The Reformation in the Burgh of St Andrews: Property, Piety and Power

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Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of the Reformation on the estates of ecclesiastical institutions and officials based in St Andrews. It argues that land and wealth were redistributed and power structures torn apart, as St Andrews changed from Scotland’s Catholic ecclesiastical capital to a conspicuously Protestant burgh. The rapid dispersal of the pre-Reformation church’s considerable ecclesiastical lands and revenues had long-term ramifications for the lives of local householders, for relations between religious and secular authorities, and for St Andrews’ viability as an urban community. Yet this major redistribution of wealth has had limited attention from scholars.

The first part of this study considers the role played by the Catholic Church in St Andrews before the Reformation, and the means by which it was financed, examining the funding of the city’s pre-Reformation ecclesiastical foundations and officials, and arguing that (contrary to some traditional assumptions) the Catholic Church in St Andrews was on a reasonably sound financial footing until the Reformation. The second section considers the immediate disruption to St Andrews’ religious lands and revenues caused by the burgh’s public conversion to Protestantism, and then explores the more planned reorganisation of the 1560s. The disputes and difficulties triggered by the redistribution of ecclesiastical wealth are examined, as well as the longer term impact on St Andrews of the treatment of church revenues at the Reformation. Evidence for this study is chiefly drawn from the extensive body of manuscripts concerning St Andrews held by the National Library of Scotland, the National Records of Scotland, and the University of St Andrews Special Collections.
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I, Elizabeth Rhodes, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 71,900 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in September 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in History in September 2009; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2009 and 2013.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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Conventions

Sixteenth century sources are frequently inconsistent in their spelling of the names of places and people. In this thesis names have been standardised in line with modern usage, except for quotations where the original spelling has been retained. A number of sources also make heavy use of abbreviation. For ease of reading these abbreviations have been silently expanded. Where texts make use of the letters thorn and yog these have been rendered as ‘th’ and ‘y’. Otherwise quotations are as in the original. Any words that have been inserted into texts are denoted by square brackets. Outside quotations dates are given in the New Style with the year starting on 1 January. Sums of money are given in Scottish pounds, shillings and pence, unless specifically stated to be in another currency. It should be noted that the value of Scottish money depreciated significantly during the sixteenth century. Up until 1560 the Scots pound was worth roughly a fourth of the pound Sterling, but by 1603 it was worth only a twelfth.¹

Abbreviations


ALHT Thomas Dickson, James Balfour Paul and Charles Thorpe McInnes (eds), Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (13 vols, Edinburgh, 1877-1978).

AM The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO (Sheffield, 2011). Available from: http://www.johnfoxe.org


LC John Anderson (ed.), Calendar of the Laing Charters (Edinburgh, 1899).


NRS National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. (Formerly National Archives of Scotland.)


Reliquiae George Martine, Reliquiae Divi Andreae: Or the State of the Venerable and Primitial See of St Andrews (St Andrews, 1797).
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<td><strong>StAKS</strong></td>
<td>David Hay Fleming (ed.), <em>Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559-1600</em> (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1889-1890).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>StAUL</strong></td>
<td>St Andrews University Library Special Collections, St Andrews.</td>
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<td><strong>TNA</strong></td>
<td>National Archives at Kew, London.</td>
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Introduction

The Reformation transformed St Andrews. It changed far more than just the people’s faith. The city’s economy, governance, and identity were permanently altered by the destruction of the Catholic Church: wealth was redistributed, power structures were torn apart, and the burgh’s raison d’être was recast. In the space of a decade St Andrews ceased to be the capital of Scotland’s Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy and became a conspicuously Protestant burgh.¹ For the residents of St Andrews the Reformation constituted little less than a revolution.²

Among the alterations accompanying the religious changes was a major shift in patterns of land-ownership. Swathes of ecclesiastical property changed hands, both at the will of former owners and through pressure from secular authorities. Traditional forms of tenure were disrupted and the complex web of rents and privileges that had characterised mediaeval St Andrews unravelled. The vast estates of the Catholic Church were dismantled, never to be reasssembled. The dispersal of ecclesiastical lands and revenues had long-term ramifications for the lives of local householders, for relations between religious and secular authorities, and ultimately for St Andrews’ viability as an

² There are several sixteenth-century references which suggest that at least some St Andrews residents perceived the Reformation as forming a significant break with the past. A fairly typical entry from 1570 in the Register Book of the City of St Andrews refers to “the tyme of reformatione of religione quhen all freris wes dischegit owt of this realme”. The St Andrews Kirk Session in particular seems to have been fond of proclamations about the change from the days of “papistry”. For instance, in 1561 when ruling that a divorce based on consanguinity was not valid, the Kirk Session said that this was because the original decision “wes pronuncit in ane privat and prophane hows (sa called in Papistre) wythin the reformit citie of Sanctandrois, and that lang efter the said citie wes reformed be sincer preaching and hearing of Goddis trew Word, all public idolatrie, Papistrie, and Papisticall jurisdiccione abolesched furth of the same, the consistorie hows dischergit and stekyt up, the multitud of the inhabitantis of the said citie be professione and protestacione adjonit into ane Cristiane congregacione”. StAUL, B65/1/1, f. 52r. StAKS, vol. 1, p. 134.
urban community. Yet this major redistribution of wealth has, in recent centuries, had limited attention from both local and national scholars.³

