone Colline and Helene Glane had a daughter baptizit callit Margaret Colline, presentit be James Croll becaus Jhone Colline wes kild at Kilsythe.'

12th October 1645—'James Glane and Katharine Pie had a daughter baptizit callit Margaret Glane, presentit be John Pie, younger, becaus James Glane wes kild at Kilsyth.'

3rd May 1646—'Jhone Glane [either an elder or a deacon] and Jannett Bairtlett had ane son baptizit called Johne Glane, and presentit be James Bairtlett becaus he was kild at Kilsythe.'

The disaster at Kilsyth was soon followed by victory.

28th September 1645—'The quhilk day ane solemne thanks-

giving was kept heir for the gracious victorie obtainit on the 13 September at Philiphauche be General Major Leslie againe Montrois airmie.'

23rd August 1646—'Two women, 'being cited befor the Sessione for flytting, compeired and wes convict, and ordained to mak their repentance befor the pulpit; as also [they] oblisched thame selves that in caice they were found flytting againe, they suld pay the sowme of 40 s.'

6th September 1646—'Thair wes delyvered 29 lib. 5 s. be James Bairtlett for relief of persons takine be the Turk, for this parishe of Balmirrinocht.'

27th September 1646—'It was concludit be the Sessione that George Jack [an elder] sould be cited before the Sessione to shchow quherfore he abode from the Sessione.' 4th October—'George Jack, being cited, compeired before the Sessione, and confessed that he abode from the Sessione because Robert Balfour [apparently another elder or a deacon] had wronged him, in saying that he was als ill as Montrois.'

The Synod minutes inform us that about this time the Laird of Naughton was appointed a member of a Committee to adopt measures for the suppression of 'sturdie beggars'; and that Mr. Greig and Mr. James Wedderburn, minister of Moonzie, were ordered by the Synod (which, Bishop Guthrie in his *Memoirs* bitterly remarks, 'had always been forward in anything that was called reformation') to press with all earnestness Alexander Inglis, Depute Bailie of the regality of St. Andrews, to put in execution their Act for removing from the kirk of Dairsie 'monuments of superstition,' which had been so long delayed. That church was erected in 1622 by Archbishop Spottiswoode, who was proprietor of Dairsie. The monuments referred to were crosses, 'crosiar staffes' (some of them forming part of the Archbishop's armorial bearings), and a 'glorious partition wall' dividing the chancel from the body of the church.

22nd October 1646—In the Presbytery of Cupar, 'Mr.

David Dalgleishe [one of the ministers of Cupar] declared that Mr. Walter Greig and he gave in the names of those suspect of complyeancie with the enemies to the Synodal Assembly, and, being authorized by them, gave them in to the Committee of the Shyre.' (*Presb. Min.*) In each county the Covenanters had a committee of eight persons, called the 'War Committee,' who collected a voluntary tax to supply them with the sinews of war, raised levies, procured arms, and took charge of all military matters.

9th May 1647—'The quhilk day George Stirk [of Ballindean] receivit 29 lib. 5 sh. collectit in the parochie to be given to the heariet people in Argyle.' (*Sess. Min.*) This refers to the work of 'M'Donald's bloody Irishes,' as Row calls them, who had ravaged Argyll in the Royalist interest.

13th June 1647—'The quhilk day Henrie Duncan and Andro Rawit were content to act thame selves [*i.e.* undertook] that in caice that any pyper sould play, or the people dance, that in that caice everie ane of thame sould pay 10 lib. for thair contempione.' (*Ibid.*) This probably refers to a wedding, or penny bridal.

As required by the General Assembly of 1638, Presbyteries were in olden times in the habit of periodically visiting all the churches within their bounds. We have seen that in 1640 such a visitation of Balmerino took place, but, with the exception of the establishment of a parish school at the instance of the Presbytery, no record of its proceedings is extant, as the minutes of Cupar Presbytery previous to 1646 have not been preserved. The only other Presbyterial visitation before the Revolution a detailed account of which has come down to us occurred in the year 1647. Those visitations were held on a week-day, after intimation by edict read from the pulpit by a neighbouring minister. The proceedings were commenced with a sermon, which was usually, but not always, preached by the minister of the parish from his ordinary text; it being then and long afterwards customary to preach a lengthened course

of sermons from a single text—a verse, or a larger portion of Scripture—called the minister’s ‘ordinary.’ The Presbytery then considered, and pronounced an opinion on, the doctrine they had just heard. The next step was to remove the minister, and examine the elders upon oath concerning his performance of duty and whole conduct, and also concerning their own conduct. The elders were then removed, and the minister and congregation were similarly interrogated concerning them. The schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk—usually one and the same person—and the beadle were next dealt with in a like manner. The heads of families were then removed, and the minister and elders were examined regarding them. Lastly, the state of the church fabrics, Communion cups, Session Registers, churchyard wall, manse, glebe, and minister’s stipend, the salaries of the other officials, and the provision made for the poor were inquired into. Such was the general method, though, of course, it varied with the circumstances of each parish. The visitation of Balmerino is thus narrated in the Presbytery minutes:—

‘At Balmerinloch, 29 of July 1647. The quhilk day Mr. John Lytlejon hade the exhortatione from Coll. 2 and 5. The edict was returned indorsate and execute.

‘The minister [being] removed, the elders particulairlie sworne anent the carriadge of the minister and the severall carriadge one of another, all of them gave a werie large and honest testimonie to ther minister, as to a faithfull and painefull servant of Jesus Christ in his doctrine and conversatione, and in the dischaarge of everie pairt of [his] calling.

‘All the elders professed they had familie worshippe in ther families.

‘The minister did give to them ane honest testimonie as duetifull and diligent in their places; and everie one reported honestlie of another. They ar exhorted to further diligence, and especiallie to stirre upe the spirit of prayer in them; and

to repress the common sin[n]es of drunkennes and swearing in themselves, and to reprove them in others.

‘The Sessione booke seen, tryed, and approven.

‘The heritors present promised to joyne, according to their proportiones, for repaireing of the minister’s house.

‘The schoolmaster [being] removed, the minister and elders reported that he did attend werie diligentlie; the elders exhorted to further the sendeing of the bairnes to the schoole.

‘The Presbyterie requyred to deale with Stoniepaith [James Douglas, son of the previous minister] for secureing that pairt of the schoolemaster’s provisione payed by him, did appoynt M^{rs}. Jon Macgill, elder [*i.e.* senior], George Thomsone, and Hylcainie to meitt with the minister, George Stirk, and George Jack for that effect.’

14th September 1648—‘The Presbyterie did desire Mr. Walter Greig and Mr. David Dalglish to goe to the [War] Committie [of the Shire], and, in name of the brether, offer ther assistance and best concurrence for furthering and advanceing heir the work of God in this day of Jacobs trouble, and to exhorte them to stedfastnes.’ (*Presb. Min.*)

About this time it was considered necessary to renew the Solemn League and Covenant, in order to distinguish the well affected, from those who were opposed, to it. In August 1648 the General Assembly had ordained all persons, at their first admission to the Lord’s Supper, to take the Covenant. Its renewal at Balmerino is thus recorded in the Session minutes:—

10th December 1648—‘The quhilk day anc solemne fast was intimat to be keipit heir on the 14 day quhilk was thursday, and on the 17 day also. On the 10 day foresaid the Covenant wes red, and intimatione maid that the Covenant wes ordainit to be renewed, and sworne, and subscriyvit on the 17 day; as also the informatione of the present condicione of affaires, and declaratione of the General Assemblie wes red the said day; as also the explanatione of a former Act for renewing

of the Solenne League and Covenant, of the dait the 6 of October 1648 was red heir.'

14th *December*—'The fast keipit heir solemnlie, and a solenne acknowledgement of publick sinnes and breaches of the Covenant read heir.'

17th *December*—'The quhilk day the fast keipit heir solemnlie, and the Covenant was verie heartlie sworne and subscryvit.'

CHAPTER IV

MR. WALTER GREIG

‘ Some call me witch,
And being ignorant of myself, they go
About to teach me how to be one : urging
That my bad tongue—by their bad usage made so—
Forespeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
Themselves, their servants, and their babes at nurse ;
This they enforce upon me ; and in part
Make me to credit it . . . ’Tis all one
To be a witch as to be counted one.’

—THE WITCH OF EDMONTON.

FROM the serious business of the Covenant we now turn to another matter which at that period was considered not less serious—the alleged existence of witches in the parish. The minutes of Cupar Presbytery supply us with an account of the performances in the ‘black art’ ascribed to them.

On the 11th December 1648 Mr. Greig asked advice of the Presbytery concerning a woman in his parish, named Helen Young, ‘who had confessed hirselfe to be a witch.’ On the 31st December the Presbytery appointed a committee of five ministers to act along with Mr. Greig in speaking to her, and to report what they should find. On the 14th of January following they reported, ‘that still she confesses hir selfe to be a witch, but that when she is posed wpon particulars, she seemed to them either to dissemble, or els to be distracted. But because she spak something reflexing wpon Helen Small and Elspet Seith,’ the brethren resolved to examine these two women, and in the meantime recommended Mr. Greig to deal with Helen Young in his Kirk-session, in order ‘to try what can be had against them.’

Helen Small, who resided in Monimail parish, had been long reputed a witch; and it was now alleged against her that she had sent to a man in Letham 'a stouppfull of barme to be given him to drink whil (*i.e.* till) he was sick,' after which he died; that the wife of another man, 'having flitten with the said Helen, fell sicke,' and when the man afterwards reproved Helen, his cow died, and immediately his wife recovered; and that when another man, who was riding to Letham, met Helen, she was heard to say, 'Saw yec ever such a long-legged man as this?' after which he fell sick, and 'dwind about till he died.' The evidence for these accusations, however, taken by the Session of Monimail, proved to be insufficient. Having compeared before the Presbytery, Helen was asked why she was not careful to be purged of this scandal, and replied:—'that she could not stope their mouthes, and God would reward them.' She further denied all the things alleged against her.

18th January 1649—Mr. Greig reported to the Presbytery the death of Helen Young 'by sicknesse.' The other two women compeared, but 'maters concerning them not being sufficientlie cleired from the Sessions of Monemell and Balmirri-noch,' they were ordered to compear again, when called for. On the 8th of March following, Elspet Seith was examined and ordered to compear at the next meeting.

15th March—Andrew Patrick, being examined before the Presbytery, declared, 'that in the last goesommer¹ save one, as he was comming furth of the Galley to goe to his owne house, betwixt 11 and 12 houres at ewen, as he was in the west syde of Henry Blak his land, he saw 7 or 8 women dancing, with a mekle man [that is, Satan] in the midst of them, who did weare towards him, whil they came to a little loch, in the which they werre putting him, so that his armes werre wett to the showlder blaid; and that he knew none of them except Elspet Seith, whom (as he affirimes) he knew by

¹ 'Go-sommer' was the season between Michaelmas and Martinmas (*Presb. Min.*).

hir tongue, for he hard hir say to the rest, He is but a silly druken carle; let him goe. Being enquired, what he was doing that way so late? Answered, that he had bein in Johne Rikie his house, tailzeour in the Galrey, sheaping cloths; and that he had sent for a quart aill, and staying whil it was druken, it was late. Being enquired, whither he went after that fear? Answered, he went to his owne house, and that he cryed so befoir he came neir his house, that they who werre in his house opened the doore, and came furth and mett him; and that he went in to his owne house with gryt fear, and all wett. He, being questioned why he did not reveile the foirsaid mater presently theirafter, Answered, that wpon the morne he told it to Alexander Kirkaldy.

‘Andrew Patrik and Elspet Seith being confronted before the Presbyterie, he affirmes, she denies.’

Meanwhile Andrew got into trouble by being accused of having said—though he denied the charge—that Helen Swyn, in the parish of Forgan, and Isobel Troylus were among the women whom he saw dancing. Thomas Kinneir, in Kilmany parish, was also charged with having said that Andrew Patrik had told him that these two women were of the number. Evidence upon oath was taken at great length before the Presbytery as to the truth of these charges; and the case was also dealt with by the Session of Kilmany, but the details are complicated and lengthy. Suffice it to state that Andrew Patrick, younger, declared, ‘that his father was drunk at the tyme when it was alledged that he spake these things’ against Helen Swyn and Isobel Troylus; and also ‘that his father, and he, and all the company were in drink.’ At length Kinneir was ordered to make public declaration of his repentance for calling Helen Swyn a witch, which he could not prove, ‘having nothing for him but that Andrew Patrik had rownded (whispered) it to him.’

26th March—Andrew Patrick, senior, having again appeared before the Presbytery, ‘answered all thinges precisely

as he [had] done before; only he added that after he came out of John Reikie his house, he stayed an houre in his sonnes house.'

John Rikie, being called and sworn, confirmed Patrick's evidence, and said, 'that the last yeir save one, when he came home from his work, he fand Andrew Patrik waiting wpon him in his sonnes house, and that after he came home he came into his house, with cloath to be a pare of breches to Johne Drybro his servant and sister sonne,' and that Patrik, having sent for a quart of aill, 'stayed their with his sone sheaping the breeks and drinking the quart aill whil about 9 or 10 houres.'

Rikie's wife, Andrew Patrik younger, and Margaret Patrik, all confirmed the evidence of Andrew Patrik, senior.

12th April—The Presbytery resolved to consult the 'Justice Deput' in Edinburgh 'if what has bein found against Elspet Seith be sufficient grownd to recommend hir to the civill judge to be incarcerat for tryall.'

27th May—'Elspitt Seathe, quho hes bene this long tyme in processe both befor the Sessione [of Balmerino] and Presbyterie, came [to the Session] and desyrit either to be purged or fylled, quhilk the Sessione taking to their consideratione, ordainit the minister to supplicat the parliament, or the Counsell, or the Commissione of the kirk to give warrand to desyre the provost and bailzies of Cuper to provyd ane house for the said Elspet Seathe, where she may abyd in firmance untill the tyme she suld be put to tryel of her witchcraft, the parische of Balmirreno being oblisched for her entertainment during her abode in wairde.' (*Sess. Min.*)

14th June—Mr. Greig produced to the Presbytery the processes of the Session of Balmerino¹ and the Presbytery against Elspet Seith, and the written opinion of the Justice Depute thereanent, that there were sufficient grounds for her incarceration *ad inquisitionem*. He also produced a warrant

¹ The full process is not recorded in the Session register.

from Parliament to the magistrates of Cupar to apprehend and imprison her. These gentlemen, however, 'refused a prison for her,' though Balmerino Session had sent two elders to be caution for her charges during her imprisonment; but they 'offered the thief's hole to be a prison to hir.' Whereupon the Presbytery represented to them the inconvenience of that place, and required a more fitting one.

17th June—Mr. Greig having reported to the Session his diligence in procuring the warrant from Parliament, and the refusal of the Cupar magistrates as above stated, the Session nominated two of its members, David Stenhouse and Andrew Condie, to go to the Presbytery 'to assist the obtaining of ane hous to the said Elspett Seathe, quher sche might remaine during the tyme of her tryall, the Session obleissand thame selfe to performe all quhatsoever the two nominat took upon thame in ther names anent ther entertainment and persewing of her of witchcraft.' (*Sess. Min.*)

6th August—'Elspet Seith is ordeined [by the Presbytery] to be recommended to the magistrats of Couper to be incarceratt for tryall. The baillzies ar desyred to cause keip hir closse, and permitt no body to offer violence to hir, nor have accesse to hir, but such as the Presbytrie shall appoint. The Presbytrie ordeins two of their brethren to come in all the dayes of the week, *per vices*, except Saturday, to exhort hir and pray with hir; and desyres Mr. James Givane be clerk to the processe.'

6th September—All who had given evidence against Elspet Seith are summoned to be again confronted with her, and examined, at next meeting of Presbytery. On the 9th of September the Kirk-session ordained Andrew Patrige and seven women to be cited to appear before the Presbytery on the 13th.

13th September—'This day, Elspet Seith compeires, and being confronted with Jean Bruise, the said Jeane declares, that Elspet Seith had said to hir sister, Is your kow calfed? The young lasse answered, Know ye not that our kow is

calfed? The said Elspet replied, Their is milk be-west me, and milk be-east, and aill in David Stennous house, and a hungry heart can gett none of it. The diwell put his foot among it. And before that tyme to-morrow ther kow wold eate none; wherwpon they went to find Elspet Seith, but she keiped hir close within hir house 4 dayes, and was not sein; but the said Elspet affirmed, that the wind was in hir doore. At last the said Jean went to hir, and desyred hir to come sie their kow, and desyred some seids from hir. She answered, she had no seids, but she showld gitt some; who came with the seids sometymes weitt, and sometymes dry; and the said Jean affirmes, that the said Elspet went in to sie the kow, and layd hir hand wpon hir bake, and said, Lamby, lamby, yee wilbe weill enough. And from that tyme the cow amended.

‘It is also declared by the said Jean, that she [Elspet Seith] used to sitt downe in the way when she mett anybody.

‘Isobel Oliphant declares, that hir kow, with the rest of the kyne, used to pluk thak out of Elspet Seithes house; the said Elspet Seith came furth and strak hir kow. Bot before the morrow, she affirmed, that the said Elspet did cast a cantrep on hir kow, that she wold not eate nor give milk, but did dwyne on a long tyme till she dyed. The said Isobell affirmed, that she newer spake it, but Elspet Seith hir selfe did blaze it abroad. She declares, that she did sitt downe in the gate [road] ordinarily.

‘Jonet Miller being called, and confronted with the said Elspet, declares, that she came and looked in at Elspet Seithes door, did sie hir drawing a cheyne tether, and thereafter the said Elspet tooke the tether, and did cast it east and west, and south and north.¹ She asked hir what she

¹ ‘Witches were said to have had the power of making the milk of their neighbour’s cow flow into their own vessels, by drawing, or *milking* (as it was termed) a tedder in Satan’s name, and circulating it in a contrary direction to the sun.’ (Note by Editor of *Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar*, p. 148.—Abbotsford Club.)

was doing; answered, I am ewen looking to my kowes tether. The said Jonet affirmes, that it is not a yeir since till Mer-times, and it is evidently knowne that she had not a kow this sixteen yeir.

‘The said Elspet denyes all, and wold have used violence to the said Jonet if she had been permitted.

‘Jean Anderson being called, and confronted with the said Elspet, declared, that the said Elspet requyred milk, and she gave hir bread but no milk. And when she went to milk hir kow, she fand nothing but blood first, and theirafter blak water all that season. The said Jean being questioned, If she did call the said Elspet a witch? She confessed she did. She declared also, that the said Elspet used to sit down when she mett anybody.

‘Andrew Patrik being confronted with the said Elspet, is questioned, If ever he saw the said Elspet early or late in the fold? Answered, that he had sein hir severall tymes, and once he saw hir in the morning, and he had a little dog who barked despytefully at hir: she desyred him stay the dog. He answered, I wold it wold worry yow. Theirafter the dog newer eated. He affirmed also, that he saw hir amongst these women dancing. She denyed all.

‘Margaret Boyd is confronted with the said Elspet, and declares, that hir goodman, Robert Broun, went to deathe with it, that Elspet Seith and other two did ryde him to deathe; which he declared before the minister’s wyfe, Mr. James Sibbald, schoolmaster, and David Stennous, elder. She affirmes also, that he asked his wyfe, If she did not sie her goe away? She feared, and answered him, that she saw not; and immediatly he was eased.

‘Jonet Miller againe compeirs, and declares, that hir howsband, David Grahame, saw Elspet Seith and Helen Young meitt, the one going one way, and the other another, the said Elspet sat downe on hir knees, and Helen Young layd hir hand on hir showlder, and she spak some words to hir. The said

David Grahame questioning Helen Young on hir deadbed, what she was doing then when they mette? She answered, that she was desyring Elspet Seith to witch him. He questioned hir, why she wold not doe it hir selfe? She answered she had no power.

‘Isobel Blak called, and confronted with the said Elspet, declares nothing, but that she used ordinarily to hurch downe in the gate lyk a hare.

‘The brethren ar apointed to meitt with hir for tryall; Fryday, Mr. Johne Alexander; Monday, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant; Twysdey, Mr. James Martin; Weddensday, Mr. Johne Littlejohne’ (four ministers of the Presbytery).

20th September—‘This day compeirs Johne Blak [in the parish of Forgan who had been summoned, and] who declared, that he saw a hare sucking a kow, and she ran in among the hemp towards Elspet Seith’s house.’ (*Presb. Min.*)

23rd September—‘There was borrowed out of the box 4 lib. (£4) for the entertainment of Elspett Seathe.’ (*Scss. Min.*)

25th September—‘The Presbitrie of Cuper are ordained to vse all meanis to try Elspeth Seath, suspect of witchcraft.’ (*Syn. Min.*)

11th October—‘The Moderator [of the Presbytery] did question the brethren who werre apointed to try Elspet Seith, suspect of witchcraft, that week. It is answered, that they had found nothing confessed. It is apointed that two of the brethren shall meitt, *per vices*, for tryall of Elspet Seith.’

25th October—‘The Presbyterie apoints two brethren to goe to the provest and bailzies of Couper, and to requyre, anent Elspet Seith . . . if they wold take hir off their hand, and put hir in a close prison, wheir none might have accesse to hir, and that they wold apoint some to watch hir upon hir [their?] owne expens.’¹ . . . The magistrates answered,

¹ She had been lodged apparently in some house in Cupar. ‘Her’ should probably be ‘their’ (own expense). Yet a week before this John Baker in Scurr

‘that they wold give no other concurrence in trying of Elspet Seith, except the theiffes-holl to be a wardhowse for hir. It is apointed, that the commissioners shall supplicat the Commission of Estates to cause the towne of Couper concurre for trying of hir, and to cause them watch hir.’

8th November—‘It is apointed, that Mr. Walter Greig shall correspond with Sanctandros, anent supplicating the Comitty of Estates, for causing the town of Couper concurre in the tryall of Elspet Seith, according to a warrand from the Parliament.’

6th December—‘Elspet Seith . . . appeiring, the Presbyterie, considering that the towne of Couper wold not assist in warding and watching the said Elspet (according to the Act of Parliament), and not finding it possible to gett hir otherwyse tryed, having called hir before them, did ordein her, lyk as she promysed, to compeir againe whenewer she shold be required.’

2nd April 1650—‘The Synod of Fife ‘ordains the Presbitrie of Couper in thair severall pulpets, to desyre all that hes any dilationis to give in against Elspeth Seath, suspect of witchcraft, to declair the same.’ (*Syn. Min.*) Nothing more of the case is recorded.

The belief that human beings, and especially women, possessed, and very frequently exercised, the power of bringing disaster on others by alliance or compact with the devil afflicted Europe with abject terror during four centuries, ending with the seventeenth, in which this state of feeling reached its climax. The unfortunate creatures who were supposed to wield this power were condemned to be burnt at the stake—

handed to the Session 40 merks which he owed to Elspeth Seith, and which they ‘bound themselves to free him of at her hands.’

Among Overtures concerning witches, approved by the General Assembly of 1643, is the following:—‘Being apprehended, there would be honest and discreet persons appointed to watch them; for, being left alone, they are in danger to be suborned and hardened by others, or of destroying themselves.’—(*Peterkin's Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, p. 354.)

in many cases after having been subjected to frightful tortures to make them confess their guilt. On the Continent, vast numbers thus perished. During a hundred and fifty years, thirty thousand were burnt for witchcraft by the Inquisition. In England, the first formal enactment against this crime was passed in 1541, and the next in 1562. Scotland followed suit in 1563 by a similar statute condemning witches to death.

In 1597 King James VI. published a treatise against witchcraft, entitled *Dæmonologie in Forme of a Dialogue*. The propriety of putting witches to death was defended in England by the greatest names, besides that of the 'British Solomon'; and horrible cruelties were perpetrated in that country in the trial of an enormous number of witches. The measures adopted in Scotland were equally severe, especially during the Covenanted period. The clergy took a leading part in examining those accused of this crime; and Presbyteries were in the habit of ordering some of their members to be present at the execution of witches within their own bounds. It was believed to be necessary to enforce the Mosaic law, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' Some were burnt alive, but most of them were first strangled. It is recorded that in Fife alone thirty witches were burnt to death during a few months of a single year of this period. Sir James Balfour states in his *Annals* that on the 20th July 1649 he saw commissions directed by Parliament for trying and burning twenty-seven witches, besides three men and boys. The Restoration, when Episcopacy was again set up, was followed by a more virulent epidemic of witchcraft and executions than ever. The kind of evidence which was often deemed sufficient to prove this crime is well illustrated by the foregoing cases brought before the Presbytery of Cupar. Incidents which could be easily accounted for by natural causes were at once referred to diabolical agency. Superstitious terror caused its victims to see witchcraft where they had resolved to see it.

It would appear, however, that those who were charged with this crime were themselves sometimes impressed with the belief that they possessed supernatural power, and made voluntary confession of their guilt even when death was the certain result. In other cases also they were dominated by their own hallucinations, unless they were merely desirous of testing the credulity of their examiners. In 1649 the case of a witch was reported to the Lords of Council, who, according to Sir James Balfour, 'confessed that she had of late been at a meeting with the devil, at which there were above five hundred witches present.' Another witch—in East Lothian—confessed that two hundred of the sisterhood had flocked to the church of North Berwick, where the devil preached to them damnable blasphemy, and other unedifying incidents occurred.

While Mr. Greig was so zealous against witchcraft he had other and better work in hand. In 1649 he was appointed by the Presbytery of Cupar, along with others of its members, to peruse and report on a metrical version of the Psalms, which had been transmitted by the Westminster Assembly to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and by it had been sent down to Presbyteries for examination. This was the version of Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, and also a lay member of the Westminster Assembly. When it had been revised, it was sanctioned by the General Assembly's Commission and by a Committee of the Estates, and appointed to displace, after the 1st of May 1650, the version by Sternhold, Hopkins, and others, which had been previously used in Scottish churches. On the 9th of May the ministers of Cupar Presbytery received each a copy from the Commission of Assembly, and were enjoined by the Presbytery 'to intimat to their congregations on the Sabaoth following before noon and after noon to practice them.' Rous's version, which has ever since been used in Scotland, would thus be sung then for the first time in

Balmerino church.¹ Coincident with its introduction was the commencement of the practice—recommended by the Directory because many of the people were unable to read—of having each line of the Psalm separately read out by the precentor before it was sung. This practice, which was called ‘reading the line,’ was at first objected to by the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, but was eventually adopted in Scotland, for the sake of the desired uniformity of worship in the two countries, and to please the English, fewer of whom than of the Scots were able to read. The practice became in course of time popular in Scotland, and was continued till the eighteenth century, when its cessation was regarded by many as a serious grievance.

On the 4th of March 1649, ‘Janet Bell maid her repentance befor the pulpit for sitting downe upon her kneis, and giving Mr. James Sibbald, the schoolmaster, her maliesone.’ (*Sess. Min.*) This was in compliance with the decision of the Presbytery, from which Mr. Greig had ‘craved adyyce what punishment is to be inflicted upon a woman who had satt down upon hir knees and cursed hir neighbour?’

In 1649, Mr. Greig was a member of a Commission for the trial of certain of the Regents (Professors) of St. Andrews University concerning their affection to the reformation of religion, and the discipline of the Church. Previous to this year he was several times a member of the Commission of Assembly, which was not then constituted as at present, but was composed of certain leading men nominated by the Assembly, and entrusted with great power, seventeen to form a quorum.

In April 1649 the Synod of Fife, in compliance with an Act of the Visitors of the University of St. Andrews, appointed five ministers, of whom Mr. Greig was one, and Mr. James Sharp, the future ill-fated Archbishop, was another—three

¹ The use of the ‘Paraphrases,’ in their present form, was finally allowed by the General Assembly in 1781.

to be a quorum—to assist the Professors in the ‘colleges of Philosophy’ there in the trial of candidates for vacant chairs—their Commission to continue for a year. (*Syn. Min.*) Lamont, in his *Diary*, informs us that, there being a vacancy in St. Leonard’s College, three candidates ‘disputed’ on the 10th and 11th of April. ‘All the tyme they had ther speeches, ther heads werre couered, bot when they came to the disputte, they werre uncouered. Ther werre three of the five ministers forsaide present at the disputs, viz. Mr. Alexander Moncriefe, Mr. Walter Greige, and Mr. James Sharpe, wha had decisive voices in the electione of a Regent. . . . Mr. James Weymes he was the warst of the three [candidates], for in the disputs, he bracke Priscians¹ head verry often: for Mr. Alexander Jamesone and Mr. William Diledaffe they werre iudged pares by the wholle meitting, so that after longe debeatte, they werre forcet to cast lotts, and the lott fell vpon Mr. Alexander Jamesone, who did succeide to the forsaide vacant regents place’—altogether a strange method of appointing a Professor.²

13th June 1649—A meeting of the heritors and elders of Balmerino, called to consider the repair of the church, found that it ‘had need to be poynted, the windowes mendit, and ane readeris sett [or lectern] put up,’ and they resolved that 20 merks should be collected from the heritors for that purpose, at the rate of one merk for every plough, and 4d. for every acre of land. (*Sess. Min.*)

Commissioners from the Scottish Parliament had concluded in 1647 a treaty with King Charles I., by which he was to make certain concessions to the Presbyterians, while Parliament was to defend the King’s rights by force of arms if necessary. In 1648, the Commission of Assembly, of which Mr. Greig was a member, condemned the terms of this treaty, which was known as the ‘Engagement.’ Nevertheless the Scottish Parlia-

¹ Priscian was a famous grammarian who flourished in the sixth century, and whose treatise on Grammar was a text-book for many ages.

² Lamont’s *Diary*, p. 4.

ment sent to England an army, commanded by the Duke of Hamilton, for the purpose of restoring the King to his former power. This army was defeated at Preston by Cromwell in August 1648. In the following year, the Assembly, to which the introduction of 'Malignants'—that is, enemies of the Covenant—into the army was extremely offensive, ordained that all involved in the Engagement should give satisfaction to the Church for their offence, or be excommunicated. The following extracts refer to the Engagement:—

11th December 1648—'From the paroch of Balmerinoch delated Robert Rollok (inhabitant of Dundy, but resident in that paroch for a space by reason of the insurrection in Dundee) as having charge in the Engadgement, who, not compeiring, is delayed, and in the meantime suspended.'—*(Presb. Min.)*

2nd September 1649—'The Act concerning the receiving of Ingagees in the late unlawful warre against Ingland to publick satisfacione was red heir, daitit at Edinburgh, 20 July 1649.' A week later 'the whole elderis being demandit if they knew any misbehaviour in any of the Trouperis quartered in the paroch, answerit that they knew none, save onlie that they war on the unlawfull Engadgement.' *(Sess. Min.)*

On the 20th of the same month—'For purging of the army' the minister of Dairsie 'declares, that their is one Johne Watson quartered with them who was in the late Engadgement.' The minister of Abdie 'declares, that in Ebdy their is also Johne Litle.' Mr. Walter Greig, of Balmerino, 'declares, that one Johne Carny had committed a ryot within their paroch.' *(Presb. Min.)*

13th September 1649—A letter was produced to the Presbytery from Mr. Greig 'showing that their was a legacy by his predecessor, Mr. Thomas Douglas, of fifty merks to the school-master, and because he fand difficulty in it, he desyred the Presbyterie's concurrence and advyse, which was promysed and granted.' A week later, 'Mr. Walter Greig declared, that

Mr. James Douglas of Stanypathe had promised to give satisfactione to the Sessione anent the annuel rent (interest) of fyve hundreth merks for their schole.' In the Presbytery minutes, which contain these statements, nothing more is to be found concerning the legacy referred to, which yielded ten per cent. What has become of it is unknown.¹

Hitherto the lands of Naughton had formed part of the parish of Forgan. The inhabitants of these lands, however, attended Balmerino church on account of its greater proximity, and received the Sacraments there. This state of matters was felt to be unsatisfactory for all parties, as the Naughton people could have no right to accommodation in the church of a parish in which they did not reside; while the minister of Balmerino had the pastoral charge of a large number of families living on lands which contributed nothing to his stipend, that burden being thrown entirely on the teinds of Balmerino parish, his income from which was at the same time inadequate. An agreement was therefore entered into by the Laird of Naughton and the heritors of Balmerino, that a process should be raised before the Commissioners for the Plantation of Kirks, for the disjunction of the lands of Naughton from the parish of Forgan and their annexation to that of Balmerino, and for the augmentation, at the same time, of Mr. Greig's stipend out of the teinds of both parishes. Probably this agreement was partly the result of an injunction issued by the Presbytery of Cupar on the 16th of March 1648, in the following terms:—'The brether, considering the severall provisions of ministers within ther bounds, and finding many not sufficientlie provided, did require them all, and most particulairlie Mr. Walter Greig, to vse all lawful and ordi-

¹ In 1663 annual-rent, or interest, was reduced by Act of Parliament from ten to eight per cent., and no one was to be allowed to take more under pain of being punished for usury. The Act appears not to have applied to this legacy. In August 1649, Parliament reduced annual-rent to six per cent.; and perhaps this was the cause of Mr. Greig's 'difficulty.'

naire diligence to gett their provisiones helped; and Mr. Walter Greig was peremptorie appoynted to vse diligence to that effect, becaus formerlie he could not gett it done becaus of the malice and might of Bishopes against him, which the brether conceives should be ane motive to the Lords of plantation now to sie him both the better provydit, and the mor speedilie dispatched.'

The consent of the Presbyteries of St. Andrews and Cupar having been obtained, the process was raised, and the decree of disjunction, annexation, and augmentation was pronounced by the Commissioners on the 28th of February 1650. After various formalities had been completed in the Church courts, the following statements appear in the Session minutes:—*26th May 1650*—'Upon the said day the laird of Nachtane's lands, with the pairts and pendicles thereof, was received and accepted to be members of this our parochie of Balmerynot, and annexed to this congregation.' *7th July*—'The quhilk day it was condiscended upon be the Sessione that upon the 8 day of Julii the heall heretors sould meit in the kirk to advyse quher the Laird of Naughtone sould have his seat most conveniently set; that is, erected for the first time.

Mr. Greig's stipend, which had previously been five chalders of victual, with 110 merks in money, was now augmented by 30½ bolls of victual, and the whole vicarage teinds (part of which, at least, appears to have been paid to the minister before this period) being, as Lord Balmerino alleged, the whole remaining teinds of the original parish, great and small, not heritably disponed, and resting in his hands; and also by one chalder of victual (two parts oats, and a third part bear), three bolls of horse corn, and three 'turse' of oat straw, to be paid out of the teinds of Naughton. The stipend, as augmented, would amount to about eight chalders of victual, besides the straw, money, and vicarage teinds of the original parish of Balmerino, the value of which is unknown. The augmentation was to commence with the crop and year 1649.

On the 22nd of January 1650, before the decree was pronounced by the Commissioners, Mr. Greig stated to the Presbytery that 'he had agreed with the heritor, my Lord Balmerinloch, anent grasse for two kyne and one horse. Mr. Walter desyred the Presbyterie's approbation, that it might be recommendit to the Commissione for plantatione'; and a committee was appointed to 'design' grass land for the minister. This was in fulfilment of an Act of Parliament passed in 1649, which ordained 'that every minister have a horse and two kyes grasse, and that by and attour [*i.e.* over and above] his gleib.' But as there is no subsequent mention of this matter in the Presbytery minutes, and as the decree of 1650 is silent in regard to it, the agreement must have remained unfulfilled. We shall see that the statutory grass land was not obtained by the ministers of Balmerino till the year 1805.

The 'lands of Naughton,' annexed to Balmerino parish, did not, of course, include certain portions of the original Abbey lands which had been previously, or were subsequently acquired by the Lairds of Naughton, and which were always in Balmerino parish; namely, Easter Grange or Fincaigs; Pitmossie, Bangove, Docherone, and Kirkton; with parts of Cultra, Byres, and Bottomeraig. The question still remains, Did *all* the other portions of Naughton estate belong to the parish of Forgan till that time? This was virtually the point at issue in a recent and very protracted litigation in the Court of Session between the Crown, titular of Forgan parish, as coming in the place of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Tutors of Miss Duncan Morison of Naughton concerning the further liability of certain portions of Naughton estate for augmentation of Balmerino stipend. The Lord Advocate, for the Crown, contended that the Mains of Naughton, lands of Brownhills (now part of the farm of Little Inch), Gallowhills, Gallary, East and Mid Scur, and Kilburns had been always in the parish of Balmerino, and that their teinds had never been valued. The chief argument adduced was, that when the parsonage teinds of the estate of

Naughton in Forgan parish were valued in February 1637, the portions of land mentioned were not specified in the decret of valuation; the only lands named being Peasehills, Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills, with Killukies¹ and Scrogieside as pertinents of these lands. It also appeared that Mr. James Morison of Naughton had stated in the Teind Court in 1803, that the first-mentioned portions of lands (Mains of Naughton, etc.) 'lay always in the parish of Balmerino.' On the other hand, it was contended for Miss Duncan Morison that as these lands formed part of the barony of Naughton in 1594, they must have been included in the teind-valuation of 1637, though not specially named in the decret. If this was so, it would follow that they were in Forgan parish till the year 1650. The Lord Ordinary decided in favour of the latter view of the question. His judgment was affirmed, on appeal, by the Inner House on the 9th of July 1858. The decision of the Court was undoubtedly correct as regards the Mains of Naughton, Brownhills, Gallowhills, and Gauldry.² Peasehills, Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills were admittedly in Forgan parish previous to 1650, and there is still paid to the minister of Forgan, for some unexplained reason, the sum of 18s. 4d. of vicarage stipend from the lands of Byrehills and Cathills.

With regard to Scur, Kilburns, and Scrogieside, in this process, and in the subsequent litigation between Mr. Stuart of Balmerino and the other two large heritors concerning the valuation of the teinds, evidence was produced which, though for *technical* reasons not admitted by the Court to the effect of proving that the teinds of these lands were unvalued, yet clearly showed that six acres in Scurbank called Mid Scur, with pasture for six cows and their followers, two horses, and

¹ As no place called Killukies is known to have ever existed in the estate of Naughton, the word is most probably a misreading of *Kilburns*; and if so, it could only have denoted a *portion* of the lands so named.

² There is evidence in the Presbytery minutes of the witch case above narrated that in 1649 Gauldry was in Forgan parish.

twenty sheep, and also six acres of Scrogieside, were not possessed by the Lairds of Naughton till about the year 1704; that eight acres called Wester Kilburns were acquired by James Morison of Naughton so recently as 1809;¹ that other seven acres of Kilburns were not included in the estate of Naughton till after its teinds were valued; and that the various parcels of land now mentioned had always been in the parish of Balmerino, and were feued from the Abbey. The result was, that the teind-valuation of the lands of Naughton in Forgan parish in 1637 was, strange to say, practically held by the Court to have included several portions of land which have never belonged to that parish, and were not then possessed by the Lairds of Naughton.² The two parishes met at Kilburnsden, but the boundary between them, running southwards from that point to the original lands of Naughton, cannot now be precisely defined, in consequence of the removal of ancient landmarks. And for the like reason the same uncertainty now exists regarding the old boundaries of Scur, Kilburns, and Scrogieside.

We resume quotation from Church Records:—

20th March 1650—‘The quhilk day Sir Jhone Leslie and Isbell Hay wer contracted, and consignit ther pandis (pawns) conforme to the order.’ (*Sess. Min.*)

April 1650—Mr. Greig was appointed by the Presbytery of Cupar a member of a committee, consisting of three ministers and three elders, to perambulate the parish of Kilmany (or part of it), and to meet at Luthrie for that purpose. (*Presb. Min.*)

19th May 1650—‘Intimacione was maid of ane publick thanksgiving to be keipit heir solemnelie upon thursday nixt, the 23rd of May, for the victorie obtained in the northe against James Grahame.’ (*Sess. Min.*) Soon after this defeat of

¹ The proprietors of Naughton had right to 4½ bolls yearly out of the teinds of Wester Kilburns, but when or how this right was acquired has never been explained.

² *Teind Court Papers.*

Montrose (who, having been at first one of those most zealous for the Covenant, changed sides, and gained many brilliant though bloody victories in the royalist interest) he was captured in Inverness-shire, carried to Edinburgh, tried, and condemned to death. He was executed on the 21st of May before the thanksgiving took place.

9th June 1650 — ‘Intimatione was maid that on the Moonday heirefter, everie weik, ane pairt of the families of the parische sould be visited be the minister and the elders of the quarter, as also that on the Wednesday ther sould be preaching, and on the Fryday catechising, and this to be every (*blank*) as God gave the occasione.’ (*Ibid.*)

9th August 1650—‘A private fast’ was kept ‘in everie familie in the congregacione,’ and a public fast on the Sunday thereafter. (*Ibid.*)

25th August 1650 — ‘The Laird of Nauchtane delated Agnes Black for cursing, quho is ordained to be cited before the Sessione against the next Sabbathe day.’ She accordingly ‘compeared and denyit the alleadgance, and being gravely admonished was absolved.’ (*Ibid.*)

On the 3rd of October 1650, King Charles II. made his escape from the state of thralldom in which he was kept by the Covenanters at Perth, in order to join the Royalists in Angus. Having been overtaken by his pursuers (one of whom was Lieut.-Col. Nairn of Sanford) in a poor cottage at Clova, he returned to Perth on the 6th of October, and received more considerate treatment thereafter. This incident was known as the ‘Start.’ On the 15th of October, the Synod of Fyfe appointed Mr. Greig a member of a committee of ministers and elders ‘for drawing of ane letter to his Majestie anent his late escape to the Malignants.’ This letter having been delivered, it ‘wes very graciouslie accepted of be his Hienes, with great thanks to the Assemblie; and a earnest desire to pray for him nevir to fall in the lyke escape in joyning to the Malignants.’ (*Synod Min.*) This was a case of hypocrisy *versus* intolerance.

17th November 1650—‘Ane publick fast wes intimat to be keiped the nixt Sabbath day, and the people ordained to come to the kirk on Satusday to the preaching, for ther preparation.’ (*Sess. Min.*)

On the 22nd December 1650, being Sunday, a ‘fast was kipt, and the peopill ordained to com to the chersch the nixt Twisday to keip for the keing.’ (*Ibid.*) The Sunday’s fast was on account of the great contempt of the Gospel; that on Tuesday was ‘for the sins of the King and his father’s house,’ preparatory to his coronation, which took place at historic Scone on the 1st of January 1651.

16th January 1651—‘This day Mr. Walter Greig informed the Presbyterie, that he had received advertisement that ther had bein such doctrine preached by Mr. William Livingstoun [minister of Falkland] in the Kingis hearing as requyred to be adverted, and that gave offence to some. The Presbyterie apointed, that the said Mr. William shall goe to the Com-missioun of the Kirk, and their cleir himselfe, as he himselfe desyred.’ (*Presb. Min.*)

16th March 1651—‘The quhilk day the minister heaving intimat the celebration of the Lord’s Super, apointed the congregation to meit upon Wednesday and Saterdag afternawn for preparation.’ 23rd March—‘The sacrament of the Lord’s Super was celebrat, and wpon Monunday in the morning we had a sermon.’ (*Sess. Min.*) These entries record the commencement, in Balmerino parish, of the practice of having a fast-day and a Monday thanksgiving service in connection with the Communion, in addition to a preparation service on the Saturday, which alone had been for some time previously held. The Wednesday or Thursday on which there was preaching was not *at first* kept here as a *fast-day*. Sometimes the Sunday preceding the Communion was so kept. All these services were then, and long afterwards, very lengthy. The neighbouring ministers were also brought together on Sunday to give the addresses to the communicants at the successive table services,

and to preach to the people assembled in the churchyard; and the pulpits of these ministers being thus left unsupplied, their congregations followed them—many of those strangers, if they brought or got tokens from their own minister, being allowed to join in the Communion. It frequently happened, especially in the eighteenth century, that there was no service in Balmerino church on several consecutive Sundays, the minister being absent at the Communion in other parishes. The presence of great crowds of people on those occasions sometimes led to disorderly scenes. But there was also much religious interest awakened at such gatherings. At this time the Church was split into two opposing parties—the Resolutions and the Protesters. The former were those who approved of the resolutions of the General Assembly, that such persons as had been concerned in the Engagement should be allowed to profess their repentance, and, having done so, should be admitted into the army, for the defence of the kingdom. The latter were those who protested against the resolutions. It was this party, to which Mr. Greig appears to have belonged, that originated the numerous sacramental services.

In October 1651, 'the minister produced ane ticket from Mr. John Young for ten merks.' In March 1652, the Laird of Naughton produced to the Session 'ane ticket (or receipt) for ten merks that was givin to Captan Levetenant Thomson'; and in the following May he gave in a receipt for a similar sum paid to Lieutenant Jarden—apparently the military assessment levied by Cromwell's troops, who now had possession of the county.

On the 13th of March 1653, 'the Laird of Naughton was desired by the Session to forbid Gillie Watsone to ludge vagabounds and strangers.'

On the 24th of April 1653, 'Major Androw Lesslie being formerlie contracted with Margaret balfour [daughter of Andrew Balfour of Grange], their pledge was put in box, 3

dollars.' The 'Sword dollar' of the coinage of King James VI. was a thirty-shilling piece. On the 28th of August 1654, 'the money collected for Androw Lesslie, a gentillman, 8 lib. 13s. 4d., was delivered to the minister to give it to him at his coming for the samyn.' (*Sess. Min.*) Whether this was the Major just mentioned is uncertain.

12th May 1653—'Mr. Walter Greig professed [to the Presbytery] that he carried so much respect to, and expected so much charity from, the Provinciall [Synod], as he did humbly entreat, that ther wisdomes might be pleased not to urge the execution of that Act for the present (in respect of the sadde estate of the tymes) wherewith he cannot in conscience goe along, for the reasones that he shall shew in tyme and place convenient.' (*Presb. Min.*) This refers to an Act of Assembly passed in July 1651, discharging 'expectants' (that is, probationers) who opposed the Public Resolutions of the Assembly from preaching and catechising, and appointing Synods and Presbyteries to proceed against them. Mr. Greig, as a Protestor, dissented from the Act.

15th June 1653—'The Session concludit that there should be two dyats in the celebration of the holy Communion, and the first dyat to be about the 4 of July if no impediment were the hindrance.' It was not uncommon about this time to have the Communion on two or more successive Sundays.

19th September 1653—'The Laird of Naughtone produced [to the Session] the stent roll drawn up by himsell and George Stirk [of Bandean] for the mantenance of the scoole as they were appointed [by the Session], and the said Laird of Naughtone did signifie unto my Lord Balmerino, then present in Sessioun, that he could not get the stent maid up without making his Lordship four mark more nor his 20 lib. which he had formerlie dedicat for the use of the scoole, and asked his Lordship if he was willing to give it for the lands of the Kirktown; his Lordship answered he was willing to give the

four marks also, by and attour the 20 lib., for the which all the Sessioun gave his Lordship thanks.'

5th November 1653—The Laird of Naughton 'having sundrie tymes before regrated to the Session, but particularlie this day, that he and his familie could not be weell accommodatt in that place wherein he now sitts, and desired a more commodious place, and particularlie that rowme be-east the pulpet towards my Lord Balmerinoche's ille on the south side of the kirk. The Session, considering that the place forsaid was not assigned to any particular persone, did willinglie condescend to it, allowing the Laird of Naughton for his best conveniens to remove his seat from the on place and sett it in the other, and thereinto set such seats as he and all his familie may be best accommodatt.' (It is thus evident that at that time Balmerino church was only in certain parts of it furnished with fixed pews.) 'Also the Laird desired a place of buriall for himself and his familie assigned to him on the north [south?] syde of the kirk betwixt my Lord Balmerinoch's ile and the Laird of Newtown's [Sir John Leslie, who was Laird also of Birkhill] wherunto also the Sessioun condescendit.' The practice of interment in churches was then common, though forbidden by the General Assembly.

On the 19th of March 1654, in Balmerino church there was 'collected for the prisoners in Dundie 7 lib. 6 sh. 8 d. which was delyvered to the Laird of Naughtowne.' On the 4th of January 1655, a collection was made 'for ane gentillman, prisoner in Dundie under the Inglisch.'

11th May 1654—'This day the minister desired at the Sessioun he might have a rowme for [the erection of] a seat wherein he himself and his familie might be best accommodat, and particularlie that rowm betwixt the pulpit and the south doore on the west side of the pulpit, wher the Laird of Naughtons seat was before: the Sessioun, finding that rowme and place not propriat to any other, willinglie condescended. Also William Bean in Pitmossie desired what was resting over

the ministers seats he might have it for himself and his familie. To this also the Sessioun condiscendit.'

25th May 1654—Mr. Greig, who favoured severity in the exercise of Church discipline, appealed to the Presbytery against a resolution of his Kirk-session concerning the degree of censure which should be inflicted on a certain delinquent. The majority of the elders voted for a lighter, while Mr. Greig wished a heavier censure. The Laird of Naughton joined in his appeal, and it was sustained by the Presbytery. In his reasons of appeal he had stated:—'It weighs much with me, and bears in upon me our bygone negligence, who have passed many lightlie, thinking therby to gaine the offenders; but this and other outbreakings in this calamitous tyme calls for the improving our discipline rather than slacking it.' He added, that though he had always desired and endeavoured that the Session might act harmoniously, as they had generally done, 'yet now least in my old dayes I break the peace of my mind, and power of that discipline quhilk has ever been dear to me, I must dissent from the pluralitie of the elders, and creave the help of the presbetry by appealatioun therto.' He had first asked advice from the Synod, and they also were in favour of the more severe censure.

3rd June 1654—Five new elders were added to the Session, making the whole number eleven; and the several quarters of the parish were assigned to them—two elders to each of four quarters, and one to each of three.

22nd June 1654—Another case of alleged witchcraft was reported to the Session. John Barclay compeared, and 'complained upon Jonet Frumont, who had challenged his wyfe [Helen Swyne, apparently the person of that name already mentioned in connection with the 'black art'] of taking away the substance of hir milknes of three or four mealls, and that hir milknes did not fraim till Jonet Frumont went to the Ladie Nachtoune, who did send for his wyfe, and reproved her.' Jonet, being called, and asked if she had spoken these words,

answered, 'that after Hellen Swyne went to change a kebeck of cheise with hir, for some dayes therafter her milk did not fraim among her hands, that shoe profest hirsselfe not satisfied with Hellen Swyne, and said to Georg Ramsay, Tak away your milk from me, seing I can not mak no use of it.' The Session then found that Jonet Frumont 'hes spoken that of Hellen Swyne that puts a great blot upon hir,' and resolved to give her the choice of proving before the civil magistrate 'that Hellen Swyne had that power to tak away the substance of milk, or to satisfy as a sclanderer.' When this was intimated to Jonet, she, like the learned Judges of the land before they decide difficult cases, answered, 'that she would tak it to advyse.' On the 10th of August she declared, that 'she wald mak it out, what she had said, by others who had gotten wrong of their milknes as well as she.' The case was allowed to stand over till the Laird of Naughton, whose tenant she was, should return from London,¹ and after further procedure the Session 'by plurallitie of voices' ordained her 'to declare her publique repentance for her rash speaking of Hellen Swyne,' which she did accordingly.

22nd June 1654—The minister and elders resolved that the Communion should be celebrated 'about the 16 of July, at the closse of the bear seed.' There is another similar entry in the Session minutes under the 22nd of May 1692, on which day the Communion was appointed to be as soon as possible after the next examination, 'which the minister intends to begin after the bear seed.' These must have been unusually late seasons, or some farming operations must have been much later then than at present.

3rd August 1654—Culbeard Bean was rebuked before the Session 'for ignorance,' and was 'assured that, if he did not give better evidence of his growth in grace and knowledge

¹ He had probably gone to London in company with his brother James, who had been elected Commissioner from Fife to the Parliament which was to meet on the 3rd of September of that year in the English capital.

of God, he should be caused mak publick declaratioun of his ignorance, and for his beter information he should cause read to him by some of his owne familie, ilk day, a part of the Catechise, the prayer, and ten Commands betwixt this and the nixt dyat of examine.'

In 1655 a murder appears to have been committed by John Barclay, a parishioner of Balmerino, no details of which are recorded in the Session minutes. It led, however, to the abrupt withdrawal of the Laird of Naughton, who was an elder, from the Session. The matter is obscure, not being intelligibly narrated in the minutes. Earnest endeavours were made by the minister and elders to induce the Laird to return, but without success. Subsequently he removed to St. Andrews; and the Session, after some hesitation and delay, agreed to his request for a testimonial to be presented to St. Andrews Kirk-session, in order that he might be admitted to Church-membership there.

4th June 1656—'The examine Roll was red over, and the Sessioun allowed all these who were approven to have tickets [for the Communion], and these who were not approven to want. Also the Sessioun did give 58s. to two Gentillmen whose fathers and frendis was taken captive by the Turks.' The giving of tickets, or tokens, to communicants appears to have been a continuation of a custom practised in the Church of Rome. At this time they were probably not made of metal, as they afterwards were.

July 1656—Of two women who had been 'flyting' one sat down on her knees, and said she would give her malison to the other every day.

3rd February 1657—The Session 'thought it fitt that the young men within the parochie should say the Catechisme, and not the scoolers, in the kirk betwixt divine worship in the fornoon and afternoon.' It was doubtless the 'Shorter Catechism' which was now used. On the 25th of March, 'the minister informed the Sessione that the kirk Byble was of

the old translatioun, and desired one of the new; and the Sessione was content.' This was forty-six years after the publication of King James's version, here called the new one, which displaced that of Geneva, but had not been much used in Scotland till this period, as there existed a prejudice against it.

About this time help was given by the Session to various persons other than parishioners:—'To a distrest man from the King's court, £2, 18s.'. . . 'To the peopell of Glasgow, £26'; 'To ane poor man spoiled at the sea, having 6 children born at 3 tymes, as his testimonial buir, 26s.'; *21st January 1657*—'To ane grecian man, £3, 10s.' This was probably the person mentioned in the following entry in the minutes of St. Andrews Presbytery under 3rd December 1656:—'The quhilk day the Presbyterie [received] a Supplication from Anastasius Comnenus, a minister of the Grecian Church, together with some testificates anent himselfe and these for quhom he did supplicate, desireing some charitable supplie for his owne and other fyftein ministers, captives at Argiers (Algiers), ther releife.' The Turkish pirates of Algiers were then the terror of Europe, by their holding vast numbers of Christian captives in a state of slavery. For the redemption of these, collections were often made throughout the whole country.

23rd June 1657—'Hendrie Rollie and Isobell Bruce wer married, who had with them ane fidler. David Donaldsone became suretie to the minister, under the paine of ten punds, that he suld play nocht heir.' About this time, Alexander Kirkaldy charged Andrew Boyter before the Session with taking God's name in vain, saying ' . . . Yee are fallen in among the Whigs of Kilmanie; thai will be all hanged, and so will yee.' Andrew having expressed his sorrow for thus speaking, the Session reproved him.

22nd April 1657—'David Leitch having given the Session their live (leave); and he getting his live, the minister got ane

warrant to seek out another schoolmaster.' There is no mention of the date of Mr. Leitch's appointment to the office, of his tenure of which this laconic statement records the termination. On the 3rd of June he 'delivered the Session book in the presence of the Session, subscribed with his hand, David Leitch.' He was probably appointed about the end of 1650, as on the 19th of November of that year Mr. James Sibbald, the previous schoolmaster, 'delivered the Session-book to the minister,' when perhaps he ceased also to teach, in consequence of infirmity, or for some other reason. Mr. Leitch's successor was Mr. John Wyllie, who, on the 1st of July following, 'appeared before the Session, and by the unanimous consent of all present was chosen and admitted to be schoolmaster, and clerk to the Session. For which he should get a copie of ane staint of a hunder merkis laid upon the heritors, as others befor him had, with ane free hous to dwell into, and school.' The Session minutes first indicate in 1653 that the schoolmaster's salary had been increased from about forty merks to a hundred—doubtless in compliance with the Act of Parliament of 1646. Of this sum Lord Balmerino, as we have seen, voluntarily contributed £20 or 30 merks, which was much more than his due proportion, according to the valuation of his lands in the parish. He had also given a house for the school and schoolmaster—the heritors not having been required by law till the year 1803 to provide a dwelling-house. On the 18th of October 1654, at a meeting of the heritors and Session, it was resolved to lay a stent of 70 merks on the heritors, to make up, with 30 merks from Lord Balmerino, the 100 merks required; and the meeting appointed three of the elders as 'stentours,' who were to give their oath 'impartiallie to stent and sie what bolles of victuall everie heretor was, and give account of their diligence to the Session; as also they appointed the minister to be their overseer in the bussines.' After Mr. Wyllie's appointment the Session ordained him to collect from the heritors their several

proportions of his salary as set down in the Stent Roll subscribed by one of the stentors, amounting to 100 merks; besides fees of £1 Scots for each marriage, and ten shillings for each baptism, betwixt the schoolmaster and beadle; with two shillings for each testimonial given to those leaving the parish, and ten shillings for each scholar quarterly, to the schoolmaster alone. If any heritor should refuse to pay his proportion of salary, the S^{ession} promised to assist Mr. Wyllie to obtain complete payment. They further ordained him to insert a copy of the Stent-Roll in the Session Book; but the principal Roll was to abide in the minister's hands for future reference if necessary.¹

18th of May 1658—Mr. Wyllie informed the Session, 'that the hous and school wherein they had put him, and promised to be free and sufficient for dwelling into, and teaching of schoollers, was becom very ruinous, and cold, and raynie.' Whereupon, 'seing my Lord Balmerinloch had given it to be ane hous and schooll for the good and use of teaching the children in the paroch,' the Session agreed to appoint two men of skill to inspect the house, that it might be repaired; also that the money required should be given out of the kirk box at first, and thereafter be laid by way of stent on the heritors, and thus restored to the box. A week later, three competent men were desired 'to goe and sicht the school hous wherein John Wyllie did dwell, that it may be repaired, and made sufficient, warme, wind ticht, and water ticht, with good lichtsme windows, and ane good and sufficient warme doore; with seats biged of stone and mortar (!) round about the syde walls, and givill walls, of the school and space wherin the schoolmaster was to learn his schoolers'; and to report what should be done. On the 2nd of June they reported that it would be necessary to take down 'both roof and syde walls, with ane good part of the givill walls, and big it with stone and mortar,

¹ See Appendix, No. XVI.

and give it ane new cupill, cabers, watlings, door cheeks, half doore,¹ and new windows, easeboards, and thereon stenchalls, and what else it stood in neid of to mak it ane honest, good, and sufficient hous.' The Session accordingly appointed two tradesmen to make these repairs, 'and ordained the minister to be ther oversier, he being near hand the said school'—as both manse and school were at the village of Balmerino. The repairs appear not to have been executed till about the end of the year 1660. The school was thatched with straw or reeds.

On the 2nd of December 1657, the Session had commenced an investigation, the record of which occupies many pages of the minutes, into slanders against the minister and his wife which two parishioners were alleged to have circulated. The following extract from the Presbytery minutes gives a sufficient account of the matter:—*July 1658*—'It being found by deposition of witnesses, that Adam Taite (referred by the Sessioun of Balmirrinoch to the Presbyterie) had most wickedly traduced Mr. Walter Greig, and laboured to weaken his ministrie, calleing him a betrayer of sowles, a scruffer of Scriptures, and one unworthie of his place, etc.: all which he had denied till it was proven. Lykewyse, it being found that the said Adam, with Marjory Jak, had together broached many foull vyle, sclanderous speeches against Mr. Walter's wyffe also, all which was proven against them, after they had denied the same. Therfor, the Presbyterie ordeines all the three [two] to appeare before the congregation of Balmirrinoch in sackclothe, and ther acknowledge ther offences, and declare ther repentance for the same.'

14th July 1658—'The Session ordained [that] euerie person who is not to be brought befor the congregation for ane little falt sall sit down upon their knes befor the Lord in the face of the Session, and acknowledge their falt.' A case in which this rule was enforced with a slight alteration occurred

¹ That is, the lower half, like that of a barn door. In 1694, 24s. Scots were paid by the Session for 'ane half-door to the school.'

on the 2nd of January 1661, when two persons guilty of quarrelling and fighting had to go down on their knees before the Session, and 'ask mercy of the Lord for their miscarriage.' In October of the year 1658, there were 'given to David Donaldson for ane stool to such as is not brought to the publick place of repentance, but befor the pulpit, to sit in there for lesser faults, 20 sh.' The distinction here referred to is constantly kept up in the censures imposed by the Kirk-session. Those guilty of less aggravated offences had to declare their repentance and be rebuked 'before the pulpit' on one day only. For more heinous transgressions delinquents were 'brought to the public place of repentance' in another part of the church not described, and rebuked on three or more Sundays. In each of these places there was a stool, on which they sat during sermon. Specimens have already been given of the offences of which the Session took cognizance. There were, during this and the next century, many cases of Sabbath-breaking; of selling ale during sermon; of slandering; of swearing and cursing; of quarrelling and 'flyting,' especially by women; of stealing; and of excessive drinking, frequently in connection with the 'boat of Balmerino,' which was the medium of communication with Dundee.

26th September 1658—'This day the Session appoint the fast befor the Communion to be upon the 17 of October [a Sunday] and the Lord's Super to be celebrat the 24 of October, and weeklie preaching after the harvest was apointed to beginne again upon the 14 of October.'

January 1659—Three more elders were added to the Session, and the whole of the elders were 'divided into twos to everie quarter in the parochie.'

5th July 1660—'Ther was in the kirk of Balmerinoch, according to the appointment of the Presbitrie, ane thank-giving for our kings saffe return.' On the 8th of August, a man was delated to the Session for drunkenness and mocking at thunder, and was 'rebuked sharplie' therefor.

29th May 1661—'Thair was thanks given for the restoratione of the king's majestie to his throne and crown, according to the appointment of the Presbyterie being intimate to the people upon last Sabbath.'¹

Soon after the restoration, in 1660, of Charles II. to the throne, Episcopacy was re-established in Scotland. Mr. Greig is stated in some of the histories of the period to have been one of those ministers who 'conformed.' It would be more correct to say, merely, that he was not 'outed,' as were those who had been admitted after 1649 (when Church patronage was transferred to Kirk-sessions) unless such ministers sought a new presentation to their charges from the former patrons, and collation from the Bishop. But being one of those appointed before 1649, Mr. Greig was not required to take the oath of canonical obedience to the Bishop, as were the ministers who had been admitted after that year. Wodrow says he was one of those 'confined' to their parishes in 1663. His name is not found in the lists of ministers attending the meetings of the diocesan Synods of St. Andrews, though he had previously taken a prominent part in the business of the Church courts. Of the Presbytery of Cupar, eleven ministers conformed, and eight were expelled from their charges. In the whole Church about three hundred were 'outed.' These were for the most part the younger ministers, whom the Government was more anxious to concuss into active compliance with Episcopacy, as the older ministers were few, and would sooner die out. 'Less compliance,' says Wodrow, 'was to be looked for from them who had been so active in the Covenant, and late work of reformation.'

The leading features of the system now introduced may be briefly described. Diocesan Synods were regularly held, under the presidency of the Bishop, the archdeacon, or some one

¹ From 27th Nov. 1661 to 13th Feb. 1664 there is a blank in the Session minutes, Mr. Greig having, it is stated, lost the scroll copy, which the clerk declared he had given him.

nominated by the Bishop. Presbyteries still met, but only under the Bishop's warrant; and were presided over by a permanent Moderator appointed by him. They were in most dioceses called 'meetings' of the clergy, or 'brethren of the precinct' or 'Exercises,' the word 'Presbytery' being offensive to royal and episcopal ears. (Yet in the minutes of the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews 'Presbyteries' are frequently mentioned.) Elders were excluded from them. Kirk-sessions met, and did their work as before; and delinquents had to appear before the congregation, just as in Presbyterian times, clothed in sackcloth. The General Assembly—a body which the Stuarts never loved—did not meet; and in this lay the chief change. The voice of the whole Church could not make itself be heard, and free discussion was stifled. Ministers were ordained, not by the brethren of the Presbytery, in the parish churches to which they were appointed, and in presence of the people over whom they were to be placed, but by the Bishop in his cathedral or elsewhere. As regards the form of worship, no liturgy was enjoined—the fate of Laud's liturgy in 1637 having served as a warning to the ruling powers—and the prayers were extemporaneous. A few of the clergy, however, used the English Book of Common Prayer, or the Scottish Book of Common Order. The Lord's Supper was taken by the members of the congregation sitting round a table as before. Three things were insisted on, and we may think it strange that they should ever have been objected to—for they formed part of the Church service from the Reformation till the introduction of the Westminster Directory in 1645—the use of the Lord's Prayer, the repetition of the Creed by parents in baptism, and the singing of the Doxology at the end of the Psalms by the congregation standing. During prayer, either a standing or a kneeling posture was allowed. The observance of no anniversary was enjoined, except that of the King's Restoration—the 29th of May—which was also his birthday.

25th August 1661—The minister intimated to the Session that there would be no week-day preaching till after harvest, when it would be resumed on Wednesdays ‘at 12 hours.’ The Wednesday service was commenced by Mr. Greig, as we have seen, in 1650, and was probably continued till near the end of his ministry; but there is no mention of it after that period. On Sundays there was service both forenoon and afternoon, all the year round, in this and the following century, though the church was not heated.

13th July 1665—In Balmerino church there was ‘twice preaching and thanksgiving for the victorie of his Majestie’s navies’—over the Dutch fleet. (*Sess. Min.*)

In the beginning of 1666 the church, which had undergone some repairs five years before (when the Session stented the heritors for £42 for repairing it and the school), was again repaired by having a ‘rude of thickit (thatched or slated) work’ done, ‘and the rest of the bodie of the kirk pointed,’ which cost £24. On the 30th of January 1667, there were ‘given to men that thickit a holl in the kirk with divits 12 sh.’ A fortnight after, there were given ‘to buy timber and sclaits to the kirk 2 lib. 18 sh.’ These were doubtless for closing the ‘holl,’ which appears to have been in the roof. Towards the end of the same year, the heritors were again stented for repairing the kirk, and, as in former cases, the Stent-Roll was inserted in the Session minutes.

7th March 1668—‘The minister desired all in the parochie who had children to put them to the school if they were capable of learning, and so to keep thaim at it summer and winter, quhill (till) they could read, and know the grounds of religion; and all quha were not abill to pay for ther learning should be paid duely to the schoolmaster from the box.’ Similar intimations were frequently made in subsequent times; and the cost of books, and also school-fees, for poor scholars were paid by the Session.

13th April 1670—‘It was represented to the Lord Arch-

bishop (Sharp) and Synod that the Laird of Naughtoun having some years agoe given bond to the minister of Balmerino for a chalder of victual yearlie, and now one of his sons has given up the bond, and keeps it [the victual?]. The Lord Archbishop and Synod appoint Mr. William Person to speak [to] the Laird of Naughton anent that matter, and to make his report to the nixt Synod.' At next Synod 'the Lord Archbishop and Synod find that the Laird of Naughton is abundantly vindicated of that chalder of victual of the minister's stipend of Balmerino, whereof something was spoken in the last Synod.' (*Syn. Min.*)

Mr. Greig was now experiencing the infirmities of old age. On the 28th of February 1669, 'the Session allowed examination at ii hours of the day to be kept after the 8 day of March, if the minister wer able to doe it.' On the 7th of March, however, 'the minister appointed examination to be vpon the Tweisday and Friday nixt, the 9 and 12 of this instant, and so to be keiped when he was able.' On the 17th of April 1670, 'the minister left his lectoring because of his weaknes, quhilk he did signifie to the parochie, as might appear in his face.' (*Sess. Min.*)

21st May 1671—'My Lord Balmerino sat in the kirk as a member therof, wherefor the minister gave his Lordship thanks.' (*Ibid.*) This, the third Lord Balmerino, appears to have been only occasionally resident in the parish.

Long before this period, field-preachings or 'conventicles' had become common in many parts of the country. They were kept up by the ejected ministers, whose exhortations were highly prized by the multitudes that came, often from great distances, to hear them. But in Fife, such meetings were not held till several years after the re-establishment of Episcopacy. William Row, writing of the year 1665, after mentioning a number of *aged* ministers in Fife who had not been 'outed,' of whom Mr. Walter Greig was the only one in Cupar Presbytery, says—'As yet there were no field-meetings

in Fife for preaching, neither were they needed.' But under the year 1668 he states, that 'in this spring and summer time there were several meetings in houses in Fife, but they were neither frequent nor numerous, there being yet unconform ministers permitted to continue in their charges, to whom almost all the Presbyterians resorted in the Presbyteries of St. Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkaldy.'¹ It may therefore be presumed that during the latter years of Mr. Greig's ministry his preaching would be attended by crowds from distant places. Doubtless the old church of Balmerino presented at that time remarkable scenes; and if minister and people were sometimes compelled by want of room to adjourn to the open air—no improbable supposition—a sight more picturesque, or more interesting every way, if we consider the circumstances of the country, could hardly be witnessed than that of the aged pastor holding forth the Word of life to the multitude clustering round the churchyard knoll, and regarding him with veneration as being, in this district, the last clerical representative of the heroic days of the Covenant.

But Mr. Greig's life was now drawing to a close. The following entries in the Session minutes show that he continued to preach till a short period before his death:—

24th September 1671—'Our minister, Mr. Walter Greig, not able to goe to the church by reason of his weaknes and sicknes, quihilk was the last (first) Sabbath that he left preaching in the kirk befor his death, and went no more to publique ordinances.'

2nd December 1671—'This day the minister being very sick since the tyme forsaid, ther was no mor collections except 1 lib. 12 sh. collect at his house' [where he had probably tried to address a few of his people]; 'wherefor the sex lib. [£6] that rested in the kirk box, with the said 1 lib. 12 sh., was taken

¹ *Supplement to Autobiography of Robert Blair*, pp. 482, 521 (Wodrow Society Ed.).

out of the box, and distribut to the poor in the parochie, viz. to [nine persons named]. Rests no more in the kirk box, but all distribut before Mr. Walter Greig, minister of the Gospel, was removed by death.' Then comes the end:—

31st *January* 1672—'This day it pleased the Lord to remove Mr. Walter Greig, minister of the gospel att Balmerino, from the miseries of this lyfe to his eternall rest; and also it pleased the Lord to remove his wife, Mary Hay, ane day and night befor himself, being *January* 30, 1672, to his eternall rest.'

2nd *February* 1672—'This day Mr. Walter Greig, minister of the gospel foresaid, and his wyfe, Mary Hay, being both removed by death, were both buried, and laid together in on grave, and so lived together and died together.'