**Historiography**

St Andrews’ early modern history has received less study than it deserves.⁴ Unlike burghs such as Edinburgh and Perth, there are no recent monographs on the sixteenth-century city of St Andrews.⁵ This omission is surprising given the important role St Andrews played in Scotland’s religious affairs at that time. There have been some significant articles, and chapters in more general works, regarding the Reformation in St Andrews. These publications have mainly focused on specific aspects of the religious changes: for example Jane Dawson’s article, ‘The Face of Ane Perfyt Reformed Kyrk’, deals substantially with St Andrews’ identity as an exemplary Protestant community, whilst Michael Graham’s work on the St Andrews Kirk Session is concerned with the

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³ ‘The fate of St Andrews’ pre-Reformation ecclesiastical estates attracted a degree of attention during the seventeenth century – when the subject still had a degree of political and religious relevance. See, for example, George Martine’s history of the estates of the archbishopric of St Andrews (which was written during the 1680s, although only published in the 1790s). The original of Martine’s history is held by the University of St Andrews (StAUL, msDA890.S1M23). For published version see George Martine, *Reliquiae Divi Andreae: Or the State of the Venerable and Primititial See of St Andrews* (St Andrews, 1797).


enforcing of moral discipline. Similarly Geoffrey Parker’s article on St Andrews is a focused study of the late sixteenth-century kirk’s problems (and ultimate success) in establishing stricter social and religious mores. Such works have suggested the complexity of the process by which St Andrews adopted Protestantism, and highlighted the need for further research regarding this city’s experience of confessional change. Amongst the issues still to be investigated is the fate of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical wealth during and after the Reformation.

The last thirty years have seen a renaissance in Scottish Reformation history. In particular there has been a growing attempt to place the political and religious events of the Reformation in their wider social context. This interest has fostered research into the process of reform in the regions and burghs of Scotland. The resulting literature

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8 The studies on this subject are too numerous to list in full but include works such as Ian Cowan’s, The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland (London, 1982), and Alec Ryrie’s The Origins of the Scottish Reformation (Manchester, 2006). Broader histories of the early modern period in Scotland have also expanded Reformation scholarship, for instance, Jenny Wormald’s Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625 (Edinburgh, 1981). The past decade has also seen an increasing interest in the state of Scotland’s Catholic Church in the period immediately preceding the Reformation. See Audrey-Beth Fitch, The Search for Salvation: Lay Faith in Scotland, 1480-1560 (Edinburgh, 2009); and Mairi Cowan, Death, Life, and Religious Change in Scottish Towns, c. 1350-1560 (Manchester, 2012).

9 For example, Margo Todd, The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland (New Haven, 2002). In this trend Scotland is following an international fashion. Study of the wider context of the Reformation was specifically called for by a number of English and continental historians. Bernd Moeller maintained that: “Through careful observation and analysis of political, socio-economic, intellectual, and spiritual forces we should try to see more clearly the broad outlines and the interplay of events and their profound effects.” A.G. Dickens argued that “We need to study the Reformation in its social dimensions and ideological settings.” Bernd Moeller, ‘Problems of Reformation Research’ in Bernd Moeller, Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays, translated by H.C. Erik Midelfort and Mark Edwards (Philadelphia, 1972), p. 15; A.G. Dickens, ‘The Role of the Cities in the German and English Reformations’, in A.G. Dickens, Reformation Studies (London, 1982), p. 505.

10 Published works include: Margaret Sanderson, Ayshire and the Reformation: People and Change, 1490-1600 (East Linton, 1997); Frank Bardgett, Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns (Edinburgh, 1989); John McCallum, Reforming the Scottish Parish: The Reformation in Fife,
has raised awareness of both the wider impact of the Reformation and the often lengthy and complex fashion in which religious change was implemented in different places. Much has been achieved, but there remain significant lacunae, amongst them the subject of urban ecclesiastical revenues.

The impact of the Scottish Reformation on religious estates generally has received limited attention from historians. A handful of articles on the subject were published during the early and mid-twentieth century (at least one of which called for further work in this area). In the 1980s Margaret Sanderson undertook detailed analysis of the feuing of rural church lands; meanwhile in the mid 1990s James Kirk produced an outstanding edition of The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices. Some relatively general studies of the Scottish Reformation also contain discussion of ecclesiastical revenues. The majority of these works have maintained that during the

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11 In 1918 R.K. Hannay regretted lack of research in this area and stated that (particularly regarding the feuing of church property) “organised work by a number of workers would throw a much needed light upon things which are still somewhat dark and neglected”. Hannay’s call has been partially met regarding the issue of feuing by Margaret Sanderson’s work. Yet his comments remain applicable to many other aspects of the treatment of Scottish church estates during the middle years of the sixteenth century. R. K. Hannay, ‘On the Church Lands at the Reformation’, Scottish Historical Review, vol. 16, no. 61 (October, 1918), p. 52. The issue of the fate of church estates at the Scottish Reformation was returned to by historians in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. See: W. Stanford Reid, ‘Clerical Taxation: The Scottish Alternative to Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1530-1556’, Catholic Historical Review, vol. 35, no. 2 (July, 1948), pp. 129-153; and Gordon Donaldson’s introduction to his edition of the Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices (Edinburgh, 1949), pp. vii-xxxix.


sixteenth century Scotland’s ecclesiastical lands and revenues underwent a gradual secularization. Indeed, it has been suggested that the religious upheavals of 1559 to 1560 had little immediate impact on church estates. Yet there have been few case studies testing this contention. In particular we lack publications evaluating the treatment of the wealth of Scotland’s urban ecclesiastical institutions. This is a significant historiographical gap. Research into the impact of the Reformation on landholding in England has revealed that urban areas had a very different experience from the countryside, a finding that Robert Tittler argues “should not surprise us” given the distinctive conditions in the towns. To assess fully the economic implications of Scotland’s mid-sixteenth-century religious upheavals we should look at the treatment of ecclesiastical estates in Scottish towns, and the impact of changes in the countryside on urban communities.

Aims and Scope of Study

This thesis examines the economic impact of the Reformation on St Andrews. It investigates what happened to the lands and revenues of the city’s religious foundations and officials during the mid-sixteenth century. It aims to firstly assess the extent of the wealth of St Andrews pre-Reformation church – a task that has not been undertaken in modern times. Secondly, it attempts to analyse how the residents of St Andrews’ official adoption of Protestantism immediately affected church revenues. Thirdly, it explores

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14 Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society*, p. 3.
15 I have failed to find any studies specifically examining the treatment of Scotland’s urban ecclesiastical estates at the Reformation. The subject does receive brief mention in broader histories of Scotland’s pre-Reformation Church, and in particular in histories of the mendicant orders. For example, Janet Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 229-242.
the longer term economic implications of the Reformation for St Andrews’ Protestant Kirk and wider burgh community.

Why, though, does such a study matter? To begin with there is the fact that a number of frequently repeated assumptions concerning church estates and the Scottish Reformation are largely untested in an urban context. Most notably there is a belief that the Reformation period as a whole, and in particular the years around 1560, saw little change in patterns of ecclesiastical land-tenure. This is an argument that has been mainly based on evidence from rural monastic estates, and possibly derives from an over-simplification of Sanderson’s findings concerning rural properties. It is important that such assumptions should be measured against case studies of the situation in Scottish towns, particularly as the findings from St Andrews would suggest that the years around 1560 saw extensive changes to the holdings of a range of urban religious institutions. Testing current assumptions is, however, only one of many reasons why we should consider this issue.

Before the Reformation the Catholic Church was the greatest land owner in Scotland. During the Middle Ages the Church held property in all the major burghs in the kingdom. Indeed a number of Scottish towns (including St Andrews and Glasgow) owed their burghal status to the church. Ecclesiastical landownership was a standard

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18 BA, p. xi.
element in Scottish urban life. Through extensive estates, possession of key facilities such as mills, and rights such as portions of burgh dues, the Church played a significant role in the economic structures of Scotland’s towns and cities.  

To gain a fuller understanding of the complexities of sixteenth-century burgh life it is vital that we consider not only the church’s religious influence, but also ecclesiastical institutions’ roles as landlords and holders of extensive assets.

Studying St Andrews church estates should help to deepen our understanding of the Catholic Church’s economic position immediately preceding the Reformation. There has been a perception that the Church badly mismanaged its estates, in particular through the practice of feuing lands (leasing out property for lengthy periods for a fixed annual sum). Whilst some religious organizations’ finances undoubtedly were in a parlous state by the time of the Reformation, it is worthwhile examining whether such practices were universal, for how long they had been in place, and how problematic they were in reality. This can perhaps best be achieved by studies of specific regions and institutions.

There are equally significant issues to address regarding the post-Reformation period. The Reformation triggered a major secularization of urban property. In turn this affected the balance of power between religious and secular institutions. The relationship between the church and civic authorities was permanently recalibrated as a result of the

21 For example even in a royal burgh such as Ayr the Dominican Friary held the town’s mills, William Dillon, ‘Pre-Reformation Church’, in Annie Dunlop (ed.), The Royal Burgh of Ayr: Seven Hundred and Fifty Years of History (Edinburgh, 1953), p. 99.

religious and economic changes of the 1560s. Yet this transformation of local power structures was not a simple one. The evidence from St Andrews suggests that the changes wrought by the Reformation caused problems for both religious and secular powers, and that both the kirk and the burgh council had difficulties enforcing their wishes.

Investigating the fate of Scottish urban ecclesiastical property is therefore not merely a matter of relevance to the history of the administration of the church. It has a bearing on sixteenth-century town life, religion and governance. Property, piety and power were inter-related matters in Reformation Scotland, and they deserve further research.

Yet why explore such themes specifically in the context of St Andrews? As the seat of Scotland’s senior archbishopric, largest cathedral, oldest university, and shrine to the nation’s patron saint, pre-Reformation St Andrews enjoyed substantial religious and cultural influence. It was the centre of ecclesiastical administration for the east coast and to a degree for the whole of Scotland. During the Reformation crisis St Andrews’ official rejection of Catholicism (and Mary of Guise’s subsequent failure to recapture the city) contributed to the Protestant cause’s national success. The conversion of St Andrews deprived the Catholic Church of its symbolic and actual centre of authority, disrupted its government, and shifted the balance of power towards the Protestants at a critical time in their struggle for supremacy. Furthermore, St Andrews was at the forefront in setting up new institutions of Protestant church governance. It was one of the earliest burghs to establish a kirk session to enforce moral discipline: indeed the St

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Andrews Kirk Session records are the oldest in the country. St Andrews was also chosen as the base for the Superintendent of Fife, and the seat of a presbytery. Contemporaries regarded St Andrews as an important place, especially in the context of religious affairs. The small number of scholarly works concerning this period of the town’s history, its importance for the history of the Scottish Church, the far-reaching effects of the Reformation on the burgh, and the nature of the surviving source material all contributed to choosing St Andrews as a subject for study.