On the 19th of the same month, Thomas Stark of the parish of South Leith, eldest son of the Laird of Ballindean, and Margaret Greig, daughter of Mr. Walter Greig, 'declared ther purpose of mariage,' and desired to be proclaimed in Creich church, 'preaching not being expected in our parochie of Balmerino, we not having a minister.' They were proclaimed, however, both at Creich and Balmerino on the 23rd of *February* for the first time, and on the 30th for the second and third times, and were married at Creich on the 3rd of *March*. On the 17th of *April*, 'Mr. James Greig distributed to the poor 20 lib. Scots, left by his father,' in presence of the schoolmaster and other two witnesses.¹

Mr. Greig was *sole* incumbent for about thirty-eight

¹ Of Mr. Greig's children five were born between 1635 and 1647; and if he had six previously, as Row states, he must have had eleven. Of these James got the Presbytery's bursary to a student of Theology in 1659; Margaret was married, as above stated, to Mr. Thomas Stark; Jean was married to Mr. Alexander Wilson, minister of Cameron, who in 1662 was ejected for non-conformity to Prelacy, and after twenty-seven years' persecution of himself and his family was restored to his parish in 1689.—(Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 483.) 'Mr. John Greig,' who frequently assisted Mr. Walter Greig at the Communion in Balmerino, and Alexander Greig, who was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Cupar in 1659, were probably sons or other relatives of Mr. Walter Greig.

years; but he discharged the duties of the pastoral office in the parish for fifty-one years. There was thus only a single instance, during ninety-four years, of the settlement of a minister in Balmerino. Mr. Greig witnessed many changes; and though, after having adopted the principles of the Covenant, he tacitly submitted to Prelacy, it must be remembered that he was then well advanced in life. Moreover, this submission appears not to have diminished the respect in which he was held by his party; while the people adhered to their parish church to the end of his incumbency. There was soon thereafter a change in this respect.

CHAPTER V

MR. ANDREW BRUCE, MR. JAMES GARDEN, MR. GEORGE
HAY, MR. JOHN AUCHTERLONIE

‘With such excess of love—we’ll blame it not—
Does Scotland love her Church. Be it so still;
And be its emblem still the Burning Bush!
Bush of the Wilderness! See how the flames
Bicker and burn around it.’

—AIRD.

MR. ANDREW BRUCE, chaplain to Archbishop Sharp, and brother of the Laird of Pitharhie in the parish of Denino, was Mr. Walter Greig’s successor. He ‘preached his first sermon at Balmerino kirk for tryall’ on the 19th of January 1673, and was ‘placed as minister’ by seven brethren of the Presbytery of Cupar on the 1st of May following,¹ which was the method now usually adopted in admitting ministers, at least in the diocese of St. Andrews.

As neither the minutes of Balmerino Kirk-session from the commencement of Mr. Bruce’s incumbency till after the Revolution of 1688, nor those of the Presbytery or Exercise of Cupar from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Revolution are extant, we know little more of the Episcopal ministers, or ‘curates,’ as the people called them, of Balmerino than their names.

The Register of baptisms, however, shows that Mr. Bruce, from the first day after his admission, attempted to introduce the change in the Baptismal service already referred to, by

¹ *Kirk-Session Records.*

requiring the parent to repeat the Creed, which appears to have been resisted by the majority of the parents:—

On the 2nd of May 1673, 'John Bruice (or Bruiceson) and Anna Gregorie had a child baptist by Mr. Androw Bruice, cald Alexander. Also Gawan Rymor and Cathren Whyte had a child baptist, called John, both in on day baptist, quhilk was the first children baptised by Mr. Andro after the tyme that he was admitted as minister. John Bruice said the Creed.'

On the 1st of June, 'Georg Collin and Agnes Smart had a child baptist cald Effie, and another child baptist called Margate at on tyme (being tvins); also this day James Scott and Margat Imrie had a child baptist cald Andrew. Georg Collin and James Scott did not say the Creed.'

On the 13th of July, 'Androw Balfour and Christin Balfour of Grang had a child baptist called Petir, but said no Creed.'

On the 3rd of August, 'Martein Kido and his spouse Jean Tayleyor had a child baptist caled Jhon.' On the 11th of August, 'David Paton and Besse Rymor had a child baptist called Besse. David Paton said no Creed. Martin Kido did say the Creed.'

In the same year—1673—Mr. Bruce was cautioner for payment of the marriage 'pawns' of two couples who were 'contracted.'

Ecclesiastical division soon followed Mr. Bruce's settlement. Wodrow informs us that in 1674 field-meetings were frequent in Fife; and that about the same time certain persons had 'usurped and invaded divers churches and pulpits,' as at Forgan, and congregated great numbers of people at private conventicles, at, among other places, Balmerino, Sandford, and Moonzie. In 1675 letters of denunciation were issued against certain persons who had 'invited and countenanced outed ministers in their invasion and intrusion upon the kirks and pulpits of Forgan, Balmerinloch, Moonzie (and other parishes), and who had heard them preach and pray therein,' and had

harboured Mr. John Welsh (grandson of the famous Reformer of that name); and the persons guilty of these offences were denounced as rebels, the lieges being at the same time forbidden to furnish them with food or lodging, or to have any intercourse with them.¹

Mr. Bruce's incumbency was very brief, but the date of his death is uncertain. He married on the 25th December 1674 Mary, second daughter of Sir John Leslie of Birkhill, without the consent of her father, who excluded her and her heirs from succession to his lands. By Mr. Bruce she had a son Andrew, and two daughters Helen and Jean. She married, secondly, Laurence Ayton of Drumcarrow, and had children alive in 1739.²

MR. JAMES GARDEN OF GAIRNS, M.A., was the next minister of Balmerino. He was connected with the family of Garden of Leys,³ and was a son of Mr. Alexander Garden, Regent in King's College, Aberdeen, and afterwards minister of Forgue. Mr. James Garden had been admitted minister of New Machar prior to the 25th of July 1672; and was translated thence to Maryculter between the 18th of May and the 8th of June 1675. He was translated to Balmerino between the 18th of January and the 7th of March 1676.⁴

In 1678 certain persons were charged before the Secret (or Privy) Council with the crime of having been present at field-meetings at, among other places, Balmerino, and having there heard Mr. Welsh and other ministers. When examined, they refused to state on oath whom they saw at those meetings,

¹ Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 234, 244, 287 (ed. 1829).

² Col. Leslie's *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, vol. ii. pp. 177-181; Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 473; *Register of Confirmed Testaments*.

³ Nisbet's *Heraldry*; which gives Mr. James Garden's armorial bearings thus:—*Argent*, a boar's head erased, *sable*, betwixt three cross crosslets fitched *gules*, all within a bordure counter-componed of the second and first. Crest, a rose slipped, proper; Motto, '*Sustine abstine.*'

⁴ Scott's *Fasti*, vol. iii. Part iii.

or what they knew about them. They were sentenced to be banished to the Plantations. Fines to the extent of £700 for non-conformity were laid on Balmerino parish about the years 1671-85; £13,419 on St. Fillan's, or Forgan; £16,340 on Leuchars; £900 on Moonzie; and £6,100 on Logie.¹ Tradition points out a place on Newton Hill in the parish of Forgan, but not far from the boundary which separates it from Balmerino parish, where the Covenanters were wont to meet. The place is on the north face of the hill, at the base of a lofty wall of perpendicular rock called the Gowk Craig.² It consisted of a deep, grass-covered hollow of an oblong shape, sloping downwards to the east. Having had experience in 'field preaching,' though in quite different circumstances, I should pronounce this hollow to have been very suitable for the purpose. On the north side it was surrounded by a mound, which had a gap in it for entrance at the east end, indicating its probable use as a sheep pen. The hollow was so deep, that a congregation might be seated on the grassy slope without being observed from the low ground; while the approach of any intruders could be at once detected by the watchmen who, according to tradition, were posted on the height above. The place, thus described as it was till a few years ago, has now been completely altered by the opening of a quarry there. There is, to the south-east of this, a beautiful amphitheatre which, but for its marshy bottom, would suit equally well, or better, for the purpose mentioned.

‘ In solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws;
There, leaning on his spear, . . .
The lyart veteran heard the Word of God;

¹ Wodrow, vol. i. p. xlix; vol. ii. p. 480.

² Till a recent period mothers frequently carried their children when they had whooping-cough or other complaint, and grown-up people also when ill went, to the Gowk Craig, where, by remaining two hours, they were believed always to recover of their malady, owing to the effect of the 'seven airs' which blow there.

. . . then rose the song, the loud
Acclaim of praise; the wheeling plover ceased
Her plaint; the solitary place was glad;
And on the distant cairns the watcher's ear
Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.'¹

To this period probably belongs the case of William Murdoch, blacksmith in Gauldry, who suffered imprisonment for his Presbyterian principles. When the officers of the law came to his house to apprehend him, he requested permission, before accompanying them to the prison at Cupar, to retire into his smithy for prayer, and the request was granted. While he was there, he took the opportunity to conceal a file in the sleeve of his coat; and with the help of this instrument he afterwards managed to file through the iron bars of the prison window, and thus effected his escape, as well as that of his fellow-prisoners. Having fled to the Carse of Gowrie, from which district his father had originally come to settle in Gauldry, he hid himself in a wood, where he met a minister who was in hiding for a similar cause, and who knew his name as that of one who was under the ban of the Government. Murdoch went to procure refreshment from a house near by, which he found to be occupied by a female relative of his own, whose husband, however, was active on the side of the persecutors; and though the food he wanted was cheerfully given, he was required by her to return immediately to his hiding-place. What next befell him is unknown; but we shall meet with him again after the Revolution.

It is somewhat remarkable that William Murdoch's descendants have continued to follow the trade of blacksmith at the same place, in the village of Gauldry, since that time, or for about two hundred and twenty years, and in lineal succession from father to son, without interruption till the present day, when the craft is still carried on by a member of the ninth generation of the family.

Mr. Garden was translated to Carnbee on the 16th September

¹ Graham's *Sabbath*.

1678, and thence in 1681 to the chair of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, but in 1697 was deprived of his office for refusing to sign the Westminster Confession. He died on the 8th of April 1726, in the eightieth year of his age. His brother, Dr. George Garden, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, was also deprived after the Revolution, and subsequently became a convert to Bourignonism.¹

Mr. GEORGE HAY, the next minister of Balmerino, was admitted before the 22nd of September 1678. Mr. James Hay, minister of Newburn (1685-90), was his brother.²

On the 3rd of May 1679, Archbishop Sharp, who was commonly believed to have betrayed the Presbyterian cause in order to procure his own aggrandizement, was murdered on Magus Muir. 'Robert Henderson in Balmerino' is mentioned as having been present at a meeting at Gilston in the previous month, which was attended by Hackston of Rathillet and most of those who were concerned in that atrocious and cowardly deed; though it does not appear that Henderson was present at its perpetration.³ But another parishioner of Balmerino has had his name handed down to posterity in connection with it. This was Andrew Guillan, weaver at Byres of Balmerino, who had previously been 'put out of Dundee for not hearing the curate.' Wodrow says, that he 'was only called by the actors to look to their horses, or some such thing, but was not active, though present at the action'; and that 'he did not touch the bishop, but endeavoured to secure his daughter from hurt and danger when she would interpose between the actors and him.' According to Russel's account, Guillan 'pleaded for the bishop's life. John Balfour threaten-

¹ Scott's *Fasts*, vol. ii. Part ii. pp. 473, 413.

² *Ibid.*, p. 453.

³ Russel's *Account of Sharp's murder*, appended to Kirkton's *History*. Some idea of the state of the country at this time, in connection with the persecution of the Presbyterians, may be obtained from Russel's statement, that Ensign Wilson came to Kilmany with sixty soldiers, and having 'fired some shots to terrify the

ing him to be quiet, he came to Rathillet, who was standing at a distance . . . on horseback, and desired him to come and save his life.'¹ In 1683, he was taken and executed. Wodrow gives the following account of him:—

'Andrew Guillan was the only person I can hear of who suffered precisely upon (for) the archbishop's death. Hackston of Rathillet, as we have heard, was taken actually resisting at Ayrsmoss; but neither he nor this man was active in the bishop's murder. Andrew Guillan was a weaver who lived [at that time] near Magus Muir, and all his share in the action was, that being called out of his house he held their horses, and was witness to what was done. After this he was obliged to abscond, and served the best way he might at country houses at some distance from the place where he had lived formerly. I have some letters under his hand, writ by him after he was taken, August this year [1683], whereby he appears to be a country man of some knowledge and seriousness. In one of them he gives account to his friend that he was taken upon the 11th of June when at his work with a country man. The curate of the parish came by, and asked him where he was upon the Lord's day, and if he kept the church. Andrew told him he did not own him, and would give him no account of himself; whereupon the curate called for some people there about, and seized him, and carried him to Cockpen, where he was pressed to drink the king's health, which he refusing, saying he drank no healths, he was carried to Dalkeith, and there put in prison, and from thence taken into Edinburgh, where, after examination, he was put into the iron-house.'² All this time nothing was known as to his

people, was answered with some shooting upon the hill side.' He was resenting an attack made upon some of the soldiers who had been searching for James Mill at Kilmany.

¹ Russel's *Account of Sharp's murder*, appended to Kirkton's *History*.

² The iron bar, 12 feet long and 2½ inches in diameter, with chain and fetters for ankles, by which such prisoners were secured (in a room of the Tolbooth in Edinburgh), may still be seen in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh.

being present at the bishop's death.¹ While he was at Edinburgh, some rumour of his being there broke out, but they had not the least probation till, as I am informed, the [King's] advocate trepanned him into a confession. At one of his examinations he was most pathetically aggravating the crime as a horrid murder; and, directing himself to Andrew, he represented, among other things, that when the bishop was upon his knees praying, they should have killed him. This, it seems, touched the simple countryman so, that he got up his hands and cried, "O! dreadful! he would not pray one word for all that could be said to him." Upon this and what further they elicit from him, I find him staged before the justiciary.

'July 12th, Andrew Guillan, weaver in Balmerinoch, indicted, that with others, May 3rd, 1679, "he stopped the bishop's coach, and shot at him, or that he was present when it was done, and was in arms, and fled with the rest, and that night gave thanks to God for that execrable murder." For probation, the advocate adduceth his own confession. Edinburgh, July 10th, "Andrew Guillan confesseth judicially, that morning when the company came to the Muir, Rathillet came and took him out; declares he was present in the company, concurring with the rest when the archbishop was killed; that he had a sword, that he was with them in the evening when one prayed, he thinks it was James Russel, and blessed God for their success; declares he cannot write." By his letters under his hand I am sure he could write, and in them I find he declines to own the authority of the chancellor and his judges; and I imagine this confession of his is gathered up out of what they got him to say before them, which I do not think he would sign. However, thus it stands in the records.

¹ This statement appears to be incorrect, for the name of 'Andrew Guillan, webster in Balmerinoch,' is included in a list of Sharpe's murderers against whom a Proclamation was made on the 20th of September 1679.—(Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 174.)

The assize bring him in guilty of the bishop's death by his own confession, and he is sentenced to be taken to the cross of Edinburgh, upon Friday, July 20th, and to have both his hands cut off at the foot of the gallows, and then hanged, his head to be cut off, and fixed at Cupar, and his body to be carried to Magus-muir, and hung up in chains. His last speech is published more than once,¹ and therein "he denies he dies as a murderer, though it be laid to his charge that he joined with those who executed justice upon a Judas, who sold the kirk of Scotland for fifty thousand merks a year, and vindicates their deed." It was noticed that he endured the torture he was put to with a great deal of courage. In cutting off his hands, the hangman, being drunk, or affecting to appear so, mangled him fearfully, and gave nine strokes before he got them off. He endured all with invincible patience, and, it is said, when his right hand was cut off, he held up the stump in the view of the spectators, crying as one perfectly easy, "My blessed Lord sealed my salvation with His blood, and I am honoured this day to seal His truths with my blood." After his body had hung in chains for some time, some people came and took it down, for which the country about was brought to no small trouble. I find, May 27th, 1684, "The Council grant a commission to the Earl of Balcarras, to pass a sentence of banishment on the persons who took down Andrew Guilan's body from Magus-muir, as being owners of the horrid murder of the Archbishop of St. Andrews."²

Two stones were erected to Andrew Guilan's memory, one at Magus-muir, and the other at Clermont farm—the latter one is now surrounded by a clump of trees—near to Magus-muir. The inscriptions were almost identical. The former of these

¹ His 'Last Speech and Testimony' are given in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, where it is stated that he was executed at the Gallowlee, between Edinburgh and Leith, and that his head and hands were placed upon the Netherbow Port of Edinburgh.

² Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 44, 47, 49, 174, 462-3.

stones was accidentally broken by two thoughtless students from St. Andrews in 1868, was afterwards carried away piecemeal, and has never been restored. The one at Clermont was restored by the late Mr. Whyte Melville, and set in a stone base in 1876. Unfortunately, it was broken in the winter of 1884-5. Mr. Balfour Melville then caused it to be 'let into' a much larger stone, on the back of which is inscribed the following words:—

' Erected 1738
Restored 1876

Re-erected after being accidentally broken 1885.'

Dr. Hay Fleming, in a communication to the author, states that he has reason to suspect that the date 1738 is not quite correct, and that it should probably be 1728 or 1788. As the inscription is given in the 1730 edition of the *Cloud of Witnesses*, the stone must have been there by that time. But there is a well-authenticated tradition that the present stone was erected about 1788; and in the enclosing wall there are fragments of a tombstone, with words of the same inscription as on that now standing, which are the following:—

' The Gravestone of
Andrew Gullin who suffred
at the Gallowee of Edinburgh
July 1683 & afterwards was
hung upon a pole in Magus
Muir and lyeth hiar

A faithful martar her doth ly
A witness against perjury
Who cruelly was put to death
To gratify proud Prelates wrath
They cut his hands ere he was dead
And after that struck off his head
To Magus Muir they did him bring
His body on a pole did hing
His blood under the altar cries
For vengeance on Christ's enemies.'

The great body of Presbyterians at that period condemned Sharp's murder, and it will find among right-minded people no defenders at the present day, when private assassination is regarded with just horror. But if we would correctly estimate the character of this deed, we must bear in mind that it was then considered by some to be a sacred duty thus to rid the world of those whom they regarded as the enemies of religion. Men who could, in prayer, thank God that such an act had been accomplished, certainly did not believe themselves to be murderers. The truth is, many Presbyterians were driven to the extreme of fanaticism by the cruel and lawless persecution carried on by a tyrannical government.

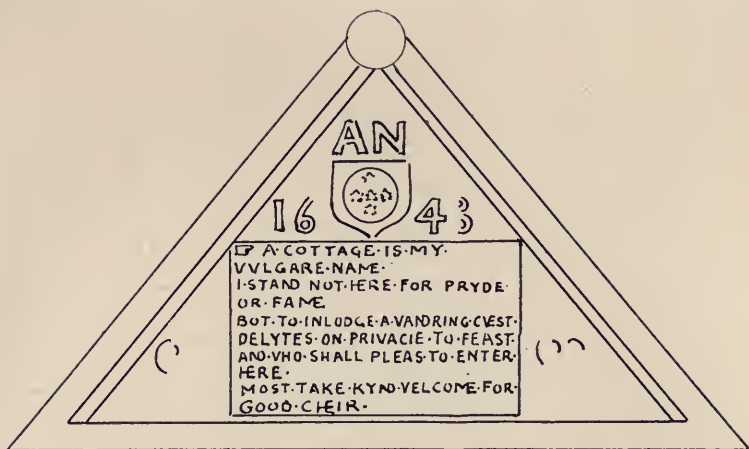
In connection with the murder of the Archbishop may be here mentioned an incident which is said to have occurred at Boulterhall, or Bouterhall, in Forgan parish, near St. Fort railway station. It is narrated in Howie's *Scots Worthies* (in the *Life of John Welwood*, a Covenanting preacher, who died in the beginning of April 1679) as follows:—"Among his [Welwood's] last public days of preaching, he preached at Boulterhall, in Fife, upon that text, 1 Cor. i. 26, "Not many noble are called." . . . In the end of that sermon he said, pointing to St. Andrews, "If that unhappy prelate Sharp die the natural death of men, God never spake by me." The Archbishop had a servant who, upon liberty from his master on Saturday night, went to visit his brother who was a servant to a gentleman near Boulterhall, the Archbishop ordering him to be home on Sabbath night. He went with the Laird and his brother on that day. Mr. Welwood noticed him with the Archbishop's livery on, and when sermon was ended he desired him to stand up, for he had somewhat to say to him. "I desire you," said he, "before all these witnesses, when thou goest home, to tell thy master that his treachery, tyranny, and wicked life are near an end, and his death shall be both sudden, surprising, and bloody; and as he hath thirsted after and shed the blood of the saints, he shall not go to his grave in peace."

The youth went home, and at supper the Archbishop asked him if he had been at a conventicle? He said he had. He asked what the text was, and what he heard? The man told him several things, and particularly the above message from Mr. Welwood. The Archbishop made sport of it, but his wife said, "I advise you to take more notice of that, for I hear that these men's words are not vain words." It should be remembered that the *Scots Worthies*, which contains this and several other predictions ascribed to Welwood, was not published till nearly a century after his death. Possibly he may have known that there were those who reckoned it a duty to put Sharp to death.¹

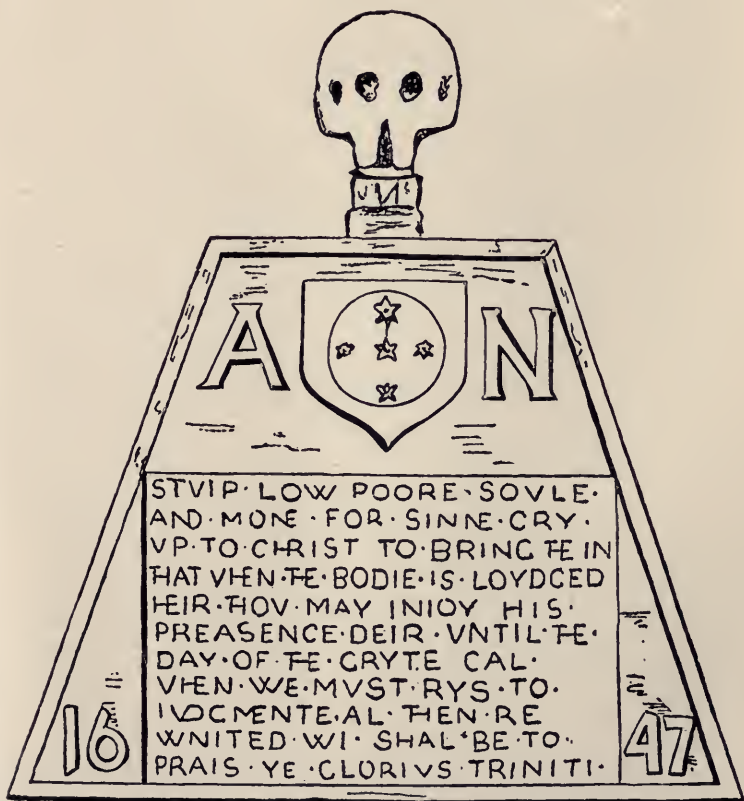
The gentleman whose servant was visited by that of the Archbishop was Nairn of Sandford, or St. Fort. In February 1679, Samuel Nairn, brother of the Laird, was cited by the Privy Council to answer to the charge of being at house and field conventicles since 1674, and, not compearing, was denounced and put to the horn. In 1684, Alexander Nairn of Samford complained to the Council that the Sheriff had iniquitously fined him in £3,300 'for house conventicles.' The Council refused his petition, and ordered the fine to be exacted. In a field near Boulterhall there is a monument to a member of this family, probably Alexander, a former Laird. It forms the front of a burial vault. A little west of it may be traced the foundations of a house said to be that of Sandford-Nairn. (See the accompanying engraving of the monument, and also of the inscription on another stone, probably from this house, which was found in the same field, and is now built into the wall of a house at Newport.)

There is a tradition that an ancestor of the Boyters who till recently had long resided in Balmerino parish, bearing their name, first came to it during the persecution, having been driven by this cause, according to one account, from Argyle-

¹ See Russel's account in Kirkton's *History*.



INSCRIPTION ON A STONE FOUND IN THE "TOMB PARK,"
SANDFORD-NAIRN.



FRONT OF A. NAIRN'S BURIAL VAULT AT SANDFORD-NAIRN,
IN FORGAN PARISH. 1647.

shire, but according to another and more probable one, from Ayrshire. His dwelling-house, barn, and other structures had been searched by officers; and forks had been driven into heaps of straw and other possible coverings in order to discover where he was concealed. But having hidden himself under a puncheon or barrel, he escaped, and came to Fife; and he and his family, having been found by the Laird of Birkhill singing Psalms in Corbieden, were by him treated with kindness. This tradition is incorrect as regards, at least, the first settlement of the Boyters in Balmerino, for persons of that name had been resident in the parish long before the period referred to. There was a monk of the Abbey who was so called. Others held lands from the Abbey. The individual referred to in the tradition may have first migrated to Ayrshire, and, when the persecution raged there, returned to Balmerino.

There has now to be noticed an exchange of the manse and glebe. On the 24th of August 1682, 'a contract of excambion' was entered into 'between the Lord and Master of Balmerinloch on the one hand, and Peter Hay of Naughton and the other heritors, minister, and elders of the Kirk-session of Balmerinloch, whereby the said heritors disposed the manse and gleib of Balmerinloch [which had previously been situated somewhere near the Abbey, as already stated] to the Lord and Master of Balmerinloch; and, in excambion thereof, they disposed to the minister their house of Boddamcraig, with yards, orchards, etc., and six acres of land adjacent thereto.' The contract contained a precept of sasine.¹ For a notice of this house, which now became the Manse, see Part iv. chap. iii.

Mr. George Hay was translated from Balmerino to Couper-Angus in 1682, having been presented to the latter church by John, Master of Balmerino, and admitted on the 26th of November. Adhering to his Jacobite principles, he was deprived by the Privy Council in September 1698 (?) for not

¹ *Balmerino Writs.*

taking the oaths to their Majesties William and Mary. He married Margaret Haliburton, and had four sons and three daughters.¹

MR. JOHN AUCHTERLONY, or OUCHTERLONY, succeeded Mr. Hay as minister of Balmerino, having been presented on the 7th of December 1682 by King Charles II., who is stated in the Presentation to be the 'undoubted patron.' The presentation, given at Whitehall, also describes Mr. Auchterlony as a 'student in Divinity,' and gives charge to Alexander (Burnet), Archbishop of St. Andrews, to examine and admit him, and to 'cause him to swear the test,'² which had been enacted by Parliament in 1681, and bound every person holding a public office to acknowledge the royal supremacy in all matters, ecclesiastical as well as civil.

The Revolution of 1688 put an end to the persecution of the Presbyterians, which had continued with more or less severity during the long period of twenty-eight years, characterized in Scotland as 'The Killing Time.' The Scottish Convention, which met in March 1689, declared for the restoration of Presbytery, to which the great majority of the people in this, as in, at least, all the midland and southern districts of the country were still firmly attached. This was followed by the meeting of the Estates in June, which abolished Episcopacy in the Church. But its Presbyterian government was not formally re-established till April 1690; though Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries and Synods had, with the sanction of King William, been meeting previously. Parliament, by an Act of the same date, restored to their churches and stipends all the surviving Presbyterian ministers—only sixty in number—who had been thrust out since the 1st of January 1661, or banished, for not conforming to Prelacy. On the other hand,

¹ Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 473; vol. iii. Part ii. 'Couper-Angus.'

² *Register of the Privy Seal*, vol. iii. p. 482.

a hundred and seventy-nine Episcopal ministers who refused to pray for William and Mary were expelled by the Privy Council; and in some parts of the country many were turned out of their manses and parishes by the mob, and subjected to other harsh treatment. These hardships, however, were slight in comparison with the sufferings by imprisonment, banishment, or death to which Presbyterians, both ministers and people, had been subjected; and now that the latter had been restored to power, it must be allowed that they exercised it with moderation. There were no lives taken in the 'Rabbling of the Curates,' as this event in Scottish history is called.

Mr. Auchterlony, according to one account, was 'outed' from Balmerino in 1689;¹ according to another, he 'demitted' in 1690.² The Session Records show that he had left Balmerino church before the 21st of March 1690. Whether he was allowed to depart in peace is unknown. In the case of Mr. Henry Pitcairne, the Episcopal minister of Logie-Murdoch, who had been deprived by the Privy Council on the 29th of August 1689 for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates, and for praying not for their Majesties William and Mary, but for the late King, James VII., the Kirk-session of Logie, on the 21st of December 1690, Mr. Bowie of Balmerino being then its Moderator, appointed some of their number 'to entreat him to flitt from the Manse peaceablie.' The incumbents of all the neighbouring parishes except Kilmarnock, which appears to have been vacant, were deprived.

After Mr. Auchterlony left Balmerino, and probably at, or previous to, the death, in 1691, of Mr. David Ouchterlonie, minister of Fordun—who was perhaps a relative of his—he 'intruded' into that church. In 1701 and subsequent years, the Presbytery of Fordun repeatedly applied to the General

¹ *List of the Ministers in the Synod of Fife from 1560 to 1700*, previously quoted.

² Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii.

Assembly and the King's Advocate for the speedy removal of 'Mr. John Ouchterlonie, late incumbent at Balmerinoch in ffyfe, the intruder of Fordun.' He nevertheless remained there, excluding Presbyterian ministers from the pulpit, till his death. This event took place in 1711 or 1712;¹ and on the 29th of January 1712 the Presbytery, finding that he was dead, resolved to supply the pulpit; but the minister who was sent for this purpose found, on his arrival, the church doors locked. An Episcopalian preacher from Stonehaven—the heritors being Jacobites—was now secretly conveyed into the church by a back door, and the other doors being then thrown open, he took possession of the pulpit. When the Presbyterian minister attempted to address the congregation, the other gave out a Psalm, and the latter retired and preached in the church-yard.²

¹ In Scott's *Fasti* this minister is confounded with another person of the same name who was minister of Aberlemno, became a Bishop in the Non-jurant Church, and died in 1742.

² *Minutes of the Presbytery of Fordun*, kindly communicated by the Rev. John Brown of Bervie, Clerk to the Presbytery.

CHAPTER VI

MR. ANDREW BOWIE, MR. JAMES HAY

‘ Then dawned the period destined to confine
The surge of wild prerogative, to raise
A mound restraining its imperious rage,
And bid the raving deep no further flow.’

—THOMSON.

MR. ANDREW BOWIE, M.A., was the first minister of Balmerino after the Revolution settlement. He obtained his degree at the University of Glasgow in 1664, and was a minister prior to the first meeting of Presbyterian ministers in Lothian in July 1687, after they had obtained toleration. He was admitted to Balmerino on the 24th of September 1690 by the Presbytery of St. Andrews and Cupar, these two Presbyteries having been again united from about 1688 till 1693. He had been called by the people, and they ‘longed for his admission.’¹

It was on the 5th of July 1687 that James VII., as a preliminary step, it was believed, to his intended restoration of Popery, had granted to Presbyterians complete toleration, with permission to worship God in their own way in private houses, chapels, or buildings erected or hired for the purpose. The ministers who thereafter met in Lothian agreed that one such place of worship should, in existing circumstances, serve for the Presbyterians of several adjacent parishes; that Session-books, with registers of baptisms and marriages, should be kept in connection with it; and that collections should be

¹ Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 473; *Presb. Minutes*.

made for the poor.¹ Doubtless in consequence of this agreement, the Covenanters' meetings at Newton took the form of an association of the people of the parishes of Forgan, Balmerino, and Logie, and probably also of Kilmany (though that parish is not mentioned), having their own minister. This was Mr. James Rymer, who, there is good reason to believe, was the person of that name who had been a Regent in St. Salvador's College, St. Andrews, previous to 1676, and is afterwards mentioned as having preached at field-meetings in various parts of Fife.² As the Toleration Act of 1687 strictly prohibited such field-meetings, it may be presumed that his congregation now met, not on the hillside, but in some building at Newton. He was translated to the first charge at St. Andrews before the 27th of November 1689, as appears from the following entry in the Session-book of Logie, under the 9th of February 1691:—'The association at the Neutoune being dissolved throw the transportation of Mr. James Rymer to the church of St. Andrews, [and] the poor's box of the associat parishes at Neutoune being divyded the twenty-seventh of November j a j v i eightie nine (1689) yeires, the share of the poor of Logie parochine was fyftein pounds Scots, and [was] given to David Imrie, tenant in Cruivie, for the use of the poor of the said parochine.' Mr. James Rymer died before the 28th of April 1697. He had married Anna Moncrieffe, and left four daughters.

Preaching was nevertheless continued at Newton for about a year, at least, after Mr. Rymer's translation. The Session register of Balmerino, which again commences in 1690, after a blank of sixteen years, contains a preliminary list of the names of twelve persons 'who had children baptised at Newton, and are indwellaris in Balmerino parochie, since the 30th day of November, 1688 years,' and onwards to 1690. One of

¹ Wodrow, vol. iv. pp. 426, 432.

² Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 430; Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 173, 196, 405; Lamont's *Diary*, p. 180.

these was 'Grang Balfour': another was 'William Mordo (Murdoch) in Gallerie,' doubtless the hero of the file.¹ On the margin, opposite these names, there is written—'Children baptizeat at Newton, whose names are to be found in ther Session book, written by Master Laurence Keir.'² From this it appears that there was a Session, with its register and clerk, in connection with the non-conforming congregation at Newton. As neither the Christian names of those children, nor the dates of their baptism, with one exception, are given in the Balmerino register, the names of the parents were doubtless recorded as a memorial of the times of persecution, as well as to indicate where the full registration was to be found. The name of the minister who baptized the children is not given.

The Balmerino register contains, under the 21st of March 1690, the names of a couple whose banns were on three several Sabbaths proclaimed at Newton, and who were married by Mr. Bowie in Balmerino church. This was six months before his formal admission by the Presbytery. Another couple proclaimed at Newton were married by Mr. Bowie, but the place of marriage is not stated. The register contains also the names of several children baptized 'at the kirk of Balmerino by Mr. Andrew Bowie, expected minister, before he was admitted'; as well as the names of several couples who were proclaimed at Newton in April and June 1690—two, if not all of them, by Mr. John Wyllie, who still held the office of schoolmaster of Balmerino. On the 16th October are registered the names of three couples who were 'contracted'; and it is added that those parties were proclaimed 'thrie severall Sabaths at Newtoun, being no sermon heir;

¹ William Murdoch married Christian Kirkaldy in May 1668. His father, David Murdoch, was married in Balmerino parish in 1632, as we have seen, to Margaret Goslen, and in 1668 was an elder. Several of his descendants also held that office.

² He was probably the son of 'Laurence Keir of Forrett in Fiffe,' who died in May 1663 (Lamont's *Diary*, p. 162).

nothing objected.' The want of sermon at Balmerino was no doubt caused by Mr. Bowie's absence at the General Assembly in Edinburgh, the first which had met since one of Cromwell's officers had dispersed the Assembly in 1653. It commenced its sittings on the 16th October 1690, and was continued for four weeks; and Mr. Bowie was a member of it. It thus appears that preaching was kept up at Newton not only for six months after the restoration of Presbytery by Parliament, while there was also service at Balmerino church, but for a few Sundays, at least, after Mr. Bowie's induction into Balmerino. The promoters may have been some of those who were dissatisfied with the terms in which Presbytery had been re-established—the Covenant having been quietly ignored. There is no record of any meetings at Newton after November 1690; and, doubtless, the whole of the people soon returned to their several parish churches, thankful for the liberty and protection they now at length enjoyed, even though the Revolution settlement came short of the high claims of the Covenanters, to which few, indeed, would now entirely assent.

On the first Sunday after Mr. Bowie's induction, he intimated a fast and thanksgiving, to be kept on the following Sunday, on account of King William's success 'against the enemies of the Protestant Religion and his safe return'—to England from Ireland, where he had defeated the dethroned king, James VII., at the battle of the Boyne. On the 12th of October of the same year, 1690, another fast was observed 'for asking God's blessing' on the approaching General Assembly, by whose deliberations the future condition of the Church would be vitally affected. On the 21st December eight elders were ordained in addition to six already in office. The Lairds of Naughton and Ballindean were in the latter list, and the 'Laird of Nachton, younger,' and William Murdoch in the former. The new elders 'with lifted up hands signified their willingness without compulsion to bear burdein as elders with the minister and elders already admitted.' The Session thus

enlarged 'continued John Wyllie, schoolmaster, to be clerk to the said Session.'

The appointment of so many elders was then rendered necessary by the great variety of duties they had to perform. In addition to their having to accompany the minister in his visitation and examination of the people, in the Kirk-session they, along with him, discharged not only the functions still belonging to that body, but most of those now assigned in rural parishes to the School Board and Parish Council. They also did much of the work of heritors' meetings in keeping in repair the church and school, while by their vigilant oversight of the manners of the people, and by the infliction of Church censures and pecuniary penalties on wrong-doers, they did much to check disorderly conduct—a duty at that time little attended to in country districts by the civil authorities.

On the 24th of May 1691, a proclamation was read from the pulpit 'for a fast to be kept monthly, for four months, on the last Wednesday of ilk month, to implore the blessing of the Lord upon the King and Counsel, and their undertakings in defence of the true reformed religion, and of these lands.' In the same month four women were rebuked before the Session for flyting and scolding. On the 26th July there was 'given for the Commissioners that went to fflanders to the King, out of the kirk box, 8 lib. 10 s., and by the minister, Mr. Bowie, to them out of his own purse 3 lib. 10 s.'

On the 24th April 1692, 'the minister enquired [of] the elders what dilligence they had used in visiting the broster-houssis (brewers' houses) on the Lord's day in time of sermon, and according to the Act of our Kirk-session [of July 1691, in which the houses are called 'ostler houses' and 'aill houses,' and the elders were required to see not only that none were drinking, but 'that none were staying from the church need-lesslie'], desired these elders who collected every Lord's day at the kirk door to be carefull in searching every broster-house, that there be noc drinking in time of divine worship; as also

the minister did signify to the Session, that according to former Acts of Parliament, the Sinod [of Fife] doeth discharge, and ordineth every Kirk-session to discharge all kynde of promiscuous dancing [*i.e.* by the two sexes together] at weddings, and forbid pipers to play to such dancing.' In the same year, Margaret Neish, residing in Gauldry, and her daughter, Elspet Dandie, who had 'learned some poor scholers,' had the school-fees of these children paid to them by the Session.

On the 7th of July 1692, Mr. Bowie was translated to Ceres as assistant and successor to Mr. William Row, whose daughter Agnes he had married about six months previously, and who, having been minister of Ceres for seventeen years before the restoration of Charles II., was deposed in 1665 for refusing to submit to Episcopacy; but after the Revolution of 1688 was restored, in his old age, to his parish. Mr. Bowie was translated from Ceres to North Leith in 1697, and died in 1707. Balmerino church remained vacant for nearly four years after his translation to Ceres. The chief reason was, that about this time there was a great lack of preachers for the supply of churches, so many having been rendered vacant by the expulsion of the Episcopal incumbents. In 1693 there were in the Presbytery of Cupar eight parishes vacant at the same time. Young men, on trial for license were ordered to supply vacant churches before their trials were completed. Preachers who supplied vacancies received an allowance out of the stipend. Balmerino parish made several attempts to secure a minister, and only succeeded after three successive failures.

In 1693 Mr. David Seaton received a call. Objections to his settlement were brought forward by the Laird of Ballindean and several of the elders, which objections were declared by the Presbytery to be irrelevant. But on account of some *fama* against Mr. Seaton, his settlement was not proceeded with. In 1695 the parishioners petitioned the Presbytery to 'moderate in a call' to Mr. John Henderson, who had preached his first sermon, after he received license, in Balmerino church.

Similar petitions in his favour were presented by the parishes of Newburgh and Flisk. He was called to Balmerino in March, and the call was sustained by the Presbytery; but the Moderator reported that Mr. Henderson 'left the call of Balmerino at his lodging, upon a letter sent by his father dis-chairing him from midling with the said call directly or indirectly, but would by no means take the call again, notwithstanding of all the arguments and reasons which he made use of to prevail upon the said Mr. Henderson.' Eventually the Presbytery resolved 'to urge him no further to settle in their bounds.' The Session of Balmerino paid, as expenses in prosecuting this call, £19, 14s. At a later period in the same year, the parish petitioned in favour of Mr. David Pitcairn; but the people of Creich having also petitioned for him, he was settled there, and Balmerino still remained vacant. There are many entries, in the Session accounts, of expenses incurred by hiring a horse to convey preachers, and by sending the beadle to Dundee and Edinburgh to procure them, during this long vacancy. On very many Sundays during its continuance there was no church service. In 1694 there was service only on eight Sundays, and in the following year on nine.

At length the parish obtained a minister in Mr. JAMES HAY, M.A., who graduated at the University of St. Andrews on the 22nd of July 1692. His father, Thomas Hay, 'a gentleman in the King's Scots Guards when the same was upon the English establishment,' was a brother of the Laird of Naughton.¹ Mr. James Hay was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Cupar on the last day of the year 1695, and was at the same time appointed, on a petition from the parish of Balmerino, to preach there as often as he conveniently could, till next meeting of Presbytery. Three weeks later,

¹ *Commissary Records.*

the people petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him, which they agreed to do. Accordingly, on the 4th of February 1696, at a meeting of the congregation, at which Mr. Anderson, minister of Logie, presided as Moderator, the heritors and elders drew up and signed a call to Mr. Hay, and deputed two of their number to lay it before the Presbytery; which they did on the following day, when the call was sustained; and on the 7th of May Mr. Hay was ordained minister of Balmerino. Besides the usual form of induction, and the welcome which is still customary for the people, on an invitation from the presiding minister, to give to their new pastor by 'taking him by the hand' at the church door as they pass out at the conclusion of the service, Mr. Hay 'had also institution given him by the Moderator, in the delivery of the Bible, keys, and bell-tow, as an evidence of his security in the stipend'; which was a common practice at that period. It may be explained, with reference to Mr. Hay's election, that church patronage, which had been transferred in 1649 to Kirk-sessions, and after the restoration of Charles II. restored to the old patrons, was in 1690 again taken from them, and the appointment of a minister to a vacant church given, on certain conditions, to the heritors and elders. If the congregation was dissatisfied with the person thus nominated, they were allowed to state their objections to the Presbytery, whose decision was final.

In 1694 a valuation of the parish was made, from which we learn the names of the farmers, and the amount of their rents, more than two hundred years ago. It will be found in Appendix, No. XVII.

A fortnight after Mr. Hay's settlement, the Session 'appoints the elders of the several quarters to attend the minister in visitation and examination, and to be careful to inform themselves anent what scandals may fall out, and to delate the same timeously.' This was the usual practice in olden times.

On the 7th of February 1697, 'it was intimated to the Session by the minister that the Justices of peace desired a roll of all the scandalous persons since the Revolution, which they ordered the clerk to extract from the Session minutes.' The Justices doubtless intended to inflict upon these delinquents fines to be applied to the maintenance of the poor. In December, Mr. Hay was chosen Presbytery clerk for six months, it being then again the practice to have this work performed by the members in rotation. The 16th of December was kept as a day of thanksgiving 'for the peace'—probably of Ryswick, which had been concluded in September.

At this time there was still a great scarcity of Presbyterian ministers in the districts north of the Tay; and the General Assembly repeatedly sent ministers from the south to supply vacant churches for a time, till these should be provided for. As a certain proportion of the ministers who were sent were liable to be translated thither permanently, if called by any of the destitute congregations, there appeared on the part of those nominated to go a considerable aversion to the duty. Mr. Hay was one of three ministers of Fife appointed by the Synod in 1697 to proceed to Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, for three months; but on the 22nd of February 1698 he produced to the Presbytery sufficient reasons for his non-compliance with the order, and was absolved. (On the 25th of February 1697 he had married Christian Stark, elder daughter of the Laird of Ballindean.) In September 1698, he was appointed to proceed on a similar mission to the Presbyteries of Perth, Auchterarder, Dunkeld, and this duty he performed.

About this time, when one of a couple purposing marriage resided in another parish, he or she had to produce a 'testimonial' of good character before the proclamation could take place in Balmerino church; and the same rule was doubtless enforced in other parishes. In 1696 Mr. Hay craved advice from the Presbytery concerning a man in Balmerino parish

‘who desired marriage, but could not show sufficient and full testimonials.’ The Presbytery ‘appointed that at least he obtain a testimonial for his good behaviour before he came to that parish.’ Unless a man coming from another parish brought a testimonial from its Session, he was regarded as little better than ‘a heathen and a publican.’

The custom, previously noticed, of exacting from parties, before proclamation of their banns of marriage, a sum of money as a pledge that they would remain free from scandal, and that the marriage would be accomplished in due time, was now modified. In 1701 the Kirk-session ‘enacted that whoever did not consign marriage pledges should give in ten shillings Scots to the box, and find caution’—for the balance. The effect of this rule was, that when no offence was committed, there was neither payment nor returning of money, *as a pledge*, but the sum of ten shillings was levied from the parties for the poor. If ground of scandal subsequently appeared, the parties had still to pay their ‘penalty,’ or fine—now usually £4 Scots—which also went to the poor; but in such a case, the ten shillings previously paid were returned. The receipt of ‘pands,’ or pawns, of that amount is constantly marked in the Session’s cash-book till near the end of the eighteenth century. The last instance of the exaction of a ‘penalty’ from a delinquent was in the year 1767.

In 1701 the schoolmasters within the bounds of the Presbytery of Cupar were required, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Parliament of 1690, to subscribe the Westminster Confession; and Mr. John Wyllie, being unable to travel to Cupar, was allowed to subscribe in presence of Mr. Hay. Mr. Wyllie died in 1705; and on the 11th of January 1706, the heritors and Session appointed his son, Robert Wyllie, to succeed him as schoolmaster, precentor, and Session-clerk, subject to the approbation of the Presbytery. We have seen that by the Act of 1696 the right of appointing the schoolmaster belonged to the heritors and

minister; but as the precentor and Session-clerk were elected by the Kirk-session, this body was usually associated with the heritors in the choice of the schoolmaster, in order that the person chosen might be competent to perform the duties of the three offices.

On the 8th of May 1702, 'the minister signified to the Session that it was the Synod's desire that the elders should meet at some appointed time (at least once in the month) for prayer and other Christian duties, which the Session (in obedience to the Synod) condescended to do.' These meetings were revived in 1712, and again in 1723, and continued to be held for many years after that date, but were often not well attended.

In 1707, four persons having been nominated for the eldership, they were requested to meet at the manse, and the minister and two elders were 'appointed to examine them in order to their admission.' Having 'satisfied' them 'with their knowledge,' they were ordained.

On the 10th of June 1707, there was another Presbyterian visitation of Balmerino. Mr. Hay preached from his 'ordinary.' The form of procedure otherwise was similar to that observed in 1647, which has already been described. All parties commended each other. These visitations, except in special cases, were eventually discontinued.

During the period between 1669 and 1679, and most probably in the earlier part of it, George Hay of Naughton and his wife Mary Ruthven had either gifted or bequeathed—for the time of their death is uncertain—money to purchase two silver Communion cups for Balmerino church. Their grandson, Captain John Hay of Naughton, who died in 1709, left a legacy of 300 merks, or £200,¹ for the repair of these

¹ When the legislative Union of Scotland with England was accomplished—in 1707—Scots money ceased to be coined. But as the accounts in the Balmerino Session's cash-book continued to be kept in Scots money till 1775, all sums are so stated in the present work till that date, unless when expressly mentioned as being in Sterling money. The reader is requested to keep this in mind, and that a pound Sterling was equal to £12 Scots, and a penny Sterling to a shilling Scots.

cups, and the purchase of an additional pair; and any balance which might remain over was to be bestowed on the poor in the barony of Naughton. After some delay, of which Captain Hay's widow complained to the Presbytery of Cupar, two new cups were purchased by Robert Hay, his brother and successor in Naughton; and also another new cup to replace one of the old ones which had been broken. The weight of the three new cups was '47 ounces and 4 drops.' The cost of the metal was £151, 4s.; workmanship, £33; 'graving of arms, mantling, etc.,' £10, 12s.; 'case to hold them,' £5, 8s. The old broken cup weighed '14 ounces and 9 drops'; and 'not being Sterling money [was] valued by the Essay Master' at £2, 19s. per ounce, which amounted to £42, 18s. In July 1716, six shillings were given 'to the post for carrying over the cups' from Edinburgh. The three new cups, with case to hold all the four, thus cost £200, 4s.; but deducting the value of the broken cup, the sum actually paid out was £157, 6s. Robert Hay, who was an elder of the church, promised to expend the balance of £42, 14s. for the benefit of the poor in his own barony. The cups were delivered to the Session on the 28th of August 1716, and were appointed to be kept in custody by the Laird of Ballindean, also an elder; and to be lent out for 'a gratuity' of thirty shillings to the neighbouring churches. They were frequently so lent at communion seasons—one pair to Logie for 12s., and both pairs to Kilmany for 24s. or 30s. Scots, till as late as 1786 *at least*. The cups were sometimes lent to Forgan also. Before the second pair was got, the Communion cups of Flisk were several times borrowed for Balmerino church, and £1 Scots paid for the use of them each time, as four cups would then, as now, be necessary. It cannot be supposed that Balmerino had not *some* kind of Communion cups of its own during the hundred and ten years extending from the Reformation to the date of George Hay's gift; but whether the cups or cup used during that period had previously belonged to the Abbey church, or St. Ayle's chapel

—in which, however, they would before the Reformation be denied to the laity—or had been procured after the Reformation, or of what form or material they were made, it is now impossible to say.

The cups presented by the Hays are still in use. Their Hall marks show that all of them were made in Edinburgh. On the bowl of the oldest one are engraven the initials of the donors' names, G. H. and M. R. round a shield on which the arms of Hay are impaled with those of Ruthven. Stamped on the rim of this cup are the letters A. R., the initials of Alexander Reid its maker; and it has also his deacon's punch. He was deacon of the Incorporation of the Goldsmiths of Edinburgh in 1669–71, 1674–5, and 1677–9.¹ The corresponding cup has the same donors' initials, but the arms of Hay only. Inside its base is engraven the word *Berachiah* (*i.e.* 'Whom the LORD hath blessed'). On the exterior side of the bowls of these two cups are engraven the words :—

FOR THE CHUR[C]H OF BALMIRRINO

the letter C being left out by the engraver. The newer *pair* have each the arms of John Hay and his initials, I. H., with the words as above, but correctly spelt. The *three* newer cups have each the date-letter L for the year 1715–16, variable date-letters having been first introduced in Edinburgh in 1681. They also bear the initials of Mungo Yorstone, the maker; and those of Edward Penman, Assaymaster from 1708 to 1729.²

In August 1712, the office of schoolmaster being again vacant, the Session agreed 'to fall in with the heritors in

¹ This (the oldest) cup underwent a slight repair in the year 1867, which explains the existence of the stamps on the inside of the bowl, indicating that the repair was executed in London, and in that year.

² See Burns's *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, pp. 544–5, 556, 559–60, 284–5; and List of Edinburgh Plate Marks in *Proceedings of Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. iv. p. 541.

their nomination of a schoolmaster, and that the person nominated should be presenter and Session-clerk . . . and so soon as possible should read and dwell in the schoolhouse in Ballmerino.' The heritors and Session accordingly met in the church, and chose Mr. William Jack, from the parish of Tealing, who, having passed his trials before the Presbytery on the 12th November, was admitted to the three vacant offices. It is uncertain whether the word 'read' in the above-quoted sentence means to read the Scriptures in the church before the commencement of the regular service, as was still done in some parts of the country, or to teach in the school, or both of these functions.

An estimate of the state of education among the people at that time may be formed from the fact, that between the years 1716 and 1748, of those who were called upon to sign their names as witnesses in cases before the Kirk-session, one man out of every three, and eleven women out of every twelve, were unable to do so.

During the rebellion of 1715 the rebels placed garrisons at Naughton, St. Fort, and Balvaird, who levied cess from all who were disaffected to the Chevalier; and drove away all the oxen, sheep, and horses they could find. At Ballinbreich the wheat seed could not be sown on account of their spoliation. The ministers were forced to fly, and the Presbytery's minutes state that from October 1715 to February 1716 there was no meeting of that body, on account of 'the unnatural rebellion raised by the Jacobite party under the Earl of Mar, who had taken possession of the towns of the shire, and had emitted a paper called by them a proclamation, threatening ministers who should exknowledge King George in their public prayers with being carried to the Chevalier's camp at Perth.' Rob Roy, with 150 men, seized Falkland Palace, and plundered the whole country around. But on learning that the royal army was approaching Perth, he and all the Jacobite garrisons in Fife marched off, and crossed the Tay to Dundee;

and the Moderator of Cupar Presbytery 'advertised the members to attend on the 7th of February.'¹

In 1719, the Laird of Naughton and the Earl of Rothes, Sheriff-principal of Fife, took measures for putting down penny-weddings, which often led to disorderly conduct. To a wedding in Ceres parish thirteen men had come on horse-back with the bridegroom. Alexander Preston in Balmerino parish was one of the delinquents who had 'a numerous marriage.' (*Presb. Min.*)

On the 13th of November 1720, a paper was read from the pulpit of Balmerino church concerning precautions to be used against the Plague. It was then raging in France.

In 1721, the schoolmaster complained to the Kirk-session, that 'private schools are kept in the paroch for learning children to read, and particularly in Cultra and Gallerie'; and three of the elders were sent 'to intimate to these that keep such schools that the Session is dissatisfied with that practice, and that they desist therefrom.' This was not the only instance of the Session's suppressing private schools.

At this time, and long before and after it, the celebration of the Communion was always accompanied by tent-preaching in the churchyard. The first reference to this in the Session records is in the year 1701, and the latest in 1766. The 'tent' was not made of canvas to shelter the audience from the weather. It was a movable wooden pulpit, with a roof to protect the speaker, who from this elevation preached to the crowd seated on the grass, while the Communion services were being held within the church.

About this period there was annually a day, called in the parish the 'road-day,' on which the inhabitants, according to ancient custom, were obliged to turn out for the repair of the highways. This labour was afterwards commuted into a money payment called the 'Statute-Labour Assessment.'

¹ *The Wodrow Correspondence* (Wodrow Society), vol. ii. pp. 86-134; *Presb. Minutes*.

Mr. Hay having been for a long time invalided, with little or no hope of recovery—his illness is first mentioned in 1712—the heritors and elders, in 1717, petitioned the Presbytery for advice, with a view to the appointment of an assistant. The nature of Mr. Hay's malady is not stated in the records. It is said to have been mental, but he was not incapable of managing his affairs. For many years there had been no celebration of the Communion, presumably because he was unable to examine the people, as was always done previous to that sacrament. He had twelve children, of whom the eldest was Peter, and the youngest was born in December 1714. His wife died in March following, when he was left with a family of ten motherless children, two having died in infancy.

The Presbytery having requested the petitioners to ascertain what might be contributed by the parish towards providing a salary for an assistant to Mr. Hay, the heritors and householders bound themselves to contribute 250 merks, or £166, 13s. 4d., and Mr. Hay agreed to give an equal sum, annually. The list of subscribers, with the amount of their subscriptions and their places of abode, is inserted in the Session minutes, and is interesting as containing the names of most of the householders at that period. (See Appendix, No. XVIII.) Several preachers having been heard by the congregation, the heritors, elders, and heads of families, in November 1718, petitioned the Presbytery to appoint a Mr. Lawrie for a year or two; but he ultimately declined the proposal. In February following, a petition was presented to the Presbytery in favour of Mr. Thomas Ker, which was granted. When Mr. Ker had acted as assistant for a year and a half, the parishioners petitioned that he should be ordained assistant and successor to Mr. Hay. After strenuous efforts had been made by the Presbytery to induce both the parishioners and Mr. Hay to increase the stipend proposed for Mr. Ker, and to provide for him 'a mansion house, and

some land equivalent to a glebe and foggage,' his emoluments were ultimately fixed at 250 merks from the people, with £20 and three chalders of grain from Mr. Hay, out of the eight chalders of which the minister's stipend then consisted. It may be added that in 1722 the parishioners also repaired a house at Balmerino for Mr. Ker's residence, at a cost of £83, 6s. 8d., and the Session paid its rent. He afterwards removed to Mid Scur, where he got from the Laird of Naughton, in fulfilment of a promise he had previously given to the Presbytery, a house and pendicle of land 'for the yearly farm [that is, rent] and [feu] duty thereof, so long as he had no access to the manse.' The house was to be repaired. On the 16th of July 1722, Nachtane informed the Session, that he 'upon his own charges was to make the roof of that house sufficient, put in two stone chimneys in the west gevell, and put a loft upon the said gevell for making a lower and a higher room, the paroch carrying the hewn stones. He likewise proposed that the whole contributors within the paroch should, upon their charges, make a good room upon the west end of that house for Mr. Ker's further conveniency,' and sell the materials when he should remove from it. At a subsequent meeting, the heritors, elders, and about forty householders agreed to make this addition to it—all 'except about eight persons'; and doubtless the other improvements mentioned were executed. This house is said to have been in existence about the beginning of the present century. Mr. Ker also rented Hay's Hill, and other land, from Naughton.

CHAPTER VII

MR. THOMAS KER, MR. THOMAS STARK, MR. JOHN STARK,
MR. ANDREW THOMSON, MR. JOHN THOMSON

‘Our Lord and Master,
When he departed, left us in his will,
As our best legacy on earth, the poor !
These we have always with us ; had we not,
Our hearts would grow as hard as are these stones.’

—LONGFELLOW.

ON the 17th of November 1721, MR. THOMAS KER, M.A., having been chosen by the heritors and elders of the parish, received a call, which was subscribed by them and ‘many heads of families,’ to be assistant and successor to Mr. Hay; and he was ordained on the 1st of May 1722. He had graduated at the University of St. Andrews on the 9th of May 1706, and had been licensed by the united Presbyteries of Dundee and Forfar on the 5th of December 1711.¹

Three months after Mr. Ker’s ordination, he had to complain to the Kirk-session that the voluntary stipend which had been promised was not well paid, and he was requested to give in a list of the defaulters. There are still traditions in the parish of the extremely straitened circumstances to which he and his wife were sometimes reduced by the inadequacy of his stipend, and the shifts they resorted to in order to harmonize ‘ways and means.’

At this commencement of a new incumbency, during which the various functions of the Kirk-session were in vigorous operation, some account may be given of the manner in which

¹ Scott’s *Fasti*, vol. ii. Part ii. p. 473.

it made provision for the poor, and acquired and expended its funds. For some time after the Reformation, the poor in all Scottish parishes were maintained by church-door collections and other voluntary donations. These sources proved to be insufficient, and, in order to supplement them, provision for the aged and infirm was for the first time made compulsory in 1579. An Act of Parliament passed in that year ordained magistrates in burghs, and justices in landward parishes, to make up a list of the poor, to stent the whole inhabitants 'according to the estimation of their substance' for the money required for their maintenance, and to appoint overseers in every parish to collect and distribute it. In 1597 Parliament transferred these powers to Kirk-sessions. In 1672 it conjoined the heritors with the minister and elders. The power of imposing a stent for the poor was probably very seldom exercised as yet, for the Act of 1672 authorized Kirk-sessions, when church collections and other voluntary donations were insufficient, to grant tokens or badges to the poor, as licenses to beg within the parish, but not beyond it—a custom practised as early as the reign of James V. In 1692 a Proclamation by the Privy Council appointed the heritors and Kirk-sessions to meet twice every year, and in landward parishes to lay one-half of the stent, when it was necessary to impose it, upon the heritors, and the other half upon the householders.

In the parish of Balmerino, such joint meetings of the heritors and Session were, during nearly a century after the Proclamation of 1692, held only six or seven times—most of them in compliance with Acts of the Privy Council or Justices of the Peace, to whom the parochial authorities had to report their diligence in providing for their own poor, and in repressing vagrants. The stent they imposed was collected with difficulty, and defaulters had occasionally, by intimation read in church by the precentor, to be threatened with prosecution.

The Kirk-session had thus almost exclusively the charge

of providing for the poor; and of the sources from which such provision, as well as other necessary outlays, were obtained, the church-door collections always formed the chief. The collections on Communion Sundays were enormously large compared with those on ordinary Sundays, which was partly, if not mainly, caused by the vast concourse of people from neighbouring parishes. Sometimes the Sunday's collection, or part of it, was given for distribution to the elders, or to the deacons when such existed, at the meeting of Session immediately after divine service; at other times, when the Session met on a week-day, it was given monthly, or at shorter intervals. The elders and deacons thus acted—except on certain special occasions, as we shall see—as unpaid poor-inspectors, and their work as such was performed with much care and discrimination, as they were well acquainted with the circumstances of the inhabitants of their respective districts. The sums allocated to the poor would now be deemed quite insufficient, but money was then much more valuable than it is now. Into the Kirk-Box was put away any surplus funds in hand, as a reserve for emergencies, and for payment of certain annual charges. One of the elders or deacons was appointed box-master or treasurer. The Box stood in his house, and a committee of the Session was sent thither periodically to count the money it contained, the amount of which, after it had been compared with the receipts and disbursements, was duly entered in the minutes. In the church collections there was always a great deal of 'bad money,' that is, light coins. Thus in December 1696, of £14, 6s. 8d., £3, 17s. 8d. was 'light money.'

In January 1743, the Box, when examined, was found to contain £80, 11s. 6d. of good money, and £6, 2s. 4d. of bad copper, 'which was laid aside till an opportunity should offer to dispose of it; [£6, 9s. 4d. was afterwards sold for £1] and there is among the silver a bad shilling, which, for this great number of years, has carried full value in the account.' 'Lost

upon light money' is a frequent entry in the Session's Cash-book. Though a good deal of the money then in circulation was probably light, yet the fact that those objectionable coins found their way so very often into the church plate suggests no favourable opinion of the character of those who put them there.

Another source of the Session's revenue for the maintenance of the poor, and other purposes, consisted of the 'penalties' or fines imposed on delinquents by the Session itself, and of those inflicted by the civil magistrate, the one half of which was appointed to be made over to Kirk-sessions 'for pious uses.' Sessional penalties were rigorously exacted. Delinquents were not absolved from church censure till they had paid them, and, if they delayed to do so, were sometimes threatened with prosecution in the civil court. Small additions were also made to the Session's funds by forfeited marriage 'pawns'—the nature of which has been already explained—by the hire of the Communion cups, and by the rents of pews which the Session erected in the kirk 'loft,' and let to parishioners for the benefit of the poor. Payment of those seat-rents was often in arrear.

Revenue was derived also from interest on accumulated funds. When a parishioner wanted a loan of money, he applied to the Kirk-session, who advanced it on his bill bearing approved security, generally at five per cent. interest. Nevertheless, like other bankers, the Session had sometimes difficulty in obtaining payment of their loans. The bills were carefully preserved in the Kirk-box till the money was paid. As the Box had two locks, it was probably divided into two compartments, one for bills and the other for cash.

The Kirk-session superintended the arrangements for burial. They provided mort-cloths, and charged fees for their use. In 1702 there was paid for a new mort-cloth £188, 3s. 6d., for which the Session was reimbursed by the receipts in about eight years. The poor were not always borne to the grave in coffins,

but were sometimes carried thither on a 'bier.' Thus in August 1700, the Session paid 'for a beir to bury poore, £6, 13s. 4d.' In the same month, however, they paid 'for two dead chests £1, 12s.' In the seventeenth¹ and eighteenth centuries it was a common practice in Scotland to distribute pipes and tobacco to the company at funerals, even those of paupers. Ale was also handed round. Thus in Balmerino, in 1724, £2 was paid for ale, and 10s. for pipes and tobacco, for a funeral. In 1728, among the Session's disbursements the following occur in connection with the funeral of a pauper:—'To Alexander Finlay for ale to David Richie's buriall, 31s.—To Alexander Gregory for pipes and tobacco to the said buriall, 15s. 6d.'

While the most necessitous persons were placed on the list or roll of regular recipients, who were called the 'listed poor,' the occasional or unlisted poor were not neglected. Medical treatment was also provided. In 1724, for a woman afflicted with 'a distemper of mind,' who was under the charge of a physician at Newtyle, £9 was given out of the Box; and £15, 5s. was collected at the church door to pay the doctor. In the same year the Session 'appointed 24 shillings to David Duncan to buy cures to his daughter, who has the convulsion ffites.' The allowances were not always given in money. Sometimes meal was distributed; in other cases, wool to be spun for clothing, lintseed, etc. Occasionally, a special collection was made either at the church door, or from house to house by the elders or deacons, for those who had met with some misfortune. In several instances money was gathered for persons whose house had been burnt or had fallen, whereby their plenishing was destroyed. A contribution was sometimes given to a poor man to enable him to purchase a horse, with which he might earn a living; or for a cow for the benefit of his family, but on certain conditions.

¹ See Lamont's *Diary*, p. 175.

Thus in 1742, two of the elders were appointed to purchase a cow with the Session's money for Peter Couper, their officer, 'whereof he was to have the use during the Session's pleasure.' In 1744, the Session gave another man £14 'for helping him to get a cow, upon which he gave his obligation not to dispose of the said cow but at the direction of the Session, till they should be repaid.' Great care was taken to prevent any person from settling in the parish who was likely to become a pauper. In 1724, the Session, being informed that Peter Lumsden in Easter Grange 'has set a cot-house to one who has a daughter impotent both in hands and feet, and who will, if she live after her father, certainly be a burden to any parish,' resolved to notify to him, 'that if he kept that man beyond Martinmas next, he must give his obligation, obliging himself and his heirs to maintain the said impotent person while she lives, without being ever burdensome to this Session or parish.' In 1725, the Session enacted, that those who received assistance must cause security to be provided to refund the same out of their effects at their death; and also 'that whosoever shall receive any extraordinary supply for any particular circumstance or strait they may be in, these [must] give their bill to repay the same when their circumstances recover.' Sometimes those who had received from the elders kindness other than pecuniary left at their death a legacy to the Session, in token of their gratitude. When a pauper died, his furniture and other effects were roused, under the superintendence of some members of Session, and the proceeds secured for the supply of other poor.

Among the annual, or frequently recurring payments, made from the Session's funds were the salaries of the Synod, Presbytery, and Session clerks, and of the Presbytery and church officers, which were all much smaller than they now are; fees and books for poor scholars (the Bible, Psalm-book, Proverbs, and New Testament are mentioned); remuneration to tradesmen for placing and repairing the movable forms and tables

for the Communion, and for setting up and repairing the 'tent'; additional sums given to the Session-clerk as reader or precentor, and to the beadle, at the Communion; an allowance to the person who 'took up the Psalm'—that is, an assistant-precentor—at the tent-preaching; the cost of a copy of the Acts of Assembly; and of small repairs and other requisites for the church and school. A 'sand-glass' to measure time was provided for the pulpit three times between 1701 and 1708. There is only one reference to musical instruction, under March 1776, when five shillings sterling were given 'to George Douglas for teaching church Musick here.' An entry in the Session's accounts which regularly occurs is the payment of the Presbytery bursars—'the English bursar' and 'the Irish bursar.' In 1641 and subsequent years, the General Assembly ordained Presbyteries containing twelve ministers to contribute annually £100 from 'kirk penalties' for the maintenance of a bursar of Theology at one of the Universities; and smaller Presbyteries were to combine for the same purpose. After the Revolution, the Assembly appointed half of this money to be given to a student speaking the 'Irish,' that is, the Gaelic language, and the other half to one speaking English. The first payment from Balmerino was in 1649, and the last in 1773; and the whole sum given annually was £4, 10s.

A considerable portion of the Session's funds was bestowed on persons and objects other than parochial. It is remarkable how very frequently, especially for many years after the Revolution of 1688, charity was extended to 'poor strangers.' Thus, in the year 1691, a sum almost equal to one-half of what was given to the poor of the parish was distributed to 'strangers' unnamed. It was then customary over the whole country for destitute and impotent wanderers to solicit help at the doors of parish churches on Sundays; and their petitions were not refused by Kirk-sessions. As regards other charities, though none of the Home and Foreign Missions now carried on by the Church had as yet been instituted,

collections were made at the churches, or from house to house, for many religious and benevolent purposes recommended by the General Assembly, Synod, Presbytery, the Kirk-sessions of neighbouring parishes, or other parties. In the course of a century subsequent to the Revolution, contributions for the following persons or objects are entered in Balmerino Session records, in addition to the constantly recurring entries of sums given to 'poor strangers':—In 1691, 'to strangers, some of them from Ireland, 8s.': 1695, 'For the harbour of Colen, £10, 14s.': 1696, 'To on[e] Mr. Hendry Montcrifte, £4'; 'To Mr. Dumbare lett schole Mester in Kilmie (*sic*), 14s. 6d.': 'To ane distressed gentlewoman, £2, 18s.': 1698, 'For the brige at Lenrike, £4, 10s.': 1701, 'To ane student of divinity, £3, 4s.': also, 'To Gulett brige, £3': 1702, 'To a stranger, John Kid, who is blind, £1, 1s.': 1703, 'For Leith, £4'; 'For Danile Gain for setting vpe a printing house at Dundie, £3' (collections were made for this worthy in the churches of Dundee Presbytery): '1701, 'For reliving slaves in Algires, £9, 15s. 2d.': 1704, 'To John Thomson, slave in Algires, £3, 14s.'—the pirates of that region being still the scourge of Christendom: 1703, 'To severale strangers at the Communion, £10, 4s. 4d.': 1704 (to the same), '£6, 3s.': 1730 (to the same), '13s.': 1706, 'To a poor woman in the fferry, £1, 5s.': 1709, 'To distrest Protestants abroad in Lisbon and Ireland, 2 guineas (*sterling*)'; 'For the Canongate burning, Edinburgh, £5, 2s.': 1712, 'To ane yonge boye in Kilmanie parichon come of honest parents, and at schole there, £2': 1713, 'To a schooler at the Colledge of St. Andrews, £1, 10s.': 'To a distressed gentlewoman and her family, upon request, £3': 1716, 'To a blind student, £1, 4s.': 1718, 'To a deaf man, £1': 1721, 'To the man taken by the Turks, £5, 15s.': 1722, 'To a dumb man, £1, 10s.': 'To a blind man, £1'; 'To a widow woman with five children, recommended for charity by the magistrates and ministers of Sterline, half a crown': 1723, 'For Duirness in Strathnaver, £33, 3s. 4d.': 'Towards the

building of a Third Presbyterian Meeting House att Bell-fast in Ireland' (the amount is not stated): 1724, 'For the distressed Presbyterian parochie of New York in America, £18, 12s.': 1727, 'For the tenants in Leslie parish who had their corns and other effects consumed by fire, £19, 2s. 8d.': 1728, 'To Mr. Gordon, a dumb man, £1, 4s.': 1730, 'To a poor stranger, blind, 4s.': 'To a dumb Gentleman, supplicant, £1, 10s.': 1732, 'To a poor stranger, blind, 6s.': 'To a dumb gentleman, stranger, £1, 10s.': 'To Mrs. Thomson, a stranger, £1': 'To Mr. Gordon, a supplicant, deaf and dumb, 15s.': 1740, 'For Baillie Clarke in Cupar, £1, 10s.': 1742, 'To the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, £14, 8s. 9d.' In that year £4 of what had been collected previously for a Correction house at Cupar, and £5, 11s. 8d. collected in 1736 for an Orphan Hospital in Edinburgh, being 'never yet required of the Session for the uses they were designed for,' were given to a poor man in the parish, to provide him with a horse: 1744, 'For those who suffered by fire at St. Andrews, £6': 1745, 'For a family in Forgan that sustained loss by fire, £2': 1750, 'For school buildings for the Protestants at Breslau in Silesia, £15, 6s.': 1753, 'For foreign Protestants, £20': 1756, 'For the college of New Guersey, £16, 16s.': 1761, 'For the ministers suffering in America, £22': 1767, 'For Mr. Wheelock's Academy (in Connecticut, New England, for the education of Indian missionaries), £37, 7s. 9d.': 1768, 'For a man in distress recommended by the Session of Kilmany, £6': 1770, 'To a stranger recommended by a Justice of the Peace in Bamph, £1, 16s.': 1773, 'For Montrose Bridge, £12, 12s.': 1776, 'For the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands, £1, 7s. 6d.': 1784, 'For printing the Holy Scriptures into Gallick, £1, 13s.' (the last two sums being in *sterling* money).