Sources
This study was made possible by the substantial number of extant primary sources concerning the economic affairs of St Andrews’ religious foundations. A proportion of these records (such as the accounts of Cardinal Beaton’s chamberlain and granitar) were published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, yet the majority still remain accessible only in manuscript form. The University of St Andrews Special Collections, the National Library of Scotland, and the National Records of Scotland all hold considerable numbers of manuscripts regarding the financial dealings of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions before, during and after the Reformation.

To a large degree, the records held by these different repositories complement each other. The St Andrews burgh archives (which are currently stored by the university on

25 Linda Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, John Winram (c.1492-1582) and the example of Fife (Ashgate, 2002), pp. 84-87.
26 Published sources specifically concerning St Andrews’ early modern religious administration include: Robert Hannay (ed.), Rentale Sancti Andree: Being the Chamberlain and Granitar Accounts of the Archbishopric in the time of Cardinal Betoun (Edinburgh, 1913); David Hay Fleming (ed.), Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559-1600 (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1889-1890); Donaldson and C.Macrae (eds), St Andrews Formulare, 1514-1546 (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1942-1944).
behalf of the National Records of Scotland) provide a sound basis for the study of the
lands and rents of the city’s Dominican friary and for the parish church of Holy
Trinity.\(^{27}\) The St Andrews University muniments contain invaluable information on the
respective colleges and some charters concerning the Cathedral Priory.\(^{28}\) The National
Library of Scotland holds further material on the university, as well as preserving a
four-hundred folio cartulary dealing with the estates of the Cathedral and the
Archbishopric.\(^{29}\) Meanwhile the National Records of Scotland possess relevant central
government records (such as the Register of Feu-charters of Kirklands) and a number of
individual charters concerning the Collegiate Church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill.\(^{30}\) Between
them, these archives provide extensive material on all but one of St Andrews’ major
religious foundations.

By combining the material from these archives with previously published records such
as the *Books of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices* it has been possible to obtain a
substantial amount of quantitative data regarding St Andrews’ ecclesiastical property.\(^{31}\)
For example, surviving rentals make it possible to compare the relative wealth of
different religious foundations, whilst the existence of more than 680 feu-charters
means that an overview of the pace of alienation of church property can be plotted. Yet
there is also a wealth of qualitative material upon which this thesis has attempted to
draw. For instance, a number of charters recording transfers of church property include

\(^{27}\) StAUl, B65 series.
\(^{28}\) Notably, StAUl, UYSL110; StAUl, UYSL155; StAUl, UYSS110; StAUl, UYSS150/2; StAUl,
UYSM110; StAUl, UYUY150/1.
\(^{29}\) NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3; NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7
\(^{30}\) NRS, CC20; NRS, E14; NRS, GD1; NRS, E46; NRS, GD1; NRS, GD20; NRS, GD45; NRS, GD63;
NRS, GD137; NRS, GD150; NRS, GD241; NRS, RH6; NRS, TE5/207.
\(^{31}\) A large number of generic government records contain invaluable material concerning church finance
before and after the Reformation. See *ALC, ALHT, RPCS, RPS, RMS, RSS*. Central government records
specifically concerning the thirds of benefices also of course survive. See *ACTB* and *BA*. 
explanations of why the transaction is taking place. Together, the qualitative and quantitative data enable a more in-depth analysis than would be possible if used in isolation.

The St Andrews sources have their limitations: significant documents concerning the Cathedral have been lost, as have the majority of the records concerning the city’s Franciscan Friary. In general, though, there is a considerable, if uneven, documentary record concerning early modern St Andrews. Certainly there is far more material than can be covered in a single study.

**Structure**

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first considers the role played by the Catholic Church in St Andrews before the Reformation, and the means by which it was financed. It examines the funding of the city’s pre-Reformation ecclesiastical foundations and officials; and argues that (contrary to some traditional assumptions) the Catholic Church in St Andrews was on a reasonably sound financial footing right up to its destruction. To this end chapter 1 discusses the prosperity and vitality of St Andrews and its religious organisations during the early sixteenth century. Chapter 2 examines in more depth the income of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions and the sources from which their wealth was derived. Meanwhile, chapters 3 and 4 discuss changes to church estates brought about both by new donations of lands and rents, and by transitions to different

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32 One of the main cartularies recording donations to the cathedral priory has been lost. See introduction to Thomas Thomson (ed), *Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree* (Edinburgh, 1841), p.xi. The texts of only two charters appear to survive from the St Andrews Franciscan friary (StAUL, B65/23/136 and StAUL, B65/1, f. 31r). This may reflect the fact that the St Andrews Franciscan friars appear to have fled the country at the Reformation. There is of course material on the Franciscans generated by external authorities such as the crown and the archbishopric, upon which this thesis has largely had to rely. See table 6 of this thesis.
forms of land tenure. They suggest that on the eve of the Reformation St Andrews clerics were generally managing their estates effectively and were in receipt of substantial revenues.