In 1722, it was reported to the Kirk-session 'that the fishers of my Lord Balmerino's fishing were seen fishing on the 14th of June, being a fast appointed by the Commission

of the Generall Assembly, after sermons, in the afternoon. Having been summoned to compear, they confessed they had been fishing, but 'went on about half nine o'clock att night, if not fully nine.' They being removed, the Session 'thought fit to declare their judgment concerning a ffast day. They were all of opinion that a ffast continues a whole natural day, which they thought was confirmed by Scripture, sound Divines, and the constant practice of this National Church.'

Mr. Thomas Stark of Ballindean, factor to Lord Balmerino, sent his son William with a letter to the Session, stating, 'that he had given some allowance to the forsaid ffishers for fishing on the ffast day when other people went to bed, insinuating that the ffast was then over, and desiring his son to be present at this process, and the informer against them to be discovered to him, and that they might be excused because the fault was his.' (One of the fishers had pleaded Mr. Stark's order as an excuse for his fault.) 'The Session 'unanimously declined that part of the letter—William Stark's being present; and as for Bandean's judgment, they did not concern themselves in it any more than that they dissented from it; and they thought it unprecedented to deliver any person to the revenge of their superiors, and might impede information of heinous crimes that ought justly to be punished; ffor there was no reason (they thought) to take notice of the informer or informers, seeing the crime was so very evident that it could not be denied by the parties.' Those, and some other fishers and workmen who had broken the fast, having compeared before the Session, and confessed that their conduct was wrong, and promised not to do the like again, were rebuked and dismissed. A few years later, two men, who had gone off with carts for limestones about nine or ten o'clock in the evening of the Sacramental fast in August, were similarly dealt with.

The following incident proves the existence of a curious superstition. In May 1723, the minister informed the Session

that Margaret Robertson in Byres of Balmerino had complained to him, that James Paton in Cultra 'had scandalized her in her good name by saying that she went to nine wells on the Road-day morning to take away her neighbour's milk,' or, as the charge was afterwards expressed, 'to get the cream of the water, and to take away her neighbour's butter.' The parties having been cited, Paton declared that what he had said was, that 'he heard of a woman in Byres that went to nine wells on the Road-day morning to gett the cream of them, that she might gett other people's butter, but named no woman.' Witnesses were summoned and examined on oath, but their evidence was not decisive, and the conclusion of the case is not recorded.¹

This incident also illustrates the method then practised in order to obtain redress for defamation of character. The aggrieved party did not raise an action in the civil court for damages, but complained to the Kirk-session, who took evidence as to the alleged slander, and if they found it proved, inflicted Church censure on the culprit.

In October 1723, James Henderson in Balmerino was

¹ Superstitious beliefs were not confined to Balmerino parish. In 1711, Agnes Hood and Jean Moncrief, in Falkland and Auchtermuchty parishes respectively, were reported to the Presbytery of Cupar as being accused of using a charm to cure a child, by the former 'taking it on her arms and carrying it about an oaken post, expressing the words, Oaken post, stand thou; Bairn's maw (stomach), turn thou; In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, turn the bairn's maw right.' Agnes Hood was sentenced by Auchtermuchty Kirk-session to the Lesser Excommunication.

In 1743, there was a reference from the Kirk-session of Strathmiglo to the Presbytery 'bearing that Francis Gilmore (Laird) of Over Pitlochry, with three of his servants, viz. Francis Page, James Page, and Robert Robertson, had been cited to attend the Session upon a flagrant report of their having been guilty of using a charm, in order to find out the person who, as they apprehended, had been the cause of the death of severalls of Francis Gilmore his beasts, and that the said Francis, being called, did not attend (he being indisposed, as was represented); that Francis Page compeared, and being interrogate anent their burning of the Heart of one of their master's beasts, and the reasons of their using that charm, and how they were employed in the time of it, Answered, that the Heart of the beast was taken out, and that his master brought it out of the corn yard and asked if he [Francis Page] would burn it, adding that others had done

cited to compare before the Session for having 'a numerous meeting at his Banquett that Sabbath-day's evening his child was baptised, which is not only contrair to the civill laws of this kingdom, but also to all good order in Christian congregations.' Having compeared and confessed that this was a fault, he was suitably exhorted and admonished by the Moderator. In 1581 Parliament had prohibited banquets after baptisms, under a penalty of £20 'to be payed by the master and all the partakers.'

In 1724, Mr. Robert Hay, Laird of Naughton, was thanked by the Presbytery of Cupar for prosecuting certain 'schismatical and disorderly persons by law, so as to rid the bounds of them.'

In the same year, West Grange could boast of its possessing a 'chirurgion apothecary,' in the person of a Mr. John Halkerstone.

About this time the country was overrun by vast numbers of 'vagabonds (vagrants) and sturdy beggars'—a fact which evinced the existence of much poverty among the working classes. Special means were adopted to suppress vagrancy,

so, and the rest of their Beasts throve the better; upon which the heart was taken into the old Goodwife's house, and there burnt in the fire. He further owned that he had heard that folk, upon burning the heart of a Beast in this manner, had made a discovery of the persons who had wronged the Beast that had dyed, but said that this was not the design in the present case, but because folk said that the rest of the Beasts lucked better, and that the rest lived afterwards. And [he] further said, that he and his neighbours did sing no part of a Psalm, nor prayed, nor had Bibles in their hands during the time the heart was burning; but that he had a pair of syllabbling Catechisms, and his brother James had Vincent's Catechism in his hand, and he did not know what the other lad had . . . Further bearing, that James Page being sisted before the said Session, owned that he was present at the burning of the heart of the Beast, and that it was certainly done with a design to make a discovery of the persons who had wronged his master's beasts; that the family all knew of it, and that his master in part had do it; and [James Page] agreed with his brother in all the other circumstances of his Declaration. Further, that Robert Robertson, being also called and interrogate, agreed with the other two servants in the Declarations they had made, that the book which he had in his hand was Doliittle, and not a bible etc.'

Gilmore and the two Pages were dissenters, and refused to submit to discipline. Robertson was rebuked at Strathmiglo. (*Presb. Min.*)

and to provide for the aged and infirm poor. In prosecution of the latter of these objects, the Church courts, by the desire of the Justices, and in accordance with an Act of Parliament, instituted 'Immorality courts' for fining those guilty of immoralities and profaneness, and for applying the fines to the maintenance of the poor, which, indeed, Kirk-sessions had long been doing on their own authority. In 1724, the Presbytery of Cupar, in compliance with a request of the Laird of Naughton, who had been deputed by a meeting of the shire, recommended to the several Kirk-sessions to give up to the Sheriff the names of fit persons to be empowered by him to act as 'Session Bailies,' or judges in these Immorality courts. In Balmerino parish, Mr. Robert Hay of Naughton was himself the Session Bailie. On the 24th of January 1724, in compliance with an Act of the Justices of the shire 'anent the poor, and the suppression of vagabonds and sturdy beggars,' a meeting of the heritors, Kirk-session, and heads of families was held, and John Mores, one of the elders, was chosen by the votes of the heritors and Session as collector to uplift the fines for immoralities for the space of one year, 'and to apply to the Laird of Nachtane for decerning against any person within the parish who should be found guilty of the breach of the said Act against immorality and profaneness.'

The meeting then considered the state of the poor, of whom a list had been prepared by the elders, and they agreed that two men, one woman, and children under fourteen years of age, should have badges, and be allowed to beg within the parish, and that none be served but such as had badges. The meeting further appointed sums varying from 8s. to 1s. 6d. to be given weekly to the other poor. The amount required for fifty-two weeks was £110, 10s.—one-half of which was to be stented on the heritors, and the other half on the householders; and John Black was chosen to uplift that sum in quarterly instalments, and to give to the poor, weekly, the sums allocated to them. The accounts of the Collector of this stent, as well

as of others, were audited by a committee of the Session, but they are not entered in their Cash-book; nor is there any extant record of the fines inflicted by the Session Bailie for immoralities, or of their application to the support of the poor. In March of the same year a collection was, by the appointment of the Presbytery, at the request of the Laird of Naughton, made from house to house towards the building of Correction houses, and the maintenance of persons therein. In the same month, the Laird of Naughton, on behalf of the Justices of the Peace, applied to the Presbytery of Cupar to get 'what money was collected in their bounds for ransoming Robert Carmichael from slavery among the Infidels, to be applied for helping to build a Correction house, the said Robert Carmichael being otherwise relieved.' In summer of the same year, 'the vagabonds and sturdy beggars began to travel abroad again, and were very insolent and uneasy'; and Naughton and two ministers were sent by the Presbytery to the Justices, to induce them to appoint more constables. In 1725, the Session, 'considering that the number of the poor was considerably decreased since last year, as also that the victual was at a very reasonable rate, did not think it necessary to burden the heritors or others in the paroch with an extraordinary collection.' They, however, 'appointed badges to be made (of what material does not appear) for the poor whom they allow to beg.' A subsequent meeting of heritors and Session continued John Mores as the collector of fines, and appointed the beadle, Peter Cupar, as officer to the Immorality court, 'for a small gratuity arising from the fines.' In continuation of this subject it may be here stated that in 1731, Peter Lumsden, tenant in Easter Grange, was appointed by the Session to uplift 'the five shillings Scots upon the hundred pound of valued rent, to be paid equally by the heritors and tenents, for defraying the charge of apprehending and maintaining of vagrants; and to pay and deliver the same to John Annan, writer in Cupar.' In 1741, a stent for the

poor, levied from the heritors and householders, was to be paid to Mr. Ker, the minister, to be by him distributed to the poor in sums fixed upon by the heritors and elders, who at the same time recommended to Mr. Ker to give licenses in writing, subscribed by himself and two elders, to three men, one woman, and a poor man's two children, to beg within the parish.

We have seen that there were deacons in Balmerino church in the seventeenth century, during the ministry of Mr. Walter Greig; but there is no mention of their existence from that period till 1724. In June of that year 'the Session considering the plain Scriptural institution for having deacons as well as elders in the Session, as also the several Acts of the General Assembly enjoining the same, together with the usefulness of that office, they therefore entered upon that affair, but deferred the further consideration thereof to another dyet.' The result was, that on the 4th of March 1725, when there were already six elders, seven persons were ordained deacons. These were afterwards promoted to the eldership, and the same course was followed on several subsequent occasions. The deacons sat in the Session with the minister and elders, and their duties appear not to have been altogether confined to pecuniary matters and the care of the poor.

On the 8th of February 1725, 'the Session appoints John Spindy to receive the old [Communion] tokens, and to buy as much lead as, together with them, will make five hundred new tokens, and to employ some person to cast them; and they ordain John Turpie, boxmaster, to pay them.' The number of tokens actually made was six hundred, and their cost was £2, 10s. Of the previous tokens no specimen has been preserved. Those then made have on the obverse the letters M. T. K. for 'Minister, Thomas Ker'; and on the reverse B for 'Balmerino,' with the date 1725. Their workmanship is rude, and the figures 5 and 2 are curiously inverted. They remained in use for 101 years, when they were superseded by new tokens

better executed. Both tokens are circular. The newer ones have on the obverse 'BALMERINO 1826' surrounding the letters J. T. (for John Thomson, minister); and on the reverse EX CRUCE SALUS ('salvation by the Cross') surrounding a Latin cross. (See below.)

On the 4th of April 1725, David Honeyman in Hunger-toun was summoned before the Session, and asked why he would not be reconciled with James Henderson his brother-in-law, who was a deacon, and was always willing to agree with him, and forgive all injuries and supposed injuries. He answered, that he was now ready to agree with him. The parties being removed, the Session after deliberation 'thought fit that they should immediately profess their agreement before the Session, and their forgiving all injuries each to other; and



being called in, this was intimated to them, and they professed accordingly.' This was not a solitary exercise of the Session's influence in reconciling those who were at enmity with each other.

In 1729 Mr. William Jack, the schoolmaster, removed from the parish; and inquiries having been made by the members of Session in order to obtain a suitable successor, several of them gave 'a savoury account' of Mr. William Don, governor to the Laird of Nydy's children; 'and being informed that my Lord Cupar [son of Lord Balmerino and a Lord of Session] had writ to Mr. Stark, his ffactor, to appear for the said Mr. Don,' it was agreed that he should be asked to precent in the congregation on trial. The result was, that as 'several of the heritors were for Mr. Don, the Session, and

those of their number who were heritors, did unanimously choose him to be schoolmaster, precentor, and session-clerk,' on the 23rd of September. He remained in office only two years, and was succeeded on the 1st of November 1731 by Mr. William Arthur, student in Divinity, Cupar. Mr. Arthur removed in the beginning of May 1732, and in course of a few weeks Mr. John Gow, music-master in Cupar, was appointed to succeed him.

Discipline was still administered with severity by the Kirk-session. Scarcely any kind, or degree, of wrong-doing passed unnoticed, or, if confessed, or proved by witnesses (who were frequently examined upon oath), escaped formal censure, varying with the heinousness of the offence. In the year 1716 an adulterer—in addition to his having to pay the heavy 'penalty' of £12—was obliged to stand in sackcloth at the church door, and afterwards sit on the stool of repentance and be rebuked, on twelve, and his partner in guilt had to do the same things on eight, Sundays—one of the parties usually in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon of the same day. In 1739 another transgressor, whose guilt had been clearly established, when asked by the Session if he was to obey the Presbytery's order to appear in the public place of repentance, replied, that he would not appear in sackcloth 'though he should die'; but though he denied his guilt, he (very inconsistently) 'would either in his own seat, or in the common place of repentance take a rebuke once, or twice, or thrice for the said scandal.' The Session summoned him to appear before the congregation the next Lord's day, and ordered the church officer, immediately upon his appearing, 'to offer him the sackcloth'—a garment kept for the purpose. He accordingly appeared 'in the public place of repentance,' but 'refused the sackcloth,' and still obstinately denied his guilt. The conclusion of the case is not recorded, but he was doubtless excommunicated. In the following year a couple of delinquents 'would by no means submit' to Church censure. The woman, however, made one

appearance before the congregation, but refused to make another. The Session, therefore, resolved to petition Mr. Halkerston, Sheriff-substitute of Fife, to deal with the man 'according to civil law [against immorality?] in regard he has refused to submit to the order and discipline of this Church'; and they afterwards reported the woman also to the Sheriff. In the Church of England, discipline was exercised with even greater severity than in Scotland, though by this time it was in certain cases relaxed.¹ About the year 1780, Sessional rebuke was substituted for appearances before the congregation of Balmerino, these appearances having probably done as much harm as good.

Mr. Ker died in the second week of November 1741, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He had married, in 1726, Margaret, daughter of George Oliphant of Prinlaws; and he left three children, of whom Robert was served his heir, 6th April 1745. Mr. Ker's brother, John, was minister of Mains, and preached in Balmerino church on the first Sunday after his death, that is, on the 15th of November.² Mr. Hay was still alive.

MR. THOMAS STARK, M.A., eldest son of Mr. John Stark, minister of Logie-Murdoch and Laird of Ballindean, was the next minister of Balmerino. He had studied at St. Salva-

¹ In Chamberlayne's *Magnæ Britanniae Notitia, or The Present State of Great Britain*, pp. 190, 191 (edition of 1723), the following account is given of *Publick Penance* as then practised in the Church of England:—'The delinquent is to stand in the Church Porch upon some Sunday, bare-head and bare-feet, in a white sheet, and a white Rod in his Hand, there bewailing himself, and begging every one that passes by to pray for him; then to enter the Church, falling down and kissing the Ground; then in the middle of the Church is he or she eminently placed in the sight of all the People, and over against the Minister, who declares the foulness of his crime, odious to God, and scandalous to the Congregation, &c.' He adds, that when the crime was not notorious and public, 'the forenamed penance may, at the party's request, be commuted into a pecuniary mulct for the poor of the parish, or some pious uses, which is more usually done.'

² *Session Minutes*; Scott's *Fasti*, Part iv. p. 473.

tor's College, received his degree from the University of St. Andrews in May 1726, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Cupar in July 1733. In February 1739, he was presented to Collessie church by Lord Lindores. Patronage, which had been restored to the old patrons by the British Parliament in 1712, was so unpopular, that for thirty years it was in many cases not exercised by the patrons, or recognised by the Church courts. In this instance, the parishioners of Collessie, ignoring the presentation in favour of Mr. Stark, petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call to a minister; and the Presbytery, by a large majority, agreed to do so, just as if no presentation had been issued. When the day, in June 1739, fixed for the call arrived, there was one call for Mr. Stark, and another, signed by a greater number of the people, for a Mr. Kay; whereupon Mr. Stark withdrew his acceptance of the presentation in his favour, that he might not be the cause of dissension in the parish. His supporters, one of whom was Lord Leven, then joined with the rest in favour of Mr. Kay, who was accordingly settled at Collessie.

On the 11th of January 1742, at a meeting of heritors, elders, and heads of families of Balmerino parish, it was agreed, with Mr. Hay's consent, to petition Lord Balmerino, 'for his concurrence as patron' in the settlement of Mr. Stark as assistant and successor to Mr. Hay; and his Lordship sent a letter to his factor, Mr. William Stark, 'writer in Balmerino,' in favour of Mr. Stark's appointment, but gave no presentation as patron.¹ A petition having been sent to the Presbytery

¹ The belief of the parishioners that his Lordship was patron of the church appears to have been erroneous. We have seen that though James VI. conferred on Lord Balmerino the patronage of Balmerino, Barry, and Logie in 1603, the Act of Parliament of 1606 did not do so; and that the Royal Charter of 1607 stated that the ministers of the three parishes were to be nominated by the King. Moreover, it was Charles II. who presented Mr. Auchterlony to Balmerino in 1682—the only recorded presentation to this parish I have found previous to Mr. Stark's appointment. Lord Balmerino, being a Judge in the Court of Session, must have known that he was not patron, and therefore could not present Mr. Stark.

craving them to moderate in a call to him, they did so on the 10th of March; and he was ordained on the 27th of May. He received from Mr. Hay three of the eight chalders, and sixty of the hundred merks of which the stipend then consisted, with, probably, a contribution from the people.

Mr. Myles is mentioned as schoolmaster in 1737 and 1742. In October 1742 Mr. Alexander Brown, having been chosen as schoolmaster by the heritors, was appointed Session-clerk and precentor by the Session. In November 1744 he was succeeded by Mr. George Gourlay.

In June 1743, a man who 'had attended the meetings of the seceding ministers for some time since the birth of his child' was subjected to discipline for a different sort of conduct.

In 1744 'the Session appointed John Spindie to make a door for the lower part of Birchhill Isle, where it communicates with the church, and the [Communion] elements are kept.' In the same year, Acts of the General Assembly against smuggling were read from the pulpit. The Abbey ruins, it is said, were often used about this time, and long afterwards, for the concealment of casks of foreign spirits landed at Balmerino.

On the 8th of December 1745, a 'Seasonable warning and exhortation by the Commission [of Assembly] concerning the present rebellion was read from the pulpit.' On the 8th of June 1746, a 'Proclamation by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland was read, together with the Act of Assembly appointing a thanksgiving for the victory obtained over the rebels at Culloden, to be observed on Thursday the 26th instant; as also an Act of the Privy Council giving his Majesty's royal sanction for observing that day.' It was observed accordingly. It is well known that the Church of Scotland, which had suffered so much from the Stuarts, was eminently loyal to the Hanoverian dynasty at this crisis. Nevertheless, a gloom must have been cast over the parish of Balmerino by the fact, that Arthur, Lord Balmerino, who

had joined the rebellion, and had been taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, was now confined in the Tower, London, awaiting his trial, as shall be afterwards narrated.

The rebels had entered Kilmany manse 'several times,' and 'carried off some of the minister's effects he had put in places he thought they would not suspect, and some papers of value in his custody, particularly a bill of £17 sterling belonging to the Kirk-session.'¹ There are still in the district traditions of fugitive rebels crossing the Tay at Balmerino after some of the engagements in the south, and of a quantity of gunpowder having been found somewhere about Balmerino either in the '15 or the '45, after the rebels had departed. The people scattered the gunpowder in the fields to prevent further mischief.

On the 3rd of February 1746, the Session appointed five of its members, among whom the minister was not included, 'to visit the school some time before the next meeting, and to report.' Their report is not recorded.

In 1748, Mr. Stark succeeded his father as proprietor of Ballindean and Newbigging. There were many other changes in Balmerino parish about this time. Between 1737 and 1748 the estate of Naughton passed, in consequence of the bankruptcy of Mr. Robert Hay, to a new family, the Morisons; the estate of Birkhill, from a similar cause, came into the possession of new proprietors, the Scrymgeours; the Balmerino family became extinct through the execution of Arthur, the sixth Lord, when the estate passed into other hands; and there was also a new minister, and a new schoolmaster.

Mr. James Hay died in the early part of 1752, in the fifty-sixth year of his incumbency, during thirty-three years of which he had been laid aside from duty.²

Though the New Style in the Calendar commenced (by

¹ *New Stat. Ac. of Kilmany.*

² In Scott's *Fasti* he is said to have become proprietor of Naughton, but this is erroneous.

Act of Parliament) on the 3rd of September 1752—that day being reckoned as the 14th of September—the change was not adopted in the Balmerino Session-books till the beginning of the following year. The 20th of December 1752 was a Sunday. The next Sunday is entered as the 7th of January 1753, new style.

In 1755, the Balmerino stipend was augmented by about a hundred merks, which, apparently, included the value of the teind yarn formerly paid, and at that time commuted into money.

It may be here stated that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—so far as there are sources of information—the celebration of the Lord's Supper did not take place in Balmerino church at any fixed period of the year, but, apparently, at the conclusion of the minister's visitation of the people. During the period subsequent to the Revolution, the interval between two Communion extended, with few exceptions, to two or three years, down to 1755; after which the ordinance was administered once every year, but still in different months of the year. For some time after 1734, there was divine service on Wednesday or Thursday of the week preceding that in which the sacramental fast was held, and tokens were given out on both of these days. Previous to the distribution, a list of the names of those who had been examined in order to communicate was read, as was done a century earlier, in the Session by the minister—the equivalent of the Communion Roll of more recent times.

The Kirk-session records, now and henceforth, supply but few materials suitable for the present work.

On the 22nd of July 1756, a fast, appointed by a royal proclamation and by the General Assembly, 'on account of the present war' with France, was observed in the parish; and there were several others afterwards for the same reason.

In 1762, Mr. George Paton, who had been appointed schoolmaster, session-clerk, and precentor in 1755, was ob-

liged to demit these offices. His successor, appointed in the following year, was Mr. Andrew Gray, who had previously been an assistant teacher in a private school in Dundee.

On the 4th of May 1763, a 'National Thanksgiving for the late peace' was observed. This was the Peace of Paris, which concluded the seven years' war with France, during which Canada was acquired by Britain.

In October 1773, 'the area of the kirk was marked out and divided among the heritors.' This statement in the Session minutes seems to refer only to the seats on the floor of the church, which up to that time had most probably belonged to those who had erected them, or to their representatives. Of the seats in the gallery, four had been erected by the Session, who, from 1756 to 1768, drew rents for them for the benefit of the poor.

On the 1st of January 1775, the cash accounts of the Kirk-session began to be kept and recorded, as already stated, in *sterling* instead of *Scots* money as previously. A column was now devoted to farthings, which appear to have formed a portion of the church collections.

Mr. Thomas Stark died on the 5th of March 1772, aged about sixty-six years.

Mr. JOHN STARK, M.A., eldest son of the last minister, was his successor. He obtained his degree at St. Andrews in 1766, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Cupar on the 16th of July 1772. On the 4th of August following, 'a very considerable number of heritors, all the elders, and fifty-five heads of families' petitioned the Presbytery to moderate in a call to him, which they did on the 3rd of September—King George III. having, in July, issued a presentation in his favour. The call to Mr. Stark was 'signed both by heritors and elders.' He was then in Edinburgh, ill of a fever, and asked the Presbytery to supply the pulpit 'for a few months.' His ordination did not take place till the 22nd of April 1773.

In December 1776, Mr. Stark applied to the Presbytery for leave of absence on some necessary business, which would oblige him to set out soon for London, and might detain him more than six weeks from his parish ; which leave, as he had provided supply for his pulpit, was granted. In September 1778, having gone to Ireland, he addressed a letter from that island to the Moderator of the Presbytery, offering an excuse for his absence. The excuse is not recorded, nor does it clearly appear how long he had been absent. Consideration of his letter was deferred till the following meeting, when the Presbytery unaniously disapproved of his having been so long absent from his charge, and authorized the Moderator to write to him requiring his immediate return. On the 2nd of February following, he appeared in the Presbytery, made an apology for having absented himself without asking leave, and declared that he had been detained longer than he had wished or expected, but had returned immediately on receipt of the Moderator's letter. In October 1781, Mr. Stark addressed a letter to the Moderator of Presbytery resigning his office and status as minister of Balmerino, 'which resignation and demission was accepted.' (For a further account of Mr. Stark see Part IV. Chapter IV.)

In January 1781, Mr. David Paton, recently appointed schoolmaster, was elected by the Session as clerk and precentor.

Mr. ANDREW THOMSON was Mr. Stark's successor. He had been licensed by the Presbytery of St. Andrews on the 5th of April 1775, and was presented by the Crown on the 15th of December 1781. His presentation was given in to the Presbytery on the 26th of March 1782. The Presbytery, having been petitioned by 'sundry heritors and others of the parish' on the 30th April to moderate in a call to him, did so on the 16th of May 1782. The people at that time, at least in this district, seem not to have been in the habit of signing calls, patronage having come to be administered in such a manner as to exclude almost entirely the popular voice. The call to Mr.

Thomson was subscribed only by Mr. James Morison of Naughton and Mr. Robert Stark, proxy for the Earl of Moray (now proprietor of the estate of Balmerino), and for 'John Stark, Esq.,' the previous minister. But 'as none of the parishioners objected, they were held as concurring.' Mr. Wedderburn of Birkhill had sent a letter of concurrence; and George Marshall, elder, though he did not subscribe the call, 'declared that for his part he designed to own Mr. Thomson as his minister.' The ordination took place on the 5th of September 1782.

Under the 22nd of August 1784, it is stated in the Session-book that there was 'no sermon, the Kirk being down,' and this is repeated under the two following Sundays, after which there was sermon as usual; so that to whatever extent the church had been 'down,' to the same extent it must, after three weeks, have been 'up' again.

Mr. Andrew Thomson was the author of the first Statistical Account of the parish of Balmerino, which was published in 1793 in Sir John Sinclair's great work. Though somewhat brief—occupying only nine pages—it is now interesting, as describing the state of the parish upwards of a hundred years ago.

About the year 1796, Sunday schools were commenced in different parts of the country. They were for a long time disapproved of by many of the most devout people, not only as an innovation, but as tending to the discontinuance of the good old Scottish custom of fireside instruction in the Scriptures and Church Catechisms; and being also conducted, in most cases, in a spirit of avowed hostility to the Church of Scotland, they produced much irritation of feeling. In 1799, the General Assembly issued a Pastoral Letter on the subject, and enjoined Presbyteries to enforce the laws which placed all teachers of youth under the supervision of the Church. An Act of Parliament had been passed after the rebellion of 1745, prohibiting private schools till such time as the teachers of them should take the Oaths to Government, and have their schools registered. In the autumn of 1799, a Committee of

Cupar Presbytery waited upon the Sheriff, with a request that he would allow no teacher to get his school registered, or take the oaths to Government, till he had produced to the Sheriff an approbation of his character and abilities from the Presbytery. The request was granted, and the Presbytery then caused to be summoned, before them, all 'missionary and private teachers' of Sunday schools within their bounds, that they might be examined, and approved or disapproved. Accordingly, on the 22nd of October, those teachers appeared, to the number of twenty-six. Three of them went from Balmerino parish, viz. David Johnstone and John Lammy, who were approved, and Andrew Morton, who was disapproved. Three others from Balmerino parish absented themselves, viz. William Anderson, Thomas Langlands, and David M'Donald. In December 1807, Mr. James Smith, 'private teacher' in Balmerino parish, was examined by the Presbytery. Having produced a certificate that he had taken the oaths to Government, and subscribed the Confession of Faith and Formula (as parochial schoolmasters had to do), he got an extract from the Presbytery's minutes to show that he had done so, in order that, by presenting it to the Sheriff-clerk, he might get his school registered, and be allowed to teach under the sanction of the Presbytery. He taught his school—which was at Gauldry, and was a week-day as well as a Sunday school—from October 1807 till September 1810. He afterwards became minister of the Secession church at Dunning, where, as he informed his old friends in Gauldry while on a visit to them, he had 'a good congregation, a sufficient stipend, a fine wife, and a capital coo.' In 1811, a Mr. Brown from Balmerino parish was examined by the Presbytery in terms of the Act, and was authorized to teach. The existence of political disaffection and of scepticism in religion—the offspring of doctrines imported from revolutionary France—contributed its share towards the adoption of these stringent measures for guarding the instruction of the young.

As we have now arrived at a period comparatively recent, it is unnecessary to do more in this portion of our work than to set down a few occasional notes.

In addition to the arable glebe previously possessed, Mr. Thomson acquired, but not till 1805, what is called 'minister's grass,' that is, sufficient pasture land to graze a horse and two cows, to which ministers of parishes containing lands of a suitable description, which belonged before the Reformation to the Church, are legally entitled. Most of the land thus acquired was afterwards subjected to the plough. Between 1777 and 1814, there were no fewer than five excambions of portions of the arable and grass lands. In 1872, fourteen acres of the glebe, consisting of the original arable glebe and two acres of the grass land, were sold, under the 'Glebe Lands Act' of 1866, to Miss Duncan-Morison of Naughton, and the price was invested in the purchase of feu-duties. In 1802, an addition of about 500 merks was made to the minister's stipend, whereby it amounted to about $10\frac{1}{2}$ chalders. In 1815 it was further augmented to about $14\frac{1}{2}$, in 1835 to 16, in 1861 to 18, and in 1885 to 21 chalders.

A new church, seated for 400 persons, was finished in 1811, and situated at Bottomcraig, a very central position for the parish. The ground on which the church was built, west of the old manse, was then a moor. Larch trees were planted round the church. As this edifice has been recently remodelled, and its internal arrangements completely altered, it may be well to record its original features. The pulpit stood against the middle of the south wall. The gallery, the front of which was a half-oval, extended the whole length of the church. The communion table, in front of the pulpit, also extended to almost its whole length. There was a door near the west end of the south wall, and another near the east end of it. Opposite these were two doors in the north wall, leading, by stairs, to the gallery, which was lighted by a square-headed window in the upper part of each of the gables,

and by a window above each of the south doors. There were no windows in the north wall; nor was there any session-house, vestry, or heating apparatus. The church was opened on the 17th of November by Dr. George Campbell, minister of Cupar, whose son became Lord Chancellor. The first Psalm he gave out to be sung was the 122nd, and the text of his sermon was Luke viii. 18. While the church was being erected, the parishioners attended Kilmany church, and Mr. Thomas Chalmers, minister of Kilmany, who afterwards became so celebrated, and Mr. Andrew Thomson, preached alternately to the united congregation. When a new manse was being erected at Kilmany, in 1809 and 1810, Mr. Chalmers had occupied the farmhouse of Fincaigs in Balmerino parish; and there, in the latter part of the year 1809, he had (says Dr. Hanna his biographer) 'that long, severe, and most momentous illness, during which the first stage of a great and entire spiritual revolution was accomplished in him. For four months he never left his room; for upwards of half a year he never entered his pulpit. . . . Throughout that illness, which reached its climax about the close of the year 1809, he continued his preparation for the article "Christianity" [in Brewster's *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*], reading when he could not write—listening to another when he could not himself read. Many volumes of Voltaire's works had been perused, and some progress made in Lardner's "Credibility" before the labour of composition could be resumed. That labour was vigorously prosecuted during the summer of 1810.' Mr. Smith, teacher at Gaudry above referred to, acted as his amanuensis while he was preparing for the press his work on 'The Extent and Stability of National Resources,' and writing the earlier part of his article on 'Christianity.' During his illness, Mr. Andrew Thomson took the whole of the Sunday services at Kilmany.

Shortly before Mr. Chalmers was translated to Glasgow, he assisted Mr. Thomson in selecting a site for the present

manse of Balmerino—erected in 1816—commanding a beautiful view of the Firth of Tay, the Carse of Gowrie, the Sidlaw range of hills, with glimpses of the more remote Grampians, including Ben Voirlich on Loch Earn—a distance of about fifty miles in a straight line. The site of the present manse garden was then a gravel pit, and soil had to be carted to it from the garden of the old manse.

MR. JOHN THOMSON was ordained on the 8th of July 1824 as assistant and successor to Mr. Andrew Thomson, his father, having been presented by the Crown ‘under the royal sign manual.’ Mr. Andrew Thomson died on the 6th of April 1836, in the ninety-first year of his age and the fifty-fourth of his ministry.

Mr. John Thomson was the author of the second, or New Statistical Account of the parish, which was written in 1838. Extending to eighteen pages, it presents an excellent view of the then existing state of the parish, and is better executed than many of the accounts of other parishes in the volume for Fife. About sixty years ago, some Chartists from Newport commenced to hold meetings in the village of Gauldry, which, however, were only continued for a few Sundays. In 1843, a congregation in connection with the Free Church was formed in Gauldry under the ministry of Mr. Andrew Melville, who seceded from Logie. The congregation met in a house previously used for another purpose; but it has since been greatly improved. Mr. Melville was a son of the farmer of Peasehills in Balmerino parish. A Free church and manse were erected for him at Logie, where he resided, performing, with the aid of an assistant, the duties of both congregations till his death in 1848. In 1852 he was succeeded in the united charge by Mr. George R. Sommerville; to whom Mr. Donald Gray, M.A., was ordained as assistant and successor in 1890.

In 1830, the parish school was removed from Bottomcraig—where both schoolroom and dwelling-house were thatched with reeds, then a common practice in the district—to new and

commodious buildings then erected in the village of Gaudry, where there had been for many years a private school. At the same time Mr. William Ballingall was appointed schoolmaster in succession to Mr. David Paton, deceased. The barbarous custom of cockfighting at Fasten's E'en had been continued in the parish school at Bottomcraig till the early part of the present century. The salary of parochial schoolmasters, which the increased cost of living had rendered utterly inadequate, had been raised by Act of Parliament in 1803 from 100 merks as the minimum to 300, and from 200 merks as the maximum to 400, with house and garden, and school fees. In 1829, the maximum salary was commuted into the average value of two chalders of oatmeal during the previous twenty-five years, which amounted to £34, 4s. 4½d. The Act of 1861, which introduced other changes respecting the office of schoolmaster not applicable to this parish, raised the minimum salary of parochial schoolmasters to £35, and the maximum to £70. Mr. Ballingall's salary was then considerably increased. In 1873, the parish school came under the management of the School Board then instituted; and examination by a Government inspector took the place of that formerly conducted by a committee of Presbytery. At the same time the Government grant formed a much-needed addition to the emoluments of the teacher. Mr. Ballingall, who had studied at St. Andrews University, and excelled in the knowledge of mathematics, was a most successful teacher. He died in 1882, and a handsome monument was erected in Balmerino churchyard to his memory by his old pupils and other friends. The present headmaster of the public school is Mr. Thomas Barrie, with two assistants under him. After the passing of the Poor Law Act in 1845, making imperative the appointment of a Parochial Board and an inspector of poor in every parish, the heritors and farmers of Balmerino parish voluntarily contributed what was required, year by year, for the support of the poor. There being thus no legal assessment for that purpose, this parish was one of the few in which there

were no elected members in the Parochial Board, which still consisted of the same persons who had previously to perform the duty of providing for the poor—the heritors and Kirk-session. In 1895 the duties of the Parochial Board were transferred to the Parish Council then instituted.

Mr. John Thomson died on the 22nd of May 1857, in the sixty-first year of his age, and thirty-third of his ministry. He married, in 1846, Eliza Monro, who, along with a son and two daughters, survived him. He was succeeded by the present incumbent, who was presented by Queen Victoria, under her sign manual, in compliance with a petition from the parish, and inducted on the 10th of December 1857; having been ordained by the Presbytery of Dundee, on the 22nd of March 1854, as chaplain to the Highland Brigade proceeding to the Crimea, where he served from the commencement of the war till the return of the army on the conclusion of peace.

In 1861, the Parish Church was for the first time provided with a stove, which, being placed under the stair leading to the west gallery, rendered it necessary to alter the stairs so as to allow the occupants of the gallery to enter the church by the two south doors. In 1863, the school which had long existed at Kirkton—taught by a female—was removed to new buildings then erected at Priorwell. The teacher's salary was paid by Mr. Wedderburn of Birkhill. The school was afterwards transferred to the School Board, by whom it was discontinued in 1889.

In 1883, the Parish Church was almost entirely renovated in its interior; and by the opening of four new windows in the north wall and two in the east gable, and by alterations on the windows of the gables and south wall, the exterior was greatly improved, and the building made to partake more of an ecclesiastical character. The doors in the south side of the Church were removed, and a new and handsomely-moulded doorway, with interior porch, inserted in the west wall. The gallery was taken out, and a new one erected in the west end.



Yours truly
Jas. Campbell

A new pulpit was placed in the east end of the Church, of handsome design, with elaborate back, having panels on each side containing appropriate texts. On both sides of the pulpit were inserted beautiful stained glass windows. The square-headed window in the east gable was made a round one, and filled with ornate tinted glass in geometrical patterns. The other windows throughout the Church were filled with tinted cathedral glass, and in the principal ones tracery was inserted. A room to serve for a vestry and Session-house, with heating chamber below, was added to the north of the Church, and connected with it by a short passage. The ceiling of the Church, which was showing signs of weakness, was strengthened by a frame-work placed below the plaster line, and advantage was taken of the need of this to make the roof in geometrical patterns, with handsome drops and bosses at the intersection of the timbers. The plaster spaces in the ceiling were coloured blue, and the timbers, with all the other wood-work in the Church, were stained dark oak and varnished. Two passages were made to extend from the porch at the west end to the pulpit platform at the other end of the Church. The pews were formed on the most approved pattern, and of lengths convenient for allocation. The bell, which was formerly rung from the gravelled walk outside of the west gable, was now made to work from a chamber in the wall over the main doorway. The heating was effected by hot-water pipes. A communion table and font, and a chair, after beautiful designs by the architects, were placed on the platform in front of the pulpit; and two rows of lamps, supported by elegant wooden pillars, made the Church available for evening meetings. Since these alterations were made, most of the other churches in the North of Fife have been greatly improved and decorated.

In 1887, was commenced the erection of a Hall, for the Sunday school and other purposes, on the north side of the vestry of the Church. In commemoration of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria—the 21st of June in that year—the Sunday

scholars, during an entertainment at the Manse on that day, marched in procession, and carrying flags, to the site of the future Hall, and, supplied with the necessary tools, dug out the turf where its walls were to be founded. The building was commenced soon after, and was completed in the following spring. It was seated for 210 persons, and its windows were filled with stained glass. The architects of the Hall—as well as of the Church improvements—were Messrs. C. & L. Ower of Dundee; and its external appearance, and interior arrangements and decorations, are marked by the excellent taste characteristic of that firm. The Hall has proved of great advantage in various ways.

PART IV

HISTORY OF THE LANDED PROPRIETORS

CHAPTER I

THE LAIRDS OF NAUGHTON

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 68)

‘Behold, behold, from out the shadowy Past
Our Scottish fathers start! They start, they come
With onward eyes, around their lifted heads
A troubled glory, as they fight and sing
Their stormful way across the stage of time!’

—AIRD.

§ 1. THE HAYS (FIRST FAMILY).

WE have seen that in the twelfth century Naughton was in the possession of a family of the name of De Lasceles, and that Robert de Lunden built a tower on Naughton rock. The next family who possessed Naughton was that of the De Hayas, or Hays, who are understood to have been a branch of the Norman De Hayas, one of whom came to England with William the Conqueror, before whose time there were lands and a lordship bearing the name of La Haye in Normandy.

The first Hay of Errol was William de Haya, who died in the year 1190. His third son was ‘JOHN DE HAYA OF ADNACHTAN,’ who married Juliana de Lasceles, and, along with her, bestowed on the Abbey of Lindores their right—probably that of superiority—in a toft in Perth which Alan de Lasceles had sold to Teodoric, the dyer there.¹ After his wife’s death John de Haya gave, as we have seen, for the weal of her soul, and with the consent of Peter his son and heir, ‘a toft in the territory of Adnachtan, viz. Galuraw,’ and also a yair on

¹ *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries (Scot.)*, vol. xx. p. 156.

the 'water of Tay,' to the Abbey of Cupar-Angus, to which, as well as to Lindores Abbey, donations had been made by other members of the family. There are mentioned in the St. Andrews Priory Register, under the year 1260, 'Alexander, then Constable of Adenauctan,' and 'Hervi of Adnaughtan,' regarding whom we have no farther information. The surname of Hervi, however, was probably Lascels. There were many persons of this name in the parishes of Forgan and Leuchars about that time. There were Lascels at Inverdovat till 1599, when 'Andrew Lessilis' resigned his part of the lands of Inverdovat in favour of James Elphingstoun, uncle of the first Lord Balmerino.

PETER DE HAYA doubtless succeeded his father John as Laird of Naughton. In the St. Andrews Priory Register we find Peter de Haya and (his wife) Margery, daughter of Alan de Lascels, confirming to the Priory the church of Forgrund, the chapel of Atnathan, and the ploughgate of land belonging to the church. Peter de Haya predeceased his wife; and she married, secondly, Sir Richard de Moravia, who also predeceased her. As has been already stated, she in the year 1266, 'in her legitimate widowhood and free power,' confirmed by charter to the Priory the same church, chapel, and ploughgate of land, which her father, Alan de Lascels, had granted to it; and in 1268 her son, Sir Alexander de Moravia, by another charter confirmed that church, chapel, and land to the Priory. Sir Alexander appears to have possessed and lived at Newton in Forgan parish, for in 1281 he grants, 'in his full court' there, an acre of land at Segy to the Priory, as an addition to the land at that place which Duncan de Lascels, his mother's uncle, had previously given to it. His charter was witnessed by 'John de Haya of Adenauthan,' apparently the second of that name, who is said to have been the second son of Sir Gilbert de Haya of Errol, grandson of William the founder of the latter family.

It may be here mentioned that the last notice we have of

the chapel of Naughton in the St. Andrews Priory Register is in the year 1269, when Bishop Gamelin grants the revenues of the church of Forgan, with its chapel of Naughton and ploughgate of land, 'for the perpetual upholding' of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrews, on the retirement or death of Hugo de Strivelin the rector of Forgan; but reserving the stipend of the vicar who, on his presentation by the canons of the Priory, was to serve the cure, and be subject to the bishop *in spiritualibus*.

There can be little doubt that the Hays acquired Naughton, in whole or in part, by the marriage of one of them with a lady of the Lasecles family; but the existing records do not enable us to determine precisely the time when, or the person through whom the acquisition was made. Connected with these questions is the fact, that—apparently in the thirteenth century—the estate of Naughton was divided between two portioners, from whom respectively one-half of it was inherited by the Hays, and the other half by the De Moravias, or Murrays. The latter family resided, as above stated, at Newton, which seems to have been originally included in Naughton estate; and in all probability the place first received the name of Newton when it became the seat of the Murrays at the division of the property. In a Crown charter concerning the lands of Segy granted to Sir Peter Crichton and his wife Jonet Hay, heiress of Naughton, in 1513, the latter is stated to have been 'the descendant and heiress of the senior portioner (*portionarii*) of Naughton.'¹ Who this portioner was, or when he lived, the scanty records which have come down to us do not indicate; but he must have been either a De Lasecles or a De Haya, and the junior portioner a De Moravia. The division of the property probably resulted in some way from the fact that Margery de Lasecles was successively connected by marriage with both of the latter families.

¹ *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. ii. No. 382S.

Of that half of the original estate of Naughton which fell to the Hays, the lands in the immediate vicinity of Naughton tower, including Wormit, were possessed by them alone. Of the other half, Newton, Woodhaven (otherwise called the forest of Gilface), and Balledmonth (situated east of the old church of Forgan), belonged solely to the Murrays. Of the remaining lands, those of Segy, Sandford,¹ and Inverdovat were divided between the two families, and most of such of the lands as are in the present parish of Forgan were in course of time feued to other parties. Caldhome, Little Friarton, Inverdovat-Leighton, and Sandford-Hay (afterwards possessed by the Walkers) were in the Hays' portion; while Inverdovat-Lessels, Laveroklaw, Sandford-Nairn, and the boat and ferry of Sea-mylnes (at Newport) were in the Murrays' portion. To the latter family also belonged the advowson or patronage of the chapel of St. Thomas of Sea-mylnes; and for the sustentation of a perpetual chaplain to it, ten merks of annual-rent from the fares of the ferry-boat appear to have been appropriated. Forty pence from the same revenue was paid annually to the Archbishop of St. Andrews.²

The Murrays of Newton acquired also Colbin in Morayshire, and Skelbol in Sutherlandshire. In the early part of the fifteenth century Thomas Kynnard of that Ilk, in the Carse of Gowrie, acquired these estates, and also 'the half of the barony of Nachtane' by marrying Egedia de Moravia, the heiress of them. Of this half of Naughton barony such portions, either in property or in superiority, as had not been previously alienated remained in the possession of the Kinnaids till the year 1618, when, along with the barony of

¹ Now St. Fort. As early as the year 1652 the name is written *Sanctfoord*. When, if ever, or where such a saint lived does not appear. Another Sandford, long in the possession of the Duddingstones, is situated between Elie and Earlsferry.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. ii. Nos. 238, 1502. The common ferry-boat between the Sey-mills on the Tay and the burgh of Dundee is mentioned in a charter of the year 1440, and doubtless existed long before that date.

Kinnaird, in which they had been incorporated, they were resigned by the Kinnairds to the Livingstones, who became Earls of Newburgh, in Aberdeenshire, in course of the same century.

We now return to the Hays of Naughton.

JOHN DE HAYA, who, as we have seen, witnessed a charter in 1281, appears to have been the second Laird of that name. How he acquired Naughton is not recorded.

WILLIAM DE HAYA was doubtless his successor, who on the 17th of June 1292 swore fealty at Dunfermline to Edward I. of England.¹

William's immediate successor was in all probability 'JOHN DE HAYA of Achnawchtane,' who served on a jury at Cupar in 1312 to determine the rights of the Constable of Crail.² His renunciation, between 1328 and 1332, of a piece of ground, situated west of Gauldry, to the monks of Balmerino has already been noticed.³ He was alive in 1362.

NICHOLAS HAY was the next Laird of Naughton, of whom nothing more is known than that his name occurs in the year 1394.

SIR WILLIAM HAY was the successor of Nicholas. He witnessed two charters in 1406 and 1406-7 respectively. He was a famous man in his day, and had the honour of having his exploits celebrated by two of our ancient Scottish poets, and also by an old French chronicler. Wynton, who was contemporary with our hero, thus mentions him, in his *Cronykil of Scotland*, amongst those Scotsmen who fought in Flanders under Alexander, Earl of Mar:—

‘ Lord of the Nachtane, Schire William,
Ane honest knycht and of gud fame,
A travalit knycht lang before than.’

The poet afterwards represents him, when about to commence

¹ Nisbet's *Heraldry*; Appendix.

² *Historical MSS. Commission*, Fifth Report. p. 626.

³ See page 194.

an engagement, as conferring the honour of knighthood on Gilbert Hay:—

‘ The Lord of Nachtane, Schire William
The Hay, a knycht than of gude fame,
Mad[e] Schire Gilbert, the Hay, knycht.’

According to another reading of the last line, however, Gilbert was already a knight.¹

The French chronicler, in describing the battle of Liège, which was fought in September 1407, thus notices Sir William and Sir Gilbert Hay, amongst those who took part with the Earl of Mar in that engagement—

‘ De ceux qui là furent venu,
Des nobles Escossois ye fu
En cestuy jour, que bien le seçay,
Lors messire Guillaume Hay ;
Messire Jacques Scringour
Fu en la bataille ce jour.

De Hay Sire Guillebert
Fut ce jour en armes appert,
Com bon et hardi combattant.’²

Under the slight disguise of ‘Scringour’ the reader will easily recognize Sir James Scrymgeour, Constable of Dundee, who is also mentioned by Wynton. He was an ancestor of the Scrymgeour-Wedderburns of Birkhill.

The other Scottish poet who mentions Sir William Hay—placing him among the popular heroes of romance—is Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, the celebrated translator of Virgil’s *Æneid* into Scottish verse. In his *Palace of Honour*, a poem written about the year 1501, the author, in a vision, finds himself in a wilderness, where he sees various troops of persons

¹ See Laing’s ed. of *Wynton’s Chronicle*, vol. iii. p. 112.

² Francisque Michel’s *Les Écossais en France—Les Français en Écosse*, vol. i. pp. 110, 111. M. Michel does not give the chronicler’s name. See also Burton’s *Scot Abroad*, vol. i. pp. 65–6.

travelling to the Palace of Honour. Joining himself to the train of the Muses, he proceeds in their company to that happy place. After he has gained a view of the Palace, which is 'planeist with plesance like to Paradice,' and has beheld within its gates many stately tournaments and deeds of arms performed by knights 'for thair ladyis saikis,' his attendant nymph conveys him to a garden, where he beholds Venus seated on a gorgeous throne, with 'ane fair mirrouer quentlie upborne' before her; and in this mirror he sees shadowed forth the great events in the history of the universe, and the most celebrated characters both Scriptural and classical. Amongst other personages, says the poet,

'I saw Raf Coilzear with his thrawin brow,
 Crabit Johne the Reif, and auld Cowkilbeis sow,
 And how the wran cam out of Ailesay,
 And Piers Plewman, that maid his workmen few,
 Greit Gowmakmorne, and Fyn Makeowl, and how
 They suld be goddis in Ireland, as they say,
 Thair saw I Maitland upon auld Beird Gray;
 Robene Hude, and Gilbert with the quhite hand,
 How Hay of Naughton flew in Madin land.'

Sir Walter Scott's opinion that *flew* in the last line is an error for *slew* is doubtless correct. He conjectures that *Madin* is a corruption of *Maylin*, or Milan; but Small's suggestion seems preferable, that it probably means France—the land of Joan of Arc. *Upon auld Beird Gray* should perhaps be *with his auld beird gray*. Of some of the other words there are different readings. The whole stanza refers to the subjects of ancient popular ballads or poems.¹

The Naughton charter-chest contains a very curious document, which has been already printed in the Second Series of Maidment's *Analecta Scotica*, referring to a proposed marriage

¹ See Small's edition of the *Works of Gavin Douglas*, vol. i. pp. 65, 141-3; and Notes on the ballad of 'Auld Maitland' in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*.

between David Hay, the son of Sir William, and Alison Murray, daughter of Mary Murray the wife of Alan Kinnaird of that ilk. The document is interesting, not only as throwing light on the state of society, but as presenting a good specimen of Scottish prose, at that early period. It is coeval with Wynton's Chronicle in verse. The original is written on vellum. The seals are wanting. Below, it is given entire, according to Maidment's transcript. The words indicated by dots only are effaced by damp.

Indenture

BETWIXT SIR WILLIAM THE HAY AND ALAN OF KINARDE AND
DAME MARY OF MURRAY HIS WIFE, 7TH DECEMBER 1420.

'THIS indentur, made at Dundee, the sevint day of Decembir, the zheir of our lorde a thouzand and four hundred and twenti, beris witnes, that it is accordit betwix nobil and worthi men, Sir William the Hay, Knycht, Lorde of the Nauchtane, on the ta parte, and Alane of Kynmarde, Lord of that Ilke, and a nobil lady, Dame Mary of Murray, his wyfe, on the tother pairt, in maner and condiciounis vndir writtin; that is to say, that the said Dame Mary hass freli delyuerit to the said Sir Williame, for a certane tretty betwix thaim made, hir douchter Alisoun of Murray, to be maryit with Davy the Hay, son and air to the said Sir Williame; and gif it hapnis, as God forbeid, the said Davy to discesse, the forsaid mariage nocht fulfillit, the said Sir Williame sal mary the said Alisoun with ane vthir son of his, and his air:¹ and gif it hapnis ony of the forsaid sonnys and air to discesse, or nocht to consent to mary the said Alisoun, the said Sir Williame sal mary hir, in greabil place, with the counsale of Sir Williame Lindezai, Sir Walter Lindezai, Wat of Ogilby, and Jone Skrymgeour, Constabil of Dundee, thai beand

¹ 'A singular proof how little regard was paid to the objections of the fair sex in those rude days. If one brother did not fancy her, she was, without ceremony, to be turned over to the next. She, on the contrary, had no power of refusal, however much she might dislike the intended spouse.'—(*Maidment's Note*).

oblist, leli and treuli, to furthir the said Sir Williame til his perfyte [aige?] for the said mariage: Alsua baith the forsaid partis ar oblyst to be evinlyke in the departing of the landis pertenand to the said Alisoun and hir sistris: and gif ony debate hapnis thareapon, thai sal be submittit to the said Sir Williame Lindezai, Sir Walter Lindezai, Wat of Ogilby, and Jone Skrymgeour, and vndirly thair ordinance thareapon, bot any obstakil in the contrare: And gif it hapnis ony of thir forsaid men to failyhe, as God forbaid, thai sal tak sic lyke men in thair sted als . . . and als oft as nedis: Alsua the forsaid Alane of Kynnarde and Dame Mary his wyfe, ar oblist to the said Sir Williame that nane of thaim sal . . . ger tret na thole to be tretit, als fer as thai may leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle, Isabel, the douchter of the said Dame Mary, to mak . . . of ony parte of hir heritage fra the richtwiss airis; and in the lyke maner, the said Sir Williame is oblist that he sal nocht trete the forsaid [Alisoun?] of Murray, na ger trete, na thole to be tretit, als fer as he may leli and treuli, but fraude or gyle, noithir in virginite na viduite, til . . . ony parte of hir heritage fra the rightwiss airis, and to this bathe the partis ar oblist, vndir gude faith: Alsua the forsaid Sir Williame . . . in keping and gouernaunce al the landis that pertenis to the said Isabel of Murray, ay qwill scho be recouerit of hir seiknes or dede . . . and til him the thrid part, and asisthand till hir, ilke zheir, the twa partis of al the fruytis and profitis of hir said landis durand the tyme befor . . . Alsua the said Sir Williame is oblist to do for the landis that pertenis to Thomas of Kynnarde and his wyfe, Gilis of Murray, aness the [recou]erying of thaim at his gudli powar, as he dois for the landis that pertenis to the said Alisoun of Murray, but fraude; and the said Alane oblissis him and his airis til assithe to the said Sir Williame half al the costis that he makis for the said Thomas of Kynnarde and Gilis his wyfe, and the said Alisoun and the landis pertenand to thaim, leli aud treuli but fraude or gyle; and at al thir conditiounis befor writtin be kepit leli and treuli, but fraud or gyle, bath the partis ar oblyst, ilk ane til vthir vndir gude faith: And to the mare witnes of suthfastnes, the selis of the said Williame and Alane to the partis of this indentur, ar entirchangiabli to put, the zheir, day, moneth, and place, befor writtin.'

The following words are inscribed under the four projecting portions of the indenture :—

- (1) Gratia plena, Dominus tecum.
- (2) Benedicta tu in Mulieribus.
- (3) Et Benedictus fructus ventris.
- (4) Cui Ihesu Criste. Amen.

Sir William Hay possessed also the lands and barony of Muirtown and Ardblair, near Blairgowrie. In 1423 he alienated these lands in favour of William Blair of Mulyne in Perthshire.

In May 1461, Robert Liddale of Balmure and Creich granted to John de Hay, son of Sir William de Hay of Naughton, and to Elisabeth his spouse, a charter of half of the lands of Creich.

DAVID—the ‘DAVY THE HAY’—above mentioned, succeeded his father Sir William. Whether he married Alisoun of Murray or not does not appear; but it is certain that he did marry other two ladies. In 1440 ‘David de Haya of Nachtane’ and his spouse Catherine resigned into the King’s hands the lands of Wormot in the barony of Nachtane, with its mill,¹ for a new gift of them to himself and his wife. He subsequently married Isobel, daughter of Sir Thomas Wemyss of Rires, who, after David Hay’s death, became the wife of David Boswell of Balmuto. She was alive in 1491, and enjoyed an annuity of 20 merks payable from the customs of Dundee, which pertained to her by the decease of her first husband.²

SIR JAMES HAY was served heir to his father David in 1470. It was probably this Laird whose brother was Provost of Dundee, and is the subject of the following story :—‘John Bethune,

¹ In Blaen’s Atlas (1662) a loch or sheet of water is placed at Wormit, but it is perhaps only the mill-dam that is meant.

² *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes, 1478-1495.*

son of David, and second Laird of Creich and Nether Rives, remained at home looking after the interests of the estate, while his father was engaged in his political duties. He had often occasion to be in Dundee, and became intimate with the young Constable [Scrymgeour]. The Provost at that time was John Hay, a brother of the Laird of Naughton, a rich man, who kept a change, which was frequented by the two young men. Hay had a fair daughter, with whom they both fell in love; and Bethune, being the favoured suitor, succeeded, with the assistance of the Constable, in carrying off the lady, together with a cabinet containing 6000 merks in gold. They made their way to St. Andrews, when Bethune, after placing her in the best inn, with the Constable and his friends, went quietly to his uncle the Archbishop, who returned with him to the inn, saw the lady and the gold, and, sending for a priest, had them married on the spot. He also wrote to the old Laird, communicating the history of the adventure, with which he was well pleased. It is said that the Bethunes were a race of dark complexion, but that after this marriage the Bethunes of Creich were ever fair-haired and beautiful.¹

Sir James Hay had a son who is mentioned in 1495 as 'Sir William the Hay, knyght, of Nachtane,' but who probably predeceased his father; and a daughter Jonet, on whom the property afterwards devolved. In 1494 he granted an obligation for marrying his daughter Jonet to Sir Peter Crichton. Sir James died before the 8th of April 1513. In that year Jonet was served heiress to her father; and this family of Hays, after three hundred years' possession of Naughton, became extinct in the direct male line.²

¹ Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, p. 47. The story is derived from Martine of Clermont's Genealogical Collections in the Advocates' Library. There is a difficulty as to the date, James Beaton not having been Archbishop of St. Andrews till after the death of David Beaton of Creich. But he was Archbishop of Glasgow, and might have been at St. Andrews, at the time referred to.

² See Appendix, No. XXVI., § 2.

§ 2. THE CRICHTONS AND BALFOURS OF NAUGHTON

SIR PETER CRICHTON and his wife JONET HAY obtained in 1517 a Crown charter confirming to them the half of the barony of Naughton, with the tower, fortalice, &c. Crichton had been Master of the Wardrobe to King James III., and was descended from Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James II. In 1524, the name of Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton occurs amongst those of the Scottish lords who signed the engagement to Queen Margaret, widow of James IV. In 1529, Sir Peter and his wife sold Naughton to David, son of 'his late brother Sir Patrick Crichton, of Cranstoun-Riddel,' reserving to himself free possession; and the charter, which was confirmed under the Great Seal, was signed by Sir Peter for himself, and by a notary having the mandate of his wife Jonet, who 'did not know how to write' (*nescientis scribere*). In the same year James V. executed a precept declaring that the estate was redeemable on payment of certain sums. As Sir Peter continued to be designed of Naughton, it may be presumed that he redeemed it. In January 1530-31, David Gardin of Newton sold to Sir Peter Crichton and Jonet Hay his wife in liferent, and to David Crichton, son of Sir Peter's brother Sir Patrick, in fee, the lands of Easter Newton. The *reddendo* from these lands included an annual-rent of 14s. payable to Lord St. John of Torphichen and his successors. From this and other evidence it appears that there were Temple or Hospital lands at Newton. In 1312 the Templars were suppressed, as an Order, for their alleged crimes, and their possessions, which were very numerous in Scotland, were transferred to the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John. The Hospital or Preceptory of Torphichen was the chief residence of the Knights in Scotland. After the Reformation, the estates of the Templars and Hospitallers were conferred on the last Preceptor of Torphichen, Sir James Sandilands, and he was raised to the Peerage under the title of Lord Torphichen.

There were Temple or Hospital lands at Lochmalony, and a well there was called St. John's Well. There is also a St. John's Well near Naughton, about forty yards south of the public road from Wormit to Balmerino, and in the same field as the Lady Well, so called because dedicated to the Virgin. The latter well supplies Naughton House with water.

In 1539, Sir Peter Crichton acquired Cathills in feu from Balmerino Abbey. As Knight-Captain of Edinburgh Castle, he refused in 1543 to deliver that fortress to the Regent Arran, when the young Queen Mary was being carried from Linlithgow to Stirling. Arran, however, forcibly got possession of the Castle, and appointed another Captain. In 1546, Sir Peter, along with several Fife gentlemen, warmly espoused the cause of the conspirators in the Castle of St. Andrews, for which they were threatened by Arran with death or imprisonment if the Castle was not surrendered.¹

Sir Peter had a brother, George Crichton, who was a fellow-student of the poet Dunbar at St. Andrews, and took his Master's degree in 1479. He afterwards became Abbot of Holyrood. Thence he was promoted to the Bishopric of Dunkeld, which he held from 1524 to 1543. He is described by Spottiswoode as a man 'nobly disposed, and a great house-keeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled.' In 1528 he formed one of the court of Bishops and Abbots who tried and condemned Patrick Hamilton at St. Andrews for heresy—the first martyr to Protestant principles in Scotland. Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, who was of the family of Forret in Logie parish, was also cited to appear before Bishop Crichton, on the charge of preaching to his parishioners every Sunday on the Epistle or Gospel for the day. The Bishop, in a spirit of kindness, endeavoured to persuade the vicar to abandon this and other praiseworthy, though in his eyes

¹ See a paper emanating from them, which is printed in Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 366; also Lesley's *History*.

objectionable practices, but without effect. In the course of his examination the Bishop said to him, 'I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was, therefore I will know nothing but my Portous [Breviary] and my Pontifical'; from which words there arose a proverb long current in Scotland, 'You are like the Bishop of Dunkeld, that knew neither the New Law nor the Eld.'¹ The whole of the curious dialogue which took place between them may be seen in the Appendix to the first volume of Laing's edition of the Works of John Knox, as extracted from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. The result of the trial was, that Forret, with several others, suffered death at the stake, on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, in 1539. Knox informs us that one Wilson, servant of Bishop Crichton, made 'a despitiful railing ballad against the preachers, and against the Governor,' for which he narrowly escaped hanging. The church of St. Stephen's in St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, possesses a Lectern of brass, 5 feet 7 inches in height, bearing the inscription,

Georgius + Crichtoun + Episcopus + Dunkeldensis.

This Lectern is believed to have been presented by him to the Abbey Church of Holyrood, and to have been carried off to England in 1544, during the Earl of Hertford's invasion of Scotland.² This Bishop founded a Hospital and chapel, known as the 'Maison Dieu,' on the south side of the High Street of Edinburgh. He also founded St. Thomas's Hospital at Abbeyhill in the same city, and entailed the patronage of it on several persons of the name of Crichton, kinsmen of his own; the first in the substitution being his brother, Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton, and the second, Bishop Robert Crichton. He died in 1543.³

¹ According to Spottiswoode, 'He thanked God that he knew neither the Old nor the New Testaments, and yet had prospered well enough all his days.'

² *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. xiii. p. 289, where an engraving of the Lectern may be seen.

³ Tytler's *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, second edition, p. 13.

This Robert Crichton, also Bishop of Dunkeld, and nephew of Bishop George Crichton, was most probably a son of Sir Peter Crichton of Naughton. He had previously been Provost of St. Giles's, Edinburgh. When he saw the Reformation approaching, he managed to preserve his lands and Castle of Clunie, in the Stormount, Perthshire, for his family, by conveying them, on certain conditions, to his kinsman, Robert Crichton of Ellicock, Lord-Advocate, and father of the Admirable Crichton.¹

DAVID CRICHTON, nephew of Sir Peter, appears to have succeeded him as Laird of Naughton. He married Lady Janet Leslie, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes. In 1542, he had been appointed Captain and Keeper of Edinburgh Castle during his lifetime, and had 400 merks assigned to him annually for that office.² But this may have been only a prospective appointment as his uncle's successor, if, as alleged Governor of the Castle, he has not been confounded with his uncle.³

In 1553, Queen Mary made a gift of the non-entry of Naughton to David Panter, Bishop of Ross, a man of great learning, and frequently employed in public negotiations both at home and abroad. It thus appears probable that David Crichton had neglected to enter himself with the superior (the Sovereign) on his accession to the barony, or, as it is otherwise expressed, had failed to renew the investiture—non-entry being the casualty which in such a case fell to the superior, who, in virtue of it, was entitled to the rents of the feu.

WILLIAM CRICHTON, designed of Drylaw in Midlothian, and brother of David, was served heir to him in the barony of Naughton in 1558. He also, as well as some of his predecessors,

¹ Tytler's *Life of the Admirable Crichton*, second edition, p. 19.

² Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*.

³ In 1531 James, son and heir-apparent of James Crichton of Cranston-Riddell, was Captain of Edinburgh Castle.

must have neglected to have himself entered with the superior ;¹ for, on the 1st of November 1562, Queen Mary made to the celebrated but unfortunate Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange a gift of the non-entries of the lands and barony of Naughton for all the bygone years that the same had been in the hands of her Majesty or her predecessors, as superiors thereof, since the decease of Sir William Hay of Naughton, 'or any other last lawful possessor thereof,' or through reduction of any infeftments, or other action past or future, till the lawful entry of the righteous heir, with power to occupy these lands, or set them to tenants.²

If this singular gift to Kirkcaldy had any practical effect, it must have been of brief duration ; for on the 8th of July of the following year—1563—William Crichton sold the barony of Naughton to Alexander, his eldest son, reserving to himself free possession ; and in the same year Queen Mary confirmed the transaction, and no mention of non-entry is made in her charter. William Crichton, however, lived long afterwards.

ALEXANDER CRICHTON of Drylaw and Naughton, and his relative, Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, were warm partizans of Queen Mary, and joined those who, under Kirkcaldy of Grange, held Edinburgh Castle in her interest, and were hence called Castilians. In 1570, Drylaw was the leader of a band of Castilians who, sallying out of the Castle, forcibly rescued one of their friends that was then imprisoned in the Tolbooth for a murder in which he had taken part. On the decline of the Queen's affairs in 1571, Drylaw, with the Bishop of Dunkeld, three sons of Balfour of Mountquhany, David Seaton of Parbrothe, and many others of her party had their estates forfeited. But remaining still faithful to the Queen's interests, they fell into the hands of the opposite party in 1573, when the Castle was taken. Kirkcaldy himself was executed. Most

¹ Segy was in non-entry for fifty years previous to 1513 (*Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. ii. No. 3828).

² *Reg. Secret. Consil.*, vol. xxxi. fol. 52.

of the others, including Bishop Crichton, were sent prisoners to Blackness Castle. Alexander Crichton of Drylaw was imprisoned, probably in the same fortress. He was, however, afterwards liberated.¹ In 1592, Parliament ratified a pension, given by 'the late Robert Crichton,' Bishop of Dunkeld, to David, son of Alexander Crichton of Naughton, of £60 out of the barony of Boncle and Preston in Berwickshire, during David's lifetime.

In May 1572, the barony of Naughton and the estate of Drylaw, which had fallen to the King by the forfeiture of Alexander Crichton, were granted to GEORGE DOUGLAS, Com-mendator of Arbroath Abbey.² This notorious person, who was a natural son of Archibald, Earl of Angus, was one of the chief agents in the murder of David Rizzio, to whom he gave the first blow by striking him over the Queen's shoulder. It appears that Rizzio was not actually slain in Mary's presence, but outside of her chamber; but Douglas is said to have finished the business by snatching from its sheath the dagger of Darnley—whose heart then failed him—and plunging it into the mangled corpse, exclaiming at the same time, 'This is the blow of the King'; his object in so doing being to draw attention to Darnley's complicity in the assassination, lest he should afterwards deny it. Douglas had previously proposed to Darnley that they should drown the Italian, while the three were engaged in fishing on a lake.³ In February 1573-4, he was appointed Bishop of Moray.

In December 1574, Bishop Douglas having resigned Naughton and Drylaw in favour of Alexander Crichton, the latter obtained a charter of both under the Great Seal. The charter styles Crichton 'apparent of Drylaw,' which indicates that his father William was still alive; and it confers, as do other charters already mentioned, the power of 'pit and gallows' as

¹ Calderwood, vol. iii. pp. 21, 137; Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*.

² *Reg. Sigill. Mag.*, vol. iv. No. 2052.

³ Miss Strickland's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots*.

well as other ancient baronial rights. One of the witnesses to it is the celebrated George Buchanan, as Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1582, Alexander Crichton was one of the executors of the will of the father of the Admirable Crichton. In 1587, Alexander Crichton of Drylaw and Archibald Douglas of Stanypath were tried in Edinburgh for 'contravening of our Soverane Lordis Proclamation in abyding fra the Raid appointed to follow our soverane lord to Dumfries upon the ferd of April' of the preceding year. Absence from the *raid* or *array*, on the part of those who were bound to give suit and military service, pointed them out as disaffected. Crichton was proved to have been in the north—probably at Naughton—and was absolved. Douglas was desired by the Earl of Angus to be 'repledged' to Dalkeith; but the result in his case is not stated.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, there appears to have existed between Alexander Crichton, heir-apparent of Naughton, and James Jack in Wormit, some unexplained feud, in which their respective friends were also concerned. James Crichton, heir-apparent of Fren draucht, became cautioner on behalf of Alexander Crichton for 1000 merks; and on behalf of Hary Balfour of Carpully, and Michael Hutton in Byrehills, for 300 merks each, that they would not harm James Jack. On the other hand, Sir George Ogilvie of Dunlugus became cautioner for Michael, John, and Robert Ramsay, brothers-in-law of Jack, for 500 merks each; and Michael Ramsay of Forth [St. Fort?] on behalf of Jack for 200 merks; that they would not harm Crichton, Balfour, and Hutton.¹

The estate of Naughton having become burdened with debt to the amount of 17,955 merks, Alexander Crichton, in 1592 and 1594, sold to DAVID BALFOUR OF BALLEDMONTH the lands of Byrehills, Kirkhills, Cathills, Wormit, with their fishings, and various other lands of the barony of Naughton

¹ *Reg. Privy Council*, vol. v. p. 632; *Acts of Caution*.

in the present parish of Forgan. Several of these subjects had been previously mortgaged by Alexander Crichton and his father to David Balfour's father, and to David himself, whose wife, Catherine Crichton, was probably of the family of Naughton. The sum received for the portions thus alienated was 21,995 merks, which left to Crichton 4000 merks more than the amount of his debts to Balfour and other creditors.