The second section of this thesis is concerned with the Reformation and its legacy. It suggests that the religious changes of the mid-sixteenth century had substantial implications for church finance. Chapter 5 considers the immediate disruption to St Andrews’ religious lands and revenues caused by the burgh’s public conversion to Protestantism. Chapter 6 explores the more planned reorganisation of the 1560s. The disputes and difficulties triggered by the redistribution of ecclesiastical wealth are examined in chapter 7, whilst the longer term impact on St Andrews of the treatment of church revenues at the Reformation are discussed in chapter 8. The second part of this thesis argues that the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century brought major changes to St Andrews’ church lands and revenues, with consequences for the burgh as a whole. For the residents and churchmen of St Andrews the Reformation formed a decisive break with the economic patterns of the past.
PART 1 – PRE-REFORMATION

Chapter 1 – Burgh and Church

The burgh of St Andrews owes its existence to the church. The headland of Kinrymont in north-eastern Fife was a religious centre for several hundred years before the local bishop established a burgh beside the cathedral precinct in the mid twelfth century.¹ This new town (named St Andrews after the saint whose relics the cathedral held) was closely connected to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and its early citizens were frequently referred to as “burgesses of the bishop”.² By the sixteenth century the burgh of St Andrews had developed into a small city of perhaps 2,500 people, and was acknowledged as one of Scotland’s chief urban centres.³ Nevertheless, the bishop and other church officials continued to exert a major influence over the local community. The city technically remained an episcopal burgh, and clerics made up a significant portion of the population and played a substantial role in local governance. This chapter aims to provide an overview of the early sixteenth-century burgh of St Andrews, its

¹ It is likely that there has been a religious settlement at St Andrews since at least the mid eighth century (when the death of the abbot of Kinrymont was recorded in an Irish chronicle). St Andrews appears to have been the seat of a bishopric since at least the tenth century, and probably earlier. Simon Taylor and Gilbert Markus, The Place Names of Fife (Donington, 2009), vol. 3, p. 405; Anne Turner Simpson and Sylvia Stevenson, Historic St Andrews: The Archaeological Implications of Development (Scottish Burgh Survey, 1981), pp. 1-2.
² StAUL, B65/23/1. The Latin reads “burgensibus Episcopi Sancti Andreae”.
³ The precise population of early modern St Andrews is difficult to assess. Popular tradition has ascribed St Andrews an unrealistically large number of inhabitants. For example in the 1920s Eric Robertson claimed that: “the city once numbered fifteen thousand; some say double”. The figure of 2,500 was deduced by Geoffrey Parker from the 1618 burgh stent roll, and is probably the most reliable calculation to date. However, as St Andrews was already facing economic difficulties by 1618, it is possible that the pre-Reformation population was slightly larger. It should also be borne in mind that the number of permanent residents does not necessarily reflect the number of people in the city at times like festivals or when the royal court was visiting. Given the presence of a university and a major religious centre it is probable that the number of people in St Andrews fluctuated significantly. If St Andrews did have a resident population of approximately 2,500, it would mean that it was probably slightly smaller than the major northern English ecclesiastical centres. For example, Durham probably had a population of slightly over 3,000. E. Robertson, Old St Andrews (London, 1923), p. 54; Geoffrey Parker, “The “Kirk by Law Established” and the Origins of “The Taming of Scotland”: St Andrews 1559-1600”, in Leah Leneman (ed.), Perspectives in Scottish Social History (Aberdeen, 1988), p. 24; Charles Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1979), p. 12.
religious organisations, and the relationship between the church and the city. It will suggest that during the first few decades of the sixteenth century St Andrews was a thriving urban community, but that much of its prosperity was fostered by the presence and investment of the Catholic Church.

The Burgh

In many ways early sixteenth century St Andrews was in a fortunate position. The city was located in one of Scotland’s more affluent regions and was surrounded by fertile countryside.⁴ The settlement’s long-term importance as a religious centre, and in particular as a place of pilgrimage, meant that a good network of roads, bridges, and ferries had been built up to enable access overland from inland parts of the country.⁵ Meanwhile, contacts with overseas and other coastal regions of Scotland were facilitated by the small harbour at the eastern end of the city.

A combination of St Andrews’ location and its importance as a religious centre won it the favour of successive Scottish monarchs. The burgh was a standard stop on the itinerary of the court, and the scene of notable royal events.⁶ In 1538 James V chose to stage his formal welcome of Mary Guise to Scotland in St Andrews, and two years later James and Mary’s short-lived eldest son was born and christened in the city.⁷ Although St Andrews was not officially a royal burgh until 1620, the city’s burgesses enjoyed the

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⁴ In September 1546, when writing to Pope Paul III regarding the siege of St Andrews Castle, the Earl of Arran described St Andrews as “a most delightful and famous city”, and remarked that Fife was “the most fertile province of this realm”. J. Gairdner and R.H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (21 vols, London, 1862-1910), vol. 21.2, p. 2.

⁵ For example, there were ferries across the Forth and Tay designed to give access to St Andrews, and stone bridges on the major roads approaching the city. *LC*, pp. 271-272; NLS, Adv. M.S.17.1.3, ff. 344v-335r.


privileges associated with that status throughout the later middle ages and early modern period, sending representatives to Parliament and the Convention of Royal Burghs, and having the right to trade freely across Scotland and overseas. On a number of occasions the crown in fact backed the citizens of St Andrews in disputes with royal burghs. For example, in 1485 James III decided against the royal burgh of Crail and in favour of the city of St Andrews in an argument regarding trading rights. Meanwhile in 1518 representatives of the crown intervened on behalf of St Andrews’ burgesses in a controversy over customs duties with the customers and officers of Perth.