SIR ANDREW BALFOUR, son of David Balfour of Balledmonth, obtained in 1597 a Crown charter confirming to him the lands just mentioned, together with those of Balledmonth and various other properties in Forgan parish, which his father had granted to him; all which were at the same time incorporated in one 'free tenandry,' to be called 'the tenandry of Balledmonth.'

LUDOVIC CRICHTON, *fiar*¹ of Naughton, son of Alexander Crichton who was still alive, obtained in 1601 a Crown charter confirming to him the remaining lands of Naughton, viz. the fortalice, manor-place, dovecot, and Mains of Naughton, Brownhills, Gallowhills, Galray, Skur, and Kilburns, with the superiority of Segy and Sandford-Hay;² and incorporating all these in a 'free tenandry,' to be called 'the tenandry of Naughton.'

In 1606, Patrick Crichton, M.A., brother of this Ludovic Crichton, was presented to the church of Forgan; but as his settlement was not carried out, he was presented to the church of Ruthven in 1609, and admitted there.

In 1612, Sir Andrew Balfour, with consent of David Balfour his father, sold the lands of Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills, with salmon fishings, to PETER HAY OF NETHER DURDIE in Kilspindie parish; 'reserving to himself seven acres near the Wormit-mylne.'

In 1615, Ludovic Crichton alienated the Mains of Naughton

¹ *Fiar*, the eldest son and heir of the Laird.

² The property of Sandford-Hay was afterwards acquired by Alexander Walker (and called Sandford-Walker) in whose family it belonged in 1695, and till it was purchased by Mr. Stewart of St. Fort, about the middle of last century.

to James Ramsay of Corstoun; and in 1621, with consent of Ludovic Crichton his eldest son, the same James Ramsay, Sir James Crichton of Boddamcraig, and other curators and creditors, he sold to Peter Hay of Nether Durdie all the lands and superiorities forming the 'tenandry' of Naughton. In the same year George, eldest son of Peter Hay, obtained confirmation by the Crown of a charter, then granted to him by his father, of Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills, with fishings, which he had purchased from Balfour of Balledmonth; and thus the whole of that portion of the ancient barony of Naughton which was afterwards—in 1650—annexed to the parish of Balmerino was now re-united, and possessed by this new family of Hays.¹

§ 3. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON (SECOND FAMILY).

PETER HAY of Naughton was the elder son of George Hay of Ross, a branch of the Hays of Megginch, who were descended, through the Hays of Leys, from the family of Errol.

In 1600, Peter Hay, for his services on the occasion of the Gowrie conspiracy, when 'he put his own life in peril for the King's preservation,' obtained from his Majesty (James VI.) a charter of the lands of Nether Durdie, which had fallen to the King by the forfeiture of the Earl of Gowrie. In 1621, he resigned these lands in favour of Alexander Lyndsay, Bishop of Dunkeld. In 1617, he purchased the lands of Nether Frierton in the barony of Drumduff, Fifeshire, which the King confirmed to him and his son Peter in 1643. In the latter year the same persons obtained a Crown charter of the barony of Blebo, previously possessed by Sir William Murray, Baronet. This estate Peter Hay, junior, sold in 1649 to Andrew Beaton, brother of John Beaton of Balfour. James Hay, another son of Peter Hay of Naughton, acquired in 1646 the extensive estate of Dairsie, and in 1647 the barony of Forrett. In 1649, he resigned

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI., § 3 and § 4.

Forrett to his brother Peter Hay. In the following year Peter Hay of Forrett appeared before the Presbytery of Cupar, and acknowledged his sorrow for being a Ritmaster (Captain of horse) 'in the late sinfull Engagement.' He was appointed to make public declaration of his repentance in Logie church.

In addition to the lands of Naughton, as already specified, Peter Hay acquired various lands in the original parish of Balmerino, which had belonged to the Abbey. In 1621 he purchased the eastern half of Newgrange (now Fincraigs) 'excepting 12 acres called Bandene (Ballindean) of old occupied by Paul Stirk'; the half of Clekkannyscleuche and Battlelaw; 6 acres in Cultra; the half of outfield of Byres; 13 acres of Bangove; 3 acres in Harlands; 16 acres of Dochrone; and 1 acre in Woodflat. Before 1631, he acquired also '4 oxgates of arable land of the north part of the manor of Balmerino,' called North Kirkton.

Peter Hay was a man of no small celebrity in his day. He took a keen interest in the ecclesiastical and political questions which then agitated the country, and twice appeared as an author. His first work (which extends to 306 pages, small quarto) was published in London in 1616, and is entitled—

‘A VISION OF BALAAM’S ASSE.

Wherein hee did perfectly see the present estate of the Church of Rome. *Written by Peter Hay Gentleman of North Britaine,*¹ for the reformation of his Countrymen. Specially of that truly *noble and sincere Lord, FRANCIS, Earle of ERROL, Lord HAY, and Great Constable of SCOTLAND.*'

The book is dedicated to George Abbots, Archbishop of Canterbury; but prefixed to it is a long address to King James,

¹ There is ample internal evidence that the author of this book was the same Peter Hay who wrote the *First Blast of the Trumpet* noticed below, in which he designs himself of Naughton.

explaining why it was not dedicated to him. From this work we learn something of Peter Hay's early history. Like the head of his family, Lord Errol, he had been bred a Roman Catholic. But as 'Plato and other philosophers had travelled over the world to acquire natural knowledge, he thought it both ignominious and dangerous for him, if he should not pain himself to understand the truth of God's worship; whereupon, transported with the fury of this prejudice, and closing his eyes against the splendour of the Word which did shine at home, he resolved once to fine himself *intra limina apostolorum*, within the town of Rome, that pretended mother Church, without the which there was no means of salvation, as then he did imagine.' His travels had been extensive, and as 'in men who have travelled, we do look commonly for some accession of knowledge; for that cause it was, that he who also, among others, had brought the eyes of people upon him in this kind of expectation, did find himself bound by some virtuous discharge, to justify his peregrinations beyond seas, esteemed by many in that season of his age, and in so mean a state as he did possess, to have been untimeous, temerary, perillous, and unprofitable.' A person of worth 'did give this judgment of him, that he had gone abroad the voyage of King Saul, to bring home his father's asses, which bitter insectation, with many such like tempests of men's tongues, he had since (like a true and upright Ass) borne forth with no other armour than patience.' By these reasons and sarcasms, and also by the circumstance that only two 'beasts' are mentioned in Scripture as possessing the faculty of speech—the Serpent and the Ass—he had been induced to write his book and take to himself the name of Ass in the title of it. 'The Serpent (he says) opened his mouth to suborn impiety and rebellion against God; the Ass opened his mouth to reprehend sin in the Prophet. Therefore, seeing it was said that the Serpent was the worst of the beasts, it must be a just consequence that the Ass is the best and most simple of beasts, and most excellent for natural goodness.'

So sincere a Roman Catholic had he been, that, when in France, he had often heard more than twenty masses in one week. In a letter he had written to Lord Errol from Paris, he had praised his own resolution to come forth, like Abraham, that he might worship the Lord truly, and be blessed of Him in a strange land. 'All the while he was in France, his mind was busied in taking pleasure in those exterior shows [of the Romish worship] so gracious to his senses, and never seen of him before, that he took no leisure to lift up the veil which was so delicately painted, that he might see what poisoned and deadly hooks lay hidden under such pleasant baits, reserving his chief curiosity to have her contentment in the famous city of Rome, a place most proper for true discovery, and chiefest theatre of the world for knowledge of things.' The effect of his visit to Rome was, however, the reverse of that which he had anticipated. What he saw there was much worse than anything he had witnessed in France; and the pretended power of working miracles, the Pope's dispensations and indulgences, and the condition of the cloistral life opened his eyes to the true nature of Romanism. Returning through France, he had interviews with the famous Protestant, Casaubon, with whom he had been previously acquainted, and who now still farther exposed to him Rome's opposition to reformation. On his arrival in England, he delivered to King James—whom, of course, he compares to Solomon—some communications with which Casaubon had charged him. The King, 'by his rare and singular wit,' displayed in his table-talk, helped him still farther to a settlement in Reformation principles. Having reached Scotland, and being in Perth, where Errol was then confined, he, with his Lordship, often heard 'that great and divine preacher,' William Coupar, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, who, for Errol's instruction, preached against 'Rome's antiquity, universality, and succession,' which still farther benefited him. 'After this (he says) I went to dwell in Dundee for the space of two whole years, where I did most

diligently hear that excellent preacher, Master David Lyndsay, and his fellow-labourer in the church of that city, in whose worth, I think, doth consist no small part of the happiness thereof.' He likewise studied theology, and at length 'got a sure hold of the thread of God's Word, which is our only guide through this mystical pilgrimage of human follies, of which thread Christ hath left the one end here with us upon earth, in his Word, and hath tied the other upon the gate of heaven, which he did first open.'

Though he was thus led to renounce Romanism, he 'confesses to have been beholden to the Pope's humane and courteous behaviour towards him during his residence within his dominions, and to the true affection of some few of his Cardinals, in whose manners he did see nothing but virtuous conversation.' But to the charge brought against him by some Papists, that he went to Rome '*per fare le spia*, to play the spy, and that he received the Pope's money, and paid him back with false measure at his returning homewards,' he answers, that he received nothing from the Pope except 'medals, beads, *Agnus Deis*, indulgences, and such childish toys and trash, whereof he made small account even then, much less! now. . . . He might have pursued the Pope's money, and would not.'

Besides the account of its author's recantation of Popery, the volume contains an exposure of the 'tyranny of Rome,' a discussion of the question of her reformation or downfall, and a lengthy argument in favour of Episcopal government of the Church, and of the use of ceremonies, vestments, and organs in her worship. Referring to the praise of God by the angelic host, as represented in the book of Revelation, (Chapters iv. xv. and xix.), he says:—'Lo! here we have plainly represented unto us not only singing, and that by repetition again and again, but interchangeable chanting in the Seraphims, in that they are said to cry one to another, Holy, Holy, Holy; which three sacred words, the emblems of the ever-blessed Trinity, when I hear in the *Te Deum*, in the

vulgar tongue, with a point of majestic correspondence gravely and reverently sung in the Cathedral Churches of England, how others are affected I know not; but for myself, methinks the very celestial temple of God is brought down among us, or we in these bodies wrapt up among the seraphims, and bearing parts in the quire of heavenly soldiers. Moreover, unto such vocal singing here is distinctly added the other help of adoring and adorning the heavenly Majesty by instrumental harmony, *the harps*; and they honoured with an attribute, *the harps of God.*' This book, though, like many of the writings of that age, abounding in quaint conceits and whimsical arguments, shows—as does also Peter Hay's other Treatise—that he was a close observer, an able, and sometimes eloquent defender of the opinions he had adopted, and well read in history, and in the classics and Christian fathers. The volume contains also a specimen of its author's powers in Latin composition, being a complimentary inscription to King James in elegiac verse.¹

Some satirical verses were made upon the Vision of Balaam's Asse by a Roman Catholic barrister of London, named Williams, who, as they reflected on King James and his Court, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing Cross for the offence. The verses, which had a wide circulation, were these:—

‘Some seven years since Christ rid to Court,
 And there he left his Ass :
 The Courtiers kicked him out of doors,
 Because they had no grass.²
 The Ass went mourning up and down,
 And thus I heard him bray,
 If that they could not give me grass,
 They might have given me hay :
 But sixteen hundred forty three,
 Whosoe'er shall see that day,
 Will nothing find within that Court,
 But only grass and hay, &c.

¹ See Appendix, No. XII.

² Grace.

‘Which was supposed to happen true in Whitehall, till the soldiers, coming to quarter there, trampled it down.’¹

Peter Hay’s second book (extending to 158 pages, small quarto) was printed by Raban of Aberdeen,² in 1627, its author being then sixty years of age. This volume is entitled—

‘AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SUBJECTS
OF SCOTLAND,

Of the fearfull Dangers threatned to Christian States; And namely, to GREAT BRITANE, by the Ambition of SPAYNE; with a Contemplation, of the truest Meanes, to oppose it. Also, Diverse other TREATISES, Touching the present estate of the KINGDOME OF SCOTLAND; Verie necessarie to bee knowne, and considered, in this Tyme, called

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET.

WRITTEN by PETER HAY, of NAUGHTON, in NORTH-BRITANE.’

The second Title is an imitation of that of a work by KNOX.

This book made a great sensation, and was to have been considered, perhaps condemned, in the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews on the 2nd of October 1627, as may be inferred from the following entry in the Synod minute of that date:— ‘My Lord Archbishop desyred that the purpose concerning Mr. Peter Hay of Naughtoun his buik suld not be mentioned in the publict Synod, and declaired that his Lordship wald not be present if the sam war spoken of.’ Some writers have described the book as offensive to the Archbishop (Spottiswoode), but the opposite is more probably the truth. Row terms Peter Hay ‘a Papist, who was blyth that the Bishops were so risen, and rising to preferment in this cuntry; but

¹ Howell’s *Familiar Letters*, 9 August 1648.

² Raban was a printer from England, who first settled at St. Andrews, and afterwards at Aberdeen, being the earliest printer north of the Grampians. In another specimen of his printing, he is said to have styled himself *Laird of Letters*.

Sir James Balfour of Denmylne more correctly calls him 'a sworn servant of the hierarchy.' One portion of the book, entitled, *Reformation of the Barre and Advocats, how necessarie*, was replied to in verse by David Primrose in an *Apologie for Advocates*. (Edinburgh, 1628, 4to.)¹

Sir James Balfour says that amongst Articles which were brought to Edinburgh, subscribed by the King, dated Wainstaid, 12th of July 1626, one—No. 9—was:—'You shall desyre Mr. Peitter Hay of Naughton to deliver his booke to be perwssed by the Archebischepe of St. Andrewes and you; and quhen you haue reformed suche thinges as you thinke fitting, that you cause putt the same to the presse and publishe it.' Article No. 10 was:—'Ye shall certifie the said Mr. Peitter from ws, that wee haue takin notice of his good seruice done to our laite deire father [presumably in connection with the Gowrie conspiracy, as already noticed] and of his ability and sufficiency to serue ws; and quhen fitting occassione shall offer, wee shall not be forgetfull, bot haue a caire of his preferment. *Sic subscribitur*,

CHARLES REX.'

In this treatise the author writes in a bellicose spirit against Spain, and is very severe on the Protestant states for not resisting her ambitious designs. Owing to changed political conditions, the first part of the book has lost much of its interest; yet it contains not a few graphic passages. Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Germans are described from personal knowledge of their habits and institutions, acquired by the author during his travels. In the latter part of the volume he discusses various questions of home politics in Church and State; and, throughout, praises the virtues of King James in very extravagant terms. As a specimen of the latter portion of the

¹ Both of Peter Hay's works are rare—the *Advertisement to the Subjects of Scotland* excessively so. Dr. David Laing's copy, at the sale of his library in 1879, brought £9; and the same price was paid for another copy of this slim volume at the sale of Mr. Whitefoord Mackenzie's books in 1886. A copy of Primrose's *Apologie for Advocates*, supposed to be unique, at Dr. David Laing's sale brought £32.

book, and as showing how the Reformation in Scotland affected tenant-farmers of Church lands which, like those of Balmerino parish, had been afterwards 'erected' into temporal lordships, the following passages may be quoted, in some parts of which the author had probably his neighbour, the second Lord Balmerino, in his eye:—

'The old Abbot and his convent, anciently following the monastic life, exempted from public offices, or travelling to Court or Session, or any else-where abroad, they were content with the payment of their rental in easiest manner, and oftentimes with less, and did bestow great part thereof in hospitality to the payers; and albeit their poor tenants were obliged to them for service of harriage and carriage, yet they did impeach them no more but once a year to lead in to their cloister, upon the cloistral charges, some fleshes, fishes, and fuel: this was all. But now with the change of the lord, the tenant hath changed the happiness of his poor condition. For why? To speak sincerely, the tyranny of the Papal Abbots was exercised most, in that case, against their King, by spoiling from him the vassalage of his natural subjects; otherwise they were most bountiful, and indulgent to their poor tenants, who now by this change are brought to as pitiful slavery as the Israelites were [in] under Pharaoh. Their lord, he is not a Church-man, nor of the cloistral profession; he hath continual a-do with Court and Session; he hath daily occasion of sending carriages, and bringing from abroad; the basest of his servants must not go a-foot, he must be carried, if it were upon the neck of his poor tenant; he must labour his lord's vineyards, and make his brick, with much hunger in his belly the meanwhile. The King cannot help him, because his lord hath the authority of an heritable court, and is absolute over him; he will not lead his tithes, but still he must have more than the worth in bolls; and when it is so, greater prices than be ordinary; if he have to send through the country his cooks, the poor man must bring his horse from the harrows, albeit the season were never

so fair; and a number of like things, which if they be not presently done, he taketh decreets to himself in his own courts (which no Christian king doeth), and sendeth his officers, to poynd the poor creature with such rigour, that if there were no more in his house but the pot wherein his silly portion of meat is preparing, it must be taken from him; that very sure it is, that Christian people be not so oppressed under the Turk.' And again—'If the nobleman can put a bridle in a gentleman's mouth [as Lord Balmerino could put one in Mr. Peter Hay's!] by any right to his tithes, although he were his nearest kinsman, he can (as every man seeth) command him as his horse. He causeth the poor labourers of the ground to lead his tithes to a milne, perhaps to his barn-yard too, and whereas they were illuded, in the beginning of Reformation of religion in Scotland, and made to believe that they should pay but the fifteenth sheaf, now it [the tenth sheaf] is so rigorously exacted, that if there be a stook ruffled with the weather, or with the beasts, that the tenth-master will not have: he must have the best. And in place to shave the poor man's hair gently, by a violent pull he bringeth with him a portion of his hide.'

This volume contains a specimen of its author's poetical powers in the vernacular, as the other showed his ability in the composition of Latin verse. It is a poem of eighty stanzas, and is entitled *An Heroicke Song in prayses of the Light, most fitting for the Nightes Meditation*. The following are the first five stanzas, the spelling being here, as in the previous extracts, modernized:—

'Now down is gone the stately globe of light
Which Thou, Great God, created'st for the day,
And we are wrapt into the clouds of night,
When sprites of darkness come abroad to prey.

Our body's from its functions releast,
Our senses are surpris'd unto sleep:
To guard our souls, Lord Jesus Christ, make haste,
Deserted thus into a fearful deep.

Keep light into the lantern of our mind,
 For to direct our watching sprite aright :
 That though our foes were all in one combined,
 They may not yet attrap us by their sleight.

Light was the first-born daughter of the Lord,
 Who with her beams did busk and beautify
 The vast chaós, before of God abhorred,
 And made her members lovely, as we see.

Yet is this Light nought but a shallow stream
 Of that above, in glory infinite,
 And so but of His shadow hath the name,
 Who did into that narrow globe confine it.'

Near the conclusion of the poem are the following stanzas, in which the author imagines the several orders of creation harmoniously uniting in celebrating the praises of the Most High:—

'There thou shalt see Christ settled in his throne,
 As golden Phœbus in his silver sphere ;
 Amongst nine choirs of angels, Lord alone ;
 Like planets placed about his royal chair,

Where troops of saints, like stars, do move astray,
 As scaly squadrons sport into the deep :
 So in that Lightsome ocean they play,
 And still an heavenly harmony do keep,

Of music, that can never be expressed ;
 Yet, by a sensible similitude,
 We may imagine that it is addressed
 By four chief parts of men, so understood ;

And that, by several alternatives,
 A mutual and mighty melody,
 One theatre t' another aye derives,
 Sounding the glore of that Great Majesty.

The Alto angels sing, as I suppose,
 Of 'stablished raunk, the foremost stage they fill ;
 To celebrate His Providence they choose,
 And divine names belonging thereuntill.

The Tenor, by the voice of saints, resounds,
 The praises of his sanctity they sing ;
 And this echó from stage to stage rebounds,
 Holy, holy, is our Almighty King.

The Bass is tuned by harmon' of the spheres,
 The sweet consent that we see them among,
 The true charácters of his wisdom bears,
 And learned¹ hold them vocal in their song.

The Hallelu of the Church militant
 Mounts up, to make the Counter Bass perfyte :
 With lofty strains of music resonant,
 His greatness and his mercy they indite.

The subtle alchemist can separate
 The quintessence, and make it to ascend :
 So are the Church prayers alembicate
 By that great Sprite who doth her still defend.'

Peter Hay's conduct towards the second Lord Balmerino in reference to a supplication to King Charles I. which nearly cost that nobleman his life, will be found noticed in the following Chapter.²

Lieutenant-Colonel James Hay, already mentioned as a son of Peter Hay of Naughton, and formerly Laird of Forret, was one of the gentlemen volunteers who were with Montrose at Kirkwall in April 1650; and when Montrose was defeated at Karbester, or Corbiesdale, near Invercarron, Colonel Hay was taken prisoner, and ordered by the Scottish Parliament to be sent in custody to Edinburgh. He must have soon thereafter changed his politics, as Lamont of Newton informs us that in 1654 he, 'a gentleman intimat with the English, and for them, was chosen att Cuper of Fyfe, by the gentrie of Fyfe, for ther comissioner' to the Parliament to be held in London, under Cromwell, in September of that year.

GEORGE HAY, eldest son of Peter Hay, was the next Laird of Naughton. Lamont informs us that in 1649 he was chosen

¹ *Learned*, i.e. learned men.

² See page 532.

one of the two Commissioners to the Scottish Parliament for the shire of Fife. In the following year he was appointed one of six persons 'to visit the counts of His Majesty's treasury and his household affairs.' Being opposed to Cromwell's usurpation, he was fined in 1654, by the Protector, in the large sum of £1000 sterling. Many of the Fife Lairds never recovered from the losses which they sustained at this time by the exactions of both the political parties who divided the country. Lamont states that Patrick Hay, Naughton's brother, was one of several gentlemen who were kept prisoners by the English in Edinburgh Castle, and who, on the 28th of May 1654, escaped over the Castle wall by tying their sheets and blankets together, and using them for ropes. Another of the party was Lord Kinnoul. The melancholy fate of the wife of Patrick Hay, Naughton's son, is thus narrated by Lamont, under the 30th of June 1668:—'Margaret Sword, the deceased Provest Sword,¹ att St. Andrews his dawghter, leatly wedded to Mr. Pa. Hay, one of Nawghton's sonns, was interred att Balmirino in the day tyme in like maner. Some dayes before, haveing gone owt to the Nawghton to make a visitt from St. Andrews, she fell downe a stair ther, and brack both hir leggs, and putt hir armes owt of joynt; of which fall she shortly after dyed.'

Another son of this Laird was John Hay, D.D., who was translated in 1673 from the office of Regent in St. Leonard's College, St. Andrews, to the church of Falkland, from which he was 'outed' at the Revolution for his Jacobite principles. In 1682 he acquired the estate of Wester Conland. Another son of George Hay, named Thomas, was an officer in the King's Scots Guards, and was the father of James Hay, minister of Balmerino. Isabel, eldest daughter of George Hay of Naughton,

¹ There is a monument in St. Andrews Cemetery to a James Sword, who died in 1657, probably the person here referred to. It is stated of him that for so many years he had lived in Christ, *vixerat in Christo*; but some one has put a dot after *vix*, which makes the words read *vix erat in Christo*, 'he was scarcely in Christ.'—(Lyon's *History of St. Andrews*, vol. ii. p. 162.)

was married in 1650 to the second Sir John Leslie of Birkhill. 'The marriage feast (says Lamont) stood att Nawghtin in Fyfe.' This lady presented her brother, the minister of Falkland, with two silver Communion cups for that church, in which they are still used. We have seen that her father presented two similar cups to Balmerino church, and that other two were afterwards added by the bequest of his grandson.

PETER HAY, eldest son of George Hay, was his father's successor in Naughton. Concerning him Lamont has the following entry in his Diary, under July 1655:—'The young Laird of Naughton, surnamed Hay, in Fyfe, married the young lady of Pittreue, Fordell Hendersons sister; they were married at Achtertoulle by Mr. Andro Waker. They were at Hal-yards, be way of visit, and none knew that they intended to be married so sudenlie.'

In 1670 Peter Hay obtained a Crown charter of all the lands then possessed by him, whereby they were united in a barony, to be called the 'barony of Naughton.' This charter was ratified by Parliament in 1672. The barony thus created anew comprehended various lands which, as we have seen, did not form part of the original barony, while, on the other hand, many other lands of that barony were not included in it.

In the persecution which raged at this period, Patrick Hay was one of those who suffered for his Presbyterian principles. It appears that he was imprisoned. Wodrow states that on the 23rd of July 1685, Patrick (brother, apparently, of Peter) Hay of Naughton was liberated under a bond of £10,000 sterling, to appear when called. In 1690 Peter Hay was a member of a Commission of the General Assembly appointed to visit the Presbyteries north of the Tay, and to plant ministers, etc. In that and following years, he was one of a Royal Commission for the visitation of Universities and schools, under the Revolution Government. Having died in 1704, he was succeeded by his son John.

JOHN HAY was a captain in the army, was twice married, and died in 1709 without surviving issue.

ROBERT HAY, brother of John, succeeded him, and had a numerous family. He had been previously designed of Drumcarro, and in 1704–5 had rented Birkhill House. In 1718 he was appointed a member of a Royal Commission for visiting the University of St. Andrews. In the same year the Earl of Rothes, hereditary Sheriff of Fife, appointed him Sheriff-depute of the county; and in 1722 he re-appointed him.

On the 6th of December 1717, Alexander Hay, son of Robert Hay of Naughton, was murdered on the High Street of Edinburgh by Stewart Abercrombie, a limner, or portrait-painter, in that city. The painful story illustrates some of the customs of society at that period. On the Sunday preceding the murder—the 1st of December—these two persons, along with several others—men and women—including two sons of the deceased Sir Robert Chiesly, Provost of Edinburgh, had been in the house of one Yeatts, a trumpeter, at Clockmilne, near Holyrood Palace; and Abercrombie having risen from his seat and gone to the door of the room, Hay took possession of his seat, and on Abercrombie's return refused to yield it to him. Threatening words then passed between them, and Abercrombie pulled off Hay's hat and wig, and otherwise insulted him. James Chiesly interposed to stop the quarrel, and for this purpose took Hay away with him, and lodged him that night in his chamber. In course of the week following, Hay mentioned to James Henderson of Laveroklaw (in Forgan parish) that he had a quarrel with Abercrombie, and desired him to be his second—doubtless in a duel. Cellars for drinking parties being then usual in Edinburgh, where wine or beer was the common beverage, Abercrombie was, on the night of the 6th December, in the cellar kept by Mrs. Lindsay near the head of Blackfriars Wynd, in company with the two Chieslys and others, till about nine o'clock, when Hay came and called out James Chiesly, and desired to be allowed to come into the

company, which Chiesly endeavoured to dissuade him from attempting, lest the quarrel should be renewed. Hay then went away. Shortly after this, Abercrombie was called by one of the servants of the house to go out and speak with his (Abercrombie's) wife, who had been purchasing some tripe for supper, and had it in the corner of her plaid. He went out, and soon returned. Some time after, Abercrombie was again called out, and, leaving his hat in the room, went out, and meeting with Hay, they retired into a side room, where they conversed for some time. Abercrombie was overheard saying, that Hay 'had better sleep and wake upon it.' They then passed out into the street, Abercrombie being without his hat, and Hay having a laced hat on his head. There they were observed to be quarrelling and struggling. Abercrombie was seen to have his naked sword in his hand, and to give a stab therewith to Hay, who had no sword drawn but was heard to say, with an oath, 'You might have stayed till I had drawn my sword, but you have murdered me.' After this, Abercrombie was seen to scramble on the ground as if searching for his wig, and then to run hard down the wynd, where several persons met him with his sword drawn, but without his hat or wig. Meanwhile Hay ran to Lindsay's cellar, and, calling for James Chiesly, told him he was murdered, and had not got fair play, and that his sword had not been drawn. Accordingly his sword was found in the scabbard. Shortly after, he dropped down and died. These and other things were proved in course of Abercrombie's trial, which commenced on the 27th of January 1718, and lasted several days, filling upwards of sixty pages of foolscap in the Register of the Court of Justiciary. Sentence of death was pronounced on the 10th of February against the criminal, and it was to be executed at the Grass-market on the 26th of that month.

Robert Hay was the last Laird of Naughton of the name of Hay. The estate, being heavily mortgaged, was in 1732 managed by a judicial factor, and was brought to a judicial

sale by the creditors in 1737. Robert Hay appears to have left Naughton several years previously.¹

§ 4. THE MORISONS AND DUNCANS OF NAUGHTON.

When Robert Hay of Naughton became involved in pecuniary difficulties, his wants, it is said, were frequently supplied by loans of money from William Morison, merchant, Dundee, a man of frugal business habits, who, by his diligence and economy, had accumulated a large amount of wealth. Morison was in the habit of appearing at Naughton in a very unpretending style, and wearing plain threadbare garments; in consequence of which he was sometimes supposed to be a poor wanderer in quest of charity, rather than a man of means who had come to supply the wants of the Laird, and at the same time to receive ample security for his money. On one occasion, when one of Mr. Hay's sons, a gay, dashing young man, whose high spirits were nowise depressed by his father's difficulties, was riding on horseback, he met Mr. Morison walking in the grounds of Naughton. Being unacquainted with the unassuming stranger, and disliking his appearance, young Hay dismounted, and gave him a thorough whipping with the horse-whip which he carried. On returning to the Castle, he related his performance to his father, who, being shocked at his son's restless conduct, replied in dismay, 'Laddie, you have whipped the Laird of Naughton!' His words turned out to be true; for when the estate was sold, it was purchased by this William Morison, who was the chief creditor, and whose father, William Morison, had been a merchant in Dundee, and for some time a Bailie of that town.

In 1745, WILLIAM MORISON, junior, obtained a Crown charter in his own favour, and in that of James Morison his eldest son, of the barony of Naughton, including the superiority

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 5.





The North View of the Castle of Saughlor, with the Planting, taken from the rising Ground opposite the door,
of John Kintick print. 9th February 1768.

of Seggie, Sandford-Hay, Redmyre, and Hay's Mills, in the parishes of Leuchars and Forgan; with the property of half the lands of Seggie, and of the lands in Balmerino parish acquired by the Hays in 1621 and subsequently. He was Treasurer and Dean of Guild of Dundee for several years, and married the daughter and heiress of the Rev. James Gray, minister of Kettins; by which marriage he acquired estates in Perthshire.

William Morison was succeeded in 1772 by his son JAMES, who, as his grandfather had been, was a Bailie in Dundee.¹ In 1778, he obtained a Crown charter of his father's estate. He was the only one of a family of nine who reached the age of maturity. He lived for a time at Bellfield, in Cupar, coming out to Naughton in summer only, where he occupied a two-storied house in the more modern part of the Castle buildings. Eventually he resided constantly at Naughton, having built the present Mansion-house in the year 1793. About the same period the tower of the old Castle, being in danger of falling, was undermined, and taken down, and the whole buildings dismantled. The Lairds of Naughton had lived on the Castle Rock for about six hundred years previous to that date. There is a tradition that on one occasion the wife of a Laird of Naughton, who had become insane, threw her child out of a window of the Castle, but that the child was saved from being precipitated to the bottom of the deep valley behind the Castle by being caught in the branches of a tree. It is said that at one time a lantern was kept burning in the tower by night to guide ships entering the Tay. There are still preserved in Naughton House two old sketches which give the front and back views of the Castle buildings as they stood in 1760. James Morison was reckoned a very convivial man even in those convivial times,

¹ Some accounts of this family give *two* successive Lairds named James Morison; but an examination of the Naughton title-deeds, courteously made by James Brookman, Esq., has shown that there was only *one* Laird of that name.

and many stories are told of his hospitality, and good-humoured freaks amongst his tenants and others. He married the daughter and heiress of the Rev. David Maxwell, minister, and Laird of part, of Strathmartine, but his daughter Isobel was the only one of his children who survived him. His only son, William, became Colonel of the Tayside Fencibles, a regiment raised by him in the district, and which appears to have been otherwise called 'The Royal Fifeshire Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry,' and to have been divided into seven troops. It is said that the intended embarkation of this regiment for foreign service, which was much opposed by the men as being contrary to the terms of their enlistment, was at the eleventh hour stopped by Government in consequence of Colonel Morison's energetic remonstrances. Having run into debt, he was obliged by his father, who had a just horror of debt, to sell the estate of Strathmartine, which he inherited from his mother, though much less than its real value was obtained for it.

James Morison died in 1816,¹ and was succeeded by his daughter ISOBEL. She was married to William Bethune of Blebo (paternally Chalmers), who assumed the additional name of Morison. Their only child, Isabella Maxwell Morison, died at Paris in 1818, in the twenty-third year of her age. On the death of William Bethune Morison, his widow, now Mrs. Bethune Morison, resided at Naughton, where she died in 1850, in the ninety-first year of her age. She bequeathed the estate of Naughton to a distant relative, Adam Alexander Duncan, only son of Captain the Honourable Sir Henry Duncan, who was the second son of Viscount Duncan, the hero of Camperdown. Mr. Duncan had been an officer in the 93rd Regiment. Mrs. Bethune Morison inherited from her mother the estates of Drimmie and Boglea. She sold the former, and purchased Nydie, which she bequeathed to Major Bethune, of the family

¹ There is a portrait of James Morison at Naughton, by Sir David Wilkie.



NAUGHTON HOUSE, FRONT VIEW.



NAUGHTON HOUSE, FROM THE WEST.

of Bethune of Blebo. She left Boglea to Bethune James Walker, Laird of Fawfield, a relative, who then assumed the name of Morison. She left, besides, a sum of about £45,000 to various connections and friends, including a legacy to the poor on her estate.

Mr. Duncan, on his accession to Naughton in 1850, assumed the additional surname of Morison. In 1853 he married Catherine Eunice Mackenzie, daughter of Major Mackenzie of Fodderty. He died in 1855, when the estate was inherited by their only child, Catherine Henrietta Adamina Duncan Morison. A celebrated herd of Aberdeen-Angus cattle was brought together by the ladies of Naughton, and maintained for many years. At stock sales these animals fetched very large prices. The herd was dispersed, being sold by auction at Naughton, on the 3rd of September 1896, when a famous five year old bull, 'Edric,' brought 240 guineas.

In 1897, Miss Morison-Duncan (which surname she had some years previously assumed) was married to Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander William Anstruther, R.A., of the family of Thirdpart, who then assumed the additional name of Duncan.¹ In the same year, a handsome and commodious Hall was erected in the village of Gauldry by Mrs. Anstruther Duncan for the benefit of the parish, in memory of her mother who died in 1894. In 1887, the gift, by the latter lady, of a park of about two acres in extent had been announced by her at a meeting at Naughton connected with the Queen's Jubilee, in commemoration of that auspicious event. The Hall, with a caretaker's house attached to it, has been erected on a portion of this ground, and is seated to accommodate about 200 persons. The ornamentation of the interior has been tastefully executed. Sliding panels extending across the middle of the Hall render its western half suitable for a reading-room; these panels being drawn aside when the Hall is used for lectures or concerts.

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 6.

CHAPTER II

THE LAIRDS OF BALMERINO

‘ Let History tell, where rival kings command,
And dubious title shakes the madded land,
When statutes glean the refuse of the sword,
How much more safe the vassal than the lord ;
Low skulks the hind beneath the rage of power,
And leaves the wealthy traitor in the Tower,
Untouched his cottage, and his slumbers sound,
Though Confiscation’s vultures hover round.’

—JOHNSON.

§ 1. THE ELPHINGSTONES, BARONS BALMERINO

SIR JAMES ELPHINGSTONE, parson of Invernochty in Aberdeenshire, the lands of which belonged to his family, was the third son of Robert, the third Lord Elphingstone. Like many other Scottish youths at that period, he received much of his education on the Continent. In 1586 he was appointed a Lord of Session, by the title of Lord Invernochty. In 1589, when King James VI. went to Denmark to marry the Princess Anne, Elphingstone was appointed ‘ Secretary for the Latin and French ’ languages to the Council in Edinburgh ; and when his Majesty with his bride landed at Leith, he made an oration in French, congratulating the Princess on their prosperous voyage homewards. In 1595, he was selected to be one of the eight Commissioners of the Exchequer called, from their number, the King’s Octavians. In 1598, he was made Secretary of State, and the Abbacy of Balmerino was erected into a temporal Lordship in his favour in 1603–4, as has been already stated. On the 9th of August 1603, he was created Keeper of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, its precincts,

and parks. On the death of Queen Elizabeth, as Secretary he read at the Cross of Edinburgh the proclamation of James VI. as King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith. Soon afterwards, he was nominated one of the Scottish Commissioners to treat of a Union then projected with England; and when the negotiations were ended, the Scottish Privy Council sent him to convey their thanks to King James, £2000 being allowed him for the expenses of his journey. In 1605 he was raised to the Presidency of the Court of Session; and so high was the King's opinion of him, that he intended to make him English Secretary of State,¹ but his career of advancement was stopped by the following incident.

In 1599 James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow and ambassador of King James at the French court, suggested to Lord Balmerino as Secretary of State, that it would be advantageous to the King's interest, in his prospect of accession to the English throne, if his Majesty would consent to hold correspondence with the Pope, who might thus be induced to influence the Catholics of England in his favour. Sir Edward Drummond, a relative of Lord Balmerino, was at the same time desirous that Chisholm (or Drummond?), Bishop of Vaizon, their mutual kinsman, should be made a Cardinal; who, being a Scotsman, would be a fitting medium of communication between King James and the Court of Rome. Lord Balmerino accordingly endeavoured to induce his Majesty to write to the Pope, requesting that Chisholm should be promoted to the Cardinalate for the purpose specified, but without success, for though, according to Balmerino's account, the King made no scruple about writing to the Pope, he would not consent to give him his ordinary titles of *Pater* and *Beatissime*. His lordship, however, afterwards took it upon

¹ According to Scotstarvit, 'he was in such favour with King James, that he craved the reversion of Secretary Cecil's place, . . . which was the beginning of his overthrow,' that is, by making Cecil his enemy.

him to send a letter to Pope Clement in the King's name making the same request, and containing expressions of high regard for the Pontiff and the Catholic religion. This letter he slipped in among other papers ready for the signature of the King, who signed it in ignorance of its contents; and it was despatched to Rome. A copy of it having been sent from Italy to Queen Elizabeth by the Master of Gray who acted there as her spy, she expostulated with King James for his holding communication with the Pope; but he professed to know nothing of it. Lord Balmerino also denied all knowledge of it, and the affair soon seemed to be forgotten. But King James having, a few years after his accession to the English throne, written a treatise entitled *An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*, against two briefes of Pope Paul V. and a letter of Cardinal Bellarmine, the latter taunted his Majesty with having changed his former favourable opinion of the Roman Catholic religion, as expressed in his letter to Pope Clement. The King now saw that the matter was too serious to be ignored, and sent for Lord Balmerino, without acquainting him with the reason. When his lordship came to Royston, where the court then was—in October 1608—and was examined, he then, and in narratives subsequently written by him, confessed that one morning, when the King was going a-hunting in haste, he brought to his Majesty a number of letters to be signed by him in favour of the Bishop of Vaizon, addressed to the Dukes of Savoy and Florence, and to some Cardinals; that amongst these despatches he shifted in a letter to the Pope, having no superscription in the beginning nor above the space left for his Majesty's name, and got him to sign it along with the others; and that he then directed Sir Edward Drummond, who had drawn up the letter at his request, to write the Pope's titles at the head of it, and the words *Sanctitas* and *Filius* above his Majesty's subscription. He declared, however, that his only motive had been to promote King James's accession to the English throne

by an act which would gratify the Roman Catholics; and he maintained that his device had this effect.¹ The English Privy Council took a different view of the matter, being of opinion that the Gunpowder Plot had been the result of the disappointment of the Papists, who had expected from the King's letter to the Pope that he would become a Roman Catholic. It was generally believed that Lord Balmerino was induced by promises of his life and estates—promises which were certainly made to him—to conceal some circumstances of this affair, and to falsify others, so as to exonerate his master from blame; and that he suffered for what had been as much the King's act as his own. 'It is not likely,' says Calderwood, 'that he would have been so forward for advancement of the King to the crown of England if the King himself had not been privy to it, yea, an urger of it; howbeit, after, when he was troubled, (to procure the King's favour) he did cast this cloke upon it. And yet he attained not to his intent.'²

Lord Balmerino was now deprived of his membership of the Privy Council of England, and sent as a prisoner to Scotland. At Newcastle, on his journey northwards, he was observed to shed tears; and at Berwick was heard to say, 'I wish I had been made a sheepkeeper when I was made a scholar.' He was first confined in Edinburgh Castle, and was thence removed to Falkland, where his offence had been committed. Afterwards he was taken to St. Andrews, and tried in the Town Hall there for treason, it being his own request that his trial should not take place in Edinburgh. Having petitioned that his sentence should not be pronounced till the King's pleasure should be known, and his Majesty

¹ The next elder brother of Lord Balmerino was Rector of the Scottish College at Rome.

² Calderwood, vol. v. p. 740. See also the *Register of the Privy Council*, under that period. A correspondence between Lord Balmerino and Secretary Cecil is given in the Ninth Report of *Hist. MSS. Commission*, and in the *Elphinstone Family Book* by Sir William Fraser, vol. ii.

having himself given orders to the same effect, he was brought to Edinburgh,¹ and there in the Tolbooth, on the 31st of March 1609, was sentenced 'to want the head,' as Scotstarvit expresses it, to be attainted in blood, and deprived of all his offices and possessions. He was immediately brought to Leith. Thence he was taken to Falkland, but was allowed to wear his sword; which was thought strange leniency towards a condemned traitor. The sentence of death was not executed; and in October of the same year there came a warrant from the King to give him free ward in Falkland and a mile around it on his finding caution not to escape, under pain of £40,000. In 1610 he received warrant under the King's hand, giving him full assurance of his life, and was allowed to reside in his own houses in Forfarshire and at Balmerino, at which latter place he died in 1612 'of a fever and waiknes in his stomach,' says Sir James Balfour, 'some few months after the death of his arch-enemy and competitor, Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, after whom, if any time he had survived (as was talked by them that best knew the King's mind) he had been in greater credit with his master than ever.'² According to others, he died of a broken heart.³

¹ Scotstarvit says that the people of Edinburgh had little favour for him, 'because he had acquired many lands about the town, as Restalrig, Barnetoun, and mills of Leith; so that James Henderson, the bailie, forced him to light off his horse at the foot of Leith-Wynd, albeit he had the rose in his leg and was very unable to walk, till he came to the prison-house.'

² Balfour's *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 30.

³ Calderwood says that Lord Balmerino died about the end of May; but a stone, now built into the wall of a house in Gauldry, but taken from another building, probably records his death as having taken place on the 21st of June. This stone, which is beautifully carved, but now much injured, bears on its upper part a helmet, having round it a motto, of which the only letters that are legible are the first and last, or parts of them,—'EX OVA' The lower portion appears to have contained a shield, on the right side of which are the letters $\begin{matrix} L \\ I B \end{matrix}$, which may stand for Lord James Balmerino, and on the left—'21 June 1612.' There was no other person of *eminence* belonging to the Parish, or whose name had these initials, who died about that time. This stone (which is only about a foot square) or a larger one of which it formed a part, was most probably placed over Lord Balmerino's grave in the Balmerino aisle of the old church.

Lord Balmerino was undoubtedly the ablest Scottish statesman of his time. Spottiswoode, however, says of him, 'He made small conscience of his doings, and measured all things according to the gain he made by them. The possessions he acquired of the Church kept him still an enemy to it, for he feared a restitution should be made of those livings if ever the clergy did attain unto credit.' James Melville, in his *Diary*, calls him the 'King's special agent against the ministers.' He acquired baronies and estates in many districts, including Barnton, Restalrig, Ballumby, Innerpeffer, and Dingwall, and was patron of twenty-three churches—most of them in the northern counties. In 1607 he, along with James Spens of Wormiston and Sir George Hay of Netherlyff, obtained Crown charters of the baronies of Glenelg and Lewis, with the Castle of Stornoway, etc., and certain lands in Skye. This was part of King James's scheme for colonizing those regions; but it does not appear that Lord Balmerino ever visited the places mentioned, and the scheme ended in failure.

In October 1609, SIR ALEXANDER DRUMMOND of Meidhope, a Lord of Session and relative of Lord Balmerino, received a gift under the Privy Seal of the liferent escheat and forfeiture of his Lordship, which gift was renewed in September 1612. In June 1613, we find Sir Alexander, as feudal superior, granting a charter to Robert Auchmonty of certain lands in Balmerino parish.

JOHN, second LORD BALMERINO, eldest son of the first, was restored in blood and to the peerage in August 1613. In September 1614, he obtained from King James a charter under the Great Seal, conferring upon him a gift of his father's estates, and proceeding upon the resignation of Sir Alexander Drummond.

Lord Balmerino became a leading opponent of the Government measures. In 1633, Charles I. being then in Scotland, some members of Parliament resolved to present to his Majesty a petition for redress of grievances, especially against

two Acts—one extending the King's prerogative over causes spiritual as well as temporal, and empowering him to prescribe vestments for the clergy; and the other ratifying the Episcopal government and ritual of the Church. Being desirous, however, that the King should be made acquainted with the petition before it was formally presented, the subscribers entrusted it to the Earl of Rothes, who showed it to his Majesty. Having read the petition, the King returned it to Rothes, saying—in accordance with his claim to absolute power—'No more of this, my Lord, I command you'; whereupon the matter was allowed to rest.

Some time after this, Lord Balmerino, who had kept a copy of the petition (which had been drawn up by William Haig, an eminent lawyer) interlined by himself, happened to show it, in course of a conversation about the corruptions in Church and State, to John Denmure, a writer in Dundee and his own confidential agent, while the latter was on a visit to his Lordship in his house of Barnton. Contrary to Balmerino's injunctions, and without his knowledge, Denmure made a copy of the document, and carried it home with him. 'The said Mr. John,' says Bishop Guthrie in his *Memoirs*, 'happening in his journey homeward to lodge at the house of Mr. Peter Hay of Nachton [author of the *Vision of Balaam's Asse*, etc.], fell to speak with him upon that subject, and to reckon up the corruptions of the times, whereupon Nachton replied, Where have ye learned, Mr. John, to speak so well in State affairs? Doubtless you have been with your patron Balmarinoch; To whom Mr. John answered, You have guessed it; Balmarinoch is indeed my informer, and, moreover, showed me a petition, whereby he and his associates intended to have complained to the King, but he would not hear it; and I have in my pocket a copy of the petition. Nachton, carrying no good will to Balmarinoch, and withal being very Episcopal, found the way to get the petition from Mr. John, and, some days after he was gone, went to the Archbishop of St.

Andrews, and delivered the copy to him, with an account of the discourse which had passed betwixt Mr. John and him in reference thereunto. Whereupon the Archbishop found himself obliged to acquaint the King therewith.' Burnet says that the Archbishop, who appears to have imagined that the petition was going about for subscription, 'began his journey to London, as he often did, on a Sunday, which was a very serious thing in that country.'

Lord Balmerino was in consequence of this affair examined before the Privy Council in June 1634, and was confined to Edinburgh Castle till the 30th of March 1635, when he was tried for sedition and lese-majesty by a jury, and, being convicted by a majority of only one, had sentence of death pronounced upon him. His cause was now warmly espoused by the people, who threatened either to rescue him, or to put to death the judges and jurors who had condemned him, and to burn their houses. The King reluctantly yielded to these menaces; and after an imprisonment of more than thirteen months, his Lordship was, on the 16th of July, set at liberty to the extent of being only confined to Balmerino and six miles around it. In November following he obtained entire freedom. His narrow escape sunk deep in the hearts of the people, and increased their hatred of the bishops; and according to Burnet, the ruin of the King's affairs in Scotland was, in a great measure, owing to this unjust prosecution.

After this, Lord Balmerino continued to oppose the measures of the Court, and became one of the chief leaders and advisers of the Church party or Covenanters. For this cause Charles I., in the *Large Declaration* published in his name, but really written by Dr. Balcanquhall, Dean of Durham, bitterly reproached him, enumerating the many favours he and his father had received from his Majesty and King James. Balmerino also supported the Covenanters liberally with money, to the great injury of his own fortune. When they resolved to take up arms, he contributed 40,000 merks towards the expenses

of the war; and accompanied General Leslie in his march into England in 1643. To give a full account of his career would be to transcribe much of the history of that eventful period. It may be mentioned, however, that he was one of those who got up the opposition which the King's attempt to introduce Laud's Service Book met with in 1637, when that famous, though somewhat mythical heroine, Jenny Geddes, threw her stool at the head of the officiating clergyman, thus commencing the train of events which led to the civil war, and culminated in the execution of King Charles I. Baillie, referring to a meeting in Edinburgh, in the latter part of the year 1637, of those opposed to Laud's Liturgy, says:—'That night after supper in Balmerinoch's lodgeing, where the whole nobilitie, I think, supped, some Commissioners from the gentrie, townes, and ministers mett, where I was . . . among the rest . . . Loudon and Balmerinoch were Moderators; both of them, but especially Balmerinoch, drew me to admiration. I thought them the best spoken men that ever I heard open a mouth.'¹ The Covenant of 1638 bears the signature of Balmerino. With Argyll, he was opposed to the 'Engagement.' He was very popular in Edinburgh, and continued to lead the Church party till his death. He was, of course, equally unpopular with the opposite party. In a satire written in the form of a litany, ascribed to Thomas Forrester (who had been Episcopal minister at Melrose, but had been deposed a short time previous to its composition), and relating to public affairs in 1638-9, the following lines occur:—

'From all who swear themselves mensuorne,
 From Louthian, Loudoun, Lindsay, Lorne,
 Prince Rothes and Balmirino,
 And devout Lordlings many moe;
 Who lead the dance and rule the rost,
 And forceth us to make the cost,
 And all such pranks of Catharus
 Almighty God deliver us.'²

¹ *Letters*, vol. i. p. 39.

² *A Book of Scottish Pasquils* (1868), pp. 36-7.

In 1641, Lord Balmerino was nominated by the King, and chosen by the whole Parliament, as its President; and he received many dignities besides.

The principal residence of the Balmerino family at this time appears to have been at Barnton, in the parish of Cramond. Their town residence was a house in Leith, east of Coatfield Lane, in the Kirkgate, which the second Lord acquired from the Earl of Carrick in 1643, and which continued to be occupied by the family till the attainder of the last Lord.¹

Lord Balmerino died of apoplexy on the 1st of March 1649, at 3 o'clock in the morning, after having supped the previous evening with the Marquis of Argyll. He was buried in the old church of Restalrig, but his remains were disinterred in the following year, and thrown into the streets, by Cromwell's soldiers, who had heard that there were leaden coffins there with which they might make bullets. His speech on the army, describing their conspiracy, having been published in 1642, his name is included amongst Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*. The Denmiln MS. contains the following tribute to his memory :—

' Here layes Balmerinoch, and may his fate
Bring tears without a presage to the staite,
Quher he the day-star was, his course is rune,
And now he sets, alas ! after our sune ;
O ! episicle strange. Phosphor our light
Led one, and turns the hesper of our night.'

¹ It had a handsome front to the south, and was seen from Constitution Street. It was sold by the Barons of Exchequer in 1755 to the Earl of Moray. After passing through various hands, the house and grounds—the house being now subdivided, and part of it occupied by the poorest class of tenants—were sold in 1848 to the Roman Catholics for the purpose of erecting a chapel and schools, by which the mansion is now concealed from view. (See an interesting Article on it in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. iv. p. 449.) The Lords Balmerino had also a house, which is still in existence, in Balmerino Place, Bonnygate, Cupar; in which town the Earls of Crawford and Rothes had also each a house as a town residence.

Alexander Elphingstone, a son of, apparently, the first Lord Balmerino, and the brother of Baron Coupar to be presently noticed, drowned himself in the Nor' Loch, Edinburgh. 'He had fallen deeply in love with the daughter of the Earl of Menteith. Her family, however, had more ambitious views for her than the younger son of a baron, and they therefore contracted her against her will to Mackenzie of Kintail. The two young people had, previous to this, secretly plighted their troth. Mackenzie was an old man, a widower, and one who had no very good reputation for kindness to his deceased wife. But the Earl of Menteith was deaf to all remonstrances, and hurried on the marriage. After exhausting unavailingly every means he could devise for preventing the marriage, the lover took "a dook in the pot," where his body was discovered next morning. The luckless girl was so shocked over the occurrence that she doggedly refused to marry Mackenzie, and died three months after of a broken heart. For a long time it was believed that her curse clung to the Menteith family, because it gradually died out, finally becoming extinct in 1694, with the death of William, eighth Earl of Menteith and second Earl of Airth.'¹

The Abbacy of Balmerino was not the only Church property conferred on the family of this branch of the Elphingstones. In 1606, the lands of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar (Angus) were erected into a temporal lordship in favour of James Elphingstone, a younger son of the first Lord Balmerino, and godson of King James VI., who accordingly became Lord Coupar. On the death of his brother, the second Lord Balmerino, Lord Coupar, though of doubtful capacity, was appointed to the office of an extraordinary Lord of Session which the former had held. Sir James Balfour of Denniln thus gives his opinion of the appointment:—

¹ *The Weekly Scotsman* of 22nd January 1898, in a series of *Legends of the Nor' Loch*.

‘The Lord Balmerinoche’s extraordinary place of the Sessione, they haue bestowed it one hes brother, the Lord Couper, quhosse head will not fill his brother’s hate.’ The Denmiln MS. contains the following epigram on him :—

‘Fy upon death !
 He’s worse than a trouper,
 That took from us Balmerinoch,
 And left that howlit Cowper.’

A curious incident, in which Lord Coupar was concerned, occurred in 1662. Sitting in Parliament, and happening to take out his watch, he handed it to Lord Pitsligo to show him the time of day. Lord Sinclair then put out his hand to get a sight of the watch, and Lord Pitsligo gave it to him without objection from Lord Coupar. Lord Pitsligo kept the watch, alleging that it was given to him with the owner’s consent. The case went to the Court of Session, and was decided in Lord Coupar’s favour, as he stated that he had kept silence because he was listening to a discussion then going on in Parliament, and did not consent, or intend, to part with his watch. Lord Pitsligo was found liable for its value.

Lord Coupar held several offices of importance. He was infeft in the barony of Ballumby, etc., in 1607. He was fined £3,000 Sterling by Cromwell in 1654, which was subsequently reduced to £750; and after the Restoration of Charles II. he was fined £4,800 Scots for not conforming to Episcopacy. He died without issue in 1669, and the third Lord Balmerino succeeded to his estates and honours, which were enjoyed by the family till its extinction.¹

¹ His Lordship’s succession was the result of an action of reduction raised by him in the Court of Session, and decided in his favour on the 28th of June 1671. It is said that Lord Coupar held his peerage by a patent which contained a clause empowering him to nominate his successor to the title in default of male issue of his own, and that he possessed the like freedom to dispose of his landed estates. When approaching eighty, and within two years of his death, he married for his

JOHN, third LORD BALMERINO, and son of the second Lord, found on his succession that by his father's liberality to the Covenanters his means were greatly diminished, and various lawsuits in which he was engaged rendered him still poorer, so that he was obliged to sell much of his property. In 1667 he sold Ballumby and almost all the feu-duties of the barony of Barry to Lord Panmure. For having conformed under the Commonwealth he was, in 1662, fined £6,000 Scots. Yet he had received Charles II. at his mansion in Leith when the King landed there in 1650. He died in 1704, aged eighty-two, and was buried at Restalrig.

JOHN, fourth LORD BALMERINO and third Lord Coupar, was in his fifty-second year when he succeeded his father. He also was very poor, but he filled several offices of distinction. Though he had strenuously opposed the Union with England, he was in 1710 and 1713 elected one of the

second wife the young Lady Marion Ogilvie, daughter of the Earl of Airlie. She managed first to estrange her aged husband from the third Lord Balmerino, his next heir, and then to induce him to convey his title and whole estates to herself and 'any whom she should please to marrie.' For the success of this scheme it was necessary, according to the old law of Scotland, to prove that the deed of conveyance was not granted 'on deathbed,' that is, during the course of the disease or debility of which the granter eventually died. The requisite evidence for this consisted in ability to go to church or market. But at the time of granting the deed it was clear that the old peer was breaking up. He 'was several nights waked, and the minister called to pray for him, which he was never in use to doe before.' Lady Coupar then had him taken to kirk and market. The going to the market proved a failure. The old man had to be held up by the arms. Three days afterwards he was taken to the Church. When it was objected in the process at law that Lord Coupar was 'supported' on that occasion also, Lady Coupar replied that it was not *ex impatientia mortis*, but owing to the stormy weather that day, which had been so violent as even to break the kirk bell. But having reached the church, Lord Coupar 'was not able to goe up to his owne seat, but sat in Crimmon's seat near the door with his furred cap, and the whole people who beheld him looking on him as a dead man. Lykas in his returne, he was not only supported, but having swerved and foundered, he was carried into his house in an armed chyer, when he had almost expired had not brandie and cannell (cinnamon) wine revived his spirits, which was poured in at his mouth, his teeth being halden open with a knyfe He never came abroad thereafter until he died, which was within three weeks.' Lady Coupar was therefore defeated in her purpose.—(Abridged from *The Scottish Antiquary* for January 1897, pp. 121-2.)

sixteen representative Peers for Scotland. Like his father, he was at length involved in misfortune. On the accession of George I. he was deprived of all his offices, and was no longer returned to Parliament. He nevertheless ostensibly adhered to the House of Hanover during the rebellion of 1715. The rest of his days were spent in retirement. He died at his house in Leith in 1736, and was buried at Restalrig. He was succeeded by James, his eldest surviving son.

In December 1729, the Honourable Alexander Elphingstone, fifth son of the fourth Lord Balmerino, having met a Lieutenant Swift at a friend's house in Leith, and some angry words having passed between them, Elphingstone in departing touched Swift on the shoulder with his sword, and signified that he would expect to receive satisfaction next morning on the Links. They met accordingly, and fought a duel with swords. Swift was wounded, and died soon after. Elphingstone was indicted for this before the High Court of Justiciary, but the charge appears to have been subsequently abandoned.

JAMES, fifth LORD BALMERINO and fourth Lord Coupar, being a younger son, studied law. He was called to the bar in 1703, and had a large practice. In 1714 he was raised to the bench, and took the title of Lord Coupar. After he succeeded to the title of Lord Balmerino by his father's death—his two elder brothers having previously died, Hugh the younger of them having been killed in the siege of Lisle in 1708—he continued to occupy his place as a Lord of Session, in which he gave such satisfaction that there were sometimes forty cases on his Roll, when there was not one-fourth of that number before some other Judges. A contemporary wrote of him—'He was an elegant-mannered, pleasant man. When he spoke, which was seldom, it was very much to the purpose, and well attended to.' He died at Leith on the 5th of January 1746 without issue.

THE HONOURABLE ARTHUR ELPHINSTONE, who on the death of his brother James became the sixth LORD BALMERINO, and fifth Lord Coupar, was born in 1688. As a boy, he was beloved for his affability and kindness, and would often pinch his own pocket to do acts of charity to others. Having adopted the military profession, he got a captain's commission from Queen Anne in Lord Shannon's regiment of foot. During the rebellion raised by the Earl of Mar after the accession of George I., Elphinstone was engaged at the battle of Sheriffmuir in the Hanoverian interest, under the Duke of Argyll as general. But after the battle he resigned his commission; and though his forefathers had suffered so much from the Stuarts, he went over to the Jacobites when the Chevalier was with them at Perth in January 1716, protesting that he had never feared death but at Sheriffmuir, as he had there been fighting against his conscience. He did not, however, take his company with him, as has been erroneously asserted. On the collapse of the rebellion he made his escape to the Continent, where he remained for eighteen years. Some say that he went first to Denmark; others, that he entered at once into the French service, and also that he distinguished himself in several campaigns in Flanders. It is certain that during some part of his exile he was in the service of the Chevalier in Italy. While he was residing at Berne in Switzerland in the beginning of 1734, his father, being anxious for his return home after the death of his younger brother Alexander, wrote a letter to him informing him that he had procured for him a pardon. It is said that this favour was only granted in order to obtain Lord Balmerino's vote at the election of Scottish peers as members of Parliament. As it had been got without Arthur's solicitation or knowledge, the latter wrote a letter to the Chevalier, who was then at Rome, to inform him that he would not accept of it without his consent. The Chevalier gave that consent, directed him to return home, and by an order on his banker at Paris supplied

him with money to defray the expenses of his journey. Having arrived in Scotland, he was warmly welcomed by his father, and lived in a private manner till the rebellion of 1745, when, though he had been formerly pardoned by Government, he joined the standard of the young Chevalier—the ‘Bonnie Prince Charlie’—at Holyrood, after the battle of Prestonpans.¹ He served throughout the subsequent campaign as colonel and captain of the second troop of Horse Guards. He was present at the battle of Falkirk, but not personally engaged, as the Horse were held in reserve. In January 1746, he succeeded to the titles of Lord Balmerino and Lord Coupar on the death of his brother, which took place when the rebel army, after its retreat from Derby, was besieging Stirling. At the battle of Culloden, which was fought on the 16th of April 1746, he surrendered himself to the Grants. He might have made his escape, however, along with others. ‘Lord Balmerino, Perth, Tullibardine, and Lord Ogilvy lay at Corryburgh the night after the battle; and they went away next morning in a chaise, and asked him (Balmerino) to go with them; but he told them that he had been too long already, that it was only putting off the evil day for two or three weeks, and starving all the time; and that he was determined to surrender

¹ Just before taking this step, he was in hiding for six weeks in a house at Balmerino, occupied by a respectable old woman named Christian Berry, widow of John Boyter, whose descendants are still living in the Parish. This house, to which a brewstead was attached, stood west of the present farmhouse, and was demolished about forty years since. Lord Balmerino (then the Hon. Arthur Elphinstone) lived in the ‘ben-room’ of the house, and was considered by his hostess to be very easily pleased with such attendance as she could give. He staked out the site of a new house which he promised to erect for her if events should go well with him, and which (he said) would be the best in the place after his own. Her son, Alexander, ten years of age, accompanied him to Cupar when he went away on a dark morning before daybreak. Another parishioner of Balmerino was with him at Culloden as his servant. When his Lordship was afterwards condemned to death, Christian Berry had thoughts of going all the way to London to beg his pardon from the King, but rightly judged that such a step on her part would be of no avail. A sheriff-officer in Cupar was imprisoned for six months for being a witness to his Lordship proclaiming Prince Charles at the cross of that town.

and throw himself upon the King's mercy.¹ Five days later, he was brought to Inverness. Thence he was sent by sea to London, along with the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, who also had been taken prisoners; and they were all confined in the Tower. Here Lady Balmerino, who had gone to London soon after her husband, was at his urgent request allowed to wait upon him. The three noblemen were tried for high treason in Westminster Hall on the 28th of July. Thither they were carried in three coaches under a strong guard of soldiers, Lord Balmerino being attended by Mr. Fowler, gentleman-jailer, who had the axe lying before him.²

Westminster Hall was magnificently fitted up for the trial. Three sides of it were enclosed with galleries, and hung with scarlet; and the whole proceedings were conducted with becoming solemnity. Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was appointed to preside as Lord High Steward, and one hundred and thirty-nine Peers were present. When the prisoners were brought to the bar, the axe was carried before them, its edge being turned away from them. At their request, solicitors were appointed for them. When the indictments had been read, Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded 'Guilty,' recommending themselves to the King's mercy. Before pleading to his indictment, Lord Balmerino asked the High Steward if it would be of service to him to prove that he was not at the siege of Carlisle at the time specified in that document, as he was then ten miles distant. His Grace answered, that it might, or might not avail him according to the circumstances, but

¹ Letter of A. Stewart from Culloden given in *Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period*, by Dr. Allardyce, vol. i. (New Spalding Club).

² The chief sources from which most of the accounts (including the present one) of the trial and execution of the rebel Lords have been drawn are *The History of the Rebellion extracted from the Scots Magazine, with Appendix*, 1755; and the *Letters of Horace Walpole*. Other contemporary writings have also been consulted for the present narrative, including the *Whole Proceedings in the Trial of the Rebel Lords*, published by order of the House of Peers, 1746.

that it was contrary to form to allow a prisoner to ask any questions before he had pleaded to his indictment. He then desired him to plead. Lord Balmerino, being ignorant of the technical meaning of this legal term, exclaimed that he was pleading as well as he could. The Lord High Steward having explained to him the meaning of the expression, he pleaded 'Not Guilty.' His trial was then proceeded with. Six witnesses were examined, who proved that he had entered Carlisle (though not on the day specified in his indictment) at the head of a troop of horse called by his name 'Elphinstoun's Horse,' with his sword drawn; that he usually wore the white cockade, the badge of the Jacobites; and that he rode into Manchester at the head of his troop, and was there when the young Chevalier, by whom he was held in great esteem, was proclaimed Regent. When the witnesses, most of whom had served in the same cause, had given their evidence, the old hero shook hands cordially with them. The prisoners employed no counsel; but Balmerino himself stated his exception to the terms of the indictment, that he was not at Carlisle at the time specified.

The Lords now retired to the House of Peers, where the opinion of the Judges being requested concerning Balmerino's objection, they declared it was not material, as an overt act of treason and other similar acts were proved beyond contradiction. On their return to Westminster Hall, his Lordship acquiesced in the decision of the Judges; and on being asked if he had anything farther to offer, replied that he had not. When the Peers were going to vote, three of them withdrew—Lord Foley as being too ardent a well-wisher, Lord Moray as a near relative of Balmerino, and Lord Stair as a more distant relative. The High Steward then asked the Peers one by one, beginning with the junior baron, 'My Lord of —, Is Arthur Lord Balmerino guilty of the high treason whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty?'; when each stood up in his place, and laying his right hand upon his breast said, 'Guilty,'

upon my honour.' The prisoners, having been again called to the bar and informed of the verdict, were sent back to the Tower; and notice was given to them, if they had anything to urge in arrest of judgment, to be prepared against 11 o'clock of the 30th; to which time the court adjourned. While they were being carried to the Tower in coaches, the axe, which was in the coach with Lord Balmerino, had its edge turned towards him.

The court again met on the 30th of July, and the prisoners having been brought to the bar, the Lord High Steward gave an address, and then asked each of them if he had anything to offer why sentence of death should not pass against him. Kilmarnock replied in a long speech, expressing deep sorrow for what he had done, and imploring the court to intercede with the King on his behalf. A similar course was followed by the Earl of Cromarty: Lord Balmerino scorned to stoop to such humiliation. When asked the same question as had been put to the other two, he pleaded that an indictment could not be found in the county of Surrey for a crime said to have been committed at Carlisle in the preceding December, since the Act ordaining the rebels to be tried in such counties as the King should appoint was not passed till March, and could not have a retrospective effect; and he desired to be allowed the assistance of counsel to argue the point. Two barristers, Forrester and Wilbraham, were therefore at his own request assigned to him; and the court adjourned till the 1st of August. The prisoners having been brought to the bar on that day, the two Earls were again asked if they had anything to urge why judgment should not pass against them, and answered in the negative. The High Steward then informed Lord Balmerino, that having started an objection and had the assistance of counsel, he might now make use of them if he thought fit. His Lordship replied, that he would not have made the objection if he had not been persuaded that there was ground for it; but that his counsel having satisfied

him that there was nothing in it which could do him service, he had no wish that they should be heard, and was sorry for the trouble he had given the Peers. All the prisoners having submitted to the court, the Lord High Steward made a pathetic speech to them, and concluded by sentencing them to be hanged—with the shocking additions then customary. Of this barbarous sentence, however, the most ignominious and painful part was, in the case of those of them who actually suffered, remitted, and death by beheading substituted.

‘I am this moment come,’ wrote Horace Walpole, ‘from the conclusion of the greatest and most melancholy scene I ever yet saw! You will easily guess it was the Trials of the rebel Lords. . . . A coronation is a puppet-show, and all the splendour of it idle; but this sight at once feasted one’s eyes, and engaged all one’s passions. . . . Lord Balmerino is the most natural, brave old fellow I ever saw: the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour. He pressed extremely to have his wife, his pretty Peggy, with him in the Tower. . . . When they [the three Lords] were to be brought from the Tower in separate coaches, there was some dispute in which the axe must go—old Balmerino cried, “Come, come, put it with me.” At the bar, he plays with his fingers upon the axe, while he talks to the gentleman-gaoler; and one day somebody coming up to listen, he took the blade and held it like a fan between their faces. During the trial, a little boy was near him, but not tall enough to see; he made room for the child and placed him near himself. . . . Some witnesses were examined, whom afterwards the old hero shook cordially by the hand. . . . He said that one of his reasons for pleading *not guilty* was, that so many ladies might not be disappointed of their show. . . . As he returned to the Tower, he stopped the coach at Charing-cross to buy honey-blobs, as the Scotch call gooseberries. . . . Old Balmerino keeps up his spirits to the same pitch of gaiety. In

the cell at Westminster he showed Lord Kilmarnock how he must lay his head; bid him not wince, lest the stroke should cut his skull or his shoulders, and advised him to bite his lips. As they were to return, he begged that they might have another bottle together, as they should never meet any more till —, and then pointed to his neck. At getting into the coach, he said to the gaoler, "Take care, or you will break my shins with this — axe."¹

Petitions for mercy were presented by Kilmarnock to the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cumberland; and earnest entreaties having been made on behalf of Cromarty by his wife and others, it was expected that Balmerino would be the only victim. This intrepid nobleman disdained to ask that his life should be spared. Horace Walpole and the House of Peers' Report state that at his trial he desired the Lords to intercede for mercy to him, and Walpole says that he afterwards wrote a letter to the Duke of Cumberland to beg his intercession, and that the Duke gave it to the King. These statements, however, are contrary to other accounts, which say that as he had been pardoned before, he never hoped for mercy, and used no means to obtain it. He lamented that himself and Lord Lovat were not taken at the same time, 'for then,' he said, 'we might have been sacrificed, and those other two brave men (Cromarty and Kilmarnock) might have escaped.' With his unflinching character, his humorous turn of mind and love of repartee were retained to the last. Hearing that the two Earls had begged for mercy, he remarked, that 'as they had so great interest at court, they might have squeezed his name in with the others.' When Lady Balmerino, who was not nearly so old as himself, showed her great sorrow for his impending fate, he said, 'Grieve not, my dear Peggy; we must all die once, and this is but a few years, very likely, before my death must have happened some other way: therefore wipe

¹ *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (Ed. Cunningham), vol. ii. pp. 38-46.

away your tears; you may marry again, and get a better husband.' His manly bearing, and unswerving adherence to his principles excited the admiration even of King George II.; and when the other prisoners were professing their abhorrence of their former principles, and their friends were eagerly soliciting their pardon, his Majesty said, 'Does nobody intercede for poor Balmerino? He, though a rebel, is at least an honest man.' Cromarty was eventually pardoned; but on the 11th of August, an order was signed in Council for the execution of Kilmarnock and Balmerino on Monday the 18th. The latter nobleman, being asked, a few days before his execution, in what dress he would go to the scaffold, answered, 'I will go in the same regimentals in which I was at first taken, with a woollen shirt next my skin, which will serve me instead of a shroud to be buried in;' and on being asked why he would not have a new suit of black, he replied, 'It would be thought very imprudent in a man to repair an old house when the lease of it was about to expire; and the lease of my life expires next Monday.' When a gentleman who went to speak with him on business excused himself for intruding on the short time left to his Lordship, he replied, 'No intrusion at all, Sir; for I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live that is not fit to die; nor am I any ways concerned at what I have done.'