Despite the occasional disagreements with neighbouring burghs, late mediaeval and early modern St Andrews seems to have been a prosperous community. It is likely that the burgh had eight craft guilds before the Reformation (namely the hammermen, wrights, masons, bakers, tailors, cordiners, weavers and dyers) as well as a number of merchants. The loss of many of the guild records mean that it is hard to assess the precise size of the crafts. However, where guild minute books do survive they suggest

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8 See series StAUL, B65/23; CRB, vol. 1, passim.
9 StAUL, B65/23/102.
10 StAUL, B65/23/209.
11 For example, the research on burgage plots undertaken by Brooks and Whittington suggests that the burgh of St Andrews enjoyed considerable westward growth during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. N.P. Brooks and G. Whittington, ‘Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh: the example of St Andrews’, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (1977), New Series, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 278-295
12 By the late sixteenth century St Andrews had seven incorporated guilds (the hammermen, the wrights, the bakers, the tailors, the cordiners, the weavers and the fleschers). However, there is reason to believe that the pre-Reformation craft guilds were slightly different. A charter from 1557 by Walter Mar, chaplain of the altar of St Katherine at Holy Trinity Church, refers to alms being given to two “poor merchants” of St Andrews, and to an impoverished member of each of the crafts listed above in the main text. With the exception of the two merchants (who are to be selected by the burgh council) Mar states that the recipient in each case should be chosen by “his deacon and his craft” – implying that each of these trades had guilds at that date. If St Andrews did have eight craft guilds that would mean it compared with other major burghs. For example Perth had nine craft guilds. StAUL, B65/23/330 (translation from Calendar of St Andrews Burgh Charters, StAUL, B65/22); A.M. Carstairs, ‘The Convener’s Court Book of the Seven Incorporated Trades in St. Andrews’, The Scottish Historical Review (April 1955), p. 32; Verschuur, Politics or Religion, p. 39.
moderately large and wealthy organisations. For example, in 1556 the bakers’ guild appears to have had at least 41 master craftsmen. Mid-sixteenth-century tax assessments indicate that St Andrews was probably either the fifth or sixth richest burgh in the kingdom. The city was undoubtedly poorer than the four leading burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, but appears to have been regarded as more affluent than significant royal and regional centres such as Stirling.

On the surface, therefore, St Andrews appeared to be in a strong position for much of the early sixteenth century. It was wealthy, enjoyed royal favour, and was located in a prosperous part of the country. However, this success may not have been quite as securely founded as it probably seemed. Considering the total wealth of the burgh, a surprisingly small amount of Scotland’s overseas exports seem to have gone through St Andrews. Whilst there is some evidence of St Andrews merchants investing in major international shipping schemes working out of places such as Leith, the city of St Andrews itself does not appear to have been a major port. Instead it seems likely that

13 Detailed pre-Reformation records survive for the hammermen and the bakers, and fragmentary records for the cordiners. StAUL, msDA890.S1H2; StAUL, msDA890.S1B2; StAUL, msDA890.S1C7.
14 StAUL, msDA890.S1B2, vol. 1, f. 9r.
16 See table 1 of this thesis.
17 Traditional calculations (generally based on the exchequer rolls) show St Andrews barely registering as an exporting burgh. It is likely that the exchequer rolls do not give us the whole picture regarding St Andrews as the city’s great customs (i.e. wool, hides and woolfells) were in fact collected by the archbishop rather than the king. However, the fact that these great customs were farmed out for only £50 per annum suggests that their value was not particularly high. Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen, Atlas of Scottish History to 1707 (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 250-260; Rentale, pp. 89, 118, 127, 134, 144, 162, 165, 173, 207, 212.
18 The acts of the Lords of Council for example reveal that in 1524 a group of men from Cupar, St Andrews, and Leith invested in a ship called the Christopher which was “reft and spulzeit be certane Hollandaris”. It is possible that St Andrews was not more heavily used as a port because of the harbour’s shallowness. For example, in the 1580s the diarist James Melville had an extremely unpleasant time in St Andrews Bay waiting for the water level to be suitable for his ship to approach the harbour. Earlier in the sixteenth century the burgh council and the cathedral priory became involved in a dispute regarding water levels in the harbour and whether they would be affected by the Augustinian canons’ new shore mill. ALC, pp. 232-233; Robert Pitcairn (ed.), The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville (Edinburgh, 1842), p. 168; StAUL, B65/23/213.
much of St Andrews’ economic activity was bound up with providing goods for the local area rather than with international trade. To a considerable extent the wealth of St Andrews was probably derived from a service economy which was substantially reliant on the presence and investment of the Catholic Church.

The Church

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were in many respects a golden age for the Catholic Church in St Andrews. In 1472 the bishopric of St Andrews was raised into an archbishopric, something for which the city’s prelates had long campaigned.\(^{19}\) This period also saw the foundation of three university colleges and two friaries within the burgh, and was a time of major development at the older religious institutions such as the Cathedral and the parish church of Holy Trinity.\(^{20}\) Partly as a result of this expansion, Catholic religious provision in St Andrews was at its most extensive in the century before its destruction.

By the mid sixteenth century St Andrews had institutions representing most popular types of late mediaeval Catholic religious foundation.\(^{21}\) The Cathedral and its associated priory of Augustinian canons provided the city with a major shrine and traditional

\(^{19}\) Joseph Robertson (ed.), *Concilia Scotiae: Ecclesiae Scoticanae Statuta tam Provincialia quam Synodalia quae supersunt, MCCXXV-MDLIX* (Edinburgh, 1866), pp. cx-cxi.