Kilmarnock received the announcement of the order for his execution in a spirit of pious resignation. Balmerino, who had the chaplain of the Tower to attend him, and appears to have had a deeper sense of religion than might be inferred from his singular demeanour and strange sayings, heard the information with unconcern, and even with levity. When the death-warrant arrived, he and Lady Balmerino were sitting at dinner; and, on her fainting away, he raised her up, and said to the officer who brought the document, 'Lieutenant, with your . . . warrant you have spoiled my Lady's

stomach.' When she had recovered, he remarked, 'that it would not make him lose his dinner,' and having resumed his place at table, he requested her to do the same, and finish her meal along with him. Two days before the execution, Horace Walpole saw six of the other imprisoned Jacobites at their respective windows in the 'Tower. 'The other two wretched Lords,' he says, 'are in dismal towers, and they have stopped up one of old Balmerino's windows because he talked to the populace; and now he has only one, which looks directly upon all the scaffolding.' About six o'clock on the morning of the execution, Lord Balmerino wrote, or finished, a letter to the old Chevalier asking help for Lady Balmerino; in which he said, 'When his Royal Highness the Prince, your son, came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joyned him, for which to-morrow I am to lose my head on a scaffold; whereat I am so far from being dismayed, that it gives me great satisfaction and peace of mind that I die in so righteous a cause. I hope, Sir, on these considerations your Majesty will provide for my wife so as she may not want bread; which otherwise she must do, my brother having left more debt on the estate than it is worth, and [I] having nothing in the world to give her.'¹ At the same hour of that eventful day, a thousand Foot-Guards and two troops of Horse-Guards marched to Tower-Hill, formed round the scaffold, and extended themselves to the gate of the Tower in two lines, between which the procession was to pass. A house, which still exists, marked No. 14, Tower-Hill, had been hired for the reception of the two Lords till they should be conducted to the scaffold, which was about thirty yards distant from it. At ten o'clock the block was placed, covered with black cloth; and ten sacks of saw-dust were provided, for strewing on the scaffold. Soon afterwards, two coffins were brought, covered with black

¹ The whole letter is given by Browne, *History of the Highlands*, vol. iii.

cloth, and having gilt nails. On each of the coffins there was a plate containing an inscription in Latin. That on Lord Balmerino's coffin was—*ARTHURUS DOMINUS DE BALMERINO DECOLLATUS 18 AUGUSTI 1746, ÆTAT. SUE 58*—with a baron's crest over it, and six others over the six handles.

On account of Kilmarnock's superior rank as an Earl, his execution was to take place first. When informed by General Williamson that the sheriffs were waiting for the prisoners, he said calmly, 'General, I am ready.' At the foot of the first stair in the Tower, he met Balmerino and embraced him. The latter said, 'My Lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition.' As they were going out of the Tower, the deputy-lieutenant, according to custom, cried, 'God bless King George!' on which Kilmarnock made a low bow; but Balmerino, in a loud and firm voice, said, 'God bless King James!' The procession, consisting of the officials, the prisoners, and their chaplains, with a guard of musketeers, two hearses and a mourning coach, then advanced between the two lines of soldiers. According to Horace Walpole, when Lord Balmerino beheld every window and house-top filled with spectators, he cried out, 'Look, look, how they are all piled up like rotten oranges!' The two Lords were conducted to separate apartments in the house already mentioned, facing the steps of the scaffold. The front room of this house had benches for spectators; in the second Lord Kilmarnock was put, and in the third backwards Lord Balmerino. All the three chambers, as well as the rails round the scaffold and on each side of the passage leading to it from the house, were hung with black. Before Kilmarnock quitted his apartment, he received a message from Balmerino desiring an interview with him. This being granted, he asked Kilmarnock if he ever saw or knew of an order, signed by Prince Charles, to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden? *K.* 'No, my Lord.' *B.* 'Nor I neither; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their

own murders.' *K.* 'No, my Lord, I do not think that inference can be drawn from it, because, while I was at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order signed "George Murray," and that it was in the Duke's custody.' *B.* 'Lord George Murray! Why, then, they should not charge it upon the Prince.'¹ After this Balmerino took his leave, and, embracing the other, said to him, 'My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am only sorry that I cannot pay all this reckoning alone.' And he wished him an eternal happy adieu.

While he remained in his apartment during the execution of Lord Kilmarnock, his deportment is stated to have been graceful without affectation; cheerful, but not presumptuous. He conversed freely with his friends; twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine (as Kilmarnock also had done); and desired them to drink to him 'ane degraè ta haiven'—that is, an ascent to heaven. He also called frequently upon God, and seemed both willing and prepared to die. Upon the sheriff's entrance into the apartment to announce that his time was come, Balmerino said, 'I suppose my Lord Kilmarnock is no more'; and having asked how the executioner had performed his duty, said, upon receiving the account that he had beheaded him with one blow—'Then it was well done. And now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life.' He then saluted the company in a manner so cheerful as to draw tears from every eye but his own, and hastened to the scaffold.

When Kilmarnock's execution had been finished, the scaffold was cleared of blood, fresh saw-dust strewed, the block covered with a new cloth, a new axe brought, and the executioner,

¹ Lord Balmerino to the last professed his entire ignorance of any order for giving no quarter to Cumberland's soldiers at Culloden; and said that he would not knowingly have acted under such an order, because he looked upon it as unmilitary, and beneath the character of a soldier. There is good reason to believe that no such order was ever given; and its ascription to Lord George Murray is belied by his known humane character.

who was dressed in white, changed such of his clothes as were bloody. When Lord Balmerino mounted the fatal stage, he did it with so undaunted a step as to surprise every spectator who was unacquainted with his fortitude. The feeling of compassion which had been excited by the slender figure, and pale though handsome countenance of Kilmarnock, who was dressed in black, gave place to one of admiration when Balmerino stepped upon the scaffold, 'with the air of a general.'¹ His courageous, though unpolished, demeanour, and strongly built frame at once arrested the attention of the spectators; and the effect was heightened by his dress—the blue coat turned up with red, with brass buttons, and a tie wig, which he had worn during the campaign and at the battle of Culloden. So far was he from showing concern at the nearness of his death, that he reproved his friends who were about him for manifesting such a feeling. He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, called up the warder of the Tower and gave him some money, asked which was his hearse, and ordered the coachman to drive near. He then read the inscription on his coffin; said it was correct; and with seeming pleasure looked at the block, which he called his *pillow of rest*. He next took a paper out of his pocket, and, having put on his spectacles, read it distinctly enough to be heard by all on the scaffold, and then delivered it to the sheriff to do with it as he should think proper. In this paper he declared his deep regret for having accepted a company of foot from the Princess Anne; that, to make amends, he had joined the old Chevalier when he was in Scotland; that, as it was his bounden duty, he espoused the cause of Prince Charles, though he might have excused himself from taking arms on account of his age; and that he

¹ Of a short poem on the leading Jacobites who suffered death, attributed to Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first two lines are these:—

'Pitied by gentle minds, Kilmarnock died;
The brave, Balmerino, were on thy side.'

could never have had peace of conscience if he had staid at home when that Prince, on whom he bestowed a high eulogium, was exposing himself to danger and fatigue both night and day. He expressed his sincere obligations to Major White and Mr. Fowler for their kindness to him in prison, and complained of the inhumanity and cruelty of Governor Williamson; but, as he had taken the sacrament, he said that he forgave him, and all his enemies; and that he died in the religion of the Church of England, having been brought up in the Episcopal church of Scotland, as he looked upon them as the same.¹

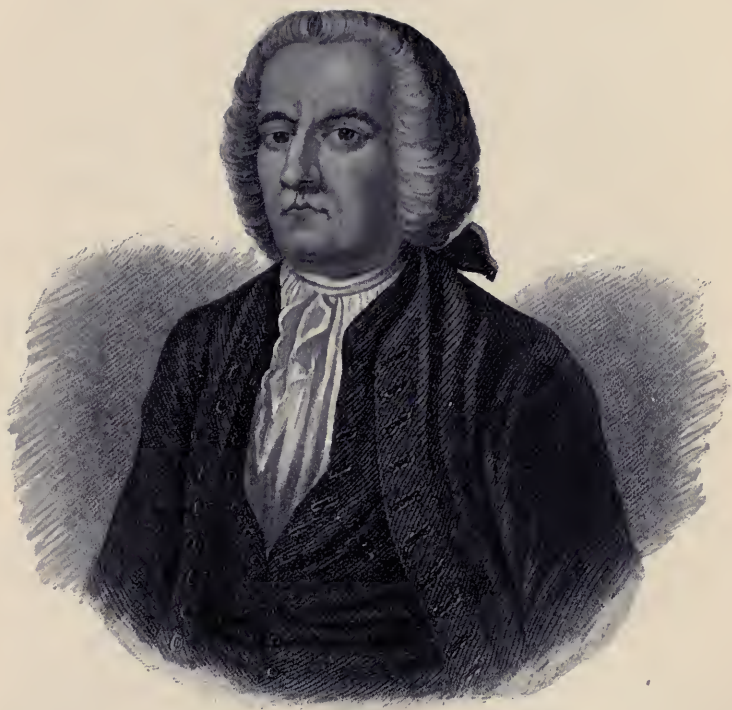
His Lordship now called the executioner, who, being introduced to him, was about to ask his forgiveness; but he stopped him and said, 'Friend, you need not ask of me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' He then presented that functionary with three guineas, and said, 'Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it was more for your sake, and am sorry I can add nothing else to it but my coat and waistcoat'—which he instantly took off and placed on his coffin for the executioner. Two clergymen, who attended him, coming up, he said, 'No, gentlemen, I believe you have already done me all the service you can.' His Lordship now prepared himself for the block by taking off his periwig, and putting on a flannel waistcoat that had been made for the occasion, and a cap of tartan on his head, saying that he died a Scotsman; after which he lay down to try the block, saying, 'If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all down here in the same cause'; and showed the executioner the signal for the blow, which was to be the dropping down of his arms. Returning to his friends, he took his last farewell of them; and having viewed the great concourse of spectators, many of whom even

¹ There are two versions—a longer and a shorter—of this document, which may be seen in *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. i. pp. 32, 54, printed for the Scottish History Society.

crowded the masts of ships in the Thames, he said, 'I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold'; and, speaking to a gentleman near him, he added, 'Remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience.' Then observing the executioner with the axe in his hand, he took it from him, and felt its edge, while a thrill went through the spectators at seeing so daring a man in the possession of such a weapon. He had, however, no intention to resist, but returned to the executioner the fatal instrument, at the same time showing him where to strike the blow, and animating him to do it with resolution, 'for in that, friend, (said his Lordship) will consist your mercy.' With a most cheerful countenance he then kneeled down at the block; but being told he was on the wrong side, he vaulted round, and having, with his arms extended, said this short prayer, 'God reward my friends, and forgive my enemies; bless and restore the King; preserve the Prince and the Duke [of York]; and receive my soul, Amen,' he gave the signal to the executioner by dropping his arms. According to Horace Walpole, he 'gave the sign by tossing up his arm, as if he were giving the signal for battle.' Probably both operations were performed in succession. The executioner was so terrified by his Lordship's intrepidity, and the suddenness with which the signal was given, that though he struck in the part directed, the force of the blow was not great enough to sever the head from the body, yet sufficient to deprive him of all sensation. According to another account, the first blow struck his Lordship between his shoulders; he then turned his head half round, gnashed his teeth, and gave the executioner a ghastly stare. The second blow went about two-thirds through the neck, on which the body fell down; and it having been immediately raised, a third stroke finished the work. The head was received in a piece of red cloth, and, with the body, deposited in the coffin. The remains of the two Lords, having been carried to the Tower in the

hearses which had been provided, were respectfully interred in the evening in St. Peter's chapel there, and, according to their own request, close to the Marquis of Tullibardine, another Jacobite prisoner who had died in the Tower. There is a contemporary print—now very rare—of the execution, in which the scaffold appears surrounded by a wide square of dragoons, outside of which are great multitudes of people, many of them seated in wooden galleries, and on the roofs of other buildings. The cloth which covered the rails enclosing the scaffold is tucked up; which is said to have been done at the request of Lord Kilmarnock, that the mob might see the spectacle. The wooden block, and the coffin-plates of the two Lords and of Lord Lovat, who was beheaded in the following year, are still shown in the Tower. Sir Walter Scott is said to have taken the exit of Fergus M'Ivor in 'Waverley' from Lord Balmerino. Robert Burns possessed a dirk which had belonged to the same nobleman, and on that account was highly valued by the poet.

Thus perished the last male representative of a family who had experienced so many vicissitudes; three of the six Lords Balmerino having been condemned to death, though only in the case of the last of them was the sentence carried into execution, whereby the title was attained. Though the enterprise on which this unfortunate man had engaged was more romantic than rational, and its success would have proved disastrous to the best interests of the nation, yet the verdict of posterity has done ample justice to his bravery and consistency in following, regardless of consequences, what he believed to be the path of duty and honour. Thus a modern English writer says of him: 'The gallant bearing of Balmerino rises to heroism. . . . His intrepidity, his courageous sincerity, his contempt of all display, his carelessness of himself, and the tender concern which he evinced for others, are qualities which we should not be *English* not to appreciate and venerate. His were the finest attributes of the soldier and the



ARTHUR, SIXTH LORD BALMERINO.

Jacobite: the firm, unflinching adherence; the enthusiastic loyalty; the utter repugnance to all compromising; and the lofty disregard of opinion, which extorted, even from those who endeavoured to ridicule, a reluctant respect.’¹

After his return from the Continent, and about the year 1738, Lord Balmerino had married Margaret, daughter of Captain John Chalmers (or Chambers), but had no issue by her. Captain Chalmers spent all he had in a suit for the estate of Gogar, in Midlothian, in right of his mother, heiress of Gogar, but failed in the attempt. The following letter was written by Lady Balmerino to her sister Mrs. Borthwick on the day after her husband’s execution:—

‘DEAR SISTER,—This comes from a soer heart. Yesterday my dear lord Balmerino and lord Kilmarnock was beheaded, after which they war buried in the Tower. After that, my lord Balmerino’s friends came to me, and told me that my greif was very jost, for that day I was the widow to the greatest man on earth, for which it gives me great eas [ease] to hear he dyed with so much coruge. I am to go from thas to the owther end of the Tower, hiveing no mo day near the Tower. I shall let you . . . when I go thear. I have found . . . thear your blasing to all frinds. —I am [your] soerful sister,

‘MARGARET BALMER[INO].

‘LONDON, August 19th, 1746.’²

The old Chevalier, in response to Lord Balmerino’s request, already mentioned, sent to his widow £60 in May 1747, and other £50 in 1752. She resided at Restalrig in straitened circumstances, and died there on the 24th of August 1765.³

¹ Mrs. Thomson’s *Memoirs of the Jacobites*, vol. iii. pp. 468–9.

² *Proceedings of Soc. Antiq. (Scot.)*, vol. iv. p. 296.

³ *The Stuart Papers* (Browne’s *History of the Highlands*, vol. iv. pp. 6, 14, 83, 97). See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 12.

§ 2. THE EARLS OF MORAY; AND STUARTS AND
STUART-GRAYS OF BALMERINO

The estates of those engaged in the rebellion of 1745-6 having been forfeited, their disposal was placed in charge of the Court of Exchequer; by whom the baronies of Balmerino, Restalrig, and Coupar-Angus—being all that remained of the extensive lands possessed by the first and second Lords Balmerino—were held till the year 1755, when they were sold. The Balmerino and Coupar estates, and the mansion at Leith, were purchased by James, eighth Earl of Moray, nephew of the fifth Lord Balmerino.¹

The Earls of Moray are descended, in two distinct lines, from the royal house of Stewart. James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, who acted a conspicuous part in the Scottish Reformation, and was afterwards Regent of Scotland—being a natural son of James V. and half-brother of Queen Mary—was created Earl of Murray in 1561-2. Dying without male issue, he was succeeded by his eldest daughter Elizabeth. She married James Stewart, second Lord Doune, who, in right of his wife, assumed the title of Earl of Murray; and having been slain at Donibristle by the Earl of Huntly and his men in 1592, was the subject of the old ballad, *The Bonnie Earl of Murray*. Their son obtained a new grant of the Earldom to himself and his heirs-male. Through his father he was also lineally descended from King Robert II. He was the ancestor of the subsequent Earls of Moray, as the name is more correctly written. James, the eighth Earl of this line, died in 1767; and Francis, the ninth Earl, in 1810, when the estates of Balmerino and Coupar-Angus went to the second surviving son of the latter, the Honourable Archibald Stuart. On his death in 1832, he was succeeded in these estates by his eldest son, Francis-Archibald Stuart—as the family name

¹ See Appendix, No. XIX.

came to be written—who died in 1875. The successor of this Laird was his nephew, Edmund-Archibald Stuart, who added to his surname that of Gray, on his inheriting the estates of Gray and Kinfauns in 1878. On the death of George, fourteenth Earl of Moray, in 1895, he succeeded to that Earldom, and then dropped the name of Gray. At the same time the estates of Balmerino, Gray, and Kinfauns fell to his brother, Francis James Stuart, honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the army (late of the King's Liverpool Regiment), who then assumed the surname of Stuart-Gray.¹

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 13.

CHAPTER III

THE CRICHTONS OF BOTTOMCRAIG

‘Saddled and bridled
And booted rade he ;
Toom hame cam’ the saddle,
But never cam’ he !’

—*Ballad of ‘Bonnie George Campbell.’*

THOMAS CRICHTON, the younger son of Sir James Crichton of Cranston-Riddel, acquired, probably before the year 1614, the third-part lands of Bottomcraig; and in 1617 the two-part lands of Bottomcraig and Drumcharry, together with other eight acres in Bottomcraig, and the west half of Boghall. Thomas Crichton’s wife, Jean Cannolie, possessed the barony of Gairdin in Forfarshire, including its tower, manor-house, mill, and various lands.

Crichton did not long enjoy his property. According to a tradition which is still current in the Parish, he had a feud with a Laird of Kirkton; and as he was one day travelling on horseback to Cupar, the Laird of Kirkton happened to be returning in the opposite direction towards Balmerino, and they met somewhere about Myrecairney. Crichton’s servant had been the first to recognise the enemy, but he could not persuade his master to get out of his way. While yet at some distance from each other, the two Lairds drew their swords, and, spurring on their horses, met and commenced a fierce combat, in which Crichton was slain. The Kirkton Laird, hastening home, slept that night, it is said, in his cattle-yard, and was never more heard of; having, doubtless, fled for his life. Tradition has not preserved his name, but

I have found that it was Robert Fyfe. The lands of Kirkton were then, as they still are, divided into two distinct portions—'South or Upper Kirkton,¹ and North or Nether Kirkton'—and held, as now, by different proprietors. An Abbey Rental of the year 1617 mentions the 'Halfe Lands of Kirkton posest by Rob^t Fyfe,' and also 'The other halfe thereof,' whose owner's name is not given; nor does the document inform us whether Fyfe's portion was the upper or lower half. But as Upper Kirkton was for some time both before and after the year in which the combat took place—1619—in possession of a family of Ramsays, with no apparent break in their succession, there is no doubt that it was Nether Kirkton which belonged to Fyfe. According to the local tradition, however, Crichton's enemy was the Laird of Upper Kirkton, who lived in a two-storied house which was standing about the beginning of the present century; but as the fact, that at the time referred to there were two Lairds of Kirkton, had passed out of memory, and as the houses of Nether Kirkton were then but a short distance north-east from those of Upper Kirkton, it would be an easy mistake in the handing down of the story to connect the catastrophe with the owner of the only Laird's house existing at Kirkton in later times; which may account for the inaccuracy of the tradition on this point. The feud between the two Lairds probably arose out of some transactions about property. In July 1617 Robert Fyfe had obtained a charter of all the lands (except the third part of Bottomcraig) above mentioned as acquired by Crichton. It is, however, not recorded that he got actual infeftment of them; but in November of the same year Crichton was infeft in these lands. How this came to pass does not appear; but the event may have given rise to those exasperated feelings in the mind of

¹ It may be well to state that 'Upper Kirkton' here mentioned was not the upper portion of the *present* village, which is comparatively modern.

one or both of the Lairds which led to a result so tragic. Be this as it may, it is certain that it was Robert Fyfe who slew Crichton. At the instance of Jean Cannolie, widow of the latter, 'with her bairnes and remanent kyn and freinds,' and Sir William Olyphant, the King's Advocate, Fyfe was denounced and put to the horn at the market cross of Cupar, for not finding caution to have compeared before the Justice and his deputes to underlie the law for the slaughter of Thomas Crichton on the 13th of February 1619; and Fyfe having been further summoned to compear before the Lords of Session for his interest in the disposal of his property, and not having compeared, all his goods, movable and immovable, being forfeited to his Majesty, were gifted by letters under the Privy Seal to Sir John Scott of Newburgh, the husband of Crichton's wife's sister, Margaret Cannolie.¹ The accusation brought against Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, for being accessory to this slaughter has been already noticed.²

The story of Crichton's death was curiously illustrated by the discovery, in 1840, of an old tombstone in the Parish church of Cupar.³ While some alterations were then being made in the interior of that edifice, part of the floor, which was of stone, was lifted, and a large slab was found to be richly carved on its lower side. It was Crichton's tombstone, the inscription around the stone being as follows:—

'HEIR . LYIS . BVRIED . ANE . HONORABLE . MAN . THOMAS
CRICHTONE . OF . BODVMCRAIG . SONE . TO . VMVHYLE . M . JAMES .
CRICHTONE . OF . CRANSTOVN-RIDDEL . WHO . DECESSED . THE
13 (?) DAY . OF . FEBRVARE . THE . ZEERE . OF . GOD . 1619 . AND .
OF (?) AGE . 44 YEERIS.'

The stone has also Crichton's arms emblazoned in the centre, with his initials T. C. Along the two sides are

¹ *Register of Acts and Decrees*, vol. 332, fol. 162.

² See page 352.

³ See Swan and Leighton's *Fife Illustrated*, vol. ii. p. 79.



TOMBSTONE OF THOMAS CRICHTONE OF BODUMCRAIG.

A. D. 1619.

placed the arms of four generations of his paternal and maternal ancestors. Beginning with the sinister side as being the more legible, over the first shield are the words:—ON THE MOTHERS SYD THE ERLE OF BVCKCLVCHE; round the second shield—THE LAIRD OF CRICHE; round the third—THE ERLE OF ROKISBRVCHE; and round the fourth—THE ERLE OF ARROLE; the arms on the several shields being those of the persons mentioned respectively. On the dexter side, the first shield bears the arms of Thomas Crichton's father; the second, those of Forrester, 'THE LAIRD OF CORSTARPHINE'—the only one of the inscriptions that is legible; the third, those of Forrester, with a difference; the arms on the fourth shield cannot be deciphered. The stone described is at present standing against the outside of the east gable of Cupar Parish church. It is not rectangular in shape. The fact that Crichton was interred there is probably to be ascribed to his having been killed in the vicinity of Cupar.¹

Thomas Crichton's wife did not long survive her husband, their daughter ELIZABETH having been served heiress-general to both her parents on the 9th of October 1619. Elizabeth having also died soon after, her uncle, SIR JAMES CRICHTON, BART., was served heir-general to her on the 1st of March 1620, and about the same time he got sasine of the lands in which his brother Thomas had died infert. The barony of Gairdin fell to Lady Margaret Cannolie or Scott, sister of Thomas Crichton's wife, who was served heiress to that estate on the 20th of May 1620. Her husband and she resigned Gairdin in 1623. Sir James Crichton kept possession of his brother's lands for only a few years.

The house of Bottomcraig was built by Thomas Crichton, or, as some say, by him and Sir James, but was scarcely finished before the death of the former. It is doubtful whether Sir James ever inhabited it, though tradition asserts

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 15.

that he did so for a short time. It was no doubt used as a residence by the subsequent possessors of Bottomcraig down to 1682. In that year this house, with garden and lands adjoining—to the extent of from eight to nine acres Scotch—were given as a manse and glebe to the minister, in exchange for the former manse and glebe situated at Balmerino;¹ and the house continued to be used as a manse till 1816. It was of three stories, and the garden was surrounded with a good wall. They were situated in that part of what now became the arable glebe called the Old Manse Park, which was sold in 1872 to Miss Duncan-Morison of Naughton under the ‘Glebe Lands Act’ of 1866. The manse, offices, and garden wall underwent extensive repairs in 1756, and again in 1774. In a document of the latter year the manse was described as having been ‘originally an old Castle or house for defence, and purchased by the heritors to save the expense of building a manse; and as being larger than an ordinary one, but not more commodious.’ The old sketch in Naughton House which represents the front view of the Castle of Naughton, as it stood in 1760, contains also a view of the old manse. The date of the original erection of the house—1618—and the initials either of the two brothers Crichton, or, more probably, those of Thomas Crichton and his wife—T. I. C.—were till a few years ago to be seen on a stone from which they have now disappeared under the influence of the weather, but which, having formed the apex of one of the storm windows in the roof of the old manse, was inserted in the back wall of the present manse offices when they were erected in 1816.

¹ See page 431.

CHAPTER IV

THE STARKS AND STARK-CHRISTIES OF BALLINDEAN

‘Blest he, who dwells secure
Where man, by nature fierce, has laid aside
His fierceness, having learnt, though slow to learn,
The manners and the arts of civil life.’

—COWPER.

THE STARKS of Ballindean were, according to the tradition of the family, descended from the Robertsons of Struan, chiefs of the Clan Duncan or Robertson. Alexander Duncan of Struan, who died in 1506, was the first who assumed the name of Robertson, the family name having been originally Duncan. Paul Robertson, a younger son of this chief, having rashly taken part in some feuds then raging between his family and the Earl of Athol, and having been guilty of manslaughter—an occurrence by no means rare in those turbulent times—fled to the Lowlands, and, for greater security, changed his name to Stirk, which afterwards came to be written Stark. He settled in the county of Fife, between which and Rannoch there was in those days little or no intercourse.

In 1532 we find Alison Ramsay, relict of Andrew Jackson, PAUL STIRK, Marion Jackson his spouse, George their son, with their sub-tenants, obtaining from Abbot Robert and the convent of Balmerino a joint-tack, for nineteen years, of the lands of Ballindean (then extending only to twelve acres arable), three acres of Ducherone, and two acres of Boddanraig. This tack was renewed to Paul Stirk, his wife, and four sons in 1539. In the same year they acquired from the Abbot and convent a feu-charter of these lands, which charter was, on the

petition of said Paul and his wife, ratified in 1540 by the verbal and special mandate of Pope Paul III., under the official seal of Anthony, Grand Penitentiary of that Pontiff. The property thus acquired, with considerable additions made to it from time to time (including the adjoining lands of Newbigging), has been possessed by the family down to the present day, with, perhaps, an exception of three years in the early part of the seventeenth century, during which, however, their *residence* at Ballindean was doubtless continued.

In confirmation of the tradition that Paul Stirk's name was originally Robertson, it may be mentioned that Alexander Robertson, Laird of Struan, who acquired some reputation in his day as a poet, and died in 1745, was in the habit of coming down to Fife, to visit the Laird of Ballindean as his relative; and that John Stark Robertson of Ballindean (noticed below) had in his possession the brace of long pistols and the broadsword which were used by his ancestor in his unfortunate encounter. They had down to that time been carefully preserved in the family as relics, and transmitted from father to son.

In 1569, Paul Stirk resigned his lands in favour of his eldest son GEORGE, reserving his own liferent.

In 1607, George Stirk resigned his lands in favour of David Beattie in Karsmire. This transaction was, apparently, a mere temporary expedient; for, in 1610, Beattie again resigned them in favour of GEORGE, son of this George Stirk; and the Stirks appear not to have left Ballindean between 1607 and 1610.

Under the year 1608 the Register of the Privy Council contains the following complaint made by 'David Gairdin, younger of Dewchorne':—'On the 17th July, George Stirk, younger in Bandane, armed with sword, gauntlet, and plate-sleeve, came without cause, by way of hamesuckin at night, to the complainer's dwelling-house in Dewchrone, where he was ready to go to bed, "with many horrible and blasphemous

aithis, schoring [swearing?] and avowing to byrne the house about his luggis." The complainer having opened his door, and "verie modestlie desyreit" the said Stirk to depart, Stirk had pursued him with a drawn sword, wounded him in divers parts of his body, and would have slain him if he had not found refuge in the house. Again, on the 19th of July, Stirk, having been informed that the complainer was that day to repair to the Grange of Balmerinoch, had come, accompanied by John Duncane in Bandane, armed as above, and waylaid complainer on the high road, fiercely set upon him, and wounded him in the left arm. Pursuer appearing by Alexander Mowat, and the defenders appearing personally, the Lords assoilzie the defenders, because the pursuer has failed in proving any point of his complaint.' On the 27th October, 1608, 'in ane action of oppression persewed be David Gairdin *contra* George Stirk, the defendar alledgeing that he wes assoilziet in the Court of Regalitie of Balmerinoch from ane of the facts libelled, and thairfore sould not now be troubled for it, the rolment of Court being produced, it bare that the process wes raised at the instance of David Gairdin, and of the procu[ra]tour fiscall, and at the day of compeirance the assyse (jury) not compeirand, the nixt day when ane new assyse was summond, and compeired, the said David Gairdin wes not present and insisted not [in his process]. Swa (so), albeit the matter wes suspicious, yet the Lords thocht they could not tak new tryell of that fact. The cause why the assize assolziet was becaus the persewar compeirit not, usit na probatioun, and schew no blude.' On the same day, 'James Thomsone, portioner of Auchtermuchtie, for George Stirk, younger of Bandene, [became surety for] 500 merks not to harm David Gairdin, younger in Douchrone.'

In 1644, GEORGE STIRK, the third Laird of that name, was infest in the property as heir to his father George; and in 1674 he resigned his lands in favour of his second son THOMAS his eldest son having died previously. In 1686, Thomas Stark,

resigned his property in favour of his eldest son John. This Thomas was alive, however, in 1722. During the repair and improvement of the house of Ballindean in 1897, the initial letters of the names of Thomas Stark and his wife Margaret Greig, daughter of Mr. Walter Greig, minister of Balmerino, were found carved on a stone in it, with the figures 1690—doubtless the date of the erection of the building. John Stark became minister of Logie-Murdoch in 1700, and, dying in 1748, was succeeded in the property by his eldest son THOMAS, minister of Balmerino. On his death in 1772, Thomas Stark was succeeded by his eldest son JOHN, both as Laird of Ballindean and minister of Balmerino.

John Stark having demitted his benefice in 1781,¹ as previously stated, studied medicine at Edinburgh, obtained the degree of M.D. in 1783, and set up as a physician at Bath. There is a tradition in the family that it was he who first introduced the use of rhubarb as a culinary vegetable. It is certain that its use as such did not commence till his time—about the beginning of the present century. He afterwards went to Paris; and it is said that he escaped, as an American citizen, from being made a prisoner, the Consul having pledged himself in his behalf. He died in France about the year 1810. In 1790 he married Susannah, only daughter of Major-General Reid (the composer of the air of the well-known song, *In the Garb of Old Gaul*), who is said to have been so displeased with the match, that he only allowed his daughter her liferent of his property (which he would probably have only done in any case), bequeathing it for the endowment of a Professorship of Music and other objects in the University of Edinburgh. The General having died in 1807, the capital sum of this bequest had in 1855 grown to £61,401. Dr. John Stark Robertson, having died without issue, was succeeded in the possession of Ballindean, Newbigging, etc., by his widow, who usually lived

¹ See page 475.

in Paris, and died there in 1838. The property then passed to three co-heiresses, daughters of James Stark of Kingsdale, next younger brother of Dr. John Stark Robertson. These ladies afterwards became heiress-portioners of Teasses also, by the death of their cousin, Thomas Stark of Teasses. The eldest, MISS MARY BUTLER STARK, having married Robert Christie, of the family of Christie of Durie (who in 1839 assumed the name of Stark Christie), the co-heiresses disposed their lands of Ballindean, Newbigging, and their pertinents to trustees under the marriage contract; and on Mrs. Stark Christie's death in 1861, the lands of Teasses, and those at Bottomcraig, fell to her eldest son, JAMES HENRY ROBERTSON STARK CHRISTIE, advocate, who sold the latter in 1864 to Miss Duncan-Morison of Naughton; while the lands of Ballindean and Newbigging passed to her youngest son, THOMAS STARK CHRISTIE, the present proprietor, who was formerly an officer in the 11th Hussars, and whose maternal ancestors have thus been connected with the Parish of Balmerino for a longer period than any now resident in it—at least so far as their genealogy can be traced.¹

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 16.

CHAPTER V

THE BALFOURS OF GRANGE

‘ As for this Cardinal, I grant
He was the man we might well want,
God will forgive it soon ;
But of a truth, the sooth to say,
Although the loon be well away,
The fact was foully done.’

—*Attributed to SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT.*

THE ‘ New Grange ’ of Balmerino denoted the farm buildings from which the Abbey lands forming the southern division of the Parish, including Ballindean, were cultivated at an early period, probably under the superintendence of a lay brother of the Monastery, called the master of the Grange, who was accountable to the cellarer. When the Reformation drew near, these, like most of the other lands of the Abbey, were feued to the tenants (for by that time they had come to be set in tack), or to others. Soon after that event, we meet with notices of the New Grange or Wester Grange, which was on the site of the present farm-house and steadings of that name. We have seen that as early as 1539 the lands of Ballindean had been feued to Paul Stirk.

A family of Ramsays had possessed in the latter portion, if not in the middle, of the sixteenth century, the *eastern* half of Newgrange, including the half of Cleikumsleuch (a name variously spelt), of Battlelaw, and of Outfields of Byres, besides Bangove, Ducherone, and other portions. These lands were successively held by David Ramsay and by his son, James Ramsay of Corston, in Strathmiglo Parish. The latter dying, in or before 1603, was in that year followed in the possession of

the property by his son, James Ramsay of Corston. James Ramsay, who possessed the Mains of Naughton for a few years, and also the Ramsays of Kirkton, and of Bottomeraig, were probably of this family. The above mentioned David Ramsay of East Grange also possessed Pittachop, in Flisk Parish. We have seen that PETER HAY of Naughton purchased the lands of East Grange, etc. in 1621.

Of the *western* half of Newgrange, Cleikumscleuch, Battlelaw, Crossfaulds, Outfields of Byres,¹ and other portions, the first proprietors we meet with are ANDREW WILSON, and ROBERT and ALEXANDER COCKBURN, who possessed, probably before the Reformation, separate divisions of these lands. Previous to 1569 these, and perhaps other portions, amounting to three-fourths of West Grange, etc., were acquired by DAVID BALFOUR of Balbuthy, who in that year resigned them into the hands of the Commendator of Balmerino for a new charter of them, which was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1572.

This charter makes mention of a 'principal house or Hall' as belonging to that portion of the lands of Grange formerly possessed by Robert Cockburn, and afterwards occupied by David Balfour. The description seems to indicate a house of some pretension, which was probably built in monastic times as a residence for the Master of the Grange. This continued to be the abode of the Balfours, and is mentioned in a charter as late as 1686. About forty years ago, an old granary was demolished there, which, judging from the superior style of its masonry and the thickness of its walls, doubtless formed part of the original buildings of the Grange.

The above-mentioned David Balfour of Balbuthy, afterwards Laird of West Grange, was the fourth son of Andrew Balfour of Mountquhanie, whose father, Sir Michael Balfour, slain at Flodden, was the first Laird of Mountquhanie of that

¹ Cleikumscleuch and Battlelaw together extended to four oxgates of land; Outfields of Byres to eight oxgates.

family, and head of the ancient family of Balfour, now represented by J. B. Balfour of Balfour and Trenaby in Orkney. David Balfour of Balbuthy was concerned, along with his relative Norman Leslie and others, in the murder of Cardinal Beaton on the 29th of May 1546. His brothers James and Gilbert Balfour joined the other conspirators in the Castle of St. Andrews after the Cardinal's murder had been perpetrated. Norman Leslie gave to David Balfour the lands of Balbuthy in 1547. On the surrender of St. Andrews Castle to the French, in the summer of 1547, the Balfours, with the rest of the besieged, including John Knox, were put on board the French galleys, and carried to France. They arrived first at Fécamp, a seaport of Normandy. They then sailed up the River Seine, and lay before Rouen, where the chief men were landed, and dispersed in various prisons. The others, including the three Balfours ('men without God' Knox afterwards called them), were left in the galleys and treated with great cruelty. 'Then,' says Knox, 'was the joy of the Papists, both of Scotland and France, in full perfection; for this was their song of triumph:—

“ Priests, content you now; priests, content you now,
For Norman and his company has filled the galleys fou.”

From Rouen the galleys departed to Nantes in Brittany, where they lay on the river Loire the whole winter, the prisoners working at the same time as galley-slaves, and Knox being one of the number. They refused, however, to give reverence to the Mass, though threatened with torments unless they consented to do so. When the galleys returned to Scotland, and were lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrews Bay, John Knox, James Balfour, and, apparently, David and Gilbert his brothers, were in the same galley. This was about the month of June 1548. In the following winter Knox and the three Balfours were liberated. The latter, together with the other conspirators who had held St. Andrews Castle, had been

forfeited on the 13th of August 1546 for treason and the slaughter of Beaton. In 1567 David Balfour had his sentence annulled and his estates restored.

James Balfour above-mentioned—afterwards Sir James Balfour—was the ‘parson of Flisk’ who, in 1559, obtained a tack of the revenues of Balmerino Abbey from the last Abbot. He was a leading actor in most of the public events of that troublous time. Knox calls him ‘blasphemous Balfour,’ and Robertson the historian characterises him as ‘the most corrupt man of his age.’ The house at Kirk-of-field, Edinburgh, in which Darnley was murdered, belonged to him, and, according to Knox, James and Gilbert Balfour were among those who ‘laid hands on the King to kill him.’ James Balfour was designed of Pittendreich. He was an eminent lawyer, and became President of the Court of Session. The book known as *Balfour’s Practics*, however, is not now believed to be his work, as it once was. He married Margaret Balfour of Burleigh, and thus became the ancestor of the Lords Balfour of Burleigh.

David Balfour was succeeded in Grange by his second son GILBERT, who in 1581 entered into a contract with the Comendator of Balmerino regarding the teinds of his lands, and died before 1589.

DAVID, son of this Gilbert Balfour, and a minor at the time of his father’s death, was served heir to him in 1612. He had a son whose name is unknown, but who, leaving a daughter, predeceased his father, who died before 1620.

The next Laird of Grange was MICHAEL BALFOUR, eldest son of the first David Balfour of Grange. A charter of his whole lands, of the year 1631, includes the remaining fourth of West Grange (being the sunny or south half), or the half of the fourth part of the whole of Newgrange, Cleikumscleuch, Battlelaw, Outfield of Byres, etc., which the Balfours must therefore have acquired before that year. This portion had formerly belonged to JOHN OLIPHANT (mentioned in 1596), and

in 1613 and 1622, at least, was possessed by ROBERT AUCHMUTY, who had also other lands in the Parish.

Michael Balfour married Janet (or Jean?) Melville, probably a niece of the celebrated Andrew Melville, and was succeeded, between 1642 and 1644, by his son ANDREW, who in the latter year acquired from David, son of Robert Auchmuty, the lands of Park, Poyntok, Craigingrugie's-fauld, now called Demmings, three acres in Harlands, and one in Woodflat. His daughter Margaret married Andrew Leslie, second son of Sir John Leslie of Newton and Birkhill, and was the ancestress of several of the Lords Lindores.

DAVID BALFOUR was served heir to his father Andrew in 1686, and in 1697 sold the lands of Park, Poyntok, etc., to the Master of Balmerino. This Laird, and also his father and grandfather, were men of sturdy Covenanting principles. Sibbald, noticing either Grange or Mountquhanie—for it is doubtful which of the two places he refers to—says, 'Here is, of late, found good slate for covering houses.'

In 1723, David Balfour sold Grange to Dr. ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR (whose son afterwards purchased Birkhill); and he was acting as a Commissioner of Supply in 1727; after which date there is no further notice of this branch of the family of Balfour.¹ About the end of the seventeenth century, there were no fewer than twelve branches of the Balfours, all landed proprietors, in Fife. At an earlier period there were several others.

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 17.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAIRDS OF BIRK HILL

‘A lowly dale, fast by a river’s side,
With woody hill o’er hill encompassed round.’

—THOMSON.

§ 1. THE LESLEYS AND LERMONTHS.

IN 1539, Abbot Robert and the convent of Balmerino granted a charter of the lands of Corby, Corbyhill, and eight acres arable contiguous to Corby—now called Birkhill—to Andrew Lesley of Kilmany, son of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, whose ancestors, the Abernethies, had possessed them, as well as most of the other lands in the original Parish of Balmerino, as we have seen, before they were conferred on the Abbey. On the 16th of March 1541–2, this charter was confirmed under the Great Seal, and in 1567 was ratified by Parliament. In addition to the annual feu-duty which Andrew Lesley was to pay to the Abbey in grain, poultry and cash, he had advanced to the King, on behalf of the Abbot and convent, a sum of money—the amount of which is not stated—being their quota of the tax on Church benefices which the Pope had granted to the Sovereign.¹

Birkhill, before 1573, became the property of GEORGE LERMONTH of Balcomie, who had married Euphemia Lesley, daughter of George, fourth Earl of Rothes, and half-sister of Andrew Lesley. JOHN, second son of GEORGE LERMONTH, possessed the estate from 1596 to 1601, at least. He formed one of a Royal Commission of twelve members appointed to

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 18.

visit the three Colleges of the University of St. Andrews, where they met on the 8th of July 1597, *Rege presente*. In 1600, he was served heir to Balcomie and other lands, in consequence of the death of James, his elder brother, in Orkney while on his way home from Lewis, where, with several Fife Lairds and others, he had been engaged in a very unsuccessful attempt to colonize and subdue the Long Island under the King's authority.

What was called the 'Wood of Balmerino' extended from Corbieden on the west to the Poyntokburn on the east, and was bounded by the dyke or fence of the said wood on the south, and by the Tay on the north. Within this enclosure were the lands—eight acres, with pasture—and doubtless also the Lodge, of the Forester, or keeper of the wood (the office of Abbey Forester being usually hereditary, with a portion of land attached to it), and—in the year 1601—'the principal manor-house called Birkhill, built near the Ludgeden (*i.e.* Lodge Den) within the said wood, the planting called the Park, dovecot,' &c. These subjects were not included in Andrew Lesley's charter of 1539. In March 1580–81, they were feued by the Commendator Henry Kenneir and the convent to James Betoun of Creich. From him they must have passed to the Lermonts. In 1601, John Lermont of Balcomy sold to Lady Janet Durie, wife of Andrew Lesley, who had now become Earl of Rothes, in life-rent, and to George Lesley, their oldest son, in feu, the lands of Corbie, and all the other subjects above mentioned, including the Wood of Balmerino, &c., with salmon fishings of Barnden and Whitequarrelhope, between Corbieden on the west and Barnden on the east; and the teinds of land, wood, and fishings.¹

George Lesley, who thus acquired Birkhill, having died in 1614 without issue, his brother John Lesley of Lumbennie was in that year served heir to him in this property; and in 1620

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 19.

to the barony of Newton also, comprehending Easter, Wester, and Middle Newton, the cotlands and brewlands of St. Fort, the superiority and fishings of Woodhaven, &c., which possessions (feued before 1517, and in that year sold, by Andrew Kinnaird of that Ilk to James Gairdin) his father had acquired from John Gardyn and others in 1540-41, and had afterwards—in 1596—sold to his son George, to be held by him and his heirs male; whom failing, by his other son John and his heirs male.

This John Lesley of Birkhill and Newton (of which latter place he was most frequently designed) was a man of great talents and eminence. In 1641, when King Charles I., who was then in Edinburgh, created General Alexander Lesley Earl of Leven in presence of the Scottish Parliament, 'John Lesley of Birkhill,' being one of the four Esquires in attendance on the Peer, had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. The following curious account of the ceremony is given by Sir James Balfour of Denmiln, who was then Lord Lyon King at Arms:—

'6 Nouembris, Saterdag, Sessio I. *Rege presente*—General Lesley having newly received his patent of Lord Balgony and Earl of Leven, was solemnly this day installed by His Majesty's order, in face of Parliament. Being invested in his Parliament robes, and conducted by the Earls of Eglinton on his right hand, and Dunfermline on his left, in their robes; the Duke of Lennox and Richmond, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, in his robes, going before him; in this order did they come through the court, and so entered the Parliament House.

'First went six trumpets in their liveries, two and two in order.

'Then the pursuivants, two and two in order, in their coats of office.

'Then the heralds in their coats, the eldest of which did bear his [Leven's] coronet.

'Next came the Lyon King of Arms, having the new Earl's patent in his hand.

'And after him the Lord Great Chamberlain in his robes,

followed by the Earl Marishall, who did usher in the new created Earl, and his two assistants or conductors.

‘When they came before the throne, the Lyon delivered the patent to the Earl of Leven, who did give it to the President of the Parliament, and he to the clerk, who openly read it.

‘Then after three several low cringes, the Earl ascended the throne, and, kneeling before his Majesty, had the usual oath of an Earl administered to him by the Earl of Lanark, Secretary of State; after which his Majesty did put the coronet on his head, and [Leven], arising, humbly thanked his Majesty for so great a testimony of his favour, and withal besought his Majesty to knight the four Esquires that did attend him, which, in this order, by his Majesty’s command, were called by the Lyon King of Arms :—

‘John Lesley of Birckhill,
John Broune of Fordell,
James Malweill of Brunt-iland,
Androw Skeene of Aughtertule.

‘Being in this order called by their names, they ascended the throne, and kneeling, were severally dubbed Knights by his Majesty with the Sword of State; then all of them, again kneeling, had a gilt spur put on their right heel by Sir David Crichton of Lugton, Knight, the ancientest Knight there at hand. This done, they still on their knees, with uplifted hands, had the oath of a knight administered to them by the Lyon King of Arms, after which they severally kissed his Majesty’s hand, descended, and attended the new made Earl to his place, where he was ranked amongst his peers.

‘Then was there four several alarges proclaimed, by the Lyon first for his Majesty, by the heralds for the new Earl, and by the pursuivants for the four knights, with all their titles; after which the Earls retired and disrobed themselves, and thereafter returned to the House.’¹ (*The spelling is here modernised.*)

¹ Balfour’s *Annals of Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 139–141.

In the same year in which he was knighted, Sir John Lesley, though a staunch Royalist, was one of those appointed in the room of four Lords of Session who had been displaced for their adherence to the King's cause, and he took his seat on the bench as Lord Newton. But having accepted a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the King's Horse-Guards, and having been concerned in the Duke of Hamilton's Engagement, he was deprived of his place as a Lord of ^{*}Session, and other honours, by the Act of Classes in 1649. On the 1st of September 1651, Dundee was taken and plundered by General Monk, and many of the inhabitants, as well as persons of distinction who had flocked into the town from the surrounding country for safety, were massacred. Amongst those who perished on that occasion were Robert Lumsdaine of Mountquhanie, who was Governor of Dundee, and Sir John Lesley of Newton, with his son and his servant, who chanced to be in the town when it was taken.

Sir John Lesley was succeeded by his eldest son of the same name, who in 1650 had married Isobel, daughter of George Hay of Naughton, and appears to have been involved in pecuniary difficulties. In 1652, says Lamont, 'Sr. Jhone Lesley of Newton and Corbie in Fyfe, sold Corbie wood to some men in Stratherne for 5500 marks; he was to receiue the money att 3 or 4 seuerall termes. The tries hire werre not vpon the decaying hand; for the most pairt all of them werre bot younge tries, and not one of ane hundred attained to ther perfection; it consisted of oakes, ashes, plains, allars, birkes, sauches.'¹ In 1662, Lamont further tells us, 'Alexander Cuninghame was scorged through the towne of Cuper of Fiffe, and after brunt in the right hand with a burning iyron, and banished the shyre of Fiffe, because some monthes agoe, he had ryddine away with his measter Sr. Jhone Lesly of Newton in Fiffe his horse, and 700 marks, or therby, of his money, and spent the same idelly in the west-countray.'²

¹ Lamont's *Diary*, pp. 16, 43.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 151-2.
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The second Sir John Lesley was succeeded by his only son John, who died in 1686 without succession, when the estate of Birkhill, etc., fell to two nieces of the latter.¹

§ 2. THE DICKS, CARNEGIES, AND ALISONS
OF BIRKHILL.

ANNE AND JANET DICK, daughters of William Dick of Grange in Mid-Lothian, by his first wife Elizabeth Lesley, daughter of the second Sir John Lesley, were served heiress-portioners of tailzie of their uncle in Birkhill estate in 1697; and in Newton at the same time. In the following year they sold Newton to Margaret Countess of Rothes, and it was thus again annexed to the estates of the Rothes family, with whom it remained till it was sold with the barony of Ballinbreich to Sir Laurence Dundas, ancestor of the Earl of Zetland, for £20,000, after the burning of the greater part of Leslie House, which took place in 1763.

Janet Dick was married to MUNGO CARNEGIE, advocate, of the family of Carnegie of Pitarrow, who acquired Birkhill, etc., with his wife. He had studied at the University of Leyden, where he was supported by the liberality of his chief, Robert, Earl of Southesk. He was appointed Sheriff-Clerk of Haddingtonshire, and died in 1705, leaving two daughters. His widow married, secondly (before 1711), ALEXANDER ALISON, Writer to the Signet, who was one of the Curators of the family of Mungo Carnegie. She and the daughters of Mungo Carnegie possessed also the third part of Kilmany, and a portion of St. Fort—which they doubtless inherited from the Lesleys.²

Alexander Alison was succeeded in Birkhill, etc., by his eldest son ALEXANDER, at whose death, in or before 1729, the estate passed to JOHN ALISON, a younger brother of the latter.

John Alison having become bankrupt, the estate of Birk-

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 20.

² See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 21.

hill was purchased under a judicial sale, in 1744, by DAVID SCRYMGEOUR, advocate, who had been residing at Birkhill several years previously. The price he paid for the property (which did not then include Grange or Cultra) was £29,600 Scots, or £2,466, 13s. 4d. sterling; the whole rental payable in grain, with salmon fishings and the carriage of coals, but not reckoning the mansion-house, being valued at £658, 6s. Scots. David Scrymgeour was the son of Dr. Alexander Scrymgeour, who had in the year 1723 acquired the estate of Grange, and who was also proprietor of Wormet.¹

§ 3. THE SCRYMGEOURS AND SCRYMGEOUR- WEDDERBURNS OF BIRKHILL.

THE family of SCRYMGEOUR is of great antiquity. According to Bower, the interpolator and continuator of Fordun's Chronicle, Alexander I., who reigned from 1107 to 1124, received at his baptism from his father's brother, the Earl of Gowrie, the lands of Lyff and Invergowry; and when he became king, he proceeded to build a palace at Lyff. Certain men of the Mearns and of Moray sought to seize him in this palace by night, and to break in the door; but his attendant, Alexander Carron by name, brought him out privily. The King then took ship at Invergowry, and, having gone to the south of Scotland, collected an army for the pursuit of the conspirators. In gratitude for his escape, he founded the monastery of Scone, and endowed it with the lands of Lyff and Invergowry. He then marched against the rebels; and when he arrived at the river Spey, he found them collected in great force on the opposite bank. The river being swollen, his men dissuaded him from crossing; but, unable to restrain his anger, he gave his standard to be carried across by Alexander Carron, because he knew him to be a man of great strength and courage. The King and Carron having first crossed the river, the army followed; and

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 22.

the enemy, on seeing the royal standard unfurled, took to flight. In reward for Carron's bravery, the King appointed him and his heirs to be his Standard-bearers, and conferred on them certain lands and rents in perpetuity. Moreover, because Carron had cut off the hand of an Englishman in a sword-fight, he obtained the surname of Scrymgeour (Skirmisher), which has been borne by his descendants to this day.

Wynton of Lochleven, without mentioning Carron's name, gives an account of this affair, but places the King's palace at Invergowrie, and makes his pursuit of his enemies end differently. Hector Boece relates *two* incidents of a similar kind. The first he places under the reign of Malcolm III. (1057-1093), and connects with it Carron's appointment as Standard-bearer. He states that before Malcolm gave his standard to Carron, he had taken it from the former bannerman (whom he does not name), because, through terror, he was hesitating to carry it across the river. Boece assigns the second of these incidents to the reign of Alexander I., and relates the story of that King's escape from his enemies as having taken place at the Castle of Baledgar in Gowry. He tells us that this monarch likewise pursued his enemies to the Spey, and sent his bannerman Alexander Carron, son of the above-mentioned hero of the same name, across that river with a force of chosen men, whereby the rebels were vanquished and many of them put to death. 'This Alexander Carron' (to quote the words of Bellenden, the translator of Boece) 'slew sindry of thir conspiratouris with ane crukit swerd, afore the king, and was callit, thairfore, Skrimgeour; that is to say, ane scharp fechter; and for his singular vassalage he gat armis; in quhilkis is ane lion rampand, with ane crukit swerd. Otheris sayis, that he was callit Skrimgeour becaus he slew ane Inglisman in singular battall.' Bellenden, however, omits what Boece here adds—that the first of these reasons for his being surnamed Scrimgeour 'is, on the authority of many writers, the truer, as it is the more honourable

one.¹ George Buchanan follows Boece in relating two similar acts of valour performed at the river Spey by Carron and his son respectively in the reigns of Malcolm III. and Alexander I. All these accounts differ from each other in many of their details. In the ancient ballad of *The Battle of Harlaw*, as we shall see, Carron's gallantry and reward are assigned to the reign of William the Lion (1165-1214). But these discrepancies, though perplexing, are not greater than such as occur in the accounts which have come down to us of many other events of early Scottish history. As the Foundation Charter of the Abbey of Scone confirms Bower's statement, that Alexander I. endowed that house with the lands of Lyff and Invergowry, the more probable supposition is, that it was that monarch, and not Malcolm III., whom Carron so heroically served; and it is unlikely that the gallant achievement at the river Spey was performed oftener than once. But whatever may be the precise truth in this matter, and whether one or two persons of the name of Carron thus distinguished themselves, there is no reason to doubt that the name of Scrymgeour owes its origin to an exploit of one or other of the kinds described, and that the hereditary office of Standard-bearer to the King, with the privilege of carrying part of the royal arms as their heraldic bearings, was conferred on this family as early as the reign of Alexander I.²

The names of the descendants of the first Scrymgeour are

¹ The following lines on Carron's exploit were written by John Johnston, a Latin poet of the sixteenth century, in his *Heroes Lectissimi*, p. 6:—

'Quid trepidas? Da signa mihi, superabimus annem,
Terreat an pavidos nos fugitiva cohors?
Dixit, et arreptis signis, ruit acer in hostem,
Nil rapidi metuens agmina torva vadi;
Hinc decus angusto surgit sub Principe. Ab armis
Scrymgerae genti fama decusque manent.
Arma alius jactet, nos scimus fortibus armis
Utier, haud dici, malumus esse viri.'

² *Scotichronicon*, vol. i. p. 285; Wynton, Ed. Laing, vol. ii. pp. 174-5; Boece, Paris Ed. 1574, Lib. xii. fol. 258, 2, and 262, 2; Bellenden, vol. ii. pp. 283, 294 (1821).

not recorded till we reach the time of Sir William Wallace, one of whose associates in the siege of the Castle of Dundee was 'ALEXANDER THE SKIRMISHUR,' who is allowed to have been the lineal representative of Alexander Carron or Scrymgeour. Blind Harry the minstrel, in relating the siege of the Castle, says of Wallace—

'He maid Scrymiour still at the hous to ly,
With twa thousand; and chargyt him forthi,¹
That mayn suld chaip with lyff out off that sted,
At Sotheroun war, bot do thaim all to ded.
Scrymgeour grantyt rycht faithfully to bid.'²

When Wallace afterwards assembled the Scottish lords at Perth, Scrymgeour, having won Dundee Castle by the surrender of the English for want of food, came to the former town; and Wallace, in order to prevent the Castle from being ever again made use of by the English, ordered him to destroy it—

'Masons, minouris, with Scrymgeour furth he send,
Kest down Dundé, and thairoff maid ane end.'³

Authentic evidence that Scrymgeour at this time bore the royal banner is furnished by a charter granted to him by Sir William Wallace. This charter possesses a unique interest, as being the only known document issued by that hero as Governor of Scotland. It is, moreover, one of four writs granted by Wallace which, or copies of them, are alone now extant. The charter to 'Alexander called the Skirmishur' is dated at Torpheichyn on the 29th day of March 1298, and confers on him and his heirs 'six merks of land in the territory of Dundee, to wit, that land which is called the upper field beside the town of Dundee on the north side, with those acres in the west field which were wont to belong to the

¹ Therefore.

² *The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace*, Ed. Jamieson, 1869, p. 280.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

King's part, beside the town of Dundee on the west side: And also the King's meadow in the foresaid territory of Dundee: And also the Constabulary of the Castle of Dundee . . . for homage to be done to the foresaid King [John] and his heirs and successors, and for faithful service and succour given to the said kingdom, in carrying the royal banner in the army of Scotland at the time of the making of this charter.¹ The lands thus conferred are believed to have included those of Dudhope.

'The Constabulary and the estate,' says Mr. Hill Burton, 'were held for centuries by Scrimgeours, who distinguished themselves in honourable service; and a special lustre was always conceded by the popular voice to that race which held a hereditary title conferred by Wallace.'² Of Scrymgeour, the contemporary of Wallace, the present proprietor of Birkhill is a descendant, and the lineal representative.

SIR JAMES SCRYMGEOUR of Dudhope was one of those who accompanied the Earl of Mar to Flanders in the early part of the fifteenth century. We have seen that Sir William Hay of Naughton was another, and that both of them are mentioned by an ancient French poet.³ Wynton of Lochleven thus notices Scrymgeour in connection with that campaign—

'Schir James Scrymgeoure of Dundee,
Comendit a famous knyght wes he,
The Kingis banneoure of fé,
A lord that wele aucht lovit be.'⁴

In the great battle fought at Harlaw in Aberdeenshire, in 1411, between the King's forces commanded by the Earl of

¹ The charter was engraved in fac-simile by Anderson in his *Diplomata Scotiae* (1739). The original cannot now be traced. A fac-simile of Anderson's engraving is given in the *National MSS. of Scotland*, vol. i.

² *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 198 (Ed. 1873).

³ See page 492.

⁴ *Cronykil*, B. ix. 3125-8.

Mar, and ten thousand clansmen under Donald, Lord of the Isles—one of Scotland's most memorable contests, being the final struggle for supremacy between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders—the same Sir James Scrymgeour led the van of the royal army, and after greatly distinguishing himself was the first man of it who fell. The ancient ballad of *The Battle of Harlaw* thus mentions him :—

‘ Sir James Scrimgeor of Duddap, Knicht,
 Grit Constabill of fair Dundé,
 Unto the dulefull deith was dicht,
 The Kingis chief banner-man was he,
 A valziant man of chevalrie,
 Quhais predecessors wan that place
 At Spey, with gude King William frie,
 Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race.’¹

A subsequent SIR JAMES SCRYMGEOUR of Dudhope was one of four persons who, in 1589, accompanied the Earl Marischal to Denmark to bring home the Queen of James VI. In 1606, his Majesty addressed to the Bailies, Council, and community of Dundee, the following letter concerning him :—

‘To our right trustye and weilbeloved The baillies, counsell, and commontye (?) of Dundye.

‘JAMES R.

‘Trustie freindis we great you wele. Understanding that the tyme off the electioun of the Magistratis within that our burgh of Dundie now schortlie approchis, And haiffing a care still (as we have ever haid) to have the same governit be sic personis as ar knawin best affected toward ws and our service and the comunwele of the same our burgh Upon pruiiff and experience of the Loyaltie and gude dispositioun thairto off our trustie and weilbeloved Sr. James Scrymgeor of Dudope Constabill of Dundie we have thoct gude now as oftentymes afoir to recommend him heirby unto you, Willing and com-

¹ Laing's *Early Scottish Metrical Tales*, Ed. 1889, p. 258.

manding you at the tyme of your said Electioun to continew him in the office of provestrie of that our burgh for the yeir to come as lykwyse that according to your auncient and accustomed forme ye make chose of sic other persones to beare the charge and offices of Magistratis and counsaloris within our said burgh as ar best devoted toward our service and obedience and communwele of the same and that ye mak na chois of any restles or turbulent persones quhairby the gude and peaceable estate of that our burgh may be inquieted and our service thair hindered And so resting assured of your conformitie heirto we bid yow fairwele from oure court at greynewiche the XV of August 1606.'

The original of this letter is still preserved at Birkhill.¹

Dudhope Castle, which appears in Sletzer's View of Dundee as it stood in 1680, was erected by the Scrymgeours, and was long their chief residence. It was a large square keep of the style of the fifteenth century. In 1794, it was remodelled to serve as military barracks. As Constables of Dundee, the Scrymgeours were frequently in conflict with the inhabitants.

In 1641 SIR JOHN SCRYMGEOUR of Dudhope was raised to the peerage as Viscount Dudhope and Baron Scrymgeour of Inverkeithing. JAMES, the second Viscount, as a Covenanter, had a command in the Scottish army sent in 1644 to assist the Parliament of England against Charles I., and was mortally wounded at the battle of Marston Moor on the 2nd of July of the same year. JOHN, the thirteenth Constable of Dundee, and third Viscount, also a Covenanter, was a Colonel of horse in the 'Engagement' undertaken by Duke Hamilton in 1648 to attempt the rescue of Charles I. He assisted Charles II. in his famous run, or 'start,' to the Highlands in 1650, and afterwards accompanied His Majesty to the battle of Worcester. Escap-

¹ In this (the first) print of it the contractions have been extended. The words 'James R.' and 'from oure court,' etc., are in his Majesty's own handwriting.

ing thence, he was taken prisoner by Cromwell's troops in the Braes of Angus in November 1654. In 1661, he was rewarded for his loyalty by being created Earl of Dundee. On his death in 1668, the notorious Duke of Lauderdale, by an intrigue, obtained from the Crown a gift of *ultimus hæres* and of recognition of his estates, with the Constabulary of Dundee, in favour of his own brother, Charles Maitland of Hatton. It is said that the Duke sent soldiers to seize upon Dudhope Castle, and that, having got possession of it, he burnt the family papers of the Scrymgeours. The limitations of the peerage are not known; but according to the settlement of the estates in 1541 and 1587, JOHN SCRYMGEOUR, of the Magdalene's Kirkton, Dundee, the lineal ancestor of the present proprietor of Birkhill, who was nearest and lawful heir of entail to John, Earl of Dundee, ought to have succeeded to the barony of Dudhope, the office of Constabulary of Dundee, etc., in virtue of deeds of entail and charters under the Great Seal, but was deprived of his right thereto by the recognition in favour of Charles Maitland of Hatton; by which also he and other creditors on the estate lost their lawful debts. This, with the misfortune of having bought the life-rent of the Countess of Dundee, who died soon afterwards, obliged him to sell his estate for the satisfying of his creditors: particularly the lands of Kirkton were then sold to John Scrymgeour, merchant in Dundee.¹ In 1684, John Grahame of Claverhouse, afterwards created Viscount Dundee, obtained a gift from the King of the Castle of Dudhope and Constabulary of Dundee, then in the hands of the Earl of Lauderdale, on payment of a sum of £2000 to the Chancellor.

JOHN SCRYMGEOUR, the former Laird of Kirkton above mentioned, married Magdeline, daughter of Alexander Wedderburn of Kingennie and Easter Powrie, afterwards called Wedderburn; and their son, DR. ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR, who

¹ Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*.

purchased Grange of Balmerino in 1723, was successively Professor of Humanity and of Philosophy at St. Andrews. Having been presented to the chair of Divinity there in 1713, proceedings were taken against him by the Church courts, because he was not a minister of the Church, but a layman; and also on account of his Jacobite principles. He nevertheless taught Divinity for several years, but was suspended for his Jacobitism by a Royal Commission in 1719. The case does not appear to have been finally disposed of, and was only ended by his death in 1732. He married Janet, only daughter of Professor David Falconer of St. Andrews, and Laird of Wester or Little Kinneir; and with her that property was acquired by the Scrymgeours.

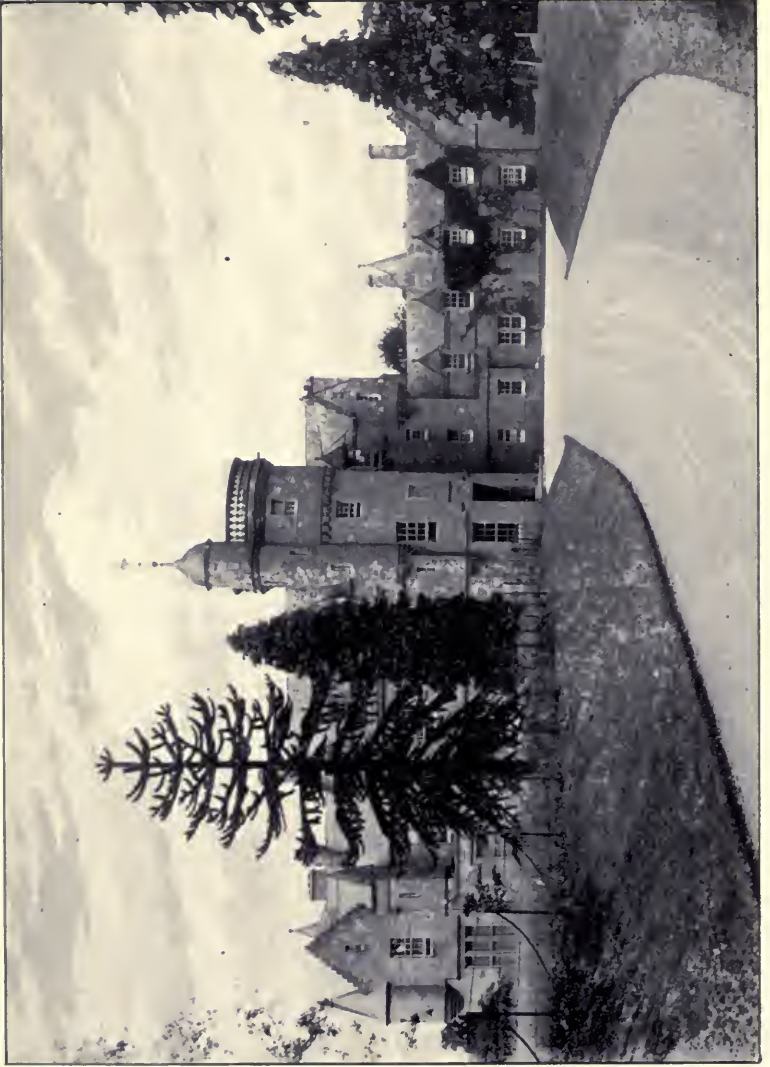
DAVID SCRYMGEOUR, who purchased Birkhill in 1744, was the son of Professor Scrymgeour. He was called to the bar in 1731, and appointed Sheriff-Depute of the county of Inverness on the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1748. ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR, his eldest son, succeeded him in his estates on his death in 1772; and in 1778, on his acquiring by inheritance the property of Wedderburn in Forfarshire, added to his own name and arms those of WEDDERBURN OF WEDDERBURN, of which family it now remains to give a brief account.

The WEDDERBURNS were an important Border family in the fourteenth and the earlier part of the fifteenth centuries. Their lands of Wedderburn, in Berwickshire, are said to have devolved on an heiress, who married a Home, by whose descendants, the Homes of Wedderburn, these lands continued to be held. There is no record of any important family of Wedderburns in Berwickshire after the year 1450; but from about that date there were flourishing in Dundee four branches of the name. The tradition is, that these were descendants of the Border family; and it is certain that they used armorial bearings substantially identical with those of the Berwickshire Wedderburns. The Dundee branches appear to have been closely related to each other, but the name of a common ancestor has not been found for them. One of these branches

was that of James Wedderburn, who married Janet Barry. He was probably born about 1450. Their three elder sons, James, John, and Robert, were among the earliest Scottish Reformers. This James wrote satirical plays, which have not been preserved, against the errors of the time. His brothers John and Robert were the authors or compilers of *The Gude and Godlie Ballats*, known as the Dundee Psalms. Robert succeeded his maternal uncle as Vicar of Dundee. He was most probably the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, though that work has also been ascribed to Sir James Inglis, and to Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. A great-grandson of James who wrote the satirical plays was another James Wedderburn, born in 1585, who had studied at Oxford, and was appointed in 1623 Professor of Church History at St. Andrews, and in 1636 Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal. Having been deprived and excommunicated by the General Assembly which in 1638 met at Glasgow and abolished the Episcopal government of the Church, Bishop Wedderburn retired to England, where he had, through the influence of Archbishop Laud, previously held various preferments, and dying in 1639 was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.

Another of the four branches of Dundee Wedderburns above referred to was that of Robert Wedderburn, who married Janet Froster, and died in 1531. Their grandson Alexander Wedderburn was town-clerk of Dundee, 1557-85. There is reason to believe that some of the Wedderburns held that office at an earlier period; but he was certainly the first of a long line of the name who held it in unbroken succession for one hundred and sixty years. David, his second son, was a merchant and lawyer in Dundee, and his *Compt Buik*, extending from 1587 to 1630, has been recently printed for the 'Scottish History Society.'¹ David's eldest brother, Alexander Wedder-

¹ This valuable record has been edited for the Society from the original Manuscripts, with an elaborate Introduction and illustrative Notes, by Mr. A. H. Millar, F.S.A. Scot. The information given above about the *early* Wedderburns



BIRKHILL, HOUSE.