\(^{20}\) The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw the conversion of the University of St Andrews to a broadly collegiate system. The process was substantially initiated by the foundation of St Salvator’s College in 1450, and continued by the establishment of St Leonard’s College in 1512 and St Mary’s College in 1538. A small Dominican community appears to have been established in St Andrews in 1464, and was raised to the status of a convent in 1517. The Observant Franciscan friary was supposedly established in 1458. D.E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* (London, 1957), pp. 184, 189; Janet Foggie, *Renaissance Religion in Urban Scotland: The Dominican Order, 1450-1560* (Leiden, 2003), p. 7; William Moir Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1909), vol. 1, p. 287.

\(^{21}\) One of the few types of foundation the city lacked was a female religious house. However, in Scotland (as in England) nunneries were relatively rare. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 120-130.
religious house.\textsuperscript{22} The Dominican and Observant Franciscan friaries represented the mendicant orders. The Church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill (also known as St Mary’s on the Rock) was a moderate sized collegiate church manned by secular canons.\textsuperscript{23} The three university colleges provided education and functioned as religious communities.\textsuperscript{24} The parish church of Holy Trinity formed the focal point of much of the worship of the local laity, and had a large number of chaplainries established for the celebration of intercessory masses.\textsuperscript{25} Several small chapels such as the chapels of St Anna or Mary Magdalene also helped fulfil the residents of St Andrews’ desire for prayers for the departed.\textsuperscript{26} Meanwhile, the Hospital of St Nicholas provided care for the burgh’s poor and sick.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{22} The chapter of St Andrews Cathedral had been refashioned as a community of regular Augustinian canons in the mid twelfth century. A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Foundation of St Andrews Cathedral Priory', Scottish Historical Review (April 2005), vol. 84, no. 217, pp. 1-37.

\textsuperscript{23} The College of St Mary’s Kirk Hill was established in its current form before 1249. For much of the later middle ages it was a chapel royal, but probably lost this status at the beginning of the sixteenth century when the chapel royal at Stirling was founded. However, it should be noted that as late as 1557 the provost of St Mary’s Kirk Hill was referring to his institution as a chapel royal. Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, p. 184; NRS, GD20/1/77.

\textsuperscript{24} The colleges were all founded with expressly religious aims, substantially staffed by men in holy orders, and it is likely that each one was provided a chapel. The chapels of St Salvator and St Leonard have both survived to this day. The chapel of St Mary’s College did not survive into modern times and it has been suggested (including by the twenty-first-century members of the college) that St Mary’s never had such a building. However, mid-sixteenth-century records suggest otherwise. In 1539 King James V gave permission for the rebuilding of the chapel of St John the Evangelist on the site of the new foundation of St Mary’s College. That this pious intention was (at least partially) fulfilled is implied by the fact that Cardinal Beaton’s accounts contain an entry for the shipping of marble from Leith to St Andrews for the construction of an altar at the New College (i.e. St Mary’s). Meanwhile, in July 1546 Archibald Hay, the new principal of St Mary’s College, was apparently invested in his position before the high altar of St Mary’s College Chapel. StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/14; StAUL, UYSM110/B15/6; Rentale, p. 122.

\textsuperscript{25} The parish church of Holy Trinity was probably originally founded in the twelfth century. In the early fifteenth century it moved to its modern site on South Street. Simon Taylor and Gilbert Markus, The Place Names of Fife (Donington, 2009), vol. 3, p. 426.

\textsuperscript{26} Unfortunately very little is known about these small chapels. The chapel of St Mary Magdalene appears to have been within the cathedral precincts (though not within the cathedral church itself). A 1571 instrument of sasine recording the lease of a property within the old Cathedral precinct refers to “the garden of the chapel of St Magdalene with the chapel itself”. Reference is also made to the Chapel of St Mary Magdalene in a pittance writ of 1586. The chapel of St Anna is listed as an independent institution in Queen Mary’s 1567 gift to the city of St Andrews. (For more details of the Queen’s gift see chapter 6 of this thesis). A post-Reformation rental makes reference to St Anna’s yard on North Street, perhaps indicating that the chapel may have been located in that part of the city. Instrument of sasine regarding the chapel of St Mary Magdalene quoted in David Hay Fleming, The Reformation in Scotland (London, 1910), p. 614. The pittance writ of 1587: StAUL, UYSL110/PW/108. Ronald Cant, ‘The Building of St
Together, these religious foundations dominated the St Andrews townscape. The sixteenth-century burgh stood on a triangular section of high ground, surrounded to the north and east by the sea, and to the south by the Abbey’s mill lade. The eastern promontory was occupied by the cathedral complex and the collegiate church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill. At the foot of this headland lay the harbour. The cathedral (at that stage the largest building in Scotland) towered over the city’s port, emphasising St Andrews’ role as a religious centre to all who arrived by sea. The dominance of the cathedral was equally noticeable from the city’s land approaches. The old burgh of St Andrews’ main thoroughfares, North Street, Market Street, and South Street, fan out from the cathedral site. The street plan led inexorably towards the burgh’s religious heart. Furthermore in the early sixteenth century each of the main streets was punctuated by ecclesiastical institutions: on North Street there was the College of St Salvator and probably the Chapel of St Anna; towards the western end of Market Street there was the Franciscan friary; the Black Friars convent, the parish church of Holy Trinity, and the university colleges of St Mary and St Leonard were all located on South

27 The Hospital of St Nicholas was originally an independent institution and one of the oldest hospitals in Scotland, probably being founded in 1178 to care for lepers. However, in 1529 the St Andrews Dominicans took over its administration. By this stage the hospital appears to have been ministering to the poor and sick generally. Derek Hall, “Unto yone hospital at tounis end”: the Scottish medieval hospital’, Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal, 12, (2006), p. 89; Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, p. 154, StAUL, B65/23/356.