FRAGMENT OF A STONE CROSS FOUND AT BIRKHILL.
(FRONT AND BACK VIEWS.)

burn above mentioned, represented Dundee in the Scottish Parliament, and was one of the Commissioners for treating of a union between England and Scotland. He was held in high esteem by James VI., whom he accompanied to England on his accession to the throne of that kingdom; and who, on Wedderburn's taking his leave in order to return to Dundee, took a diamond ring off his finger and presented it to him. This ring is still preserved at Birkhill. The same Alexander Wedderburn acquired the barony of Kingennie, subsequently erected along with that of Easter Powrie into the barony of Wedderburn. James, the second son of Kingennie, was the ancestor of the Wedderburns of Blackness; of Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, who married Janet Halket, heiress of Pitfirrane, and took the name of Halket; and of Lord Chancellor Loughborough, created Earl of Rosslyn. David Wedderburn of Wedderburn dying unmarried in 1761, in him the principal male line ended, and the representation devolved on the family of Blackness. Grisel, only sister of David Wedderburn of Wedderburn, on her brother's death succeeded to his estate of Wedderburn. On her death in 1778, she was succeeded in that property by ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR of Birkhill, as the nearest heir and only surviving descendant of Alexander Wedderburn, third baron of Kingennie, whose daughter Magdalene was married in 1659 to John Scrymgeour of Kirkton, as has been already mentioned. The several portions of Cultra, in Balmerino Parish (excepting Henderson's lands), were added to the estate of Birkhill some years before and after the commencement of the present century.

In 1811 ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR WEDDERBURN was succeeded by his brother HENRY, who had resided several years in

has been derived from Mr. Millar's exhaustive account of the family, in which he has corrected the erroneous statements given by Douglas in his *Baronage of Scotland* and repeated by subsequent writers. Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, Q.C., has printed in *The Wedderburn Book* the documentary evidence on which the correct genealogy of the family is based.

Jamaica. On his death in 1841, the succession devolved on his only surviving son, FREDERICK LEWIS, who had been an officer in the Tenth Hussars. He died in 1874, and was succeeded by his eldest son, HENRY SCRYMGEOUR WEDDERBURN, who had served in Canada as an officer in the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot. On the 17th of August 1876, in obedience to the Queen's express command, he, in his capacity as HEREDITARY ROYAL STANDARD BEARER, attended the ceremony in Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, on the occasion of Her Majesty's unveiling the statue, there erected, of His Royal Highness the late Prince Consort.¹

The Mansion-house of Birkhill, which in 1857-59 received such extensive additions and improvements as to render it one of the most elegant structures in the county, was built in 1780 on the site of the old house, which had been the residence of the Lesleys, and, as we have seen, is mentioned in a charter as early as 1601. A remnant of that edifice, notable for the thickness of its walls, was in existence till the recent improvements. There may be here mentioned a portion of a Cross of an unusual kind, which was recently found underground at Birkhill. It is not known where it originally stood, or whence it came. (See the *Illustrations*.)

One of the most remarkable objects in this district is an ancient hedge of very high yew trees, with several hollies interspersed, at Birkhill. It forms the east, west, and north sides of an oblong about eighty yards in length, and half that number in breadth. The great age of the trees is evident from the thickness of their trunks, their general height—about fifty feet—and the wide spreading of their branches, which measure about eighteen yards across, from the inner to the outer side of the hedge. It is quite healthy in every part, without gap or irregularity; and the deep shade of its lofty walls of foliage, and the perfect stillness which reigns within

¹ See Appendix, No. XXVI. § 23.



VIEW OF PORTION OF THE ANCIENT YEW-HEDGE AT BIRKHILL.





VIEW OF ANOTHER PORTION OF THE ANCIENT YEW-HEDGE
AT BIRKHILL.

the inclosure, produce a deep impression on the mind of the visitor.

Nothing is certainly known either of the age of this hedge, or of the purpose for which it was intended ; but as it seems to have been for some time kept low by pruning, and afterwards allowed to expand freely ; and as the Abbey Forester appears to have had his residence at Birkhill, it is probable that the hedge was originally planted to serve as a fence for his garden, or some similar purpose. The space inclosed was once stocked with fruit trees, and afterwards converted into a flower garden, but is no longer so used. Many years ago, part of a causeway was laid bare, but again covered up, at the south side of the oblong, indicating the former existence of some building there of a character superior to that of the cottages which once stood near the spot.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

OF MISCELLANEOUS MATTERS

'Gathering up all that Time's envious tooth
Has spared of sound and grave realities.'

—WORDSWORTH.

THERE remain to be noticed some matters of a miscellaneous kind which could not well be set down under any of the preceding divisions of this work.

The Rev. John Thomson, alluding, in the New Statistical Account of Balmerino, to the fact of Queen Magdalene's physicians choosing St. Andrews and Balmerino for her residence, as having 'the best aers of any places in the kingdom,' says:—'In subsequent generations, dames of meaner degree have been no less indebted to the excellence of its "aers," as the following well-authenticated facts clearly prove. The writer of the former Statistical Account [the Rev. Andrew Thomson] says, "The wholesomeness of the climate appears also from the fruitfulness of the females. The present incumbent has often, in the course of ten years, had an opportunity of baptizing twins; and there are two families in the Parish at present, one of whom has had thrice twins, and the other had five sons at two births." I may be permitted (he says) to add, that that individual, during his incumbency, baptized, in the Parish, *three times trines*. Few parishes of equal extent contain a greater number of very old people. There are at present [in 1838, when the population of the Parish was more than one-half greater than at present] 35 individuals bordering on, or upwards of, eighty years. One woman is in her ninety-fifth



MRS NEILL.

(From a Photograph taken by Mr D. Gordon, Cupar, 3rd December 1889.)

year, and another died last year [1837] in her hundredth.¹ From March 1836 to March 1837 six individuals died whose united ages amounted to 512, giving an average of 85 years to each. The last incumbent died in March 1836, in his ninety-first year.'

It may be added that on the 9th of January 1859 a woman, Mrs. Hill, died in the village of Gauldry who had entered her hundred and second year ; and that another woman, Mrs. Neill, died at Bottomcraig on the 13th of May 1894, aged 101 years and 7 months. By some it was thought she was a year older. Thus within a period of fifty-seven years the Parish has produced three centenarians. Mrs. Hill, whose maiden name was Helen Graham, was not a native of Balmerino parish, but spent most of her life in it. Her age was ascertained from the register of her birth. In her latter years she was bedridden. The birth of Mrs. Neill, whose maiden name was Catherine Dorward, was not registered, but the proclamation of her banns of marriage is recorded in the Balmerino Register under the 19th of January 1817. According to her unvarying statement, she was born in the month of October, and was 24 years of age at her marriage. She must, therefore, have been born in October 1792. Her whole life was spent in Balmerino parish, except during occasional visits to friends. She was born at Cultra, resided after her marriage at Corbiehill with her husband David Neill, and when he died removed to Bottomcraig, where she was most affectionately attended by her daughter Mrs. Blyth. She was able to walk about till within a year or two of her death, and went regularly to the communion in the Parish Church till she was over ninety. She retained her faculties to the last, though she was slightly deaf during a few years before her death. She was of a sprightly disposition, always cheery and contented ; and a conversation with her on the events of her youth gave one a delightful 'whiff of old times.' Her mother died in her

¹ This was Catherine Johnston, wife of Alexander Henderson in West Scur. Their sons John and David died, the former in his ninety-first, and the latter in his ninety-sixth year.

ninety-fifth year. Mrs. Neill had ten children, and many descendants, some of them of the fourth generation.

At the date of the Old Statistical Account (1793), oxen were still occasionally used in the Parish, both in the plough and in carriages. Flax was then largely grown, and spun as well as woven in the Parish. Till within thirty years before that period, 'the Parish did not produce so much grass as to afford pasture for the cattle necessary for labouring the soil. At that time the farmers were forced to graze out a part, and depended chiefly upon their marshy grounds for the subsistence of the remainder through the summer. Now the bogs are almost all drained.' Down to the beginning of the present century there were various 'lochs,' or small sheets of water in the Parish—one on the south side of Gauldry; one, called the 'Shepherd's Loch,' west from Gauldry, below the public road; one near Balgove; one, south-east of Priorwell, called 'Cultra Loch'; one, south of Bottomcraig, called the 'Minister's Loch,' where the curling-pond now is; and one near the top of Scurr Hill.

The Abbey feuars had anciently rights of pasturing their cattle and horses, and of cutting turf, etc., on various commons throughout the Parish. About 1778, and subsequently, these rights were resigned to the larger heritors in exchange for portions of land; and the moors or pasture-lands of Bottomcraig, Grange, Ballindean, etc., were brought into cultivation. Since that period also most of the Abbey feus had been added to the larger estates, and the small farms have been conjoined into large ones. These changes have led to the disappearance of many cottages from places where there had been dwellings for centuries previously. Small pendicles of land, with a cow's grazing attached to them, which were formerly numerous, are now unknown. A tanwork, which was carried on at Byres in the early part of this century, has long ago been discontinued.

Other changes are thus noticed in the Old Statistical Account:—'The harbour of Balmerino, a creek belonging to the custom-house of Dundee, is the chief place on the south

side of the 'Tay for shipping wheat and barley for the Forth and [Clyde?] Canal. The quay was at first designed for shipping lime from the Fife hills to Dundee; now there is not a boll that comes from thence, but, on the contrary, some thousands from Charlestown on the Forth, and from South Sunderland, are delivered annually to the Parish and neighbourhood. This trade has been much on the increase of late. The trade of shipping wheat and barley at this port began about 30 years ago; at first only some farm-bolls were shipped, and afterwards the merchants began to buy from the farmers at the weekly market at Cupar, and received their grain at Balmerino. Before that period, the farmers carried their victual either to Dundee, where the merchants shipped the surplus, or transported it upon horseback to the south coast. The number of bolls shipped here last year must, from the nearest calculation, have exceeded 7000.'

About thirty years ago the 'Boat of Balmerino'—a small packet which sailed every Friday to Dundee and carried merchandise and passengers to and fro—sank in Dundee harbour during a storm, and was never replaced. It was owned and sailed by Mr. Johnstone, who lived at the houses on the shore called Norham, and whose wife long enjoyed a great reputation for skill in bone-setting. People came to her from far and near. After her death in 1862 the art continued to be practised by her daughter Mrs. Duncan.

Towards the end of last century salmon fishing on the 'Tay, according to the Old Statistical Account, was carried on 'by means of yairs or scaffolds with poke-nets, and in summer with sweep and toot-nets.' Sparlings were caught with poke-nets tied between poles, and anchored at the back end. Seal fishing was practised in summer. Stake-nets for catching salmon, introduced in the 'Tay in 1797, were abolished by a decision of the House of Lords in 1816. In this Parish the loss sustained by the abolition was estimated to amount to £1000 or £1200 annually to the proprietors, and £1000 in the shape of fishermen's wages. The

plan of partially boiling the salmon in order to preserve them for the London market, which was practised at Balmerino—at a building still called the Boiling-house, once feued off Naughton, though now converted into the farmhouse of Nether Kirkton—has long ago been discontinued. In 1838 about a hundred and fifty men and women were employed at the loom, the flax yarn being supplied from Dundee. For many years past, this industry has ceased to exist in the Parish. Its discontinuance, with other changes, led to a great diminution of the population.

The present public road leading past Little Inch and Bottomcraig was constructed in 1791. The road previously passed by the back of Little Inch, then close in front of Naughton House, and onwards by the north end of the present site of the manse till it joined the line of the existing road to Balmerino. The road leading through Cultra and Gauldry towards Woodhaven Pier was anciently called the Ferrygate; and the old road from Kilmany to Gauldry received from the Kilmany people the same appellation. According to Leighton, there were, in 1840, 10 miles 160 yards of statute-labour roads in Balmerino parish. In 1895-6 about £120 was raised by subscription for the much-needed repair of the road from the south end of the Kirkton Loan to the burying-ground, and thence to the village of Balmerino. The road was then remade by means of a steam-roller, and taken over by the County Council. The wood along the shore, on the Balmerino estate, was first planted in 1812 by Mr. Hay of Balendoch, factor for Mr. Stuart the proprietor. The wood east of Leadwells, and the wood south-west of Bottomcraig, were first planted about the same time; and Scurr Hill about forty years ago.

The present houses in Gauldry and Kirkton were for the most part built, and the feus acquired from Naughton, towards the end of the last, and in the beginning of the present century—the first, or perhaps the second, house in the eastern part of Gauldry having been built in 1788. The greater portion of the ground on which Gauldry stands was previously a moor.

(This statement, however, does not refer to the west end of that village and Dochrone, where there have been houses for many centuries.) It is much to be regretted that no regular plan was followed in the laying out of the village. For several years in the early part of the present century, horse-races, patronized by Colonel Morison, were held on the moor south-east of Gauldry, on the estate of Kilmany. After his death, these races were kept up by Mr. Skene, grandson of Mr. James Morison, who generally lived at Naughton; but after Mr. Skene's death they were discontinued, as was also a Fair which had been held for some time, and till 1814 at least, at Gauldry, on the third Tuesday of July, old style. It is said that Colonel Morison on one occasion staked £1000 on a horse at the Gauldry races. The ground selected for these races the last time they were held was the field west of Gauldry, and north of the public road.

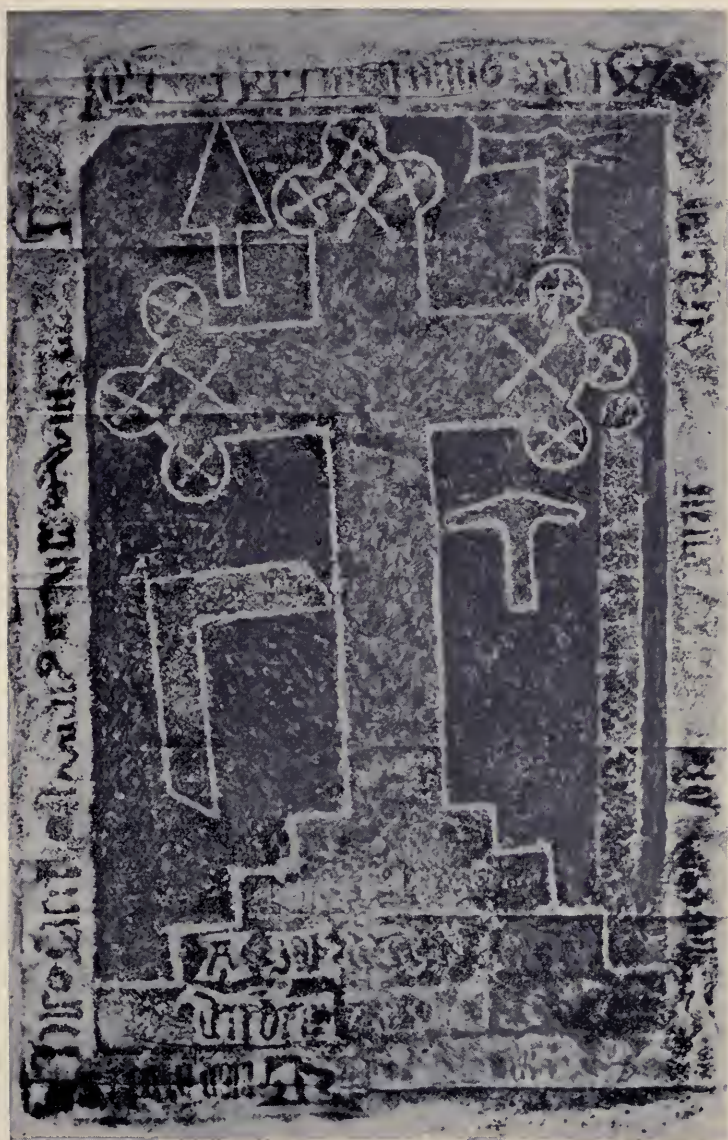
The Balmerino Curling Club, with a pond at Bottomcraig, has had a vigorous existence since it was instituted in 1840, and has been distinguished by the large number of medals it has gained from other clubs in matches at 'the roaring game.' In 1868 was instituted the Gauldry Horticultural Society—the first in the district—which embraced the parishes of Balmerino, Kilmany, Logie, Creich, and Flisk. Its annual Shows were held in Gauldry till 1880, when the people of some of the other parishes objected to the Show being always held in one place, and started another Society under the title of The North of Fife Horticultural Society, after which the Gauldry Society was discontinued and ultimately merged in the other one.

The present churchyard of Balmerino—to which an addition was made on its west side in 1897—contains only five tombstones of older date than the year 1686. The places of interment of the proprietors of Naughton and the Scrymgeour-Wedderburns of Birkhill occupy part of the site of the old church, a portion of whose walls was standing about fifty years ago. These burial-places, and also that of the Starks, factors at Balmerino (in which were likewise interred the Starks of

Ballindean) are inclosed within iron railings. Mr. Andrew Thomson and Mr. John Thomson were the only ministers of Balmerino to whom a tombstone has been erected, or whose graves can now be identified. The oldest tombstone in the churchyard is one which evidently dates from before the Reformation. It is a slab bearing an incised cross which occupies nearly the whole length of the stone, and is represented as standing on a 'Calvary' of four steps. The points of the cross are curiously ornamented with crosets placed within portions of circles. The Latin inscription running round the margin of the slab appears to have been beautifully executed in relief, in Old-English letters, of which the words *HIC JACET* and the year 1527, are almost all that are now legible. Figures of tools placed on each side of the cross seem to be those of a joiner or mason, or of both. The person thus commemorated was doubtless the *Magister Fabricae*, or superintendent of the buildings of the Abbey—such an official being usually attached to every monastery.

Another stone has the following inscription in raised letters:—'HER LAYIS ANE FAITHFUL SESTRE [?] ISABEL RAMSAY SPOVS TO ALEXANDR MATHEV OF KIRKTOVN OF BALMERINOH QUHA DEPERTIT THE 8 DAY OF OCTOBR ANNO 1596 OF AGE 61.' Round a death's head are the words:—'DEATH IS LAYF TO THE FAITHFUL.' The stone bears the arms of Matthew impaled with those of Ramsay.

Another tombstone has the following inscription:—'HEIR LAYIS ANE HONEST MAN AND FAITHFUL CALLIT GEORGE RAMSAY BURGES AND BROTHER GILD OF DUNDIE AND PORTIONER OF BODDUMCRAIG QUHA DEPARTIT YIS PRESENT LYF 15 OF DECEMBER AND OF HIS AGE 90.' Strange to say, the sculptor has forgotten to insert the year; but the style of the work shows it to be of the same period as the stone last mentioned. It bears Ramsay's arms impaled with his wife's, and the initials G. R. and C. B. The three stones now described must have been removed from the Convent graveyard after the erection of the church at Kirkton.



TOMBSTONE, WITH DATE A.D. 1527, IN BALMERINO CHURCHYARD.

A few other tombstones may be mentioned. One, on which is inscribed a passage of Scripture, records the death of Margaret Henderson, wife of James Knox in Peasehills—which event took place on the last day of February 1673. Another commemorates the death of Christian Glen, portioner of Cultra and Bottom-craig, and spouse of John Wan in St. Fort, which took place in 1687, in the sixty-seventh year of her age. Besides texts of Scripture, it bears the following curious inscription, according to which a man and his first wife erected a monument for his second wife:—‘This ston is placed heire alenarly be John Wan and Christian Glen his firste lavefvl spovs also for Mary Reid his second lavefvl spovs or any of his nighest relations clamng [*sic*] rigght thereto.’ Another tombstone commemorates John Wyllie, Schoolmaster of Balmerino, who died on the 17th of December 1705. A stone which had been built into the wall surrounding Naughton burying-ground, and was taken out when that wall was recently renewed, contains the date 1707, and the letters J. H. and M. A., the initials of John Hay of Naughton and his second wife Margaret Ayton. This was, apparently, the top-stone of a doorway leading to the place of family sepulture. Another stone informs us that John Boyter, husband of ‘Christian Bere’ (Berry), died on the 15th of January 1745, aged 42 years; and that Christian Berry died in 1754. This was the woman who furnished in her house a hiding-place to the last Lord Balmerino (see page 541).

Of the modern tombstones one is a granite monument, of ‘table’ form, bearing the following inscription:—‘In memory of Robert Donaldson of Rosebank, in the county of Aberdeen, this stone is placed. He was born at Wester Kinnaird [Kin-neir] in the Parish of Kilmany, in this county, and died at Rosebank, 17th April 1829, in the 80th year of his age; leaving his whole property, with the exception of some legacies, for the propagation of the Christian Protestant Religion within Scotland and its Islands.’ Mr. Donaldson’s property amounted to fully £20,000. His will having been challenged by the heir-

at-law, and every preparation having been made for the trial, a settlement was effected by the offer, on the part of the Trustees, of £10,000 to the heir. With the remainder a school was built in the Back Wynd of Aberdeen, and a school-master appointed. About thirty years ago small grants of money were for a short time given annually by the Trustees to several schools in the North of Fife, including that of Balmerino. The subsequent history of the Donaldson Fund does not fall within the scope of the present work.

The mention of the churchyard, which contains the dust of so many parishioners of whom there is no record upon earth, recalls the words of an old writer, which are at the same time very applicable to this History, and may suitably form its conclusion:—

Large are the treasures of oblivion ; much
more is buried in silence than recorded ;
and the largest volumes are but
epitomes of what hath been.

SUPPLEMENT

OF FURTHER ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

A.D. 1910.

On 24th May 1647 Mr Walter Greig, minister of Balmerino, received an unusual honour, when he and twelve other ministers and four elders, Commissioners to the General Assembly, were made honorary burgesses of Aberdeen. The reason is not stated. (*New Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. ii.)

The two urns found in 1899 at BATTLE LAW, and described at pages 672-3, are here figured on the scale of one-third of their sizes, as are also the other figures below, except one to be immediately noticed. I am indebted to the kindness of the Council of the Society of



URNS FOUND IN THE CIST AT BATTLE LAW, NAUGHTON, FIFE.

Antiquaries of Scotland for the use of these illustrations from the *Proceedings of the Society*.

The excavations on GREENHILL, mentioned at page 673, were continued from time to time till near the end of 1901, and seven urns, figured below, of the food-vessel type, were found, besides another

vessel, which is the smallest on record. The tiny figure here given represents its actual size. Various explanations of its purpose and use have been proposed. It may have been a child's toy. The other



SMALL URN FROM THE GREENHILL CAIRN.

urns figured here show various styles of ornamentation, and when looked at through a magnifying-glass are of considerable interest. What evidently formed a necklace was a collection of beads of jet.



URN FROM THE GREENHILL CAIRN.

Sixty-two were disc-shaped, and ten were oblong and bugle-shaped. Mr Hutcheson, in a very full description of this burying-ground on Greenhill, comes to the conclusion that it exemplifies three, if not four modes of interment—(1) cist-burial of an unburnt body, (2) earth-burial of cremated remains, (3) pit-burial of an unburnt body, and (4) pit-burial of cremated remains under a stone cover. The cairn was of the Bronze Age. (See Mr Hutcheson's article in *Proceedings Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 635.)

On the 11th of February 1908 a large urn was laid bare by the plough on a field a little west of the village of Gauldry. It had stood inverted, but the bottom had been removed by the plough. Small



URNS FROM THE GREENHILL CAIRN.

pieces of calcined bones which it had originally covered were scattered among the earth near it. The urn was of graceful form. It measured 14 inches across the mouth, and was conjectured to have been about 20 inches in height. Unfortunately its broken condition rendered it impossible to make a good photograph of it.

SUCCESSION OF THE ABBOTS, pp. 210, 220.

The names of two additional Abbots—WALTER and JAMES—have to be inserted in the List. On the 24th of March 1488 ABBOT WALTER granted the necessary permission to Dominus Thomas Cant, a monk of Balmerino, and cellarer of the Abbey's establishment at Gaduyne (*Gadvan*) at Dunbog—which official had charge of its domestic economy—to resign an annual rent of 20 shillings from house property on the north side of South Street, St Andrews—which property was shared by him and certain of his friends—to Robert Arthur, one of the bailies of St Andrews, for the purpose of having celebrated annually in the church of the Holy Trinity in that city, an obit for the soul of the deceased David Bell, rector of Dunlapp, and for the souls of his parents and certain other friends. Minute directions are given for the regular celebration of the obit, and for the payment of the church officials. The instrument of sasine—a very lengthened document in Latin—is preserved in the municipal archives of St Andrews, and has been most kindly copied for the author—a work of great difficulty and labour—by Dr Hay Fleming, to whom the discovery of Abbot Walter is solely due.

As regards ABBOT JAMES, it is now evident that there must have been two Abbots of that name, and that Abbot Walter reigned between them. The surname of the second Abbot James was Bunche, a name common at that time in Perth, but not elsewhere. Our authority for his name is Ferrarius, in his *History of the Abbots of Kynloss (Bannatyne Club)*, who terms him a theologian (*theologus*), and states that Abbot James of Balmerino flourished in the time of Abbot Culross of Kynloss, who died on the 28th December 1504.

ABBOT ROBERT FORESTER, who succeeded Abbot James II., was a

cousin and nearest agnate of George Forester of Strathenry; and Alexander Forester, Provost of Stirling, was another of his relatives. In a curious law-suit it was decided that Abbot Robert (erroneously named *Thomas* in the record) was not excluded from succession, nor from the office and charge of tutory, to the said George Forester, his opponents having erroneously alleged the contrary "because he was ane monk, and deid to the warld." (*Acta Dominorum Concilii*, vol. xxxix. fol. 167.)

Abbot Robert, though necessarily a celibate, had two sons and a married daughter, all of whom were legitimated. (Dr Hay Fleming's *Reformation in Scotland*, pp. 549, 555.)

In March 1534-5 King James V. "wrote to Pope Pius III. revoking the licence granted to the Abbots of Dryburgh and Balmerino, which empowered them to resign their monasteries to whom they pleased, as he had heard that they intended to do so in favour of their natural sons, which, he thought, would be a scandal, and desiring the Pope not to consent to the resignations." (*Ibid.*, pp. 120-1.)

Andrew Wilson, "convent-barbour of Balmerynoch," having been born out of wedlock and not legitimated, and having died apparently intestate, his lands and goods had become the property of the Crown, and were bestowed in 1552 on Matho Hammiltoun of Mylburne. (*Ibid.*, p. 545.)

THE SCOTTISH ROYAL STANDARD-BEARER.

(See page 590.)

At a Court or Committee of Claims held by Royal command in London preparatory to the Coronation of King Edward VII., Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of Birkhill claimed to be the Royal Standard-Bearer of Scotland. A similar claim was advanced by the Earl of Lauderdale. The Court of Claims decided in favour of the former. Accordingly Mr Scrymgeour-Wedderburn, by the Royal command, carried the King's Standard of Scotland at his Majesty's Coronation on the 9th of August 1902, and also at other functions at Holyrood in April 1903. Lord Lauderdale then applied to the Court

of Session to interdict Mr Scrymgeour-Wedderburn's claiming this honour, and his application was granted, but, as it soon appeared, on quite erroneous grounds.

Mr Scrymgeour-Wedderburn having appealed to the House of Lords, that Court, on the 7th of April 1910, unanimously sustained his appeal and reversed the order appealed against, holding that the office of Royal Standard-Bearer of Scotland descended in his family by right of blood, and could not be bought and sold like an article of commerce, as Lord Lauderdale had alleged had been done. It may be added that the Royal Standard, kept in Birkhill House after the Coronation of King Edward VII., has been removed to London.

Arms of Scrymgeour-Wedderburn.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th, a chevron between three roses gules, for *Wedderburn*.

2nd and 3rd gules, a lion rampant or, armed and langued azure, holding in his dexter fore-paw a broadsword proper, for *Scrymgeour*.

Crests.—An eagle's head erased proper, with the motto *Non degener*, for *Wedderburn*.

A lion's gamb erased on bend holding a cutlass, both proper, for *Scrymgeour*, with the motto *Dissipate*.

Supporters.—Two greyhounds argent collared gules.

—*The Lyon Office.*

Page 154, footnote, *Liber Usuum*, *add* Printed at Paris MDXXXI.

Page 196, line 2, for an old charter, *read* In a Judicial Rental of Naughton of 1731 the word is written the Gallowraw.

Page 203, *lines 4 and 5 from foot*, for to the nephew of the founder, *read* to John Seitoun of Balbirnie.

Page 231, *second line from foot*, for 28th May *read* 19th May.

Page 394, footnote, for 1663 *read* 1633.

Page 455, *sixth line from foot*, A better explanation of the Session's Box having two locks, which was a common practice in other

parishes, is, that one of the keys could not open the box without the other.

Page 490, *line 6 from foot*, Now St. Fort, *read* As early as 1446 the name is written Saintfoord. (*Sibbald's History of Fife and Kinross*, Ed. 1803, page 262.)

Page 501, *delete the last sentence of the second paragraph, and add*, In 1543 he received 100 merks as an additional fee for this office. (*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, vol. xviii.—1543-1506, page 38.)

Page 505, first footnote, *add*, in this case ; generally the *fiar* may mean any one who possesses the estate.

Page 522, ninth line from foot, *restless* is a misprint for *reckless*.

Page 527, line 22, *dele* (or Drummond).

Page 529, first footnote, *for* the next elder brother, *read* a younger brother.

Page 536, line 1. The truth of the story about Elphinstone, though contributed by a writer of repute, has been denied, and certainly it cannot be reconciled with the names and dates given in Douglas and Wood's *Peerage* ; but it has been shown at the foot of page 651 of the present volume that the fourth Lord Balmerino's eldest son was unknown to the authors of the *Peerage*, and to him the story might well apply. As regards the lady, there is a greater difficulty, but the *Peerage* may be defective in her case also.

Page 558, *for the first sentence read*, Thomas Crichton, a younger son of James Crichton of Cranston-Riddel, who was a younger son of William Crichton of Naughton and Drylaw. *Between the first and second paragraphs add the following* : In 1610 letters of remission were granted to this Thomas Crichton and his brother George for the slaughter of Archibald Edmestone of Wolmit and Robert Hill of that ilk ; also to Sir James Crichton their elder brother, and to the said Thomas and George for hocking, slaying, and injuring cattle and horses on the lands of Cranston-Riddel, and for the breaking of mills, and other crimes committed by them before the 5th of April 1603. (*Reg. Mag. Sigill.*)

Page 616, line 9, *for* 3 li. 1s. 4d. *read* "8s."

Page 646, line 13, *add* William Crichton had at least two sons, Alexander and James.

Page 652, line 5, *for* 6th and 7th Earls of Moray *read* 7th and 8th.

Page 653, line 9 from foot, "Sir James C." *delete* "Sir"; and *for* "1619" *read* "1610"; and line 5 from foot, *for* two sons, &c., *read* three sons, Sir James, Thomas, and George.

Page 683, line 9, *for* 269-70 *read* 487, 507-9.

In 1890 Mr Donald Gray, having been translated from the Free Church of Logie and Gauldry to Pathhead, was succeeded by Mr Thomas Crichton, M.A.

On the 26th December 1907 Mr John T. Arnott, B.D., was ordained assistant and successor to the author, minister of Balmerino.

Mrs Anstruther Duncan of Naughton, having presented to the district a miniature Rifle-range at Gauldry, it was inaugurated by her on the 4th of September 1909 in presence of a large assemblage, and Lieut.-General Sir E. P. Leach, Commanding-in-Chief in Scotland, strongly advocated the movement.

Much has recently been done for the preservation of the Abbey buildings by the Hon. Morton G. Stuart Gray, proprietor of the Abbey—now the Earl of Moray—under the advice and superintendence of Mr F. W. Deas, architect, Edinburgh. By the various operations carried out, future injury from damp and decay will be effectually prevented. The open ground between the Chapter-House and the Abbot's cellar is now being designed as a flower-garden of the pre-Reformation type. The buildings have been enclosed on the north side by a substantial stone wall, and it is intended to surround the rest of the precincts with a yew hedge. These and other improvements will give the spot a charming appearance, and be a worthy result of Lord Moray's long-continued efforts, in which no expense or personal trouble has been spared, to preserve to future generations what still remains of this interesting monument of Mediæval religion.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

No. I

TOPOGRAPHY OF BALMERINO PARISH

[From the New Statistical Account, by the late Rev. JOHN THOMSON ;
1838]

THE Parish stretches along the south bank of the estuary of Tay, from near the mansion-house of Birkhill on the west, to the Wormit Bay on the east. From these two points it ranges in a semicircular form towards the small stream of Motray, which constitutes its boundary on the south. Its length along the Tay, from east to west, is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ [$4\frac{1}{2}$] miles, and its [greatest] breadth from north to south about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles. It is bounded on the north by the Frith of Tay, on the west by the parish of Flisk, on the south by Kilmany, on the east by Forgan or St. Fillan's. Within this area there are contained about eight [$6\frac{1}{2}$] square miles.

Two hilly ridges traverse the Parish from east to west, and run nearly parallel to each other. The Scurr Hill and Coultrey Hill form the loftiest points of their respective ridges ; the former, which rises in the northern division of the Parish, attains an elevation of about 400 feet [336 feet, by the first Ordnance Survey] above the level of the Tay ; and the latter, which occupies the southern division, is about 500 [584 by the Ordnance Survey, but the Greenhill is 608]. The Mause and Church are beautifully situated within the intervening valley, which at this point is very narrow, but gradually stretches out to considerable dimensions in its progress eastward. About the centre of the southern ridge there is a considerable extent of high table-land, in which the village of Galdry is placed ; the ground slopes gently down on the south towards the valley of Kilmany, and is terminated on the east by the ravine of Wormit-Den, which here separates the Parish from Forgan : the hamlets of Coultrey and Corbie Hill lie towards the western extremity. The northern ridge declines more rapidly towards the Tay, the shores of which, along the whole boundary, are extremely bold and rocky, rising in some places into precipitous mural cliffs. The villages of Kirkton and Balmerino are both situated on the western slope of the Scurr Hill ; and a little to the south lie the ruins of the Abbey, where the ground gradually declines towards the banks of the Tay. The house of Naughton is built on the southern acclivity of a small isolated ridge, which rises abruptly a little to the east of the Church, in

the centre of the valley, on the summit of which the ruins of an old Castle are still to be seen. A beautiful picturesque dell lies immediately beneath, from the bottom of which the rock springs perpendicularly to the height of ninety or a hundred feet, and which is overhung by the walls of the building; presenting no mean idea of the strength of a place that must have frequently been put to proof by the rude assailants of a former age. The Parish is well wooded, every spot almost, which is less adapted for tillage, being covered with thriving plantations, and without which, many of the grounds, from their elevated situation, would suffer much by their exposure to the easterly gales.

The estuary [of Tay] is here about four miles broad, but, as high sand-banks stretch outward for nearly a mile, vessels of limited burden only can approach the harbour [of Balmerino]. No river or stream of any consequence passes through the Parish.

No. II

GEOLOGY OF THE PARISH

[Contributed by the late Rev. Dr. ANDERSON of Newburgh to the New Statistical Account]

THE rocks in this Parish belong exclusively to the sandstone and trap families. Of the former there are two varieties, both of which belong to the Old Red Sandstone formations. One of these is the gray sandstone, which is considered by Dr. Anderson (*Edin. Phil. Journal*, July 1837) as the lowest member of the series, and which, from the organic remains embedded in it, he regards as the same with the beds that traverse the Sidlaws, Strathmore, and the upper part of Strathearn. These remains are exclusively vegetable, being the culms, leaves, and fruit of the order Gramineae, and which are found in great abundance in one of the softer beds of the deposit that emerges a little to the west of Wormit Bay. From this point, where it may be traced across the frith to Invergowrie Bay, the sandstone ranges westward through the Parish, cropping out at Demmons, and various other places on the estate of Birkhill. It is an extremely compact and durable rock, and is admirably adapted for building operations. The bed in which the organic remains are found is friable and soft, and seems to abound more in aluminous than siliceous matter. The mica is also very abundant in this part of the deposit.

The other variety of sandstone is of a reddish colour. It crops out immediately at the harbour, and ranges westward to Birkhill, where it may be observed on the beach beneath the mansion-house. It contains a considerable quantity of quartzzy nodules, and portions of other primitive rocks. A scale—only one—has been found in it, similar to those which occur so abundantly in the Parkhill and Clashbennie beds, also at Dura

and Drumdryan; and from this circumstance, it may fairly be regarded as a continuation of these interesting rocks. The bed at the harbour is coarse-grained, compact, and hard, and at one time was much sought after for oven floors. [Remains of fishes have been found on the slope overlooking the Tay near the village of Balmerino.]

The trap or whinstone consists of several varieties, namely, amygdaloid, trap tuffa, compact felspar, clinkstone, and claystone porphyry. Interesting sections of each may be seen along the shore, from the harbour towards Wormit Bay. The amygdaloid is generally coarse and tuffaceous, but gradually passes, in many places, into a finer variety, which may be considered as approaching to the characters of a *greenstone*. The numerous cavities contained in the coarse kind are lined with white amethyst, flesh-red calcareous spar, white felspar, calcedony, agate, green earth, and common quartz. In these nodular masses the calcedony appears to have been first deposited, and the quartz last. The Scurr Hill is well-known to the lapidaries and other collectors of these beautiful minerals, and no part of the island, perhaps, affords in such abundance, as well as such rare and choice specimens of, the several varieties of agates. The compact felspar becomes porphyritic, is of a deep, flesh-red colour, and susceptible of a fine polish. The whole of these rocks, as may be seen at Wormit Bay and Birkhill, are intimately associated with the stratified deposits, and afford the student in geology an interesting view of the manner in which the igneous matter has been injected among the sedimentary beds; as well as the induration and disruptions among the latter, that have resulted from the intrusion of the former. The sandstone is, in many instances, by the intrusion of the trap, split up into thin laminae, varying from an inch to a quarter of an inch in thickness; it is sometimes tossed into a vertical position; and in other cases, as at Birkhill beach, the two rocks are so blended and mixed up with each other, as to render it difficult to distinguish them, or to separate the amorphous from the stratified portions.

Boulders of primitive rocks are to be found in every locality along the shore, as well as on the highest ridges. One of huge dimensions, which lay a little to the north of the manse, excited no small degree of attention, as well as speculation, among the people, as to the means by which it had been placed, bridge-like, across a stream there. It measured about twelve feet in length by nine in breadth, and was of great thickness. By the last incumbent [the Rev. Andrew Thomson], who was fonder of practical agricultural improvements than of plausible and ingenious speculations, it was unceremoniously committed to the blasting influences of gunpowder, when, after being blown into a hundred fragments, it afforded employment of many days' hard work before it could be carted away to the enclosures on the grass glebe. It was a primitive hornblend, or greenstone rock, and must have been transported from beyond 'the far distant Grampians' by the agency of floods [ice?], of which we have now happily no experience.

[The following is from the New Statistical Account of Flisk]

A submarine forest of ten miles in length lies along the margin of the Tay, stretching from Flisk Point about three miles upwards, and seven down the river. It is covered at full tide with four or five feet of water. It consists of a bed of peat-moss, and has no alluvial stratum superinduced. Many stumps of trees with their roots attached, and manifestly in the place and position in which they originally grew, have been observed [but not farther down the shore than Corbieden]. It rests on a bed of gray-coloured clay, whose surface, with slight variations, is horizontal, and on a level with low-water mark. (See a paper on this subject by the Rev. Dr. Fleming in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* for 1822.)

In an interesting Article on *Volcanic Rocks of the North-east of Fife* by James Durham, Esq., F.G.S., and Professor J. W. Judd, F.R.S. Pres. G. S., which appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for August 1886, the following paragraph occurs:—(In the coast-section from Peasehill fishing station to Scroggieside) ‘we have examples of the lavas of the three great eruptions of the Old-Red-Sandstone volcanos, with specimens of the various materials ejected from some of them, ranging from the great blocks of the breccia to the fine ashy dust of some of the stratified beds; the section, therefore, is of considerable interest, but perhaps the most remarkable feature of it is the ancient volcanic glass lying in the hollows of the dacite lava.’

No. III

BOTANY OF THE PARISH

[THE following list of the Flowering Plants and Ferns of Balmerino Parish was kindly furnished for the first edition of this work by the late Rev. James Borwick of Rathillet, who devoted much attention to the Botany of the district. Mr. Borwick desired it to be stated, however, that there were some portions of this Parish which he had not examined; that Birkhill woods, and other places, must furnish several more plants; and that it was known that the late Mr. Gardiner of Dundee found the banks by the shore fertile in mosses. With Mr. Borwick's list are here incorporated the names of additional plants which have been noticed by other observers. The more particular localities of a few rare plants, and of some which, though not uncommon elsewhere, are rare in this neighbourhood, are indicated by letters thus:—(A.), about the Abbey; (B.), Birkhill; (B. T.), the banks of the Tay; (G.), Gauldry; (N.), Naughton. The names of the plants are set down in the order followed in the Catalogue of British Plants printed for the Botanical Society of Edinburgh.]

RANUNCULACEAE. *Aconitum Napellus*; *Anemone nemorosa*; *Aquilegia vulgaris*; *Caltha palustris*; *Eranthis hyemalis*; *Ranunculus*

acris; *R. aquatilis*; *R. bulbosus*; *R. Ficaria*; *R. Flammula*; *R. hederaceus*; *R. repens*; *R. sceleratus* (B.).

PAPAVERACEAE. *Chelidonium majus* (G.); *Papaver Argemone* (Scurr); *P. dubium*; *P. Rhoeas*.

FUMARIACEAE. *Fumaria capreolata*; *F. officinalis*.

CRUCIFERAE. *Alliaria officinalis* (B.); *Barbarea vulgaris*; *Brassica campestris*; *Capsella Bursa-pastoris*; *Cardamine hirsuta* (B.); *C. pratensis*; *Cheiranthus Cheiri* (A.); *Cochlearia anglica* (B. T.); *C. officinalis*; *Draba verna*; *Lepidium campestre*; *L. latifolium*; *Nasturtium officinale*; *N. palustre* (B.); *Raphanus Raphanistrum*; *Sinapis arvensis*; *Sysimbrium officinale*; *S. thalianum*; *Teesdalia nudicaulis*.

RESEDACEAE. *Reseda lutea*; *R. Luteola* (B.).

CISTACEAE. *Helianthemum vulgare*.

VIOLACEAE. *Viola canina*; *V. lutea*; *V. odorata*; *V. tricolor*.

POLYGALACEAE. *Polygala vulgaris*.

CARYOPHYLLACEAE. *Arenaria serpyllifolia*; *Cerastium arvense*; *C. glomeratum*; *C. tetrandrum*; *C. triviale*; *Honckenya peploides* (B. T.); *Lychnis diurna*; *L. Flos-cuculi*; *L. Githago*; *L. vespertina*; *Malachium aquaticum*; *Moehringia trinervis*; *Sagina apetala*; *S. nodosa*; *S. procumbens*; *S. subulata*; *Silene inflata*; *Stellaria glauca*; *S. graminea*; *S. Holostea*; *S. media*; *S. uliginosa*.

MALVACEAE. *Malva moschata* (A. and B.); *M. rotundifolia* (A. and B.); *M. sylvestris*.

TILIACEAE. *Tilia europaea* (B.).

HYPERICACEAE. *Hypericum calycinum* (N.); *H. dubium*; *H. hirsutum*; *H. humifusum*; *H. perforatum*; *H. pulchrum*; *H. quadrangulum*.

GERANIACEAE. *Erodium cicutarium* (B.); *Geranium columbinum* (B.); *G. dissectum*; *G. lucidum* (N.); *G. molle*; *G. pratense* (B. T.); *G. robertianum*; *G. sylvaticum*.

LINACEAE. *Linum catharticum* (B. T.); *Radiola Millegrana*.

OXALIDACEAE. *Oxalis Acetosella*.

LEGUMINOSAE. *Anthyllis Vulneraria*; *Astragalus hypoglottis*; *Lathyrus latifolius* (G.); *L. macrorhizus*; *L. pratensis*; *Lotus corniculatus*; *L. major*; *Medicago lupulina*; *Melilotus officinalis*; *Ononis arvensis*; *Sarothamnus scoparius*; *Trifolium arvense*; *T. medium*; *T. minus*; *T. pratense*; *T. procumbens*; *T. repens*; *T. striatum* (Fincaigs); *Ulex europaeus*; *Vicia Cracca*; *V. hirsuta*; *V. lathyroides*; *V. Orobis*; *V. sativa*; *V. sepium*.

ROSACEAE. *Agrimonia Eupatoria* (B. T. and B.); *Alchemilla arvensis*; *A. vulgaris*; *Comarum palustre*; *Crataegus Oxyacantha*; *Fragaria vesca*; *Geum intermedium* (B.); *G. rivale*; *G. urbanum*; *Potentilla anserina*; *P. reptans*; *P. Tormentilla*; *Prunus avium* (B.); *P. communis* (B. T.); *Pyrus aucuparia*; *Rosa canina*; *R. rubiginosa*; *R. spinosissima*; *R. tomentosa*; *R. villosa*; *Rubus caesius*; *R. Idaeus*; *R. plicatus*; *R. saxatilis*; *Spiraea salicifolia*; *S. Ulmaria*.

ONAGRACEAE. *Circaea Lutetiana*; *Epilobium hirsutum*; *E. montanum*; *E. palustre*; *E. parviflorum*; *E. tetragonum*.

PORTULACACEAE. *Montia fontana*.

PARONYCHIACEAE. *Lepigonum rubrum*; *L. marinum*; *Scleranthus annuus*; *Spergula arvensis*.

CRASSULACEAE. *Sedum acre*; *S. reflexum*; *S. Rhodiola*; *S. Telephium*; *Sempervivum tectorum*.

SAXIFRAGACEAE. *Chrysosplenium oppositifolium*; *Saxifraga granulata*.

UMBELLIFERAE. *Aegopodium Podagraria*; *Aethusa Cynapium*; *Angelica sylvestris*; *Anthriscus sylvestris*; *Bunium flexuosum*; *Carum Carui*; *Chaerophyllum temulum*; *Conium maculatum*; *Daucus Carota*; *Heracleum Sphondylium*; *Hydrocotyle vulgaris*; *Myrrhis odorata*; *Oenanthe crocata*; *Pimpinella Saxifraga*; *Sanicula europaea* (B.); *Scandix Pecten-Veneris*; *Torilis Anthriscus*.

ARALIACEAE. *Hedera Helix*.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE. *Lonicera Periclymenum*; *Sambucus nigra*.

RUBIACEAE. *Asperula odorata*; *Galium Aparine*; *G. cruciatum*; *G. palustre*; *G. saxatile*; *G. uliginosum*; *G. verum*; *Sherardia arvensis*.

VALERIANACEAE. *Valeriana officinalis*; *V. pyrenaica* (B.); *Valeriana dentata*; *V. olitoria*.

DIPSACACEAE. *Knautia arvensis*; *Scabiosa succisa*.

COMPOSITAE. *Achillaea Millefolium*; *A. Ptarmica*; *Antennaria dioica*; *Anthemis arvensis*; *Apargia autumnalis*; *A. hispida*; *Arctium majus*; *Artemisia maritima* (B. T.); *A. vulgaris*; *Aster Tripolium*; *Bellis perennis*; *Carduus arvensis*; *C. acanthoides* (B. T.); *C. lanceolatus*; *C. nutans*; *C. palustris*; *Centaurea Cyanus*; *C. nigra*; *C. scabiosa*; *Chrysanthemum Leucanthemum*; *C. segetum*; *Crepis paludosa*; *C. virens*; *Doronicum Pardalianches*; *Eupatorium cannabinum* (B. T.); *Filago germanica*; *F. minima* (N.); *Gnaphalium sylvaticum*; *G. uliginosum*; *Hieracium aurantiacum* (B.); *H. murorum*; *H. Pilosella*; *H. vulgatum*; *Lapsana communis*; *Leontodon Taraxacum*; *L. palustre*; *Matricaria inodora*; *M. Parthenium*; *Petasites vulgaris*; *Senecio Jacobaea*; *S. saracenicus* (G.); *S. sylvaticus*; *S. viscosus*; *S. vulgaris*; *Solidago Virgaurea* (B.); *Sonchus asper*; *S. oleraceus*; *Tanacetum vulgare* (A.); *Tussilago Farfara*.

CAMPANULACEAE. *Campanula glomerata*; *C. latifolia* (B.); *C. rapunculoides*; *C. rotundifolia*.

ERICACEAE. *Calluna vulgaris*; *Erica cinerea*; *E. Tetralix*; *Pyrola minor*.

VACCINEACEAE. *Vaccinium Myrtillus*.

AQUIFOLIACEAE. *Ilex Aquifolium*.

APOCYNACEAE. *Vinca major*.

GENTIANACEAE. *Menyanthes trifoliata*.

CONVOLVULACEAE. *Convolvulus arvensis*; *C. sepium*.

BORAGINACEAE. *Echium vulgare*; *Lithospermum arvense*; *Lycopsis arvensis*; *Myosotis arvensis*; *M. palustris*; *M. sylvatica*; *M. versicolor*; *Symphytum officinale*.

SCROPHULARIACEAE. *Digitalis purpurea*. *Euphrasia odontites*; *E. officinalis*; *Linaria Cymbalaria*; *L. vulgaris*; *Melampyrum pratense* (B.); *Pedicularis palustris*; *P. sylvatica*; *Rhinanthus Crista-galli*; *Scrophularia aquatica*; *S. nodosa*; *S. vernalis*; *Veronica agrestis*; *V. Anagallis*; *V. arvensis*; *V. Beccabunga*; *V. Chamaedrys*; *V. hederifolia*; *V. officinalis*; *V. scutellata*; *V. serpyllifolia*.

LABIATAE. *Ajuga reptans*; *Calamintha Clinopodium* (B.); *Galeopsis Tetrahit*; *G. versicolor*; *Lamium album*; *L. amplexicaule*; *L. intermedium*; *L. maculatum*; *L. purpureum*; *Mentha aquatica*; *M. arvensis*; *M. piperita*; *M. rotundifolia* (B.); *Nepeta Glechoma*; *Prunella vulgaris*; *Scutellaria galericulata* (B.); *Stachys arvensis*; *S. palustris*; *S. sylvatica*; *Teucrium Scorodonia*; *Thymus Chamaedrys*.

LENTIBULARIACEAE. *Pinguicula vulgaris* (B.).

PRIMULACEAE. *Anagallis arvensis*; *Glaux maritima* (B. T.); *Lysimachia nemorum* (B.); *Primula elatior*; *P. veris* (Scurr); *P. vulgaris*.

PLANTAGINACEAE. *Plantago Coronopus*; *P. lanceolata*; *P. major*; *P. maritima*.

CHENOPODIACEAE. *Atriplex hastata*; *A. littoralis*; *Chenopodium album*; *C. Bonus-Henricus* (A.); *C. polyspermum*.

POLYGONACEAE. *Polygonum amphibium*; *P. aviculare*; *P. Bistorta* (B.); *P. convolvulus*; *P. Hydropiper*; *P. Persicaria*; *Rumex acetosa*; *R. Acetosella*; *R. crispus*; *R. maritimus* (B. T.); *R. obtusifolius*; *R. palustris*; *R. sanguineus*.

THYMELEACEAE. *Daphne Laureola*.

EMPETRACEAE. *Empetrum nigrum*.

EUPHORBIAEAE. *Euphorbia helioscopia*; *E. paralias*; *E. peplus*; *Mercurialis perennis*.

URTICACEAE. *Parietaria diffusa* (A.); *Urtica dioica*; *U. urens*.

CALLITRICHACEAE. *Callitriche verna*.

AMENIFERAE. *Betula alba*; *Corylus Avellana* (B.); *Fagus sylvatica*; *Populus tremula*; *Salix capraea*; *S. repens*; *S. stipularis*; *S. viminalis*.

ORCHIDACEAE. *Epipactis latifolia* (B.); *Listera ovata* (B.); *Orchis latifolia*; *O. maculata*; *O. mascula*.

IRIDACEAE. *Iris Pseudacorus*.

AMARYLLIDACEAE. *Galanthus nivalis*.

LILIACEAE. *Allium ursinum* (B.); *A. vineale* (B. T.); *Convallaria majalis* (B.); *Endymion nutans*; *Muscari racemosum*; *Tulipa sylvestris* (A.).

JUNCACEAE. *Juncus acutiflorus*; *J. bufonius*; *J. compressus*; *J. conglomeratus*; *J. effusus*; *J. glaucus*; *J. lamprocarpus*; *J. squarrosus*; *J. supinus*; *Luzula campestris*; *L. multiflora*; *L. congesta*; *L. pilosa*; *L. sylvatica*.

ALISMACEAE. *Alisma Plantago*; *Triglochin maritimum*; *T. palustre*.

CYPERACEAE. *Carex distans*; *C. disticha* (Fincaigs mill-dam); *C. flava*; *C. fulva*; *C. glauca*; *C. hirta*; *C. limosa*; *C. ovalis* (Glebe); *C. panicea*; *C. praecox*; *C. pulicaris* (B. T.); *C. stellulata*; *C. vulgaris*; *C. vulpina*; *Eleocharis multicaulis*; *E. palustris*; *Eriophorum angustifolium*;

Scirpus lacustris; *S. maritimus* (B. T.); *S. setaceus* (B. T.); *S. sylvaticus* (B.).

GRAMINEAE. *Agrostis alba*; *A. canina*; *A. vulgaris* (B. T.); *Aira caespitosa*; *A. caryophylla*; *A. flexuosa*; *A. praecox*; *Alopecurus bulbosus*; *A. fulvus*; *A. geniculatus*; *A. pratensis*; *Anthoxanthum odoratum*; *Arrhenatherum avenaceum*; *Avena pratensis*; *Brachypodium sylvaticum* (B. T.); *Briza media*; *Bromus asper*; *B. sterilis*; *Cynosurus cristatus*; *Dactylis glomerata*; *Festuca bromoides*; *F. ovina*; *F. duriuscula*; *Glyceria aquatica*; *G. fluitans*; *Holcus lanatus*; *H. mollis*; *Hordeum maritimum* (B. T.); *H. murinum* (A.); *Koeleria crestata*; *Lolium italicum*; *L. perenne*; *Milium effusum* (B.); *Nardus stricta*; *Phalaris arundinacea*; *Phleum pratense*; *Phragmites communis* (B.); *Poa annua*; *P. nemoralis*; *P. pratensis*; *P. trivialis*; *Serrafalcus commutatus*; *S. mollis*; *Triticum repens*.

EQUISETACEAE. *Equisetum arvense*; *E. limosum*; *E. palustre*.

FILICES. *Asplenium Adiantum-nigrum*; *A. Ruta-muraria*; *A. Trichomanes*; *A. Filix-foemina*; *A. convexum*; *Blechnum boreale*; *Botrychium Lunaria* (G.); *Cystopteris dentata*; *C. fragilis* (B.); *Lastraea Filix-mas*; *L. spinulosa* (B.); *L. dilatata*; *Polypodium Dryopteris* (Rocks at Bottomeraig); *P. vulgare*; *Allosorus Crispus* (Scurhill); *Polystichum aculeatum*; *P. angulare* (B.); *Pteris aquilina*; *Scolopendrium vulgare* (B.).

[The New Statistical Account gives also the following names of plants :—*Triticum Loliaceum* (B. T.); *Statice Armeria* (B. T.).]

No. IV

LIST OF THE ABBOTS OF BALMERINO

I.—REGULAR ABBOTS

I. ALAN I.	. . . . .	Appointed	1229	Died	1236
II. RALPH	. . . . .	Elected	1236	„	1251
III. JOHN	. . . . .	„	1251	Resigned	1252
IV. ADAM I.	. . . . .	„	1252	„	1260
V. ADAM II.	. . . . .	„	1260	Died	1270
VI. WILLIAM DE PERISBY	. . . . .	„	1270	He (?) died	1281
VII. THOMAS?	. . . . .	„	1281		
VIII. WILLIAM II.	. . . . .	Mentioned	1296		
IX. ALAN II.	. . . . .	„	1317		
X. HUGH	. . . . .	„	1368,	or sooner?	
XI. PATRICK	. . . . .	„	1369	to	1373
XII. JOHN DE HAYLIS	. . . . .	„	1408	to	1435
XIII. RICHARD	. . . . .	„	1441	to	1465
XIV. JAMES	. . . . .	„	1466	to	1507
XV. ROBERT FORRESTER OR FOSTER	. . . . .	„	1511	to	1559

II.—COMMENDATOR-ABBOTS

I.	JOHN HAY	Appointed 1560?	Died	1573
II.	{ HENRY KINNEIR	„	1574 Deprived	1600
III.	{ JOHN KINNEIR	„	1581 Died before	1603
IV.	ROBERT AUCHMUTY (to the } spirituality)	„	1604 Resigned	1605

No. V

LIST OF THE MINISTERS OF BALMERINO FROM THE
REFORMATION

1.	ARCHIBALD KEITH, admitted	1560
	Translated to Longley before	1567
2.	PATRICK AUCHINLECK, mentioned 1571 to	1576
	Translated to Alves	1578
3.	THOMAS DOUGLAS of Stonypath, mentioned 1578; died	1634
4.	WALTER GREIG, admitted Assistant and Successor to Mr. Douglas, 1621; died	1672
5.	ANDREW BRUCE, admitted	1673
6.	JAMES GAINES OF GARDEN, admitted	1676
	Translated to Carnbee	1678
7.	GEORGE HAY, admitted	1678
	Translated to Coupar-Angus	1682
8.	JOHN AUCHTERLONY, admitted 1682; outed?	1689
	(Was afterwards minister of Fordun.)	
9.	ANDREW BOWIE, admitted	1690
	Translated to Ceres	1692
	(Vacancy for nearly four years.)	
10.	JAMES HAY, ordained 1696; died	1752
11.	THOMAS KERR, ordained Assistant and Successor to Mr. Hay, 1722; died	1741
12.	THOMAS STARK of Ballindean, ordained Assistant and Successor to Mr. Hay, 1742; died	1772
13.	JOHN STARK of Ballindean, ordained 1773; demitted	1781
14.	ANDREW THOMSON, ordained 1782; died	1836
15.	JOHN THOMSON, ordained Assistant and Successor to the last, 1824; died	1857
16.	The present incumbent, ordained 1854; admitted	1857

No. VI

LIST OF THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOLMASTERS OF BALMERINO
FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PARISH SCHOOL

[See page 365]

1. JAMES SIBBALD	Appointed 1641	Mentioned 1650
2. DAVID LEITCH		Demitted 1657
3. JOHN WYLLIE	„ 1657	Died 1705
4. ROBERT WYLLIE, son of the last	„ 1706	
5. WILLIAM JACK	„ 1712	Demitted 1729
6. WILLIAM DOW	„ 1729	
7. WILLIAM ARTHUR, student in } divinity }	„ 1731	
8. JOHN GOW, music-master in Cupar	„ 1732	
9. — MYLES		Mentioned 1737 to 1742
10. ALEXANDER BROWN	Appointed 1742	
11. GEORGE GOURLAY	„ 1744	
12. GEORGE PATON	„ 1755	Demitted 1762
13. ANDREW GRAY	„ 1763	
14. DAVID PATON	„ 1781	
15. WILLIAM BALLINGALL	„ 1830	Died 1882

No. VII

ALIENATION OF THE ABBEY LANDS

[Referred to at page 245]

In Appendix No. XXVII. will be found the dates—actual or approximate—of the first feus of the Abbey lands in Balmerino Parish. Subjoined are notes of lands situated elsewhere, which were feued before the Reformation; but there are several others, the dates of the first feucharters of which I have not found recorded. The names set down in the Abbey Rental (Appendix, No. X.) seem to be, in many cases, those of the *original* feuars, and will so far supplement the deficiencies in the following list. It may be mentioned that a sum of money was usually paid to the Convent by way of purchase-money, besides the *reddendo*, which, in addition to a payment in money, poultry, etc., generally included three suits of attendance annually by the feuars at as many Head Courts, either at Balmerino, Barry, or Pitgorno. In many cases the feuduty was doubled at the entrance of heirs or other successors.

The earliest feus of the Abbey property—namely, of certain tenements in Dundee and Crail—have been already noticed at pages 188 and 209.

In 1504 Abbot James and the Convent gave a charter of the houses, yards, etc., called St. Ail's chapel, and acre of ground called St. Ail's acre, or the Meikle acre, *alias* Kilu acre, at Anstruther Easter, to 'John Mitchell of said monastery'—who could not have been one of the monks, but might have been their manager of the establishment there. (This charter is mentioned in the Titles of St. Ayle's in the possession of the present proprietor, William Hanson Anderson, Esq.; but the charter itself is not now extant.) In 1535 these subjects were again feued to Thomas Wood (see page 193); 1555, John Wood. In 1588 William Wood resigned these subjects to John Beaton of Balfour, who in the same year obtained a charter of them from Commendator Henry, which was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1590.

In January 1506-7 'the lands of the town of Pitgorno in the barony of Pitgorno' were feued by Abbot James and the Convent to Hugh Moncreif (see page 223). These lands afterwards came into the possession of the Scotts of Balwery.

Before 1526, a piece of ground in Dundee appears to have been held in feu from the Abbey by Alexander Car, who sold it in that year (see page 214).

In January 1529-30 'the lands of the town of Johnstoun,' in Dunbog parish, were feued to John Beaton of Creich (see page 199).

On the same day the lands of Wester or Little Kinneir were feued to Andrew Kinloch, in Luthrie. The *reddendo* to be £10, formerly paid, with £4 of augmentation. Confirmed under the Great Seal in March 1541-2. (In Nisbet's *Heraldry* the purchase-money and *reddendo* are said to be '200 merks, and the upholding of the walls of the Abbacy,' the latter part, at least, of which statement is quite incorrect.)

Tor Catholach (Kedlock) seems to have been let to Kinneir of that Ilk in 1559, but to have been soon afterwards feued to the same family.

In 1532 the half of the lands of Kincragy, in the barony of Pitgorno, was feued to Walter Kincragy. The *reddendo* included three suits at three Head Courts of Balmerino. These lands had been previously let for nineteen years from Whitsunday 1522 to the said Walter Kincragy.

The following notes refer to the barony of Barry:—In 1532 John Auchinleck obtained from the Abbot and Convent a charter and sasiue of Woodhill, Easter Coitside, four acres of Wester Coitside, and the lands called Priestmeadow. Confirmed by the Pope's Commissioner at St. Andrews in the same year, and by the Crown to John Auchinleck's successor in 1590.

Ravensby was feued in 1539.

Balskellie or Pitskellie was feued in the time of Abbot Robert.

Gedhall or Doghall was feued to David Garden in 1541; and again in 1550 to Thomas Gardyne, son of Patrick Gardyne of that Ilk.

In 1545 Walter Cant got a charter of half of the Links of Barry, with their pertinents, namely, the half of the lands called Saltgerss, *alias* Scheiphirde lands; the half of four acres called Bowman's lands; the half of Corsfauld; the half of Ryefaldis; with the whole teinds; and also

Cowbyres. The purchase-money was 200 merks, and the *reddendo* £28 Scots, and three suits at three Head Courts at Balmerino Abbey.

In 1552 Robert Forrester got a charter of the other half of Links of Barry with their pertinents as above, and tithes; also of the lands of Budden, Links of the same, and Deyhouse. The *reddendo* included a feu-duty of £27, 13s. 4d., three suits at three Head Courts at Barry, and the furnishing a house to the Abbot and his factors when they came to keep their courts there. Confirmed in 1554 by the Archbishop of St. Andrews as Papal Legate.

No. VIII

EXTRACT FROM ADMIRAL WYNDHAM'S DESPATCH TO
LORD GREY, dated 27th December 1547

(From State Papers, Scotland, Edward VI., Vol. 2, No. 66)

[Referred to at page 240]

‘This is to advertyse yo^r L. that the xxv of decembre at nyght I lounded wth iij^c men wth the harquebusyers you sent at an Abbey beyond Dundee called Balmoryne w^{ch} was very stronge if thay had purposed to have kept it, notwithstanding I skyrmyshed at the howse wth the Skotts, and thay shott wth harquebushes of Croke at mee, notwithstanding we kyled iij of the Skotts beyng horsemen with our harquebushes and bornt the Abbey with all thynge that wer in it and certayn vyllages adioyning to y^t wth a gret dele of corne, and I trust yo^r L. shall know that I wyll lese no tyme as oportunyte shall find here or ells where.

. Wrytten in the ryver of Teye the xxvij of December.

‘Yours to Command,

‘Thos. Wyndham.’

[NOTE.—There is another despatch (No. 67) of the same date from Wyndham to Somerset, in which the attack on Balmerino Abbey is related in terms almost identical with those of No. 66.]

No. IX

LETTER WRITTEN AT BALMERINO BY QUEEN MARY TO
HER AMBASSADOR AT PARIS

(See page 266)

‘Monsieur de Glasgow, j’envoie ce porteur, plus par mine que par importance, exprès pour faire diviner ce que c’est. Faites bien l’empêché de ce qu’il a tant tardé, et, s’il possible, que l’ambassadeur d’Angleterre

pense qu'il soit venu pour chose d'importance ; et soudain allez chez la Reine demander audience ; et, sous l'ombre de ma pension, de quoi vous lui parlerez, inventez propos pour l'entretenir assez longuement, afin que l'on pense qu'il y ait chose d'importance en cette dépêche.—N . . . vous mandera de mes affaires : par là vous saurez le profit que en pourrons tirer ; et le lendemain parlez encore à elle, si vous pouvez, et écrivez à M. le Cardinal, comme si tout étoit bien pressé, mais ne lui en touchez rien, sinon que lui envoyez mes lettres pour lui faire entendre de mes nouvelles ; et me renvoyez le plus tôt que pourrez, en même diligence, un de vos gens avec toutes les nouvelles que pourrez apprendre. Et en cet endroit je prie Dieu vous avoir en sa sainte garde.

De Balmerino, ce 28 janvier 1565.

‘ Votre bien bonne maitresse et amie,

‘ MARIE R.’

No. X

RENTAL OF THE ABBEY OF BALMERINOTH

(From a MS. volume, 31. 3. 14, in the Advocates' Library)

[This Rental belongs to the period of Henry Kinneir's Commendatorship : the precise year is uncertain. Most, if not all of the lands &c. specified were *feud* to the persons named, and the *rents* are feu-duties. I have transposed the *order* of many of the entries in the Fife division, so as to bring together all the lands in Balmerino Parish, and in its several localities respectively. Several portions of Abbey laud in this Parish and elsewhere are wanting in this Rental.]

I.—IN THE COUNTY OF FIFE.

The Mauer place of Balmerino of old called y^e Abbay y^rof w^t the clausure and precinct of y^e same w^t y^e garden and orchyard and Kirk yeard of y^e s^d convent set to Henry Commendator of Balmerinoth for 2 li. 13s. 9d.

The Wood of Balmerino w^t the salmond fishing called Barnden fishing and teinds included set to Kinneir and his spouse for 10 li.

(Set to Geo. Lermouth of Balcomie for 10 m. 4 dozen of red salmond and 1 dozen grilses sold at 10 m.)

Four acres of Barncroft and piece land annex y^rto with y^e teinds included set to him for 1 li. 13s. 4d.

The Greu of Balmerino with y^e yeard &c. set to him for 1 li. 6s. 8d.

The milne called the Overmilne w^t multures w^t the byre Killbarne milyeard &c. set to him for 4 li. 13s. 4d.

The arable yeards of Balmerinoch ex^d to 4 aikers of land w^t y^e fruit

yard and house called y^e burnt Girnell w^t teyndis included ex^d to 53s. 4d. & 7s. 8d. for ilk aiker of 5 aikers in Wodflatt 4 aikers in Harlands and four aikers in Crossfaulds And for Barnyards 2s. set to y^e s^d Joⁿ Kinneir for 7 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of Harland and Wodflatt set to him for 1 li. 18s. 4d. and 10 puld.

The prin^l milne called the Newmilne and kylle y^rof w^t mult^{rs} sucken and girst of y^e hail barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to David Kinneir broy^r to Henry Abbot of Balmerinoth for 3 li. 1s. 4d.

Four oxgate of arable land of y^e North part of y^e maynes of Balmerinoth w^t houses biggins and teinds included set in feu to Wilson for 3 li. 2s. 4d. 11 bolls bear 11 bolls oatmeal. For the teinds 2 bolls bear 2 bolls oatmeal 4 bolls horsecorn and 11s. of augmentation.

The lands aikers and miln underw^rn lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Alex^r Mathew viz. That part of y^e mains lying at y^e north part of y^e same ext. to 2 l. 12s. 2d. 2 b. 1 firl. wheat 8 b. 2 firl. bear 6 bolls 2 firl. oatmeal 3 b. horsecorn 2 pons (?) wheat 1 firl. bear 1 firl. oatmeale & 2s. 6d. of augmentation—Four aikers lying besyde Peter Crichton's land ext. to 10 puld. & 33s. 4d.

The Nethermilne of Balmerinoth with multures & girst of y^e barony of Balmerinoth set for 40s. and 10s. of augmentation.

The croft & yard occupied be Elleis Danzell lying besyde y^e s^d monastery set to Ramsay for 6s.

Six aikers of land of Skurbank in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Thomas Fender indweller in Ed^r for feu & augm. 2 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of Skurbank set to Tullois for 1 li. 18s. 8d. 8 puld. w^t arriage and carriage used and wont.

Ane aiker of land called Skurbank set to Tullois for 7s. 8d.

The eist or sonny half aiker of arable land of Boghall set to him [for] 3s. 10d. & 1 puld.

The west or shadow halfe of y^e west aiker of arable land of Boighall set to Ballingall for 1 puld. & 3s. 10d.

Twa part of Drumhary & Bodineraig w^t 8 aikers y^r & teinds included in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set for 1 boll 2 f. wheat 4 bolls 2 firl. beir 2 b. 1 fir. oatmeal 2 bolls horsecorn. The teinds included set for 2 firls. wheat 2 b. 3 firls. bear 1 boll 2 firl. oatmeal 2 hirss of straw 35s. 4d. of money. The saids 8 aikers set for 53s. 4d. of money 16 puld. The teynd sh. y^rof set for 4 bolls beir & 6s. 9d. of money. The twae part of Drumhary & Bodineraig of augmentaⁿ 1f. bear 1 firl. meale 2s. 8d. of money 8s. of augm. for y^e 8 aikers. Inde 2 bolls wheat 11 bolls 2 f. bear 4 b. oatmeal 2 b. horsecorn 2 hirss of straw 16 puld. & 5 l. 6s. 8d. (?) of money.

Two aikers of Bodineraig in y^e bar. of Balmerinoth set to Watson for 4 puld. & 15s. 4d.

The Lands of Bodineraig ex^d to 5 aikers or y^rby lying in Scurbank set to Buttour for 10 puld. & 1 li. 18s.

Five aikers of land of Bodincraig in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Ramsay for 10 puld. & 1 li. 11s. 1d.

The lands underwriⁿ set to And. Wilson viz. Ane third p^t of y^e lands of Drumharie & Bodincraig &c. except two aikers—17s. 8d. 2b. 3 f. bear 2 b. 1 f. aitmeal 1 boll horsecorn 1 hirss of stray & 2 pons (?) of bear 2 pons (?) of aitmeale & 16s. of augment^{ne}.

The lands of park of Poyntok for 10s. & 20s. of augmentatione — 1 li. 10s.

The lands of Craingrugisfauld 8 puld & 1 li. 7s.

The 3 aikers in Harlands and 1 in Wodflat 8 puld & 1 li. 10s. 8d.

Four aikers lying in Harlands and Wodflatt and teynds in y^e parochin of Balmerinoth set to Thomson for 8 puld. & 1 li. 13s. 4d.

Four acres of Barncroft ext. to 26s. 8d. 8 puld. and 4s. of augm. Ane piece land beneath y^e saids aikers exd. to 2s. 8d. The teind sh. y^rof ext. to 2 bolls bear & 2 hirss of straw set to Durham. *Inde* 33s. 4d. 8 puld. 2 b. bear 2 hirss of stray in y^e s^d barony. [This is a repetition of the third entry from the commencement.]

The lands of Cathills set for 8 l. and fishing of salmond and o^{xx} fish set for 23 l. 4s. 4d. set in feu to Balfour of Ballednoch for 31 l. 4s. 4d.

Two aikers of land in y^e town of Docheron lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to Harvie for 4 puld. & 15s. 4d.

Ane aiker of land of Docheron set to Jon. Foulls for 1 li. 6 puld. & 3s. 4d. of augmentatione.

Two aikers of ye toun & lands of Docheron in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Watson for 4 puld. & 15s. 4d.

Six aikers of Docheron set to Coline for 12 puld. & 46s.

The lands of Pitmossie set to Bayn for 10 puld. & 2 li.

The lands and towne of Newgrange the 4th p^t of Clackmuyes Cleuch and Battilaw halflands of Crowfaulds [Crossfaulds] 1 aiker of Cultray 4th p^t of y^e outfield lands of Byres lying in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set to Balfour for 24 l. 16s. 6d.

The 4th part of y^e toune and lands of Newgrange in the Barony of Balmerinoth set to Oliphant for 69 li.

The halfe lands and toune of Newgrange of Balmerinoth w^t two aikers of y^e rest of y^e same. Two aikers of y^e toune and lands of Cultrey. The half of y^e lands of Outfield of Byres with Watersfauld w^t o^{xx} 4 aikers of Cultray. The lands of Bangoiff ext^d to 13 aikers 3 aikers of Harlands ane aiker in Wodflatt. And lands of Dutheron ext. to 16 aikers of land set to Ramsay for 51 li. 6s. 8d.

Four aikers of land of y^e toun of Cultray in y^e barony of Balmerinoth set in feu to Lichton for 8 puld. & 1 li. 10s. 4d. [in 1547].

Ten aikers of arable land in y^e toune of Cultrey set to Wood for 4 l. 13s. 8d.

Twa aikers of Cultrey set to Ballingall of Bodincraig for 15s. 4d. & 4 puld.

Seven aikers of Cultrey set to Rolland for 14 puld. & 2 l. 13s. 4d. [He acquired them from Robert Forrester in 1574.]

Ten aikers of land of y^e toun of Cultrey set to Ramsay for 20 puld. & 3 l. 16s. 8d.

The equal halfe of 7 aikers of arable land of Cultrey set to Ramsay for 7 puld. & 1 li. 6s. 10d.

Seven aikers of Cultrey set to Bayn for 53s. 4d. and 14 puld. [in 1552].

Six aikers of Cultrey &c. set to Barclatt for 46s. and 12 puld. [in 1547].

The lands of Corbe and Corbehill and 8 aikers adjacent & teinds included w^t fishings &c. set to Lermouth of Balcomie for 10 li. 32 bolls bear 26 bolls of meill or 8 m. per chalder—*inde* 29 li. 6s. 8d. [Feued to Andrew Lesley in 1539.]

The lands of Wester [or] little Kinneir set to Patersone for feu and augm. 14 l. 3s. 4d.

Certain lands in y^e toune and territory of Carrail set to Lumsden for 8s. 4d.

Ane piece of land called St. Tailis [St. Ail's] Chapell w^t Kiln (?) aiker set to Beaton of Balfour for 1 l.

The lands of Gastoun set to Wood of Largo's son for 3 l. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Gadroon [Gadvan] with houss set to Beaton of Creich for 6 l. 13s. 4d.

The lands of the toune of Johnnestoun set to the Laird of Creich for 12 capons & 17 li. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Craigfood with mansion &c. in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Douglasse of Lochleavin for 14 capons & 13 l. 6s. 8d.

The halfe toune and lands of Kinraigie w^t Mansion house set to Maxwell for 8 capons & 8 li.

The halfe lands of Kinraigy in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Allardice for 8 capons & 8 li.

The lands of Steidmureland viz. y^e hail halfe of y^e same w^t tenements &c. in y^e barony of pitgorno set to Seaton for 3 puld. & 3 li.

Ane piece land w^t house &c. w^t y^e aiker or lands of y^e chapell of St. Mary y^e Virgin of [the] den lying besyde y^e Gaitsyd in y^e barony of Pitgorno Lop. of Balmerinoth and set to Eliz^h Beaton for 4s. 4d.

The Lands of Drumdell with Mansion &c. in y^e barony of Pitgorno set to Lundie of Balgonie for 10 li.

The Lands of Carpullie lying betwixt the lands of dunmuir and Quarrelhop on the ane and o^{sr} parts set to Cant for 2 l. 13s. 4d. and 6 capons.

The lands of Lochymilne w^t the milne and loch y^rof lying in y^e barony of Abernethie set to Young for 12 puld. & 6 l. 13s. 4d.

II.—IN THE COUNTY OF FORFAR.

The lands of Wodhill set to Auchinleck of Wodsyd for 12 capons & 12 pult. & 17 l. 6s. 8d.

The lands of Godhall and teinds included and ane acker of land occupied be umq^{le} And. Shepherd In y^e barony of Barrie set in feu to Gordon for 3 l. 13s. 4d.

The 3^d part of Balskellie w^t housses &c. In the barony of Barrie set to Strathachin for 6 l. 6s. 8d. & 16 capons.

The 3^d part of Balskelly set to Carnegie of Kynnaid for 6 li.

The peice of land called Leyis croft and burtons croft In y^e barony of Barrie set to Auchinleck of Coitsyd for 30s. 12 puld. & 6 geise.

The salmon fishing of fferry durris called y^e west Cruik lying on y^e northsyd of Taywater set to Lovell of Ballumbies son for 7 li. w^t 3s. 4d. of augmentatione.

The lands called Coitwalls and 2 ackers of land in Coitsyd held feu for 40s. and 6 puld.

Easter Coitsyd wester Coitsyd preistmeadow Lowis croft largos croft St. Stevins croft and peice of land called Dunsbank set to Auchinleck for 12 li. 15s. 8d. & 12 geise.

Halfe of y^e lands of Ravensbie w^t y^e p^{ts} & teind sheaves for 5 li. of maill and 46s. 8d. in augmentation. And y^e 3^d part of y^e lands of y^e town of Baskelly In y^e barony of Barrie for 4 li. 8s. 2d. 16 capons & 31s. 10d. of augm. set to Cant ext. in haill to 13 li. 6s. 8d. 16 capons.

The halflands of Ravinsbie & 4th part of y^e lands of Links of Barrie In y^e barrony of Barrie set to Cant of Cowbyre for 17 li. 16s. 8d.

The nethermilne and lands y^rof w^t y^e halfe of y^e multures & teind multure corne of y^e hail barronie of Barrie set to Gilzeott for 7 li. 6. 8. 12 geise & half ane aiker of Haywinning.

15 aikers of land in Badhill piece land called Salterscroft & overmidow w^t teinds set to Cant for 5 li. 30 puld. & 1 acker of Haywinning.

The halfe lands of y^e Links of Barrie w^t teinds of ye lands of Buddon links y^rof and teinds set to fforester for 27 li. 13s. 4d.

The 3^d part of Grange of Barrie set to Rolland for 6 li. & 12 capons.

The 3^d part of y^e town and lands y^rof set to him for 12 li. and 24 capons.

The lands of Links of Barrie w^t y^e p^{ti}ents viz. The half of the lands of Saltgerse *alias* Shepherds lands the halfe of 4 aikers called Bowmans lands the halfe lands called Corsefauld Halfe lands called Ryfaulds and half of the walleys and pasturage The halfe of y^e tofts barns &c. w^t y^e teinds &c. And Cowbyre w^t y^e meadow & teynds y^rof except y^e teinds due to the vicar Set to Cant for viz. ffor y^e links 20 li. & 20 s. of aug. Cowbyre 6 li. 13s. 4d. & 6s. 8d. *Inde* 28 li.

Thrie ackers of land of Barrie with housses and croft called St. Merinos croft lyand besyde y^e lands of Kirkton of Barrie set to fforester for 17s. And sustaining yearly bread & wyne to the high altar of y^e paroch church of Barrie.

The lands of Baddihill w^t housses set to Gray for 4 li. 8s.

The halfe lands of Ravinsbie & Cruikhill (?) w^t the corn milne of Barrie milne lands & half multur of y^e barony of Barrie set to Clerk for 17 li. 13s. 4d. 12 geise 6 puld. half ane acker of Haywinning.

Certain aikers besyde the Kirk of Barrie Burnsyde The aiker called Murgall &c. & teinds included set to Auchinleck for 6s. 8d. & 6 bolls 6 (?) firlots bear.

The two part of Grange of Barrie 10s. land of ye same 9 aikers of badihill And toun and lands of Carnusie set to ffairny for 25 li. 2s. 24 capons 20 puld.

ffour aikers of land of Milneden w^t priviledge of Baking & brewing set to Rankin for 36s. 8d. 8 puld. half ane aiker of Haywinning.

The hail reid fish fishing of y^e barony of Barrie set to Lesslie for 47 lib.

ffour aikers of land & ane halfe of y^e lands of Barrie q^{lk} W^m fforester sometyme occupied set to Johnstoun for 40s. & 6 puld.

III.—IN THE COUNTY OF PERTH.

The halfe lands of Nether Aberargie w^t the mansiones houses tofts crofts & y^r p^{ts} with ane tenement and yeards lyeand on the northe p^t of the street of Abernethie In the reg. of Abernethie & sheriffdome of pearth set to peter Carmichill in Dron for 8 lib.

The lands of over and west polgaigny (Pitgrunzie?) with y^e pertinents set to John Weymes bro^{er} germane to Patrick Weymes of petbla for 6 lib. 13s. 4d. cappones 12.

The fishings of Stocking garth with the p^{ts} upon the watter of Tay set to James Campbell of lawers exd. in meall to 40 lib. aug. 10 lib. *Inde* 50 lib.

No. XI

VALUATION of the TEMPORAL LANDS of the ABBACY OF BALMERINOCHE, within the Shire of Fife, in 1596; according to the "OLD EXTENT"

[From Thomson's *Inquisitionum Retornatorum Abbreviatio*, in 3 vols. fol.; 1811]

[There is probable evidence that lands in Scotland were "extended," or valued, as early as the time of William the Lion; but the first general valuation is understood to have been made in the reign of Alexander III., for the purpose of raising a tax to pay a tocher of 14,000 merks sterling to the Princess Margaret on her marriage to Eric, King of Norway. This was afterwards called the "Old Extent." Another valuation, called the "New Extent," was made in 1424, for raising £30,000 sterling for the liberation of James I. from his nineteen years' captivity in England. The Old Extent, however, continued as the rule for proportioning the public taxes till, at least, 1633, in which year a tax of thirty shillings was imposed on every pound-land of Old Extent. Other valuations were afterwards made, the rent fixed by which is called the Valued Rent, in contradistinction both to the Old and the New Extent. (See Appendix, No. XVII.)

The following Valuation was made at Cupar on the 2nd of February 1596 by the Sheriff and a jury, in consequence of a petition presented to the Lords of Council by the feuars of the Abbey lands, praying that their lands might be *retoured*, so that they might know what *pound-land* or *merk-land* their several possessions extended to, and that they might pay their taxes according to the rate of other pound-lands of Old Extent. The Return, of course, represents not the real value of the lands *at that time*, but only their relative value, or the proportion according to which public taxes should be imposed on them. In the original the entries are made in this form :—“Lands of New Grange &c. extend to £5, 6s. 8d. land.”]

Lands of New Grange of Balmerinoch, with pendicles and pertinents,	£5	6	8
„ Corbie, Corbiehill, with the wood of Balmerinoch, with pendicles and pertinents,	1	6	8
„ Deminche Park, Pointrik, and 3d part of lands of Boddumcraig, belonging to David Wilson,	0	10	0
„ Boddumcraig, with 8 acres belonging to William Ballingall,	0	13	4
„ Kirkton of Balmerinoch,	1	6	8
„ Coutray, extending to 46 acres of arable land,	0	15	4
„ Pitmossie, extending to 5 acres of land,	0	1	8
„ Bandene, „ 12 „	0	4	0
„ Bangoiff, „ 13 „	0	4	4
„ Duchrone, „ 30 acres of arable land,	0	10	0
„ Kilburnis and Scrogieside, 21 acres of land,	0	7	0
„ Scur, extending to 11 acres of land,	0	3	8
„ Infield of Boddumcraig, extending to 26 acres of land,	0	8	8
„ Byres of Balmerinoch, extending to 30 acres of arable land,	0	10	0
„ Craigfod,	1	6	8
„ Johnestoun and Gadwen,	1	6	8
„ Gawstoun,	0	10	0
„ Drumdeill,	0	13	4
„ Pitgoruo,	2	13	4
„ Freirmylne,	0	13	4
„ Kineraigie,	1	6	8
„ Steidmuirland,	0	10	0
Lands and mylne of Lochmylne,	0	10	0
Lands of Carpullie,	0	6	8
„ Little Kinneir, with their pertinents,	1	6	8
	£23 11 4		

This valuation does not include the Abbey precincts, gardens, &c., which belonged to the *spirituality*, nor Cathills. Sibbald's History of

Fife contains a Return of the Old Extent of Fife in 1517. The following *items* extracted from it show the valuation of the lands which formed the ancient estate of Naughton :—

Seygie with the annual,	£4 0 0
The Barony of Naughton in property,	8 0 0
Wormet,	3 0 0
Saintford-Hay,	2 0 0
Saldhane (Cauldhane),	1 0 0
Little Friertoun,	1 0 0
Innerdivot-Lightoun,	3 0 0
The Laird of Kinnaird's Lands, and the annual in pro- perty, within the Barony of Naughton,	8 0 0
The Newtown,	2 0 0
Innerdivot-Leisles,	2 0 0
Laverock-law,	2 0 0
Saintfoord-Nairn and Little Newtown,	3 0 0
Baldmond,	3 0 0

No. XII

PETER HAY'S ADDRESS TO KING JAMES VI

[Referred to at page 511]

EPIGRAMMA AD REGEM.

Cui decus immortale triplex, cuique aurea cingit
 Gloria conspicuum, Rex Jacobe, caput.
 Prima tibi antiquae fidei quum cura tuendae,
 Proxima sit populi paxque salusque tui :
 Procurat quod utrumque lubens, quod promovet ultro,
 Quid tibi servitio gratius esse queat :
 Tale ministerium libro hoc tibi praestat et offert
 Hayus, ab antiquis nobile germen avis :
 Quemque suo regem populo caput, et caput unum
 Dum Christum omnigenis gentibus esse probat :
 Parendum his solum, invictis rationibus urget,
 Quas monumenta Patrum, sacraque scripta ferunt :
 Et fugienda lupae Babilonis pocula suadet,
 Et quae seditio turbida monstra parit :
 Palantesque reducit oves ad ovile, rebelles
 Et populos regum flectit ad obsequium :
 Dignum opus ingenio domini, quo munere verum
 Christigenam, et civem se probat esse bonum :
 Dignum opus aeterno genio quoque, quem dabit, O Rex,
 Aspirans sacri numinis aura tui.

HAEC M. E. D.

Which may be thus translated :—

King James ! whom threefold sov'rignty invests
 With deathless honour, and whose head, in view
 Of all, is with refulgent glory crowned ;
 Since thy first care's to shield the ancient faith,
 Thy next, to guard thy people's peace and weal ;
 What service can more grateful be to thee
 Than willing efforts to promote these aims ?
 Such service, in this book, a Hay presents,
 A noble scion of an ancient race.
 He shows each king to be his people's head,
 And Christ the King of all the tribes of earth ;
 And proves from Scripture and Patristic tomes
 That his commands alone must be obeyed ;
 Dissuades from cups of wolfish Babylon,
 And monsters which Sedition, restless, breeds ;
 Brings back the wandering sheep, and moves
 Rebellious nations to obey their kings—
 Fit task for master's skill, whereby he proves
 Himself a Christian and good citizen—
 Fit task for skill to which, O King ! the breath
 Of thy approval shall give endless fame.

No. XIII

TAXT ROLL OF THE ABBACYE OF BALMERINOCII ilk p^d free rent tax to 1617

[MS. Harl. Mus. Brit. 4623, Part II. Art 17, Fo. 103. Here printed from the *Chartulary of Balmerino*, App. No. XII.]

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Grange,	48	0	0	Drumdeill,	10	0	0
Corbie,	12	0	0	Pitgorno,	14	0	0
Halfe Lands of Kirk- ton, posest by Rob ^t				Friermylne,	5	0	0
Fyfe,	9	10	0	Kineraigie,	15	0	0
The oyr ^r halfe yr ^{of} ,	6	10	0	Nether Aberargie,	2	0	0
Deminge,	6	0	0	Pilgrummies (Pit- grunzie?),	7	0	0
Jonstoun and Gadden,	16	0	0	Little Kinneir,	10	0	0
Lochmilne,	3	0	0	Gastoun,	4	0	0
Third part of Corbsy (Colsey),	3	5	0	Woodhill,	20	0	0
Carpowie,	4	10	0	Cootsyde,	6	0	0
Craigfod,	10	0	0	Grange of Barry,	12	0	0
				Ravensbye,	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Pitskellye,	15	0	0	Fishing of y ^e Gall of			
Carnushe,	5	0	0	Barry,	5	0	0
Aekers of Barrie				Cathills, and fishing			
Nether and over				y ^{rof} ,	7	0	0
Barrie muires,	20	0	0	Fishings of Corbie,	0	10	0
Teynds of Barrie,	17	10	0	Fishings of Barnden,	0	10	0
Teynds of y ^e Kirk of				Fishings of Paldnant			
Balmerinoch,	40	0	0	(Poldrait ?), Stok			
Teynds of Logie Kirk,	20	0	0	and Garth,	16	0	0
Sub ^t by 9 prin ^{ll} Fewars and y ^e Chamberlaine.							

No. XIV

EXCERPT from COPY RENTAL of the FEU-DUTIES of the BARONY of BALMERINO, in Sederunt-Book of High Commission in Teind Office, page 28.

[This Rental was given in by Lord Balmerino to the Commissioners for the Valuation of Teinds, in consequence of a Decreet-Arbital pronounced by Charles I., proceeding upon submissions by the Lords of Erection, regarding the surrender of the superiorities of Church Lands. (See the historians of the period.) The Decreet-Arbital in regard to *teinds* has been noticed at page 357. This document is here reprinted from Teind Court Papers.]

Apud Edinburgh 20 die mensis Maii 1630.

The qlk day compeired Johne Bannatyne Depute to the Justice Clerk in name of John Lord Balmerinoch and James Lord Cowper and gave in the Rentalls underwrittin, of the qlks the tennour follows :—

The trew and just Rentall of the few (fere) fermes and few maillis and other constant Rent of the Superiorities of Balmerinoch comprehending the Baroneis of Balmerinoch Pitgormo and Barrie.

THE BARONIE OF BALMERINOCIL.

Agnes Gibson Lyferenter and Alexander Barbour heritour of the South Syde of the Kirktown of Balmerinoch with the Teinds included pay of few dewtie yeirlie 13^{li}. 6^s. 8^d.

Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton for the North side thairof with the Teinds included 3^{li}. 13^s. 6^d.

Item of beir 13 bollis.
 „ of oate meal 13 bollis.
 „ of hors corne 4 bollis.
 „ of straw 4 turse.

Andro Glasfurde of Boddomcraig for the hail lands thairoff payes of fewdewtie 57^s.

Item of wheat 1 boll 2 firlots.
 ,, of beir 7 bolls 2 firlots 2 peckes.
 ,, of oate meale 5 bolls 2 peckes.
 ,, of hors corne 3 bollis.
 ,, of straw 3 turse.

Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton for the east haffe of the Grange of Balmerinoch with the teinds included payes yeirlie . . . 37^{lib}. 10^s. 8^d.

Item of wheat 4 bollis.
 ,, of beir 9 bollis.
 ,, of oate meale 8 bollis.

Michael Balfoure payeth for the three quarters of the West side thairof of fewdewtie 24^{lib}.

Mr. Robert Auchinmowtie of Deming payeth for his Soueth quarter of the said West haffe thairof with the teindis included . . . 12^{lib}. 6^s. 8^d.

Item of wheat 1 boll.
 ,, of beare, 2 bollis.
 ,, of oate meale, 2 bollis.

John Leslie of Newton payes for his Landes of Corby wth the Teinds included 42^{lib}. 13^s. 4^d.

Mr. Ro^t Auchinmowtie for his lands of Deminge park and Poyntok payeth of fewdewtie 57^s.

Item of Powtrie 8

Mr. Peter Hay for his lands and fishing of Cathill payeth of fewdewtie 31^{lib}. 4^s. 4^d.

The Laird of Creich for his lands of Johnestoun and Gaddan payeth of fewdewtie 34^{lib}.

Item of capouns 1 dozoun.

Andro Patersone of Over Dinmure for his lands of Little Kynneir payeth of fewdewtie 24^{lib}.

The few dewteis of the aikers within the parochin of Balmerinoch—
 viz., SKUR ellevin aikers.

Whereof Mr. James Douglas of Stanypeth hes sax, paying of fewdewtie 46^s.

Item of powtrie 12

James Barlatt hath fyve for 38^s. 4^d.

Item of powtrie 10

SCROGGIESIDE, sax aikers.

Hew Scott payeth for them of fewdewtie 46^s.

Item of powtrie 12

KILBURNES, fyftene aikers, whereof—

Alexander Prestoun hath eight aikers, paying	3 ^{lib} . 10 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	16
Andro Small hes aires hes sevin, paying	53 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	14

BODOMECHAIG, 36 aikers, whereof—

Andro Glasfurde hes twentie aikers halffe aiker, paying thairfor yearlie	7 ^{lib} . 17 ^s . 2 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	41
Andrew Boyter in Dundie fyve, paying	38 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	10
George Stirke of Bandene twa aikers, paying	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
W ^{am} Watsoun his airis two, paying	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
Andro Galloway ane aiker, paying	7 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	2
Johne Roger halffe ane aiker, paying	3 ^s . 10 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	1
The airis of umq ^{le} W ^{am} Patersoun for a toft there.	2 dozoun of chickens.
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	1

DOUCHRON, 32 aikers, whairof

Mr. Peter Hay hes saxtein, paying	6 ^{lib} . 2 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	32
George Stirk of Bandene three, paying	23 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	6
Willieme Bane of Pitmossie three, paying	23 ^s .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	6
The airis of James Watsoun two, paying	15 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	4
The airis of Henrie Mitchell aucht, paying	3 ^{lib} . 1 ^s . 4 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	16

BANGOVE, thretten aikers, belonging to

Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton, and paying	4 ^{lib} . 19 ^s . 8 ^d .
<i>Item of powtrie</i>	26

BANDENE, 12 aikers, belonging to

George Stirke, paying	4 ^{lib} . 12 ^s .
<i>Item of geis</i>	6

PITMOSSIE, fyve aikers, belonging to

William Bane elder, paying	40 ^s .
Item of powtrie	10

COULTRA, 50 aikers, whairof

Mr. Peter Hay has foure aikers, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	8
William Bane younger hes ten aikers, paying thairfoir yeirlie	3 ^{lib} . 16 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	20
Christiane Stirk ten aikers, paying	3 ^{lib} . 16 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	20
John Mitchell nyne aikers and ane haffe, paying	3 ^{lib} . 12 ^s . 10 ^d .
Item of powtrie	19
Agnes Derny 13 aikers, paying	4 ^{lib} . 19 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	26
Alexander Simsoun three aikers and ane halffe aiker, paying	26 ^s . 10 ^d .
Item of powtrie	7

THE BYRES, 16 aikers, whereof

Mr. Peter Hay hath three, paying	23 ^s .
Item of powtrie	6
Mr. Robert Auchinmoutie foure, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	8
John Stanehous in Luthrie foure, paying	3 ^{lib} . 4 ^s .
Item of powtrie	8
Item he hath another aiker holdin blenche.	
Robert Brabawar foure aikers, paying	30 ^s . 8 ^d .
Item of powtrie	8

No. XV

VALUATIONS OF THE TEINDS OF THE PARISH OF
BALMERINOCHE, 13th July 1631

[From Certified Copy]

(Referred to at page 359)

[These valuations show also the rental, or, at least, the *estimated* annual value, in 1631, of the lands named in them. They are here reprinted from Teind Court Papers.]

PETER HAY.

Peter Hay of Naughtoune heretable proprietar of threttie-six aikers, viz. 16 aikers of Womgois [Duchrone?], 13 aikers of Duchrome [Bangove?], 4 aikers of Cowtray, and 3 aikers of Byris of Balmerinoch. Constant rent in stok and teynd — fyve firlots beir ilk aiker=45 bolls beir.

Inde y^e teynd is 9 bollis beir.

GEORGE STIRK.

George Stirk heretor of twell aikers of land in Banden twa aikers in Boddumcraig and thrie aikers in Duchray.

12 aikers of Banden ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots beir.

3 aikers in Duchray ilk aiker 6 firlots beir, and

2 aikers in Boddimcraig ilk aiker 6 firlots beir.

Inde y^e teynd 5 bollis 2 firlots 3 pekes $\frac{1}{3}$ peke beir.

WILLIAM BAYNE ELDER.

5 aikers of Pitmossie at 7 firlots ilk aiker of beir in stok and teynd.

3 aikers in Duchray and 3 aikers $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker in Coutrey ilk aiker in stock and teynd is 6 firlots beir.

Inde y^e teynd — 3 bollis 2 firlots 3 pekes $\frac{1}{3}$ pek beir.

GEORGE JACK.

10 aikers of Cowtray ilk aiker stok and teynd 6 firlots beir.

Inde the teynd 3 bolls beir.

DAVID WATSOUNE.

6 acres of land in Cowtray and 2 in Deuchrone ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots beir.

Inde y^e teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 2 pekes $\frac{1}{3}$ 3 pekes beir.

ANDRO GLASFURD.

The lands of Boddumcraig and Drumharie two pairt and third pairt called the Husbandrie and 20 aikers and $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land lyand in Boddumcraig and Scorbank belonging thereto and these 8 aikers of land lyand in Drumharie and Deuchrone in stok and teynd 4 chald. victuall twa pairt meal & third pairt beir.

Inde the teynd 12 bollis 3 firlots $\frac{1}{5}$ firlot victuall quhair of 4 bollis 1 firlot $\frac{1}{5}$ of ye 3^d of an firlot beir and 8 bollis 2 firlots $\frac{1}{5}$ of 3^d of ane firlot meal.

WILLIAM BAYNE YOUNGER.

10 aikers of land in Cowtray ilk aiker valued stok and teynd to 6 firlots beir.

Inde y^e teynd 3 bollis beir.

DAVID PATTOUNE.

13 aikers of land in Cowtray ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.
Inde y^e teynd — 3 bollis 3 firlots 2 pekes $\frac{1}{5}$ of 2 pekes bear.

ALEXANDER SIMSONE.

3 aikers $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land in Cowtray in stok and teynd ilk aiker 6 firlots.

Inde y^e teynd 1 boll $\frac{1}{5}$ firlot bear.

THOMAS GLEN.

2 aikers of land in Boddimeraig ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots 2 pekes bear.

Inde teynd 2 firlots 2 pekes $\frac{1}{5}$ of 2 pekes bear.

JAMES BARCLAY.

5 aikers of Skur ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots bear.

Inde y^e teynd 1 boll 3 firlots bear.

RO^t BLABNER.

4 aikers of ye Byres of Balmerino ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 1 boll 3 pecks $\frac{1}{5}$ peck bear.

JOHNE STENHOUSE.

5 aikers of land of the Byres of Balmerino ilk aiker in stok and teynd 6 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 1 boll 1 firlot bear.

MARGARET TULLOIS.

1 aiker & $\frac{1}{2}$ aiker of land in Boddimeraig.

Teind — 10 merks of pennie maill and 2 firlots bear.

MITCHELL BALFOUR.

Half-lands of Newgrange valued in stok and teynd 10 chald. victu^{le} quhair of 8 bollis quheit 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ chald. 8 bollis beir and 6 chald. aittis.

Inde the teynd is 2 chald: victuall quhair of 1 boll 2 firlots 2 pekes $\frac{1}{5}$ of 2 fourpets quheit 9 bollis 2 firlots 1 peke 2 forpets $\frac{1}{5}$ 2 fourpeots bear and 1 chald. 3 bollis 3 peks $\frac{1}{5}$ pek aittis.

WILLIAM RAMSAY.

5 aikers of land lyand in Boddumeraig ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots bear.

Inde the teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 3 pecks $\frac{1}{5}$ peck bear.

ANDREW BOYTER'S AIBHS.

5 aikers of land in Boddumcraig ilk aiker in stok and teynd 7 firlots bear. *Inde* y^e teynd 2 bollis 1 firlot 3 peks $\frac{1}{2}$ pek bear.

[Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, appeared before the Commissioners of Teinds in the foregoing processes of valuation, and consented thereto. These valuations are also signed by 'R. Law.' But the following additions are in a different handwriting from the body of the record; are not signed by 'R. Law'; and are not in the form of regular Decrees of Valuation.]

The personage teinds of the lands wⁱⁿ the parochin of Balmerinoch conforme to the present valuation of stock & teind joyntlie extendis to fyve chalders seven bolls ane firlot ane peke vic^{ll} prof. thre scoir six bolls ane firlit three pecks three forpitts bear. *Item*, Ane boll twa firlots twa pekes quheat. *Item*, Nynteine bolls three peckes ane forpitt aitts, and this buy and attour the teinds of the other half of the lands of the Grainge pertaining to the said Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton qlk was not valued being then alledgit be him that the s^d lands was fewit than *cum decimis inclusis* qlks lands being of equall worth with the uther half lands pertaining to the said Mitchell Balfour ar estimat to be worth in stok and teind ten chalders vic^{ll} of the spaces (species?) foresaid. *Inde*, The teynd is twa chalders vic^{ll}.

Ite. Thair is in the said paroch threttie aikers of land pertaining to the s^d Lord Balmerinoch qlk as zitt is not valued and is of the lyke goodness w^t y^e uther aikers of the said paroch and so may be estimat w^t thame to be ilk aiker six firlotis bear. *Inde*, The teind of the s^{ds} aikers is nine bolls bear.

Summa of the hail personage teinds wⁱⁿ the said paroch extendis to aught chalders vic^{ll}.

Qrof 3 bolls 3 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ peke quheat.

Ite. 38 bolls 1 firlit 2 pekes $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 forpits aittis.

Ite. 86 bolls 1 firlot 3 pekes 1 forpit and suni odes attis [bear?].

[In 1637, a Decree of Valuation of the parsonage teinds of Naughtane Peishills, Byrehills, Kirkhills, and Cathills, with their pertinents, Kilkukes [?], and Scrogieside, was pronounced by the Commissioners (the Archbishop of St. Andrews compearing and consenting), whereby the teinds of these lands were declared to amount to four chalders, viz., 40 bolls oats, and 24 bolls bear. By a judgment of the Court of Session in 1858, this valuation was held to include the teinds of Mains of Naughton, Gauldry, Brownhills, Gallowhills, Skur, and Kilburns, as portions of the barony of Naughton.

The teinds of Easter Grange (proper), or Fincraigs, were not valued till 1832, when they were fixed at £78, 10s. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; and those of the barony of Birkhill, that is, Birkhill, Thornton, and Corbiehill, were not valued till 1797, when they were fixed at £29, 6s.

No. XVI

STENT-ROLL OF HERITORS' CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE SCHOOL-
MASTER'S SALARY OF A HUNDRED MERKS, IN 1658

[From Kirk-Session Records]

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Lord Balmerinloch	20	0	0	Elspet Kairns (Car-		
Newton [Sir John Les-				stairs?)	0	3 10
lie] for Corbie	5	4	0	Marg ^t Watson	0	6 8
Grange	6	6	8	David Paton	0	6 8
John Howison	0	8	8	John Bell	0	6 8
Alexander Preston	0	10	8	George Stirk	1	4 0
Patrick Scott for Scurr				The aires of Pitmossie	0	18 0
and Scrogieside	0	18	0	Christian Glen	0	9 0
John Walker	0	6	8	Andrew Rawit	0	3 4
John Tarbit	0	7	6	Agnes Rodger	0	0 6
William Guthrie	0	7	6	Naughtone	24	0 0
John Glasfuid	2	8	0			
Rebecca Swinton	0	10	0	Summa (Scots money)	£66	13 4
George Jack	1	7	0			

No. XVII

FARMERS AND RENTAL OF THE PARISH IN 1694

[Referred to at page 442]

[From the Re-valuation or Valued Rent of Fife in the Sheriff-Clerk's Office. The rents were then paid in the value of certain quantities of grain, which are here reduced to sterling money, according to the prices assumed by the Commissioners, viz.:—The chalder of wheat, £5, 11s. 1½d.; the chalder of bear, £4; the chalder of oats, £3, 1s. 8d.; the chalder of meal, £3, 6s. 8d.; the chalder of meal of miln rent, and black oats, £2, 15s. 6¾d. *sterling*; but given in *Scots* money in the original.]

CORBIE.

	£	s.	d.
William Blyth	25	15	0
Andrew Good, and Alexander Donaldson	6	0	5½
David Ritchie, William Paterson, and Alison Ramsay	2	12	6
Salmon fishing	4	0	0
Total	£38	7	11½

GRANGE BALFOUR.

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Duncan, and John Blyth	44	13	7
John Gregory	4	6	3
William Honeyman, and James Kinnear	1	12	1½
Total	£50	12	4½

AIRDITT FOR SCUR AND SCROGIESIDE.

Rent thereof	£5	6	10
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BALINDEAN.

Rent thereof	£6	14	9
Five acres in Bottomcraig	1	19	5½
Total	£8	14	2½

NAUGHTON.

David Ramsay in Peasehills	£50	14	5
David Ramsay in Mains of Naughton	40	15	6½
Andrew Kirkcaldy in Easter Grange	41	12	9
Ludovick Brown in Bangove	12	19	5
James Hutton in Gallowhill	6	12	9¼
James Stirk in Kilburns	3	3	1½
John Cowper, and David Ramsay	9	17	4
William Murdoch in Ducherone	4	10	10
John Black in Brewlands	2	0	0
John Smith in Cultra	1	15	5
John Walker in Highlands	1	12	8½
John Wyllie in Leadwells	2	10	0
John Huison in Bangove	1	0	0
Thomas Cupar in Byres	0	10	0
Alexander Preston (<i>teind</i>)	1	2	6
William Buist	0	6	7½
James Stirk in Scurr	8	11	3½
Total	£189	14	9¼

LORD BALMERINO.

Rental of the Lordship of Balmerino, as will appear be ane particular Rentall	£96	9	7
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(The Rental referred to is, however, not recorded.)

ALEXANDER PRESTON'S PORTION OF KILBURNS.

	£	s.	d.
Rent of his 8 acres	3	13	1½

SMALL FEUARS.

David Jack [Cultra]	£5	0	10
George Jack [Cultra]	6	6	3
James Duncan [Cultra]	2	5	5
John Bell [Cultra]	2	5	5
David Paton [Cultra]	0	3	10
John Gregory	2	0	5
William Bayne [Cultra]	1	2	8½
Andrew Rawitt [Dochrone].	0	17	8½
Andrew Gourlay	4	4	2½
Gray's Lands [Bottomcraig]	1	19	3
Tarbit's heirs [Bottomcraig]	1	19	3
James Anderson [Bottomcraig]	0	8	10
James Watson	2	0	5
Mr. John Stenhouse [Byres]	3	8	1½
Mr. Andrew Hedderwick [Boghall]	1	2	6

Total of small feuars £35 5 2

The Valued Rent of the several proprietors, as it stood in 1694, after deductions for feu-duties, minister's stipend, schoolmaster's salary, etc., was as follows, in Scots money :—

	£	s.	d.
Corbie	413	0	0
Grange Balfour	494	13	4
Laird of Airdit for Skur and Scrogysyd	54	6	8
Thomas Stark of Bandean	38	6	8
Peter Hay of Naughton	1900	0	0
Lord Balmerinoch	751	10	0
Alexander Preston's portion of Kilburns	25	0	0
Small feuars	358	13	4

Summa £4085 10 0

In Sterling money 340 9 2

The valued Rent of the Parish, according to which the cost of the erection and repair of the Parish Church and Manse are paid, stood in 1867, in consequence of changes of proprietorship, as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Naughton	2030	7	9
Birkhill	1006	18	3

	£	s.	d.
Balmerino	923	13	0
Ballindean	88	6	8
Cultra (George Henderson)	31	14	2
Bottomcraig (Elizabeth Anderson)	4	10	2

Total in Scots money £4085 10 0

The Valuation Roll of the County of Fife for the year 1864-5, contained a list of all the then existing proprietors, tenants, rents, and feudal duties of this Parish. A similar Roll has since that year been printed annually. The gross Valuation of the Parish for 1864-5 amounted to £6996 Sterling, for 1890-1 to £5919, 15s. 0d.

No. XVIII

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO VOLUNTARY STIPEND FOR THE ASSISTANT-MINISTER IN 1717

[Referred to at page 450. The sums are in Scots money]

I.—HERITORS.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Robert Hay of Nachtone	33	06	08
Alexander Alison of Birchhill	20	00	00
Thomas Stark of Bandean	06	13	04
George Jack, portioner of Cultra	06	13	04
Alexander Preston, portioner of Kilburns	02	00	00
James Kirk, portioner of Cultra	01	00	00
James Paton, portioner there	00	12	00
James Bell, portioner there	00	13	04
Margaret Potie, portioner there	01	00	00
Mrs. Duddingstone of Pitmossie	01	00	00
James Anderson, portioner of Bottomcraig	00	12	00
Nachtane desires to be added to him, because he has his lands of Easter Grange in his own hands	03	05	04
Summa of Heritors	£76	16	00

II.—THE GROUND OF BIRCHHILL.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
John Mores	01	10	00	George Whyt	00	12	00
David Meldrum	00	16	00	Robert Barclay	03	00	00
James Anderson	01	04	00	Gilbert Gardener	01	00	00
John Glass	00	14	00	Robert Reid	01	00	00
James Henderson	01	00	00	John Donaldson	01	04	00
John Farmer	00	12	00	James Winton	00	12	00
David Dryburn	00	12	00				
Elspet Kircaldy	00	12	00	Summa is	£14	08	00

III.—CULTRA.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Thomas Glass . . .	01	00	00	William Duncan . . .	00	10	00
James Patie . . .	01	00	00	John M'Gregor . . .	01	00	00
John Smith . . .	00	14	00				
				Summa is	£04	04	00

IV.—THE GROUND OF GRANGE.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
John Kinneear . . .	01	00	00	John Paterson . . .	01	00	00
George Walker . . .	00	13	04	William M'Pherson . . .	01	00	00
James Kinneear . . .	00	12	00	David Honeyman . . .	01	00	00
John Kinneear, younger	00	12	00				
				Summa is	£05	17	04

V.—THE GROUND OF BALMERINO.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Margaret Kirkaldy . . .	02	00	00	George Rentowll . . .	00	12	00
James Colvill . . .	01	00	00	Andrew Duncan . . .	01	00	00
David Clerk . . .	01	00	00	John Fowlis . . .	01	00	00
Robert Smith . . .	01	04	00	David Adamson . . .	01	00	00
Alex ^r Gregory . . .	01	00	00	Christian Gregory . . .	00	12	00
Thomas Rentowll . . .	01	10	00	Andrew Lesly . . .	01	00	00
David Johnstone . . .	00	12	00	Thomas Shepherd . . .	01	00	00
James Ogilvie . . .	00	12	00	Henry Boyd . . .	01	00	00
Charles Henderson . . .	01	00	00	William Richie . . .	00	12	00
James Kinneear . . .	00	12	00	Alex ^r Bruceason . . .	01	00	00
Margaret Robertson . . .	00	12	00	James Tough . . .	00	12	00
John Patrick . . .	01	00	00	John Ramsay . . .	00	10	00
John Boyd . . .	01	10	00	David Anderson . . .	01	00	00
David Scott . . .	01	00	00				
John Rentowll . . .	01	10	00	Summa is	£27	00	00

VI.—THE GROUND OF NACHTANE.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
David Ramsay . . .	06	00	00	John Kirkaldy . . .	00	12	00
William Lumsden . . .	04	00	00	James Paterson . . .	01	00	00
Alexander Baxter . . .	00	18	00	John Cupar . . .	00	12	00
James Mitchell . . .	00	06	00	Helen Patie . . .	00	06	00
James Jack . . .	00	12	00	William Duncan . . .	01	04	00
William Dorrett . . .	00	06	00	James Kirkaldy . . .	03	00	00
John Black . . .	02	08	00	John Duncan . . .	00	12	00
William Murdoch . . .	01	00	00	Alex ^r Barclay . . .	00	04	00
Walter Ramsay . . .	00	12	00	Robert Hardy . . .	00	06	00

House in Leith sold for	£560	0	0
			£18,836 5 2
Less £2000 'allowed for Lady's jointure out of Restalrig,' and another deduction	£2,045	0	0
			£16,791 5 2

Total free yearly Rent from the three Baronies, £676, 12s. 9d.

'Planting at Balmerino valued at £150.'

The 'Lady' who had the jointure of £2000 appears to have been the widow of the *fifth* Lord Balmerino, who survived till 1767. She is referred to in a document included in the Forfeited Estates Papers, and entitled—

'Inventory of Silver and China Tea plate and others, acclaimed by Elizabeth Lady Balmerino, bequeathed to her by the deceased James Lord Balmerino, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, her husband, by his Deed of Gift or Legacie dated the 7th of August 1739, and registered as a Probative write in the Commissary Court Books of Edinburgh 6th August 1746; And which tea plate etc. were sold at publick roup by Warrant from the Commissary of Edinburgh at the instance of his creditors, and are excerpt from the Inventory of the roup of his Executry goods by me [William Russel] Clerk Deput of the Commissary Court of Edinburgh.'

The Inventory is too long for insertion here. It includes many silver dishes, 'My Lord Balmerino and My Lady's Picture,' £4, 12s., a 'Diamond ring with 8 sparks round it,' £3, 3s.; and the total amount is £102, 2s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Sterling.

No. XX

MR. HUTTON'S LETTER

[Referred to at page 286]

[The following letter, describing the state of the Abbey ruins in 1789, was addressed by the Rev. Andrew Hutton, minister of Kilmany (who died in 1792), to General Hutton, whose extensive Collections on the Monasteries of Scotland are preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library. The letter is contained in the volume for Fife, being Vol. VI. of the Collections. The same volume contains also two letters from Mr. Alexander Melville, farmer at Peasehills, dated 1789 and 1801 respectively, and several other letters from Mr. Hutton, to the General; but the following sentence in one of Mr. Hutton's letters is all that is

worth quoting :—‘ I went to Dunbog, and found that the place (where the mansion-house, the property of Sir Thomas Dundas [stands]) was formerly called Gadvan, a preceptory of Balmerinoch Abbey, wherein four monks did stately reside.’]

‘ KILMENY, 24th March, 1789.

‘ SIR,

‘ I hope you received by post, some time ago, a short letter from me in answer to your obliging favours of the 30th January. Since Mrs. Hutton’s death (on the 18th last) I have been nowhere abroad, and for some weeks have been ailing much, but am better now. Meantime, I have been making what inquiries I could about the Abbey of Balmerinoch. On Saturday I received a charter given by the *Commendatarius* of the Monastery, dated August 1574. It’s short and concise ; wrote in Latin. The language (considering the time) I think is ornate, in so far as I can read it. There are so many contractions, and so many words defaced, that I can make but little of it ; but such as are accustomed to read old writings (which I scarcely can) may understand the whole. The wax-seal appended to it distinctly bears the impression of the Virgin at full length, and the child in her arms. Its figure is oval ; and round the margin, a motto in old Saxon characters, which to me is illegible. What words of the charter I can read, I’ll write on the last page by themselves. I am going to-morrow, with some others, to visit the Abbey, that I may give all the intelligence I can, and will leave this unfinished till the next day.

‘ (Thursday 26th)—I was at the Abbey yesterday ; but unluckily most of the people I expected intelligence from were not at home, and the day was bad ; so that I could not stay to survey it as I meant to have done. Among the venerable remains, St. Mary’s Chapel¹ is the most entire, built of the finest stones, and so durable that the marks of the chissel are yet upon them. Not in the least blasted. It’s beautifully arched, and the roof supported by six pillars, the finest I have seen ; and the niches for the altar and font-stone are quite distinct. There is a large vault on each side ; one of which they call a pit, in which I found a number of cattle belonging to the tenant of the farm ; the other had been a kitchen, and in it likewise are (*sic*) a brew-house, as appears by the vents of each ; and the oven is yet entire. In the story above, some vaults yet remain, in which the nuns² it’s said, were lodged ; and on the west side, a yeard called the Cloyster Yeard, adjoining to which is the quire or vestry of the church³ from south to north. It’s now razed to the foundation. The church stood from west to east, and part of the back-wall yet stands, and the foundations of the pillars are visible. I could hear nothing about the queen’s grave, but think I could guess at the spot ; for a great way on the back-

¹ What Mr. Hutton calls *St. Mary’s Chapel* is not a chapel, but part of the Chapter-House.

² There were no nuns at Balmerino.

³ The north transept is meant.

wall the earth is high, and it's probable there are vaults below.¹ The churchyard is large, and is full of trees. East from that is the mansion-house, part of which yet stands, and the tenant lives in it. Two stone windows in the front have the impression of arms on them; and on the north end there is a bartisan, as they call it, looking towards the river. Behind is a large orchard, wherein some fruit trees still stand; and a walnut and an elm tree, very old, the grossest of the kind I ever saw. The great gate² fronts the west, and about it are the office-houses. The whole property belongs to the Earl of Moray. It has been used as a quarry, I believe, since the Reformation, and continues to be so still, and little of it now remains. It's seven years since I saw it before, and now the hewn stones of one of the pillars in the chappell, next to the side-wall, are driven down. It's shocking to see it. The whole will soon be ruined. In all the houses and dykes thereabouts the carved hewn stones of the Abbey are to be seen. Lord Balmerino's family lived there long. In 1611 the church was translated to about a quarter mile's distance to the eastward, because (it's said) the countess could not bear the noise of the psalms on Sunday.³ This is all the intelligence I can give at present; if more occurs afterwards, it shall be at your service. One Mr. Alexander Melville, farmer at Peasehills, in the neighbourhood, who favoured me with this charter, tells me of another, dated either 1539 or 93—is to procure me a sight of that likewise. I showed him your letter, and he is eager to do what he can to gratify you. He is a sensible worthy man, and most obliging. He has this charter in trust from the poor family it belongs to, and it seems it never has been renewed. I much wish you saw this, and if you incline you might write him asking the favour. I could transmit it to you by the Dundee-Edinburgh carrier who passes here weekly, and he would send it by the Kelso carrier from Edinburgh. And this way of sending letters would be most regular, as I'm seldom in Cupar unless on Presbytery days. I must write what I can of the charter in a separate paper, for want of room here; and I am, with great respect,

‘ Sir,

‘ Your most obedient servant,

‘ ANDREW HUTTON.

‘ *P.S.*—The feu which this charter belongs to consists of a house and barn and a yard, not exceeding half a rood of ground altogether, nay, not so much. I saw it the other day. The yearly duty it now pays is 3s. 4d. sterling.’

¹ The Queen was not buried there. See pages 120, 293.

² This gate has since been demolished. See page 300.

³ See page 286.

⁴ The charter here referred to is that regarding a house and garden, etc., at Bottomcraig, noticed at page 274.

No. XXI

FARMERS AND RENTAL OF NAUGHTON ESTATE IN 1813

[As given in to the Court of Teinds by Mr. James Morison]

		£	s.	d.
Fincraigs,	John Inglis,	410	0	0
Peasehills,	George Melville,	600	0	0
Little Inch,	George Johnston,	219	16	10
Boiling House,	Messrs. Littles,	72	0	0
Mains, in Naughton's own hand,		70	0	0
Kilburns,	Andrew Pitcairns,	200	0	0
Scur Bank,	Mr. Thomson,	30	0	0
Galdry,	William Henderson,	70	10	0
Do.	James Dewar,	20	0	0
Other lands in Galdry, viz. George Smith's, William Duncan's, and John Murdoch's,		14	0	0
Gallowhill,	Andrew Hutton,	45	0	0
Balgove,	David Meldrum,	4	4	0
Kirkton,	David Donald (?),	7	16	0
West Scurr,	Alex ^r Henderson,	12	0	0
Small Feus,		41	0	0
Total,		£1816	6	10

No. XXII

POPULATION OF THE PARISH

In 1755,	565	In 1831,	1055	In 1861,	815
1791,	703	1837,	1070	1871,	717
1801,	786	1841,	993	1881,	664
1811,	921	1851,	945	1891,	688
1821,	965	1858,	895		

No. XXIII

SOME OF THE VARIATIONS IN THE SPELLING OF
BALMERINO AND NAUGHTON

Abermoroenochtum	Balmerinoth	Balmurinoth
Balmurynach	Bamirinoth	Balmirriuo
Balmurinach	Balmerinath	Balmarino

Balmerynach	Balmernoacht	Balmuraeum
Balmerinach	Balmurinoche	Balmorynaucht
Balmorynach	Balmirnoch	Balmerynot
Balmorinach	Balmurynoth	Bawmerynot
Balmwrynach	Bamarinot	Balmirrieno
Balmerinauch	Balmorenoh	Balmirrienoche
Balmarinac	Balmirrynoche	Balmerinoch
Balmorinac	Balmarinoch	Balmerino
Balmoryue	Balmerinoche	Bamirnie
	etc.	
Hyhatnouhten Mache- hirb	Adhenaughten	Athnathtan
Hadnachten	Adnaughten	Athnacht
Hadhnaecten	Adnectan	Authnathan
Ardnaughton	Adynahten	Atnathan
Adnachten	Adnaughtan	Atnaughtan
Adnachtan	Adnacht	Naughtoune
Adanaughtin	Adanaughtan	Nachtoun
Adenaughtan	Adnaughten	Nachtane
Adanaughtan	Adnaughtan	Nachtan
Adanaughtin	Athnaughtan	Naughton
Adenaughten	Athenachten	Naughton
	Athenacuthen	etc.

No. XXIV

SITUATION OF PLACES NOT NOW INHABITED, OR WHOSE
NAMES ARE DISUSED

Cathills, or *Catteraigs*, north-east of Kilburns. *Scroggieside*, west of Kilburns. *East, West, and Mid Seur*, south of Scroggieside. *Hay's Hill*, north of Naughton Castle. *Kirkhills* and *Byrehills*, on the present farm of Peasehills; *Kirkhills* being the knolls south of the present cottages, and *Byrehills* being next to Wormit den. *Brownhills*, between Naughton and Gaudry. *Middleshed*, south from Kilburns, on the summit of the ridge. *Gaitsyde of Naughton*, and *Cauldside*, situation unknown. *Balgove*, corruptly *Bangove*, south-west of Gaudry, near the crest of the hill. *Pitmossie*, south-east of Fineraigs, near the foot of the hill. Both *Balgove* and *Pitmossie* were inhabited in the early part of the present century. *Dolle, Doll, or Doal*, south-west of Grange, near the boundary of the Parish. Its last inhabitant, William Bell, left it at Martinmas 1842. *Carueden*, east of Ballindean, where the eastern boundary of the Parish strikes the Motray. Unknown in modern times. (See page 123.) There had doubtless once been a memorial *cairn* there. An adjoining field in Kilmany parish is called *Cairnbank*. Houses at *East Grange*, now re-

moved. *Boghall*, north-east of Bottomcraig, at the foot of Scurrbank. Eighty years ago *Bottomcraig farm-house and steading* stood north of the present Manse. *Newbigging*, west from the Manse, on the south side of the public road. It had 13 acres of land attached to it, and was inhabited in this century. *Little Ley*, south from Bottomcraig, on the north slope of the hill, bounded by lands of Naughton on the east. *Drumcharry*, south-west of Bottomcraig, on the north slope of the hill. *Dochrone*, 32 acres, south and west from Gauldry. *Battlelaw*, west of Dochrone. *Cleikamscleuch* (sometimes written *Cleikanniscleuch*), west and south of Battlelaw. *Crossfaulds*, or *Corsefaulds*, between this last place and Priorwell, and south of Leadwells. *Byrescroft*, west of Drumcharry. *Leadwells*, south of Byres, and between the two roads leading up the hill. Eighty years ago, and afterwards, Leadwells was a farm 29 acres in extent. The last tenant's name was Barclay, who asserted that his family had lived there several hundred years. *Harlands*, west of Byres, running from Birkhill road south to the foot of the hill. *Woodflat*, north-west of Byres, near Barnden. *Barnden-burn*, probably east of *Poyntok-burn*, which was the boundary between Birkhill and Balmerino estates. *Barncroft*, west from the Green of Balmerino. *Barnyards*, about the same locality. *The Green of Balmerino*, west of the Abbey Place. *The Flott*, the field immediately south of the present burying-ground. *Craigingrugie's fauld* was in the Outfield of Byres. *Park and Poyntok*, and *Craigingrugie's fauld*, were the same as that afterwards called *Demmings* or *Demmins*, which till about forty years ago was a separate farm. Demmins formerly stood at the foot of the hill beneath Priorwell, and latterly close by the road leading to Birkhill, and on the south side of it. *Highlands*, near Demmins, on the north side of the road. Somewhere west of Barnden there was an inlet or recess (*hope* means *haven*) near a quarry called *Whitequarrelhope*; while *Quarrelhole* seems to have been the hollow in the wood immediately west of Balmerino, where boats are sometimes stored in winter. *Fincraigs* is not named in the old titles of Easter Grange. The first notice of it I have met with is in the year 1635. The name was originally applied to eminences a considerable distance north-west of the present farm-buildings. Forty years ago a *large and several small cottages*, which stood west of Birkhill farm-steading, near the carriage-drive, and beside the very fine plane-tree which stands in the open field there, were removed. The former had at one time been the residence of Mrs. Gillespie of Mountquhanie (who was of the Birkhill family) during her widowhood. The small cottages were called *Hungerton*. About forty years ago the houses of *Corbiehill*, which stood in the field north of the public road, were demolished and new ones erected at the roadside. Several houses east of *Priorwell*, where there was formerly a separate farm, have been lately disused. There were many years ago houses south-east of Little Inch, at the foot of the wooded hill. Down to the early part of this century there were two small farms, *North and South Kirkton*, whose houses and steadings stood east of the burying-ground. (Blau's Atlas, of date 1662,

vol. vi. contains some errors in the portion which shows this Parish. Thus it places *Byrehills* east of Wormit, and *Cathills* and *Brownhills* west of Gauldry. A place south-east from Little Inch it calls *Moorie*.)

No. XXV

MEANINGS OF PLACE-NAMES

Few things are more difficult—such are the effects of time in changing both spelling and pronunciation—than to ascertain the origin and meaning of ancient names of places. Most of the oldest of those in this country were first given by its Celtic inhabitants, and their meaning is to be sought in the Celtic dialects.

Balmúr ynach, now Balmérino—the accent being on the *second*, not the third syllable. *Bul* in Gaelic means a township: the derivation of the rest of the word is uncertain. *Muir* is the Gaelic word for sea. The Old Statistical Account gives the meaning of Balmurenach as Sailors' town. Some think that the word, like Kilmarnock, is derived from Ernan or St. Marnoch. Robertson (*Gaelic Topography of Scotland*) interprets it as *Baile-mòr-n'ach*, the large town of the field—a near approach to nonsense. Others think it signifies the town of Mary; but the name is older than the Abbey, which was dedicated to the Virgin. In a copy (in the author's possession) of Lesley's *De Origine Scotorum* which belonged either to the fourth or fifth Lord Balmerino, and contains on its margins many notes in Latin written by him, he gives the derivation of Balmerino as the town of *Merinus* (or *Merinach*), one of the legendary companions of St. Regulus. According to Joyce (*Irish Names of Places*), *ach* and *nach* are frequently postfixes meaning *full of*, or *abounding in*, like the terminations *ful*, *y*, and *ous* in English. The true meaning of the name Balmur ynach has probably yet to be discovered.

Ardie or *Airdie Hill*, from *airdin*, a little hill or height.

Balgove, the town of the smith, from *bal* and *gobha*, a smith.

Ballindean, if the union of an Anglo-Saxon with a Gaelic word be allowable, may mean the town of the dean or den. Milldean or Millden, Ballindean, and Carneden (cairn of the dean) are within a short distance of each other, and are all situated on the dean or narrow valley of the Motrich (now Motray) water.

Bottomcraig, the rock rising out of the hollow at the south base of Scur Hill.

Catteraigs, or *Cathills*—from *cath*, a battle.

Corbie, the birch den, from *cor*, which signifies a hollow, and *beith* (pronounced *beh*), a birch (Joyce).

Corsebrae, a corruption of Crossbrae, from a cross which probably was erected near Priorwell, or possibly from the cross-roads there.

Cultrach, now *Cultra* (pronounced *Coultrie*), a place of *colls* or hazels—

from the Gaelic *coll*, a hazel—*trach* as a termination having the same meaning as *ach* and *nach* (see above). Coultrey, near Santry in Dublin, signifies a place of hazels (Joyce).

Carneden (see page 123).

Demmings, or *Demins*, latterly written *Demonds* and even *Demons*, is derived from *dams* or pools of water in which flax was steeped. A place near Arbroath called Demmindale is said to have such an origin.

Drumcharry, probably from *druim* or *drum*, a long ridge, and *carrach*, rugged.

Fincraigs, the white craigs, from *fionn*, white or fair; or the word may be a corruption of *whin craigs*, as *what* is often pronounced *fat*.

Gauldry, from *Gallowraw* (see page 195).

Little Inch. Ground wholly or partly surrounded by water or marshes was called *inch* in Gaelic.

Naughton (see page 31). *Hy* means an island. The island of Nectan's stronghold, being partly surrounded by water.

Seur means a rock, like *skerry*.

Peasehills. A recent author supposes this place to be so called because the terms of peace with the Danes were there arranged (a pure imagination of his own), and suggests that the name should be changed to Dunipace, the hill of peace! But Dunipace does not mean the hill of peace, but signifies the fort of death—*duin-na-bais*.

Of several other place-names in the parish we can suggest no probable explanation.

No. XXVI

GENEALOGY OF THE LANDED PROPRIETORS

§ 1. THE DE LASCELES OF NAUGHTON

Alan, son of Walter de Lasceles, married Juliana de Sumervile, and had two sons, Alan and Duncan.

Alan de L. of Adnachten, son of the last, mentioned between 1183 and 1202, md. Amable ———, and had a daughter Margeria, who md. 1st, Peter de Haya, and 2dly, Sir Richard de Moravia, by whom she had a son, Sir Alexander de M. of Newton, mentioned 1260–68.

ARMS.—In H.M. Record Office is a detached seal, 'S. Johannis de Lashcel,' bearing a hand and falcon, in the background a . . . mullet.

A seal, 1292, 'Radulfi de Lascelles,' has *ermine*, three garbs. Sir Radulfus de Lasceles witnesses a charter between 1272 and 1279.

§ 2. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON (First Family)

John de Haya de Ardnaughton was the 3rd son of William de H., the first of Errol (who died in 1190), by his wife Eva. He had a brother William, and he himself md. Juliana de Lascel, who predeceased him,

and by whom he had a son Peter. ('Alexander tunc constabular. de Adenauctan,' witnesses a charter in 1260.)

Peter de Haya de Ardnaughton, son of the last, md. Margery, dr. of Alan de Lascels. (See above.) He died before 1266.

John de Haya de Adenauthan, mentd. 1281.

William de Haya of Nachtana, mentd. 1292 and 1297.

John de Haya of N., mentd. 1312-62.

Nicholas Hay of N., mentd. 1394.

Sir William Hay of N., mentd. 1406-67. He had two sons at least, David, his heir, and John, to whom and his wife Elizabeth ——, Robert Liddle granted, in 1461, half of the lands of Creich.

David Hay of N., son of the last, contracted with Alisoun of Murray, 1420. He md. Catherine ——, who is mentd. 1440. He afterwards md. Isobel, dr. of Sir Thomas Wemyss of Rires (who subsequently became the 2nd wife of David Boswell of Balmuto, by whom she had issue). David Hay had a son James, who succeeded him, and another son (name unknown), who had two sons, (1) James Hay in 'East Ferry,' mentd. 1551, whose son James Hay, in 'Ferry-port-on-Craig,' is mentd. 1588-1594. John Hay, Commendator of Balmerino (1561-73), was probably of the family of Naughton, and descended from, or at least connected with, the above James Hay in East Ferry. The Commendator's eldest brother was Archibald, whose son was 'John Hay in the Ferry' (1573). The Commendator md. Agnès Leitch, whom he predeceased in 1573, leaving Archibald and other children. (2) Alexander Hay of Morton (Muirtown), mentioned 1520, now represented by John David Buchanan Hay of Morton. David Hay of Naughton had a son John, 'brother of the Laird of N.' (that is, of the *next* Laird), and Provost of Dundee, who was probably the father of the Hays of East Ferry and of Morton. (See above.) His dr. Janet md. John Bethune of Creich. The Hays of St. Fort were probably also a branch of the family of Naughton.

Sir James Hay of N. was served heir to his fr. David in 1470. He had a son William (mentd. 1483-89), who probably predeceased him, and a dr. Janet, md. to Sir Peter Crichton. He died 1513.

ARMS OF HAY OF NAUGHTON.—*Argent*, three inescutcheons within a bordure engrailed, *gules*. (*Lindsay's MS.*)

Seal of William Hay of Naughton, 1467—*Couché*, three escutcheons within a bordure indented. Crest—on helmet, a mermaid holding a mirror in her right hand; the background ornamented with trees, and a stream of water. (*H. Laing's Supplemental Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals*, p. 82.)

Seal of James Hay of Naughton, 1494:—As the above, a comb in the mermaid's left hand.

§ 3. THE CRICHTONS OF NAUGHTON

Sir Peter Crichton md., in 1494, Janet Hay, who became heiress or her fr. Sir James Hay of Naughton. George Crichton, Bishop of Dun-

keld, was Sir Peter's brother. Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, was perhaps Sir Peter's son. Sir Peter was alive in 1543.

David Crichton of Naughton, son of Sir Patrick Crichton of Cranstoun-Riddle and nephew of the last Laird of Naughton, md. Janet Leslie, dr. of George, 4th Earl of Rothes, who, after his death, md., 2dly, the Laird of Grant, but had no issue by either marriage. He died probably before 1553.

William Crichton of Drylaw and Naughton, brother of the last, was served heir to him in Naughton in 1558. In 1535-36 he was divorced from Beatrice Ranetoun, lady of Herdmanston. (See *Liber Officialis S. Andree*, printed for the Abbotsford Club.) This was probably that Laird of Naughton who married the 13th of sixteen drs. of Alexander Stewart of Garlies.

Alexander Crichton of D. and N., son of the last, md. Margaret Johnstoun, dr. of James Johnstoun of Elphinstoun. He had three sons, Ludovic his heir, David, and Patrick, who became minister of Ruthven. Probably of the family of Naughton were Catherine Crichton, who was md. before 1557 to David Balfour of Balledmonth; Janet C., wife of Thomas Graham in 'Sandford of Naughton,' who died 1580; and Catherine C., wife of Henry Wood in Wormit, who was alive in 1612.

Lodovic Crichton of N., eldest son of the last, md. Christian Ramsay, probably of the family of Ramsay of Grange and Corston; and their eldest son was Ludovic C.

ARMS.—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, *argent*, a lion rampant *azure*, armed and langued *gules*, for Crichton; 2nd and 3rd, *argent*, an inescutcheon within a bordure engrailed *gules*, for Hay. (*Lindsay's MS.*) But according to Nisbet (*Heraldry*):—2nd and 3rd, *argent*, three escutcheons within a bordure *gules*, for Hay.

Seal of Henry Crichton, 1525, apparently of the family of Crichton of Naughton:—Couché, a lion rampant. Crest—on a helmet with mantlings, a mermaid, holding a mirror in her right hand, and a comb in her left. (*H. Laing's Catal. of Scot. Seals.*)

Seal of William Crichton of Naughton, 1563—A lion rampant. (*Ibid.*)

§ 4. THE BALFOURS OF BALLEDMONTH

David Balfour of Balledmonth or Balledmond, in Forgan parish, was descended from John Balfour of Balledmond, one of the sons of Sir Michael Balfour of Mountquhany by his wife Janet Ogilvie, dr. of Sir Andrew Ogilvie of Inchmartin. D. B. md. before 1557 Catherine Crichton, probably of the family of Naughton, who was alive in 1597.

David Balfour of B., son of the last, md. before 1574 Elizabeth Murray, dr. of Andrew M. of Arngask. In 1577 he got a charter of confirmation of the Kirklands of Forgan, which he possessed long before. He had two sons, Andrew and John, and was alive in 1612.

Sir Andrew B. of B., eldest son of the last, md. about 1596 Euphemia, dr. of John Inglis of Tarbat.

ARMS.—*Argent*, on a chevron, *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first; a cinquefoil, *sable*, in base for difference; and two women as supporters.

§ 5. THE HAYS OF NAUGHTON (Second Family)

George Hay of Ross had two sons—Peter, born 1567; and William, mentioned 1611–33.

Peter Hay of Nether Durdie, and afterwards of Naughton, eldest son of the last, md. Marjory Hay, by whom he had four sons and a dr.—George, his heir; James, a lieut.-col. in the army, who got the lands of Dairsie, etc., and Forrett; Patrick, mentioned 1654; and Peter, born 1614, who got Blebo and Nether Friarton in the barony of Drumduff; and Helen, md. to Peter Hay of Leys. Peter Hay of N. was alive in 1643, and d. before 9th July 1649.

George Hay of Naughton, eldest son of the last, md. in 1621 Maria Ruthven, eldest dr. of William Ruthven of Freeland, grandson of William Lord Ruthven, by whom he had four sons and three drs.—Peter, his successor, Patrick, designated of Ross, who md. Margaret Sword, and died 1687 (whose son, John Hay of Ross, dying s.p. in 1694, was succeeded in that estate by his sister Mary Hay of Ross, who md. John Hay of Pitfour); John Hay, D.D., of Conland, alive in 1709; Thomas, an officer in the Scots Guards; Isobel, md. to Sir John Lesley of Newton; 'Tibby,' md. in 1663 to Robert Fotheringham of Lawhill, 'Dunnune's brother in Angus;' Janet, md. in 1656 to James Gray, fiar of Balledgarno, with issue; Elizabeth, dr. of a (probably this) Laird of Naughton, md. to Alexander Nairn of Sandford, who was served heir to his father in 1670. George H. of N. was alive in 1654.

Peter Hay of N., eldest son of the last, md. in 1655 the 'young lady of Pitreue, Fordell Henderson's sister,' and had two sons, John, who succeeded him, and Robert, born 1672. He died 1704.

John Hay of N., eldest son of the last, md. 1st (1699) Jean Scott, dr. of the laird of Edenshead; and 2dly, Margaret Aytoun in Finglassy parish, in 1702. He died in 1709 without surviving issue by either marriage, leaving a widow.

Robert Hay of N., brother of the last, md. 1693 Helen Bruce in Kilmany parish, and had seven children:—George the eldest, who became a lieut. in the army, and had in 1726 a son Robert, and in 1727 a son George; William, b. 1710; John, b. 1711; Robert, b. 1712; David, b. 1714; Andrew, b. 1718; Margaret, who md. in 1727 Captain Peter Bruce of Bunzeon, in the parish of Cults; and Alexander, murdered, 1717.

ARMS.—Of four Communion cups given to Balmerino Church by this family of Hays of Naughton, two bear:—*Argent*, three inescutcheons, *gules*. Crest—a falcon upon a wreath of the colours. Another cup has the arms as above, but no crest. Another has:—Party per pale,—1st, *Argent*, three inescutcheons *azure*, for Hay; 2nd, paly of six *argent* and *vert* (?) for Ruthven.

§ 6. THE MORISONS AND DUNCANS OF NAUGHTON

William Morison of Naughton was the son of William Morison, and md. Elizabeth Gray, by whom he had a son James, born in 1738, and other children, none of whom attained to maturity.

James Morison of N., eldest son of the last, md. Isabella, eldest dr. and heiress of the Rev. David Maxwell, minister, and laird of part of Strathmartine (by a dr. of Duncan of Lundie), by whom he had five children :—Isobel, born 1760, his successor in Naughton ; William, born 1761, who, unmd., predeceased his father. Anne, who died unmd. ; Catherine, who md. Henry Stark of Teasses, son of the Rev. Thomas Stark of Balmerino, and had a son who died s.p. ; and Elizabeth, who md. Mr. Skene of Pitlour, and had a son who attained to manhood, when he died at Paris s. p. 1803. James Morison died 22nd December 1816.

Isobel Morison of N., eldest dr. of the last, md. William Bethune of Blebo, by whom she had one child, Isabella Maxwell, born 1795, who died in 1818. (Mrs. Morison had an aunt, Lilius Maxwell, youngest of five drs. of Rev. D. Maxwell, who died 1846, aged 90.) She died in 1850 aged 90 years.

Adam Alexander Duncan-Morison of N., son of the Hon. Sir Henry Duncan, Capt. R.N. (who was the second son of Viscount Duncan), by a dr. of Capt. Coutts Crawford, R.N., md. in 1853 Catherine Eunice, dr. of Major M'Kenzie of Fodderty. He assumed the additional name of Morison, and died in 1855, leaving their only child, Catherine Henrietta Adamina Duncan-Morison of Naughton, who in 1897 md. Alexander William Anstruther, Lieut.-Colonel, R.A., commanding the R.A. in Halifax, Nova Scotia, born 1847, 3rd son of Thomas Andrew, E.I.C.S., the 3rd son of Sir Alexander Anstruther of Thirdpart, who was the 2nd son of Sir Robert Anstruther of Balcaskie.

ARMS of A. A. Duncan-Morison of Naughton :—Quarterly : 1st and 4th, *argent*, three Moors' heads coupéd *sable*, banded *or*, in the centre of the field a saltire coupéd of the second, whereon is a man's heart of the third, for difference, for Morison ; 2nd, *gules*, a chevron *or*, between two cinquefoils in chief and a hunting-horn in base *argent*, garnished *azure*, all within a bordure of the second, for difference, for Duncan ; 3rd, counterquartered, 1st and 4th, *argent*, a saltire engrailed *sable* ; 2nd, *argent*, a saltire engrailed between four roses *gules* ; 3rd, *or* a bend chequé *argent* and *sable*, the whole within a bordure *gules*, for difference, for Haldane. Crests :—On the dexter side, three Saracens' heads conjoined in one neck, erased and wreathed about the temples with laurel, all proper ; one looking upward, the others to the dexter and sinister sides. Motto—*Pretio prudentia præstat*. In the centre a ship in distress in a sea proper. Motto—*Disce pati*. On the sinister side an eagle's head erased, *or*. Motto—*Suffer*. (*Lyon Register*, 1853.)

§ 7. THE ABERNETHIES OF THAT ILK

Hugh de Abernethy lived in reign of David I. (1124-53).

Orme de A., son of the last, 1162-85. He had a son Laurance, and a dr. Margaret, md. to Henry de Reuel of Balmerino.

Laurence de A., son of the last, had a son Sir Patrick, and died soon after 1244.

(Sir Alexander Abernethy, lineal descendant of the last, lived in King Robert Bruce's time. He died without male issue, and his extensive property went to his three drs.—(1) Margaret, md. to John Stewart, Earl of Angus, who got with her the barony of Abernethy; (2) Helen, md. to David de Lindsay, ancestor of the Earls of Crawford, who got with her the barony of Downie in Angus; (3) Mary, md. to Sir Andrew Lesley, ancestor of the Earls of Rothes, who got with her the barony of Ballinbreich, Cairney, Rothes in Aberdeenshire, etc. According to another account, Sir Alexander Abernethy had only two drs.—Margaret and Mary; the latter of whom, after the death of Sir Andrew Lesley, md. 2dly, Sir David de Lindsay, just mentioned. These three families have ever since quartered the arms of Abernethy with their own. The representation now devolved on the male heir of William, 2nd son of the above Sir Patrick, ancestor of the Abernethies, Lords of Salton.)

ARMS of the Lord of Abernethy :—*Or*, a lion rampant *gules*, armed and langued *azure*, debruised of a ribbon *sable*.

Seal of Alexander Abernethy, 1292 :—A lion rampant debruised of a ribbon, the shield on the breast of an eagle displayed.

§ 8. THE REUELS OF BALMERINO

Henry de Reuel, who lived in the time of William the Lion (1164-1214), md. Margaret, dr. of Orme of Abernethy.

Richard Reuel, nephew of the last, succeeded him.

Adam de Stawel, brother of the last, succeeded him, and sold his lands in 1225 to Queen Ermengarde.

§ 9. JOHN HAY, COMMENDATOR OF BALMERINO ABBEY

(See a notice of his family at page 645.)

§ 10. THE KINNEIRS, BAILIES AND COMMENDATORS OF BALMERINO ABBEY.

William de Kiuer, mentioned in King William's time (1165-1214).

Simon, son of Simon de Kyner, made a grant to St. Andrew's Priory, which was confirmed by King Alexander II. in 1216.

Symon de Kynner and his wife Amia made grants to Balmerino Abbey, which were confirmed by Alexander III. in 1260.

Symon de K., son of the last, before 1286 made a grant of land to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and to Hugh of Kilmany.

Sir John de K., in 1286, confirmed Hugh's grant of this land to Balmerino Abbey.

John de Kynneir, in 1377, obtained from Robert II. a charter of the barony of Kynneir, which he had resigned for a new grant of the same to himself and his heirs male.

David K. of K., in 1483, resigned the barony for a new grant to himself and John K., his son and heir-apparent. He md. Marjorie Moncur, by whom he had four sons:—John his heir, Andrew (who md. Elizabeth, daughter of the said Marjorie), David and William. In 1491 he bought the 3rd part of Straburn, Fordale, and Fotheris, which were called Thanisland, in Leuchars parish. (The Kynneirs about this time and afterwards possessed Over Kedlock, Nether Kedlock or Dunbrae, Kittadie and Craigsanquhar, and Easter and Wester Torrs.)

John K. of K. was served heir to his fr. David K. of K. in 1543. He md. Helen Ramsay, and had two sons—(1) David, his heir; (2) Henry, Commendator of the Abbey, who md. Christian, dr. of Robert Betoun of Creich, by whom he had two sons and a dr.—(1) John, Commendator of the Abbey, who died before 1603; (2) David, minister of Auchterhouse, who md. Elizabeth Douglas, and had a son, John; (3) Jean, md. to — Scott, by whom she had a son, Thomas.

John K. of K. is said in Monteith's *Theater of Mortality* to have lived till 1584, when he died in Dundee aged 63. If so, there were probably two successive Lairds named John. About this time and subsequently the succession is somewhat uncertain, from the repetition of the names David and John as Lairds.

David K. of K. is mentioned as Laird in 1586. He had two sons, John and James.

John is mentd. as John K. of K. in 1609, but it is probable that he predeceased his father David.

David K. of K., son of the last, was served heir of his grandfather David in 1622. He md. Jean, dr. of Mr. Thomas Douglas, minister of Balmerino, and had a son David, probably by a former marriage. Either he or his son David died in 1650 leaving no legitimate issue. (*Lamont.*)

David K. of K., presumably from a collateral branch, is mentd. in 1654. He married Anna Auchmoutie, 'Auchmoutie's 2nd sister, and relict of Aytoun of Finglassie.' (*Lamont.*)

David K. of K. was served heir of the last, his fr., in 1680, and in him the direct male line ended.

'David Kinneir of that Ilk, last of the direct male line, died about 1682 [1684], when a remarkably rapid succession followed; in forty years the estate was held by ten persons, of whom seven were heiresses; three of them md. into the families of Anstruther of Balcaskie, Macdonald of Cromarty, and Bayne. Cecilia Bayne Kinneir of Kinneir married, 1751, William Douglas of the Tilwhilly family, elder brother of the Bishop of Salisbury; their daughter, Cecilia Maria Douglas Kinneir of Kinneir,

married, 1776, John Macdonald of Sanda [in Argyllshire], and sold the estate in 1795. Their son, Sir John Kinneir-Macdonald, C.B., Envoy to the Shah of Persia, died s. p.; his brother, William, Archdeacon of Wilts, was grandfather of the present representative, Douglas J. Kinneir-Macdonald of Sanda.' (Stoddart's *Scottish Arms*, vol. ii. p. 260, 1881.)

ARMS of Kinneir of that Ilk:—*Sable*, on a bend *or*, three martlets (or Kinnerrie birds) *vert*. Crest:—two anchors, saltierways, proper. Motto:—*I live in hope*.

§ 11. ROBERT AUCHMOUTY, COMMENDATOR OF BALMERINO ABBEY

was the son of David Auchmouty, advocate in St. Andrews. In 1613 he got a charter of certain lands in Balmerino parish. David, his son, skipper in St. Andrews, was served heir to him in 1644, and, same year, sold his lands to Balfour of Grange.

§ 12. THE ELPHINSTONES: BARONS BALMERINO

The Hon. Sir James Elphinstone, 1st Baron Balmerino, was the 3rd son of Robert, 3rd Lord Elphinstone, by his wife, Margaret, dr. of Sir John Drummond of Innerpeffry. He md. 1st, Sarah, dr. of Sir John Menteith of Carse, by whom he had a son John, who succeeded him. He md. 2dly, Marjory, dr. of Hugh Maxwell of Tealing, by whom he had a son, James, and five drs.—(1) James, who became Baron Coupar in 1607, md. 1st, Margaret, dr. of Sir James Halyburton of Pitcur, and 2dly, Lady Marion Ogilvy, dr. of the 2nd Earl of Airlie (who, after his death, was md. to John, 3rd Lord Lindores). He died 1669 s. p. by either mar. (2) Anne, md. to Andrew, 1st Lord Fraser. (3) Mary, md. to John Hamilton of Blair. (4) Margaret, (5) Barbara, and (6) Marjory. Lord Balmerino had probably another son, Alexander, by Miss Maxwell, and died in 1612.

John, 2nd Baron Balmerino, eldest son of the last, md. Anne, dr. of Sir Thomas Ker of Fernyhurst, and sister of Andrew and James, Lords Jedburgh, and of Robert, Earl of Somerset, by whom he had a son John, his successor. He died 1649.

John, 3rd Baron Balmerino, son of the last, md. in 1649, at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, Lady Anne Campbell, dr. of John, Earl of Loudon, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, by whom he had three sons and a dr.—(1) John, his successor; (2) James, b. 1655; (3) Margaret, b. 1657; (4) James, b. 1660; the three last died in infancy. He died 1704, aged 82 years.

John, 4th Baron Balmerino, eldest son of the last, md. 1st, Lady Christian Montgomery, 3rd dr. of Hugh, 7th Earl of Eglington, by whom he had three sons and two drs.—(1) The eldest son, whose name I have not found, but who is referred to in Balmerino Kirk-Session minutes in 1698 as 'the Master of Balmerino, younger, now dead;' his father being then (before his accession to the title of Lord Balmerino) the Master of Bal-

merino. (2) Hugh, who became Master of Balmerino in 1704, when his father became Lord Balmerino, and who was killed at the siege of Lille in 1708, leaving no issue; (3) James, who succeeded his fr.; (1) Margaret, md. in 1692 to Sir John Preston of Prestonhall, and had issue; (2) Jean, md. to Francis, 6th Earl of Moray, was the mother of James the 7th Earl, and died 1739. He md. 2dly, in 1687, Anne, dr. of Dr. Arthur Ross, last Archbp. of St. Andrews, by whom he had two sons and a dr.—(1) Arthur, named after his maternal grandf., who became the 6th Baron; (2) Alexander, who died unmd. at Leith in 1733; (3) Anne, who died unmd. He died in 1736, aged 84. Lady Balmerino died in 1712.

James, 5th Baron Balmerino, eldest surviving son of the last, md. Lady Elizabeth Carnegie, dr. of David, 4th Earl of Northesk, but died without issue in 1746, aged 71. Lady Balmerino lived till 1767.

Arthur, 6th and last Baron Balmerino, and half-brother of the fifth Lord, md. Margaret, dr. of Captain Chalmers, by whom he had no issue. He was beheaded at Tower Hill, London, 18th August 1746, in the 53th year of his age, when the male line of his family became extinct. Lady Balmerino died at Restalrig in 1765.

ARMS:—*Argent*, a chevron *sable*, charged with three buckles of the field, betwixt three boars' heads, erased, *gules*. Crest:—a dove *argent*, with a snake, proper, linked about its legs. Supporters:—two griffins, proper, beaked and armed, *or*. Motto:—*Prudentia fraudis nescia*.

§ 13. THE EARLS OF MORAY, AND STUARTS AND STUART-GRAYS OF BALMERINO

James, 8th Earl of Moray, eldest son of Francis, the 7th earl, by his 2nd wife, Jean, dr. of John, 4th Lord Balmerino, md. 1st, Grace, dr. of George Lockhart of Carnwath, widow of John Gordon, 3rd Earl of Aboyne, by whom he had a son Francis, 9th Earl; and a dr. Euphemia. He md. 2dly, Margeret, dr. of David, 3rd Earl of Wemyss, by whom he had two sons, James and David. He died 1767.

Francis, 9th Earl of Moray, eldest son of the last, md. Jane, dr. of John, 11th Lord Gray, and by her (who died 1786) had issue five sons and three drs.—(1) James, who died 1776; (2) John, who died 1791; (3) Francis, the 10th Earl; (4) Archibald, twin-brother of Francis (of whom see below); (5) Charles, died unmd.; (6) Margaret, died unmd.; (7) Grace, md. George Douglas of Cavers, and died 1846; (8) Anne, died 1837. He died 1810. [Francis, 10th Earl of Moray, died 1848. The next four Earls were his sons, all unmd.:—Francis, 11th Earl, d. 1859; John, 12th Earl, d. 1867; Archibald-George, 13th Earl, d. 1872; George Philip, 14th Earl, d. 1895, and was succeeded in the Earldom by his cousin, the present Earl (see below).]

The Hon. Archibald Stuart of Balmerino, twin-brother of Francis, 10th Earl of Moray, was born 1771; md. in 1793 Cornelia, dr. of Edmund Morton Pleydell of Milbourn, St. Andrews, Dorset, and by her (who died 1830) he left at his decease, in 1832, six sons—(1) Francis Archibald Stuart,

proprietor of Balmerino, who d. 1375; (2) John Morton S., who d. 1340; (3) James-William S., who d. 1350; (4) Edmund-Luttrell S., Rector of Winterborne, Houghton, Dorset, born 1798, md. 1834, Elizabeth, 2nd dr. of the Rev. J. L. Jackson, Rector of Swanage, Dorset, and had issue— I. Edmund-Archibald S., b. 1340, in 1395 became 15th Earl of Moray, md., 1377, Anna Mary, 2nd dr. of the late Rev. George John Collinson, Vicar of St. James', Clapham; II. Francis James S. (now Stuart-Gray) of Kinfauns and Balmerino, b. 1342, md., 1379, Gertrude-Floyer, dr. of the Rev. Francis-Alfred Smith, rector of Tarrant Rushton, Dorset; III. Morton-Gray S., b. 1355, md., 1390, Edith-Douglas, dr. of Capt. George Palmer, R.N., and has issue, Francis-Douglas, b. 1392, and Archibald John Morton, b. 1394; IV. Cornelia S., md. to the Rev. William Henry Augustus Truell, Rector of Wall, co. Stafford; (5) Douglas-Wynne S., md., 1342, Marcia, youngest dr. of the late Francis-Fownes Luttrell, Esq., and had a son, Douglas-Moray, b. 1343; (6) the Rev. George Gray S., who died in 1335.

ARMS of Earl of Moray:—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, *or*, a lion rampant, within a double tressure, flory, counterflory, *gules*, surrounded with a bordure gobonated, compony, *argent* and *azure*, as a descendant of the Royal House of Stewart; 2nd, *or*, a fess chequy *argent* and *azure*, for Stewart of Doune; 3rd, *or*, three cushions, two and one, of a lozenge form, within a double tressure, flory, counterflory, *gules*, for Randolph, Earl of Moray. Crest:—on a wreath, a pelican in her nest, feeding her young, proper. Supporters:—two greyhounds, proper. Motto:—*Salus per Christum Redemptorem*.

§ 14. DOUGLAS OF STONYPATH AND BOTTOMCRAIG

(For a notice of this family see pp. 335, 354.)

ARMS:—*Argent*, a heart *gules*, royally crowned of the first; on a chief *azure*, three mullets of the field, a bordure of the second.

§ 15. THE CRICHTONS OF BOTTOMCRAIG

The Crichtons of Cranston-Riddel were descended from Lord Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James II., and acquired Cranston-Riddel by the marriage of one of them with the heiress of that property in 1463. Sir James C. of C.-R. d. before 1619. His mother and paternal grandmother appear to have been of the family of Forrester of Corstorphine. He md. Dorothy Scott, of the Scotts of Branxholm. Her mother was Jean Beaton of the Beatons of Creich; and her maternal grandmother was of the Hays of Errol. He had two sons, Sir James and Thomas.

Thomas Crichton of Bottomcraig, 2nd son of the last, was born 1575, and md. Jean Cannolie, by whom he had a dr. Elizabeth. He was killed in 1619, in which year also his wife died.

Elizabeth Crichton of B., dr. of the last, succeeded her parents in

1619, and died before 1st March 1620, when the property went to her uncle, Sir James Crichton, Bart., who sold it soon afterwards.

Arms of Crichton of Cranston-Riddel:—*or*, a lion rampant *azure*, within a bordure *gules*.

§ 16. THE STARKS AND STARK-CHRISTIES OF BALLINDEAN

Paul Stirk of Ballindean md. before 1532 Marion Jackson, dr. of Andrew Jackson by his wife Alison Ramsay, and by her had four sons—George, born before 1532, who succeeded him; Andrew; Alexander; and John—all born before 1539. Mirabella Stirk, probably Paul's dr., md. before 1563 John Duncan, portioner of Newbigging, and had issue. Others of the name occur in the Parish about this time—David in 1586, and Margaret in 1592.

George Stirk of B., eldest son of the last, had a son George.

George Stirk of B., son of the last, had two sons—George his heir; and David, who resided in Hillcairney, and died about 1655, leaving a son David, born 1654, to whom his uncle, George Stirk, served himself Tutor in 1655. Janet and Robert Stirk were probably also children of this laird.

George Stirk of B., eldest son of the last, md. 1st, Jean Oliphant in the par. of Kilmany, in 1644, by whom he had four children—George, b. 1644, who predeceased his fr.; Margaret, b. 1648; Thomas, b. 1646, his father's heir; and William, b. 1649. He md. 2dly, Margaret Bennet in par. of Criech, in 1651, by whom he had four children—David; Robert; Walter, who was a farmer in Kinneir in 1690; and Margaret, md. to John Wylie in 1693. This laird was alive in 1691.

Thomas Stark of B., eldest surviving son of the last, md. in 1672 (when resident in South Leith) Margaret Greig, youngest dr. of Mr. Walter Greig, minister of Balmerino, born 1647, by whom he had four children—(1) John, his heir; (2) Christian, md. in 1697 to Mr. James Hay, minister of Balmerino, and nephew of the laird of Naughton, by whom she had twelve children, of whom the 1st was born in Dec. 1697 and the last in Dec. 1714: she died 1715; (3) Jean, md. in 1717 to Mr. James Adam, minister of Kinnaird; (4) William, factor to the Balmerino family (as his father also had been) and to the Earl of Moray, at Balmerino. He md. in 1730 Margaret, youngest dr. of Alexander Alison of Birkhill, and died 1759. Of his sons, the youngest was called Arthur, probably after Lord Balmerino. Another, Thomas, became factor at Balmerino to Lord Moray, and md. in 1760 Agnes, 2nd dr. of Archibald M'Duff of Ballinloan, par. of Little Dunkeld, by whom he had a son Stewart, and died 1781. Another son, John, was, apparently, the 'John Stark of Rungay' who died in 1771, and was interred in Balmerino churchyard. This laird was alive in 1722.

John Stark of B. and N., eldest son of the last, became minister of Logie-Murdoch in 1700, and md. Catherine Bethune, eldest dr. of Bethune of Clato, by whom he had eight children—Thomas, his heir, John, Henry,

William, Alison, James (tenant in Peasehills, who md. 1st, Barbara Hay in the par. of Forgan, and 2dly, Jean Johnston in the par. of St. Andrews, and had issue by both marriages), Margaret and George. John Stark died 1748.

Thomas Stark, of B. and N., eldest son of the last, was admitted minister of Balmerino in 1742, and md. Helen Bruce, youngest dr. of Bruce of Kinloch, by whom he had eight children—(1) John, his heir, born 1747; (2) James, who entered the service of the E.I.C., and, on his return home, bought the estate of Kingsdale. He md. Margaret Alexander, 3rd dr. of Sir Alexander Dick, Bart. of Prestonfield, by whom he had a son who died in infancy, and three drs.—Mary Butler S., md. to Robert Christie, 5th son of James Christie of Durie; Agnes Keith S.; and Henrietta Elizabeth S., md. to Henry Lindsay Dick Cunningham, Esq.; (3) Elizabeth, md. to Charles Wilson, D.D., successively minister of Auchtermuchty, Professor of Oriental Languages, and Prof. of Church History at St. Andrews, by whom she had eight children, one of whom, Jane, was md. to Dr. James Hunter of St. Andrews, and another, Catherine, was md. to Lord Jeffrey; (4) Andrew, who died in infancy; (5) Catherine, md. to Colonel Deare of the Indian army, and their grandson, Sir F. L. Rogers, Baronet, was created Lord Blachford in 1871, and died without issue; (6) Harry, who went to India, and on his return purchased the estate of Teasses. He md., 1st, a dr. of James Morison of Naughton, by whom he had two ch. who died in infancy: he md., 2dly, a dr. of Major Horsburgh, by whom he had four ch.—James and Margaret, who both died in infancy; Thomas, who became a Capt. in the Grenadier Guards, but died without issue; and Henrietta who died unmd: he (Harry) died in 1796, and his widow in 1845; (7) Margaret; and (8) Anna-Barbara. Their father, the minister of Balmerino, died 1772. (About this time persons of the name of Stark were very numerous in the Parish and neighbourhood.)

John Stark (afterwards John Stark Robertson) of B. and N., and minister of Balmerino, eldest son of the last, demitted the living of Balmerino in 1781, and afterwards settled in Bath. He md. in 1790 Susannah, only dr. of Major-General Reid, and died about 1810 without issue.

Mrs. S. Stark-Robertson of B. and N., widow of the last, died in 1833, and was succeeded by

The Misses Mary Butler S., Agnes Keith S., and Henrietta Elizabeth S., drs. of James Stark of Kingsdale (see above). The first md. Robert Stark-Christie of Teasses, of the family of Christie of Durie, and died in 1861 leaving three sons and a dr. :—(1) James Henry Robertson Stark-Christie, of Teasses, who md., 1860, Marion Jane, dr. of Archibald Young Howison, of Hyndford, Lanarkshire, and died in 1875 leaving three sons and four drs. (2) Robert Lindsay Bruce Stark-Christie, W.S., who md. Julianne Cockburn Scott, of the Scotts of Malleny, Midlothian; (3) Thomas Stark-Christie, now of Ballindean and Newbigging, born in 1840. (1) Margaret Isobel Stark-Christie, md. to Hugh Lindsay Christie, who became a Major-General, son of Charles Maitland Christie of Durie, and d. 1861, having had issue.

§ 17. THE BALFOURS OF GRANGE

David Balfour of Balbuthy, and afterwards of Newgrange of Balmerino, the 4th of seven sons of Andrew Balfour of Mountquhanie (who died 1570) by his wife Janet, 3rd dr. of Sir Alexander Bruce of Earlshall, md. Elizabeth Wemyss, and left two sons, Michael and Gilbert. He died before 1572.

Gilbert Balfour of Balbuthy and Grange, 2nd son of the last, md. Grizel, dr. of Spens of Wormistoun, by whom he had a son David. He died in 1589.

David Balfour of B. and G. (son of the last), to whom George Balfour, Prior of Charterhouse, served himself Tutor in 1589, was served heir to his fr. Gilbert, and to his grandfr. David in 1612. He md. Bisset Balfour, dr. of David Balfour of Balledmonth, and had a son—name unknown—who was the father of Elizabeth Balfour, who was served heiress-portioner to her grandfather David in 1620.

Michael Balfour of G., uncle of the last, had a charter of Grange in 1620, md. Jean Melville, niece of Andrew Melville, and died between 1642 and 1644.

Andrew Balfour of G., son of the last, was twice md. By his 1st mar. he had a dr. Margaret, who was md. in 1653 to Andrew Leslie, 2nd son of Sir John Leslie of Birkhill, and had issue. His 2nd wife (md. 1652) was Christian Balfour, dr. of David Balfour of 'Sanctfoord' (*Kirk Sess. Rec.*), by whom he had eight children—David, born 1654, his heir; Christian; Grisel, md. to Thomas Law in Dundee; Robert; William; Andrew; John; and Peter.

David Balfour of G., eldest son of the last, md. Elizabeth Balfour, by whom he had six children—Anne, md. to James Balfour of Radernie, and had issue; a child baptized at Newton 1688 or 1689; Elizabeth, baptd. in Balmerino Church, 1690; another Elizabeth, born 1692; Barbara; and Catherine, md. in 1718 to Peter Crombie, merchant in Cupar. David Balfour sold Grange in 1723, and was alive in 1727.

ARMS.—*Argent*, on a chevron *sable*, an otter's head erased of the first, in base a saltire, *sable*, for cadency. Crest—a castle *argent*, on the battlement a woman standing proper attired *gules*, holding in her hand an otter's head as the former. Motto—*Nihil temere*.

§ 18. THE EARLS OF ROTHES

Andrew, 5th Earl of Rothes, son of the 4th Earl by his 2nd wife, Agnes Somerville, was designed in his father's lifetime Andrew L. of Kilmany. He acquired many estates, and was alive in 1601. He was thrice md. By his 3rd wife, Janet Durie, he had three sons and a dr.—(1) George, who died unmd. (2) Sir John Lesley of Newton and Birkhill. (3) Robert, who died without issue. (4) Isabel, md. to James, Master of Sinclair.

ARMS:—Quarterly; 1st and 4th *argent*, on a bend *azure*, three buckles

or, for Lesley; 2nd and 3rd *or*, a lion rampant *gules*, debruised by a ribbon *sable*, for Abernethy. Crest—on a wreath, a demi-griffin, proper. Supporters—two griffins *partee per fess, argent and gules*. Motto—*Grip Fast*.

§ 19. THE LEARMONTHS OF BIRKHILL.

George Learmonth of Balcomie and Birkhill was the descendant, probably the son, of Sir James Learmonth of Clatto, Dairsie, and Balcomie, son of David L. of Clatto. (Sir James had a charter of Balcomie in 1526.) George L. md. before 1554 Euphemia Leslie, dr. of the 4th Earl of Rothes, by whom he had 11 children—James, and John, his heirs; Robert, who md. Janet, dr. of Sir John Skene of Curriehill; William, who md. a dr. of John Makeson of Crail; his eldest dr. became the 2nd wife of George Forrester of Strathendrie; Grizel, md. George Mercer of Curden; Margaret, md. Andrew Sibbald of Over Rankeillor; Elizabeth, md. George Barron of Kinnaird; Catherine, md. Cuthbert Borthwick of Hesperston; Helen, md. John, brother of William Myrton of Cambo; Jean, died unmd. He died before 1586. His wife survived him, and md. John Cunningham of Barns.

John Learmonth of Birkhill, and afterwards of Balcomie, 2nd son of the last, md. Elizabeth, dr. of David Myrton of Randerston, who died in 1621, and by whom he had 14 children—James, his heir; Capt. David, who died in Germany; Andrew, minister of Liberton; George, Thomas, and John, who died unmd.; Catherine, 2nd wife of Melville of Halhill; Anna, md. to John Bonar of Lumquhat; Margaret, md. to William Moncrieff of Randerston; Christian, md. to James Monipenny of Denino; Cecilia, 2nd wife of John Scheves of Kemback; Elizabeth, md. to David Elliot of Stobs; Helen, who died unmd.; Grizel, 2nd wife of Alexander, brother of James Bonier of Kennoway (?). He died in 1625. [His son, Sir James L. of Balcomie, died in 1657, whose son Robert L. of B. died in 1696, leaving the estate encumbered with debt. (See Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, page 273.)]

ARMS:—*Or*, on a chevron *sable*, three mascles of the first. Crest—a rose slipped, *gules*. Motto—*Spero*.

§ 20. THE LESLEYS OF BIRKHILL.

George Lesley of Birkhill, who died without issue, and Sir John Lesley of Newton and Birkhill, were the 1st and 2nd of the three sons of Andrew, 5th Earl of Rothes by his 3rd wife, Janet, dr. of David Durie of that ilk. Sir John md. Elizabeth, 4th dr. of Patrick, 7th Lord Gray, by whom he had probably six children—(1) John, his heir; (2) Andrew, whose descendant, on the failure of heirs-male of his elder brother John, carried on the line of the family. He was designed of Quarter, in the par. of Burntisland, and md. Margaret, dr. of Andrew Balfour of Grange, whose grandson Alexander L. became Lord Lindores on the death of David the 4th Lord, who was descended from Patrick, 1st Lord L., the 2nd son of Andrew, 5th

Earl of Rothes, by his 1st wife; (3) James, ancestor of the Lesleys of Lumquhat; (4) Alexander; (5) Jean, dr. either of this, or of the 2nd Sir John Lesley, who became the 2nd wife of Sir Andrew Dick of Craighouse, the 2nd son of Sir William Dick of Braid, and had issue: (6) Anna, dr. either of this, or of the 2nd Sir John L., who md. Sir James Kirkaldy of Grange, son of William K., the 5th laird of Grange.

Sir John Lesley of N. and B., eldest son of the last, md. in 1650 Isabel, dr. of George Hay of Naughton, by whom he had a son John, his heir, and 2 drs.—(1) Elizabeth, who became the 1st wife of William Dick, 2nd baron of Grange, whose fr. William, the 1st baron, was the 3rd son of Sir William Dick of Braid. She died before 1698, leaving 2 drs., Anne and Janet Dick. Anne was md. to Peter Leith of Craighall, and Janet was md. to Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill (of whom see below); (2) Mary, who was md. 1st to Mr. Andrew Bruce, minister of Balmerino, and had 2 drs., Helen and Jean B. She md. 2dly, Laurence Ayton of Drumcarrow, by whom she had a son David A. She was alive in 1686. Her fr. died between 1674 and 1686.

John Lesley of N. and B., son of the last, md. Jean, sister of John Melville of Murdocairnie, who predeceased him. He died at Birkhill 1686, without issue.

§ 21. THE CARNEGIES OF BIRKHILL.

Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill, and of the third-part of Kilmany, was the 6th son of Sir Alexander Carnegie of Pitarrow (who was the 4th son of David, 1st Earl of Southesk) by his wife Margaret, dr. of Sir Robert Arbutnot of that ilk. He md. Janet Dick, niece of John Leslie of Birkhill, and died in 1705, leaving 2 drs.

Arms of Carnegie of Pitarrow:—Per pale, *or* and *argent*, an eagle displayed *azure*, armed and beaked *gules*. Crest—a demi-eagle displayed of the same. Motto—*Video alta sequarque*.

§ 22. THE ALISONS OF BIRKHILL.

Alexander Alison of Birkhill, Kilmany, etc., md. Janet Dick, widow of Mungo Carnegie of Birkhill, before 1711, and had two sons, Alexander and John; and 3 drs., Isabel, Anna, and Margaret, the last of whom was md. to William, 2nd son of Thomas Stark of Ballinudean, factor at Balmerino, and had issue.

Alexander Alison of B., eldest son of the last, died before 1729, without issue.

John Alison of B., brother of the last, sold Birkhill in 1744 to David Scrymgeour.

§ 23. THE SCRYMGEOURS AND SCRYMGEOUR-WEDDERBURNS OF BIRKHILL.

Doctor Alexander Scrymgeour of Grange, son of John Scrymgeour of Kirkton by his wife Magdalene, dr. of Alexander Wedderburn of Kin-

gennie, md. Janet, only dr. of David Falconer, Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, and laird of Wester Kinneir, by whom he had a son David.

David Scrymgeour of Birkhill, son of the last, md. in 1739 Catherine, 6th dr. of Sir Alexander Wedderburn, Baronet, of Blackness, by whom he had nine children—Alexander, his heir, born 1743; John, a capt. in the E. I. C.'s service, who commanded the 28th battalion of Sepoys, and died at Bangalore in 1791 without issue; David, b. 1748, also in the E. I. C.'s service, died in India 1780; Henry, b. 1755, who succeeded his eldest brother; Catherine, Grissel, Elizabeth, and Marian, who all died young; Janet, md. in 1776 to John Gillespie, yr. of Kirkton, died in 1811 aged 60, leaving issue. He died at Birkhill in 1772.

Alexander Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of Wedderburn and Birkhill, eldest son of the last, md. in 1771 Elizabeth, 2nd dr. of James Ferguson of Pitfour, co. of Aberdeen, a Lord of Session, by his wife Anne, dr. of Alexander, 4th Lord Elibank. He died without issue at Pitfour in 1811.

Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of W. and B., youngest br. of the last, md. in 1793 Mary Turner, eldest dr. of the Hon. Frederick Lewis Maitland (in right of his wife) of Rankeillor and Lindores, Capt. R.N., 6th son of the 6th Earl of Lauderdale by Margaret Dick Macgill, heiress of Rankeillor and Lindores, and had 4 sons and 8 drs.; David, born 1799, died 1804; Alexander, born 1805, died 1806; Alexander, born 1807, died 1820; Frederick Lewis, born 1808; Margaret Louisa, born 1794, md. to Alexander Smith, Esq., W.S., and died 1876; Catherine, md. 1814 to Capt. Robert Cathcart, R.N., of Carbieston and Pitcairly (who died 1833), she died 1880; Elizabeth, died 1838; Janette, died 1883; Mary Turner, md. Thomas Smith, Physician General E. I. C. S., and died 1887; Isabella, died 1826; Matilda, md. to Captain Robert M. Isackes, E. I. C. S., and died 1865; Euphemia, died 1891. He died 30 Dec. 1841.

Frederick Lewis Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of W. and B., only surviving son of the last, md., 1st, 26 April 1839, Helen Arbuthnott, 5th dr. of the 8th Viscount Arbuthnott, and by her, who died 23 April 1840, had issue one son, Henry. He md., 2dly, 31 August 1852, Selina Mary, 2nd dr. of Capt. Thomas Garth, R.N., of Haines Hill, Berks, by whom he had issue, Frederick Lewis, born 1858, died 1867; Alexander, Major, R.A., born 1859; Mary, died 1867; Charlotte Louisa; Selina Elgiva, md. 1883 to Colonel James Carnegie Gillespie, R.A., 3rd son of David Gillespie of Mountquhany. Mr. Wedderburn died 16 August 1874.

Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of W. and B., born 18 April 1840, was Captain, 17th Regiment, md. 31 March 1869, Juliana, youngest dr. of Thomas Braddell of Coolmelagh, co. Wexford, and has issue 4 sons and 6 drs.—Henry, Lieut. Gordon Highlanders, born 28 June 1872; Frederick Lewis, born 1874; Charles Kenneth, born 1887; William Ogilby, born 1894; Helen Margaret; Mary Turner; Anne Grizel; Katherine Elspeth; Juliet; Mary Kathleen.

ARMS:—*Gules*, a lion rampant *or*, armed and langued *azure*, holding in the dexter paw a scimitar *argent*. Crests—1. A lion's gamb, erect, holding a scimitar, all proper. 2. An eagle's head erased, proper, with a

scroll over it, bearing the motto, *Aquila non captat muscas*. Supporters—two greyhounds, collared *gules*. Mottoes—for Scrymgeour, *Dissipate*; for Wedderburn, *Non Degener*.

In 1824 the armorial bearings were :—Quarterly, for Scrymgeour, 1st and 4th. *Gules*, a lion rampant, *or*, armed and langued *azure*, holding in his dexter paw a scimitar, *argent*—a label of the first.

For Wedderburn, 2nd and 3rd. *Argent*, a chevron between 3 roses, *gules*—a label of the first.

Crest for Scrymgeour :—On a wreath of his colours, surmounting an helmet of his degree, above the 1st qr. a lion's paw, *gules*, holding a scimitar, *argent*.

Motto for Scrymgeour :—*Dissipate*.

Crest for Wedderburn :—On a wreath of his colours, surmounting an helmet of his degree, above the 2nd qr. an eagle's head erased, proper.

Motto for Wedderburn :—*Non Degener*.

Supporters :—Two greyhounds, proper, collared *gules*. (*A Genealogical Account of the Surname of Wedderburn*, by John Wedderburn, 1824. Dedicated to Henry Wedderburn of Wedderburn and Birkhill.)

No. XXVII

TRANSMISSION OF LANDED PROPERTY

[Part I., Chapter VI., and Part IV., Chapter I., combined, present a general view of the succession of proprietors of the estate of Naughton, from the twelfth century to the present time; and Part I., Chapter V., gives what has been ascertained regarding the proprietors of the *original* Parish of Balmerino before its lands were acquired by the Abbey, in whose possession they remained till near the Reformation. The following notes furnish, in greater detail than would have been suitable in the body of this work, an account of the transmission of the Abbey lands in this parish (with the exception of some small portions) after their alienation by the Convent, thus presenting—along with Appendix No. X. and the portions above referred to—a tolerably complete list of the landholders of the present Parish during a period of upwards of seven centuries.]

§ 1. ESTATE OF BALMERINO.

(1.) The Abbey Place, with lands, etc., adjacent thereto.

The Abbey or Manor-place of Balmerino, with close and precincts, gardens, orchards, site of Abbey Church, and Convent churchyard; *wood of Balmerino and Barnden fishings*; 4 acres of *Barncroft*; *green of Balmerino*, and plum-yard; *overmihl*, malt-kiln and barn, and ward and nut-yard adjoining thereto; *arable yards of Balmerino*, situated south of the Commendator's house, and extending to 4 acres; orchard called Heriot's

Yard, with the walls and ruinous houses called the Burnt-girnel; 5 acres of Woodflat; 4 acres of Harlands; 4 acres of Crossfaulds; the Barn-yards; 4 acres of Harland and Woodflat.

The Kinneirs held these portions of the Abbey property for some time in their own hands. (See Appendix No. X.) Some portions were acquired by them in the year 1579. (See below.) In 1580 Commendator Henry feued many of them to James Betoun of Creich; but they must have in some way returned to him before 1588, when he resigned them for a new Crown charter of them to himself, his son John, etc. When Lord Balmerino lived at the Abbey and died there in 1612, the *property* of the Manor-place, etc., could not have belonged to him, for in 1619 David Kinneir, minister of Auchterhouse, as heir to the said John Kinneir the Commendator, resigned the whole (of which he had got infeftment only three weeks previously) to the 2nd Lord Balmerino, that the right of property might be consolidated with the right of superiority. It appears, however, that this resignation was not followed by actual infeftment to Lord Balmerino; for on the 13th of February 1635 John Kinneir, son of David of Auchterhouse, was served heir to Commendator John Kinneir, who was last vested in these subjects; and on the 11th of March following he was infeft in them. At what subsequent period the right of property was acquired by the Lords Balmerino does not appear. They possessed, of course, the *superiority* all along.

The Wood of Balmerino and Barnden fishings were acquired by the Learmouths, and thenceforth formed part of Birkhill estate.

Of the above lands the following were feued before the Reformation :—

Four acres in Harlands, four acres in Woodflat, and one acre called Lorimer's Well acre. Abbot Robert and Convent gave sasine of these to John, son of Henry, Boytour in 1544. *Four acres of Crossfaulds or Corsefields.* In 1546 John Boytour gets charter of these (which seem to have been sometime possessed by David Ramsay in Pittauchop, Alexander Cockburn, and his son) and of the above 9 acres from the Abbot and Convent. Henry, nephew of John, Boytour succeeds, and in 1557 resigns the 5 acres in Harlands and Woodflat in favour of Richard Lees, who gets charter of them from the Abbey, 1558. In 1579 Richard Lees gives a charter of 7 of (apparently) these acres to Alexander Hog in Milldams and Beatrix Lees his spouse. In the same year David Boytour, son of Henry, succeeds to the whole 13 acres, and grants a ch. of them to Commendator Henry in liferent, and to John Kinneir his son, to be holden of the Abbacy. In 1619 Kinneir resigned them to Lord Balmerino; (but see above).

In 1620 James Ramsay of Corstoun resigned to Lord Balmerino an acre of land which he possessed in Woodflat.

(2.) Lands of Mains or South Kirkton of Balmerino, with 4 acres east of miln and lead, Seaside, Brewlands, and right of brewing and selling ale, Nethermiln and milnlands (north of graveyard), with half of the dam and lead of the Overmiln, the dovecot, and common pasture. Alexander Matthew in Kilburns, and Isobel Ramsay his spouse were possessed of these

lands in 1584, and some time previously. 1597, A. M. alienates these lands, etc., to George Ramsay of Peasehills. 1620, George, son of said George Ramsay. Then his wife Agneta Gibson. Then Alexander Barbour, writer. Then James Bett of Balharvy (1631). 1641, James, son of James Bett, who in 1646 sells the whole to John, Master of Balmerino.

(3.) Park, Poyntok, Drumcharry, Bottomcraig, Dochrone, etc.

No. 1. *Lands of Park and Poyntok, 4 acres called Craingrugie's fuuld, 3 acres in Harlauds, and 1 acre in Woodflat.*

No. 2. *Third-part of the four oxgates of lands of Drumcharry and Bottomcraig.*

Abbot Robert and Convent gave sasine of all these lands in 1546 to Andrew Wilson. 1575, David Wilson, his son, succeeds. On the 3rd of January 1602 Mr. Thomas Douglas of Stanypeth, minister of Balmerino, obtains a charter under the Great Seal of these lands, but the charter is not recorded in the *Register*. On 3rd July 1602 David Leitche, heir of Andrew Wilson and of David Wilson in Deminshe his son and heir, 'hereditary feuars and possessors of these lands beyond the memory of men' gets crown charter of them. In 1606 Isobel Wilson, David Leech, and David Hagye, heirs to David Wilson, get a third each of these lands, and resign them to Robert Auchmuty, son of Robert Auchmuty, advocate, who gets sasine of them in 1607. (Afterwards divided; see below.)

No. 3. *Two-part lands of Drumcharry and Bottomcraig, 1 acre in Little Ley, 1 acre in Over Drumcharryfuuld, 3 acres in Bottomcraig in four separate portions.*

Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these to Richard Wilson in 1549. 1574, William Ballingall in Dumbarrow. 1617, His heir, William Ballingall, maltman in Cupar. 1617, Robert Fyfe in Kirkton, and Agnes Ballingall his spouse.

No. 4. *Portion of Boghall.* George Galloway probably possesses Boghall in 1572. In 1591 Alexander Galloway sells 'his westmost acre in Boghall' to James Tulloch in Scurr, and, same time, gives charter of 'the shady half of the westmost acre of B.' to William Ballingall. 1617, his heir, William Ballingall. 1617, Robert Fyfe and Agnes Ballingall his wife get charter of it.

Nos. 2, 3, and 4. About 1617, Thomas Crichton. 1620, Sir James Crichton, Baronet.

No. 5. *Ten acres in Bottomcraig.* In 1539 Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these to Janet Graham, and David Jack her son.

No. 6. *Two acres in Bottomcraig.* John Thomson acquired these, probably from Abbot Robert. Afterwards John Bruce. In 1618 John Bruce in Wormet, grandson of the last.

No. 7. *Six acres in Dochrone, with privilege of brewstead.* Laurence Colline acquired these, perhaps from Abbot Robert. Afterwards Thomas Colline (?)

No. 8. *Two acres in Dochrone.* Thomas Harvie acquired these probably

from Abbot Robert. 1636, David Harvie (?) (In 1630 the heirs of Henry Mitchell have 8 acres in Dochrone.)

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. In 1630, and down to 1636, Andrew Glassford, burghess, in Cupar. Then Patrick Glassford, bailie in Cupar, whose son Robert became minister of Kemback in 1664. (Lamont, in his Diary, says, '1652, December—All that Mr. Patrick Glasfoord, in Cuper, had was comprised for debt; both his lande of Bottome Craige and his house in Cuper. Some dayes after, he took up a publicke charge att his house in Cuper.') By a decret of apprising obtained at the instance of Lord Coupar in 1666 against John Glassford and others for the payment of the feu-duties of these lands, the lands were apprised to pertain to Lord Coupar, for payment of £2230, 12s. 2d., and thus were added to the Balmerino estate.

Nos. 7 and 8 were disposed in 1695 by John, Master of Balmerino, to the Hays of Naughton in exchange for lands at Leadwells and Harlands, and the 'Butts' at the Byres, amounting to six acres.

No. 1. In 1644, David Auchmouty, skipper in St. Andrews, son of Robert Auchmouty. Same year he grants these lands to Andrew Balfour of Grange. In 1697 David Balfour of Grange, who in same year disposes them to John, Master of Balmerino.

(4.) Portions of Barncroft, Harlands, etc.

No. 1. *Four acres in Barncroft.* Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these in 1554 to Helen Bunche. 1573, John Yester her son. 1598, George Yester his son.

No. 2. *One acre in Harlands.* Alexander Matthew gives charter and sasine of this in 1569 and 1571 to John Yester and Helen Bunsh his spouse. 1599, George Yester.

No. 3. *Piece of ground east of Barnden Burn.* James Thomson gives charter of this in 1594 to John Yester. 1599, George Yester.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3. In 1599 Alexander Philp, St. Andrews. 1613, James Stenhouse, Luthrie. 1623, his wife. 1642, David Stenhouse.

No. 4. *Three acres in Harlands, one acre in Woodflat, and piece of ground in Barnden.* Abbot Robert and Convent give tack of these in 1544 for 19 years, with the teind sheaves, for 30s. and 8 poultry annually, with harriage and carriage used and went to Thomas Thomson. In 1549 Abbot Robert, etc., give charter of these to said T. T. In 1596 Henry Thomson. 1599, Thomas Matthew in Kinnaird. 1614, Robert Brebner in Inshyra. 1641, Isobel Brebner. 1653, John Brebner. 1654, Robert Brebner in Sheathwindmill. 1654, Rebecca Swindon, relict of David Stenhouse in Byres. 1697, John Stenhouse, son of do., and factor to the Master of Balmerino, who, same year, disposes Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, with 'his houses and yards within the Byres,' to John, Master of Balmerino.

(5.) Five acres in Bottomcraig, etc.

Five acres in Bottomcraig, whereof 4 acres lie in Scurbank, and one acre in Drumcharrybank.

Abbot Robert and Convent give charter of these, date unknown, to George Ramsay in Dundee (and George Ramsay in Cultra gets from Commendator Henry in 1579 croft and yard near the monastery, possessed by Elizium (?) Dangell). Then David Ramsay of Dundee. 1600, William Ramsay of Dundee. 1643, Grissel Ramsay.¹ 1652, John Tarbet in Dundee. 1667, William Tarbet and Marion Durham his spouse. 1671, said M. D. and Elspet Tarbet. 1694, William Tarbet, who disposes them to Marion Durham. Then Captain William Durham. 1702, William Tarbet in Norway, who, same time, disposes them to John, Master of Balmerino.

(6.) Five acres in Bottomeraig.

Five acres of Bottomeraig, lying in Scurbank.

Acquired from the Abbey by John Boyter or Buttour. In 1630, Andrew Boyter in Dundee. 1631, Andrew Boyter's heirs. 1643, Grissel Boyter, spouse of Patrick Guthry, burgess of Dundee, granddaughter of the last. 1658, William Guthrie, her son (?). 1674, Andrew Gray, son of John Gray, merchant burgess of Dundee, grandson of Grissel Boyter. 1694, Gray. 1717, Mr. James Gray of Bulzeon (?). Afterwards the Laird of Balmerino.

(7.) Two acres in Bottomeraig.

Before 1568 occupied by Jonet Bane and William Watson (her son?). In 1568 Commendator Hay and Convent give charter of this land to said W. W. and Jonet Gagy his spouse, in whose favour Jonet Bane resigned it, reserving to herself free possession of one acre, on west side, occupied by her. In 1630, William Watson's heirs. 1631, Thomas Glen. 1647, David Paterson and Christian Glen, served heirs-portioners of William Watson, their maternal great-grandfather. 1658, Christian Glen, who married John Wan in St. Fort. She was also a portioner of Cultra, and died in 1687. Now, Col. Stuart-Gray of Balmerino (?).

In 1783 Lord Moray acquired Stark's lands, then extending to 3·188 acres of the south bank of Bottomeraig (Scurbank), with his houses and

¹ In the Dundee 'Howff' there is a monument to this William Ramsay and his daughter Grissel, containing the following inscription:—

'Here sleeps a pious man endowed with virtue, William Ramsay, merchant and citizen of Dundee, who died 2d February, in the year 1640, and of his age 70.

'James Ramsay, son-in-law of the deceased, with Grisell Ramsay his chaste wife, daughter of the defunct, caused this monument to be erected at their proper expense.

'In on bed ve both did keip,
In on grave ve both doe sleip;
I hop the grave sal vs restor
Both agane to his heavnly glor.'

—THOMSON'S *History of Dundee*, p. 392.

yard of Bottomcraig, consisting of 218 acre, for which he gave in exchange to Mr. Stark 3188 acres of arable land, and 2243 acres of moor, with houses and yard at east end of said moor, sometime possessed by George Smith. Mr. Stark at the same time renounced his right of pasturage and cutting of turf on the moors and outfields of Bottomcraig, belonging to the Earl.

About the same time, Lord Moray effected similar exchanges of land, etc., with Melville and Anderson of Bottomcraig—the latter in 1798—whose lands were previously in Scurbank. The lands thus acquired by them—lying west of Stark's lands—were of greater extent than those which they gave in exchange, being partly arable, and partly moor.

§ 2. ABBEY LANDS NOW INCLUDED IN THE ESTATE OF NAUGHTON.

(1.) Cathills.

The lands of Cathills were acquired in 1539 by Sir Peter Crichton, by charter from Abbot Robert and Convent.

In 1546 David Crichton of Naughton acquired from Abbot Robert and Convent the fishings of Cathills (otherwise called those of Harvieden, or Helvieden) and of Kilburns, betwixt the stone called the *Black Ox*, or *Great Black Stone* at the head of the haven of Cathills on the east, and Thornyslak, or Thornyflak, at the west, not passing the Maw Craig.

(2.) Kilburns.

Some portion of Kilburns was probably acquired from Abbot Robert and Convent. A contract between Balfour of Balledmonth and Crichton in 1594 mentions Kilburns as part of Naughton; and thereafter it is frequently mentioned as such. But this Kilburns did not include either of the two following portions:—

Eight acres of Kilburns, or Wester Kilburns. In 1540 Alexander Matthew got Papal confirmation of a charter of these acres granted to him by the Abbot and Convent. 1584, John Matthew. 1596, James Preston. 1694, Alexander Preston. 1763, Alexander Preston, grandson of the last. 1806, Alexander Pitcairn, who in 1809 disposes these lands to James Morison of Naughton for £1000 Sterling.

(For nearly 200 years the lairds of Kilburns seem to have been called *Alexander Preston*.)

Seven acres of Kilburns. (Easter Kilburns.) Before 1604, Alexander Gilzeot. In 1604, Andrew Small. 1636, Jean Small, his daughter. In 1657 John Howison was a 'portioner of Kilburns.' Now Naughton.

(3.) Scurbank.

Four acres in Scurbank.

James Tullois or Tulloch acquired these, probably from the last Abbot. 1630, James Bartlet has 5 acres. 1647, Margaret Bartlet, his dr., gets

these, and one acre more. (In 1650, Thomas Walker possessed certain lands at Scurr—probably these acres; and in 1667, John Walker.) 1742, James Farmer. 1808, James Farmer. Now, Naughton.

Six acres in Scurbank. William Fender acquired these, probably from the last Abbot. 1595, Thomas Fender. In 1602, Mr. Thomas Douglas of Stonypath. 1634, James Douglas, his son. 1674, Robert Douglas of Glenbervie, who, between 1704 and 1709, sold them to John Hay of Naughton.

(4.) Scrogieside.

Some part of Scrogieside seems to have belonged to Naughton before 1637.

In 1630 Hew Scott has *six acres of Scrogieside*. In 1644, David Auchmuty of Demmings was served heir to his father Robert Auchmuty in the lands of Scrogieside. They seem to have been afterwards added to the lands of Douglas of Ardit, or Glenbervie, in Scurbank, who possessed them in 1694, and afterwards sold them to John Hay of Naughton.

(5.) North Kirkton.

Four oxgates of arable land, north of the Mains or Manor-place of Balmerino (North Kirkton).

These lands seem to have been first acquired by Sir Peter Crichton from the Abbey. 1551, Thomas Wilson. In 1600, Henry Wilson was served heir to Thomas Wilson in these lands. In 1617, Robert Fyfe possessed them. Peter Hay of Naughton acquired them before 1631.

(6.) Bottomcraig.

Boghall—2½ acres of it in the north bank of Bottomcraig. 1723, Margaret Hedderwick, then her sister Janet, who in 1748 disposes them to Grizel H., spouse of James Robertson, in liferent, and to Melville R. her son, in fee. 1764, Robert Goodlet, Edinburgh. In 1777, by an excambion with Lord Moray and allocation of additional land in lieu of rights of pasture then renounced, the property was extended to 4 acres. 1805, the creditors of Goodlet sold it to James Morison of Naughton for £330 Sterling.

House and garden, with pasture for a cow, at Bottomcraig. In 1574, Commendator Henry gave a charter of these to Alison Gagy, and Janet Bane her mother. Purchased by Naughton in 1865 from Ritchie.

In 1864 *Mr. Stark-Christie's lands at Bottomcraig* were purchased by Miss Duncan-Morison of Naughton.

The southern half of Melville's lands at Bottomcraig, with houses, were purchased about forty years ago by Miss Duncan-Morison, and about the same period Mrs. Duncan-Morison bought three other houses and gardens at Bottomcraig, north of the Manse, of which the two on the west side, lately altered and improved, occupy the site of the house belonging to the

Melvilles before their lands were excambed; and the one on the east side, now taken down, was the house belonging to the Andersons, before the excambion of their lands.

(7.) Dochrone.

Two acres in Dochrone. Watson acquired these, probably from the last Abbot. In 1595, Alexander Watson. Afterwards, James Watson. 1631, David Watson, son of the last. 1635, Euphemia and Margaret Watson, sisters of David. 1674, James Duncan in Cultra got $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 2 acres, as grandson of Margaret Watson's sister. Andrew Rawit (1650) seems to have got the other half. Afterwards, Thomas Morton. Now, Naughton.

Three acres in Dochrone. Not mentioned in the Abbey Rental. 1630, William Bane of Pitmossie. Afterwards, John Bane. In 1687, Helen Bane, wife of George Jack in Fliskmillan, as heir of her father John Bane.

In 1726 Robert Barclay had 3 acres of Dochrone, probably the above acres. Now Naughton. (See (8) below.)

One acre in Dochrone. John Fowlis probably acquired this from the last Abbot. Now, Naughton.

(Before 1707 David Fowlis had a toft called 'Smiddyland' in Gauldry, with 5 acres arable attached to it, and 1 acre, with pasture, in the barony of Naughton. But these were probably not Abbey lands. In 1621 Smiddylands belonged to Peter Hay of Naughton.)

Colline's six acres in Dochrone or Drumcharry, and Harvey's two acres in Dochrone were acquired in 1695 by Peter Hay of Naughton and his son John, in excambion for certain lands at Leadwells, etc. See page 663. (It was probably these 8 acres which Henry Mitchell possessed in Dochrone before 1630.)

(8.) Easter Grange, Dochrone, Balgove, or Bangove, etc.

In 1698 David Ramsay, 'portioner of Newgrange,' obtained for himself and his son James etc. a charter under the Great Seal, of the following lands, which had been feued from the Abbey by himself or others of his family some considerable time previously:—Half of Newgrange, with 2 acres more; half of Cleikumscleugh and Battlelaw; 2 acres of Cultra; half of Outfield of Byres, with Wattiesfauld; 4 acres more of Cultra; the lands of Bangove, extending to 13 acres; Dochrone, 16 acres; 3 acres of Harlands, and 1 in Woodflat. These lands were acquired by Peter Hay about 1621, and Easter Grange, half of Cleikumscleugh and of Battlelaw, with the above mentioned acres of Bangove and Dochrone, are still included in the estate of Naughton. It was probably the acres in Harlands and Woodflat, east of Thornton, which were acquired by Birkhill, by excambion, early in this century.

Spindie's Balgove. In 1729 John Spindie purchased 3 acres of Bangove from Robert Hay of Naughton. He died in 1742, and was succeeded by John Spindie his son. Two acres were added to this property at the division of Bandedan Muir. On 26 January 1789 Margaret S., grand-dr.

of John S., and her husband, disposed to Mr. Wedderburn of Birkhill these 5 acres, together with 2 acres of Docherone purchased by John S. from Andrew Frew, 3 acres of Docherone purchased by her uncle William Spindie from Robert Barclay, and $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of East Grange allocated to her in 1777 in lieu of her right of pasturage, etc., on lands of East Grange. On the 7th July 1789 Mr. Wedderburn conveyed all these lands to Mr. Morison of Naughton.

(9.) Pitmossie.

Pitmossie—5 acres—acquired by Bayn, probably from the last Abbot. In 1630, William Bane, senior. 1646, William Bane served heir of his grandfather, William Bane. In 1717, Mrs. Duddingstone. In 1729, John Black. In 1742, Robert Howieson. In 1789, Thomas Howieson. Afterwards Walter Birrel. 1836—when it amounted to about 24 acres arable—William Ferguson. Now, Naughton.

§ 3. ESTATE OF BALLINDEAN, OR BANDEAN.

[See pp. 472 and 563.]

In 1539 Paul Stirk and others get charter from Abbot Robert and Convent of 12 acres arable of Ballindean, 3 acres of Dochrone, and 2 acres of Bottomeraig. In 1546 he acquires the privilege of pasture on the commouty of the moor of Newgrange.

From 1607 to 1610 David Beattie of Karsmyre appears to possess these lands, and in the latter year resigns them again in favour of George Stirk from whom he had got them.

In 1624 George Stirk acquires from Peter Hay of Naughton the meadow and 'swardieird' of the half lands of Newgrange; the 'loan' leading from Muir of Grange to said meadow; and 4 'riggends' betwixt Bandean lands on the north and the Motray on the south. In 1778 Bandean gets $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre of West Grange from Birkhill, in exchange for his rights of pasture, etc., on West Grange, then renounced. In 1780 Bandean gets from Naughton 6 acres of East Grange; 1 acre of Bandean Muir; 2 acres of Bandean park; and $3\frac{1}{2}$ other acres of Bandean Muir; in exchange for his houses, yards, and lands in Gauldry, and his right of pasture on East Grange, then renounced. (These lands in Gauldry were apparently the acres of Dochrone acquired by Paul Stirk in 1539.) (An excambion with Lord Moray at Bottomcraig, and sale of lands there, have been already mentioned. See pp. 563, 666.)

[In 1563 the lands (and mill) of Newbigging, in Kilmany parish, then belonging to the Provost and Canons of the 'Collegiate Church of St. Salvator, St. Andrews,' were set in tack, in three equal divisions, to as many tenants, who, in 1566, purchased their several portions. After passing through many hands, one-third of these lands was acquired in 1617 by George Stirk of Ballindean from Andrew Small; another third part

by Thomas Stirk of B. in 1683 from Sir Michael Balfour of Denmiln, and James Balfour his brother; and the three equal parts of the remaining third were acquired by the Rev. John Stark in 1734, 1735, and 1736 from James Anderson, John Kilgour, and Robert Howieson respectively.]

§ 4. ESTATE OF BIRKHILL.

(1.) Grange (Wester).

[See pp. 568-9.]

A charter of the following lands, previously acquired from the Abbey, was resigned in 1569 by David Balfour of Balbuthy, and Elizabeth Wemyss his spouse, into the hands of Commendator John Hay, for a new charter, which received confirmation under the Great Seal in 1572, at which latter date David Balfour was dead, but his wife was alive:—One-fourth of New Grange; one-fourth of Cleikamsleugh and Battlelaw; one-half of Crossfaulds, except 2 acres on west side thereof; 1 acre of Cultra; $\frac{1}{4}$ of Outfield of Byres, excepting Craingrugiessfauld; 1 acre of Docherone; another acre on north side thereof, formerly possessed by the late Alexander Cockburn; one-half of the other fourth of New Grange, Cleikamsleugh, Battlelaw, Crossfaulds, and Outfields of Byres; 1 acre more of Cultra; along with the principal house or Hall (*aula*), beside the said half of fourth-part lands, and other houses formerly occupied by Robert Cockburn, and afterwards by David Balfour.

Certain other portions of New Grange, etc., were possessed by Oliphant, who probably acquired them from the last Abbot. John Oliphant had them in 1596. In 1613 and 1622 these were held by Robert Auchmuty. Before 1631 they were acquired by Michael Balfour of Grange. They comprehended the following:—one-eighth of Newgrange; one-eighth of the meadows of Newgrange; one-eighth of the 4 oxgates of Cleikamsleugh and Battlelaw; one-eighth of 8 oxgates of Outfields of Byres; and half an acre in Cultra. (Two houses, etc., at Byres were acquired by Balmerino from Birkhill in the early part of the present century.) Grange was purchased by Dr. Scrymgeour in 1723.

(2.) Corbie.

[See p. 573.]

Abbot Robert and Convent granted to Andrew Lesley of Kilmany, afterwards Earl of Rothes, a charter of Corby, Corbyhill, etc., which charter was confirmed under the Great Seal in 1541-2. The description of these lands has already been given. The Wood of Balmerino had been feued to Betoun of Creich before it came into the possession of the Lairds of Birkhill.

(3.) Cultra.

The lands of Cultra were originally feued from the Abbey in numerous small portions. Appendix, Nos. IX. and XIII.-XVII., show the names of the feuars at the several periods to which they refer. The succession subsequently is very intricate, and difficult to trace, owing to the numerous subdivisions and exchanges which have taken place, and also to the circumstance that the existing titles to some of the portions do not appear to go farther back than to about the beginning of the last century. In 1742 the portioners of Cultra were John Jack, James Paton, James Bell, Agnes Tais (liferentrix), and Henry Mitchell's heirs. In 1778 the names, besides that of Mr. Scrymgeour of Birkhill, were George Kinneair (whose predecessors were the Patons), James Small and his spouse Euphemia Niven, George Henderson (see below), John Ballingall, writer in Dundee, and James Morison of Naughton. In that year the several feuars renounced to Mr. Scrimgeour of Birkhill their servitudes of pasturage on the lands of West Grange, in exchange for certain portions of land then given to them by him. Ballingall got nearly 7 acres; James Morison upwards of 4; George Henderson upwards of 4; George Kinneair $1\frac{1}{2}$; James Small $3\frac{1}{2}$. Of these, 10 acres were not arable, and were situated on Cultra Hill. At a subsequent period some of the land on Cultra Hill appears to have been reclaimed, and to have been afterwards planted by Mr. Wedderburn of Birkhill. Ballingall's lands afterwards passed to David Kerr and Ebenezer Anderson, and amounted to about 26 acres. In 1789 James Morison of Naughton sold his lands at Cultra to Mr. Wedderburn, who afterwards acquired all the other lands of Cultra, except Mr. George Henderson's.

§ 5. HENDERSON'S LANDS OF CULTRA.

Six acres of Cultra.—In 1540 James Bartlet and Mirabella Braid, his spouse, acquired these from Abbot Robert and Convent. (A charter of these lands of the year 1547 is signed by the Abbot and eleven monks, and subsequent charters by smaller numbers.) In 1596 John, son of James Bartlet, succeeds. 1596, Henry Mitchell in Bangove purchases these lands for £68. 1615, John, son of Henry Mitchell. 1624, David Watson. 1635, Euphemia and Margaret Watson, sisters of David, get each a half of these lands, and of the 2 acres of Dochrone belonging to their late father, James. In 1674, Andrew Rawit, probably the son of one of the Watsons, has 2 of the 6 acres in Cultra, and James Duncan, 'great-grandson of Margaret Watson's sister,' has the remainder. Then Andrew Rawit makes over his share to James Duncan. 1680, James Duncan, his son. 1712, David Duncan, son of James, who in 1719 sells the property to Henry Mitchell, servitor (butler) to the Laird of Naughton, for £75.¹ George Henderson afterwards married Jean, daughter of

¹ Henry Mitchell died in 1724, aged 52; and his wife, Catherine Wilson, in 1742, aged 72. A stone is erected to their memory in Balmerino churchyard.

Henry Mitchell, and thus acquired the property. Their son, George Henderson, succeeded in 1778. In that year he acquired $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres additional (of which 2 acres were unarable, and situated on Cultra Hill) from Mr. Scrimgeour in exchange for his right of pasturage, etc., on lands of Newgrange, then renounced. Part of these lands was perhaps subsequently again excambed. In 1818 George Henderson disposed his lands to his son George, at whose death in 1870 his eldest son, George, the present proprietor, succeeded.

§ 6. ANDERSON'S LANDS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

In 1682 James Anderson and Grisel Paterson, his spouse, were infeft in £2 Scots of annual rent from an acre of land at Bottomcraig. (Index to Sasines, General Register House.) It was probably this laud of which James Anderson appears as feuar in 1695. In 1717 James Anderson is mentioned as 'portioner of Bottomcraig.' It is uncertain which of the portions, originally feued from the Abbey, he had acquired. James Anderson continues to be the name of the proprietor at various dates down to 1789 *at least*. In that year there was an excambion (see page 667). In 1813 Andrew Anderson is the possessor. He died in 1836, leaving the property to his dr. Elizabeth, who married Alexander Blyth. On her death in 1877 the property was divided between her son Andrew Blyth and her daughters Betsy and Mary Blyth.

§ 7. MELVILLE'S LANDS OF BOTTOMCRAIG.

In 1742 Andrew Melville appears as portioner of Bottomcraig. It is uncertain which of the portions, originally feued from the Abbey, he had acquired. He was succeeded by his son, Thomas M., who was alive in 1789. About that period these lands, which were mostly in Scurbank, were excambed for others, as already mentioned (see page 666). Afterwards Thomas's sons, Andrew and David M., succeeded. As already stated, Andrew's half (the southern) of these lands was sold to Naughton by his son Andrew. Stewart Melville, son of David, succeeded to his half, which is now possessed by Stewart's son, David Melville.

No. XXVIII

NAIRN'S TOMB

[See p. 430]

From the following Notes of the Nairn family, with which William Berry, Esq., of Tayfield has favoured me, it is evident that the tomb referred to is that of Alexander Nairne of Sandford and Fairham, who in

1625 obtained a Crown charter of Sandfurde, assigned in his favour by William Nairne, son of David Nairne, senior of Sandfurde, with consent of the said David Nairne, senior, and of David Nairn the latter's eldest son. The said Alexander Nairne married Penelope Matthew of London, by whom he had three sons—(1) Alexander Nairne, Fiar of Sandford, of whom Sir Thomas Hope (*Diary*, Bannatyne Club, p. 174) writes under 16th August 1642, 'Word cam off the killing of worthie Sandfurd, at Londoun, in ridding off his sonnes in a tumult,' when both he and his sons must have perished. In 1643 his father (the husband of Penelope Matthew) was retoured in special as heir of provision of the deceased Alexander Nairne his son. (2) William Nairne, who was served heir to his father in 1656. In 1657 he executed an instrument of resignation in favour of his brother Sir Thomas. (3) The said Sir Thomas Nairne of Sandford, knight, Lieut.-Col. of Horse, and member of the War Committee, 1649; who, at the Restoration, was fined £1800. He had two sons, (1) Alexander, of Sandford, 1670; (2) David, born in 1687. (See *Scottish Antiquary*, January 1895, p. 119.)

The ghost of one of the Nairns, probably Sir Thomas, is supposed to be in the habit of riding on a white horse along the avenue to Sandford-Nairn (near the tomb), now the highway from the 'five roads' to St. Fort Station.

Sandford, or St. Fort, was written *Saintfoord* as early as 1517, according to Sibbald (*History of Fife*, p. 202, ed. 1803), in an Inquisition held in that year at Cupar; but it is doubtful if this spelling is that of the original document.

No. XXIX

RECENT DISCOVERY AT BATTLE LAW

In the account, given at pages 6 and 7, of the cist and urn found at Battle Law in 1873, it was stated that there were indications of the existence of other cists there, which had not been excavated. Since the foregoing sheets of this volume were in type, Colonel and Mrs. Anstruther Duncan of Naughton resolved to have the site examined, and on the 22nd of May last, and two following days, excavations were made in their presence; Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, F.S.A. Scot., and Mr. Samuel W. Johnston, Fineraigs, being also on the spot, which is in close proximity to the site of the former discovery, and on the highest part of Battle Law.

These operations resulted in laying bare a series of stone cairns, without, however, so far as could be seen, any accompanying relics; and on the afternoon of the 23rd May a stone cist was discovered. The covering slab had already been removed, probably by the plough. The cist lay east and west, and was of the usual small dimensions, measuring about 2 feet in length, 15 inches in width, and 18 inches in depth, composed of slabs set on edge, and backed up with smaller stones. The cist contained two urns

of 'food-vessel' type. These lay on their sides, but may have been canted over by the descending soil when the top slab was removed. One of the urns is very similar to that discovered in 1873, though somewhat smaller. It is of graceful form, and measures 4 inches in height, by 5 inches across the lip—sloping down to a narrow base; and is ornamented with 'herring-bone' markings, and a series of four unperforated ears. The other urn, which is slightly larger, is more rudely formed, and bears a series of encircling lines like the impress of a cord. No evidence of the existence of bronze was met with; but urns of this type are referable to the Bronze Age. These vessels were removed to Naughton House, where also is preserved the one discovered in 1873.

Though present at the commencement of these excavations, I was unavoidably absent when the cist and urns were found; and the foregoing account has been kindly supplied by Mr. Hutcheson.

It may be here mentioned that the small stone dish shown on the same page as the urn discovered in 1873 was found many years ago at Windygates, on Battle Law, a short distance from the spot where the urns above described were discovered; and that the ball also shown on the same page is a cannon stone ball found long ago at Naughton Tower.

No. XXX

RECENT DISCOVERY AT GREENHILL

THE existence of the substructure of an ancient Cairn on the summit of Greenhill is mentioned at page 8. In July last, Henry Scrymgeour-Wedderburn, Esq., the proprietor, had excavations made there, which resulted in the discovery of a burial cist very near the centre of the Cairn, and lying almost north and south. It measured internally 4 feet in length, 1 foot 9 inches in width, and 1 foot 8 inches in depth, and was formed of massive slabs of whinstone. The top was composed of two stones of similar weighty proportions. The cist was cleared out, and was found to be paved with small water-rolled pebbles, mostly of quartzite. The whole was carefully examined by Mr. Alexander Hutcheson, but no relics of burial were met with. From the disturbed state of the cist, it appeared to have been opened at some earlier period, when such relics may have been either removed or destroyed.

When we consider the conveyance to this isolated height—608 feet by the Ordnance Survey—and the setting in position of the ponderous stones composing the cist (some of which must weigh half a ton), the careful paving of the floor, and the formation of the large and elaborate structure of stones and earth, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that this had been the burial-place of some person of distinction in pre-historic times.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 190, line 9 from foot, *for* 1318 *read* 1317.

Pages 211-12. Abbot John de Haylis got a safe-conduct also to Pontefract, dated 18th May 1423; and one for himself and others, for a year, to go to Flanders, dated at Westminster, 8th June 1424 (Bain's *Calendar*).

Page 247, line 4 from top, *Ule should perhaps be* Elder.

Page 613, line 7 from top, *for* Hanson *read* Halson.

Page 644, after line 4 insert, *The Corrals*, from *quarrel*, an old form of *quarry*.

Page 665, line 11 from foot, *for* Alexander Pitcairn *read* Andrew Pitcairn.

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