28 Brooks and Whittington described mediaeval St Andrews as follows: “The town was built on a wedge-shaped sandstone promontory bounded by cliffs and sea to the north and by the Kinness Burn to the south.” Brooks and Whittington, ‘Planning and Growth in the Medieval Scottish Burgh’, p. 285. However, it is clear from the Geddy map of c.1580 that, with the exception of part of the Cathedral complex and the Hospital of St Nicholas, the burgh’s buildings did not go beyond the line of the priory’s mill lade, which ran along roughly the line of the modern path called Lade Braes. NLS, MS.20996.

29 To this day the tower of St Rule and the east gable of the cathedral are visible for some distance both along the coast and out to sea.

Before the Reformation the sites of religious foundations took up an extensive portion of the burgh. Ecclesiastical buildings were scattered across the city. Many, perhaps the majority, of residents therefore had religious organizations as near neighbours.

The personnel of these religious foundations made up a significant element of the burgh’s inhabitants. Excluding members of the university, the names survive of at least 86 clerics attached to these bodies during the 1550s. The ecclesiastical presence within the city was further increased by the households of the archbishop and archdeacon, and the existence of church courts within the city, meaning that the total number of clerics based in St Andrews in the decade before the Reformation was almost certainly much larger than this figure might suggest.

31 NLS, MS. 20996; StAUL, B65/23/206; StAUL, B65/23/352. The religious buildings were regarded as in many ways the chief attraction of St Andrews. When Mary of Guise was welcomed to the city in 1538 she was first of all received into the cathedral complex, and then: “On the morne the quen passit thro the toune and wisitit all the kirkis and collegis and the universitie within the toun, that is to say scho wessit the blak freiris, the grayfreiris, the auld colledge and the new colledge and Sanct Leonardis, the paroche kirk and the Lady kirk of heuche, to wit.” A.J.G. Mackay (ed.), The Historie and Cronicles from the Slauchter of King James the First to the ane thousande Fyve hundreth thrie scoir fyftein zeir, written and collected by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1899-1911), vol. 1, p. 380.


33 Ibid., p. 285.

34 Through a combination of evidence from rentals and charters I have found the names of 27 clerics attached to Holy Trinity in the late 1550s. A letter from 1560 selling an annual rent belonging to the St Andrews Black Friars would suggest that there were at least 5 members of the Dominican order in St Andrews at the time of the Reformation, namely: John Grierson (the provincial of the order), John Akyross, Alexander Balcanquell, Thomas Liston, and Henry Mason. (With the exception of John Akyross all of these friars are also listed by Janet Foggie in her history of the Dominican order in Scotland.) However, a charter from 1545 signed by the members of the St Andrews Dominican convent gives the names of ten friars. We have the names of the warden and vicar of the Franciscan friary (respectively Simon Legerwood called Maltman, and John Ferguson) at the Reformation, plus four friars who were members of the convent in 1558 (Herbert Carneill, John Geddy, John Burrell and John Knight). Meanwhile, Linda Dunbar’s research into the canons of St Andrews Cathedral has revealed the names of 44 canons from the 1550s (36 of whom are known to have been alive after the Reformation). The names also survive for 4 of the prebendaries of St Mary’s Kirk Hill at the Reformation. However, rental evidence would suggest that there may well have been 5 prebendaries during the 1550s. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v; NLS, 17.1.3, f. 70; NRS, GD150/1155; LC, p. 130; Foggie, Renaissance Religion, pp. 256-322; Linda Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, John Winram (c.1492-1582) and the example of Fife (Ashgate, 2002), pp. 208-209; Anthony Ross, ‘Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland’, in David McRoberts (ed.), Essays on the Scottish Reformation (Glasgow, 1962), p. 239.
The Catholic Church and its officials played a key role in St Andrews burgh life. As the seat of the kingdom’s senior archbishopric and home to the shrine of the nation’s patron saint, St Andrews’ identity, status, government and economy were bound up with the church. Both residents and outsiders emphasised the city’s religious importance. Bishop Leslie of Ross in his post-Reformation history of Scotland described St Andrews as the “chief and mother citie of the Realme”.\textsuperscript{35} Similarly, in 1527 Archbishop James Beaton stated that St Andrews’ parish church “takes precedence of all others in the realm”, and that as a result of this it should “have the best and most ornate service”.\textsuperscript{36} St Andrews’ religious identity was embraced by the city’s lay officials, who, for instance, demanded in 1527 that the rector of the choir of Holy Trinity should “keip all divine service in queir and kirk als wele as ony uther Rector chori dois in ony parish kirk in Scotland”.\textsuperscript{37} The importance of St Andrews’ religious identity was likewise reflected in the burgh’s common seal, which showed on one side the crucifixion of St Andrew and on the other an image of a bishop.\textsuperscript{38}

Yet the Catholic Church did more than simply shape the burgh’s public image; it was central to the city’s administration and economy. Before the Reformation there were four main strands of governance within St Andrews. Firstly there was the standard burgh hierarchy of provost, baillies, and council; secondly there were the courts and officials of the Regality of St Andrews; thirdly there were the ecclesiastical courts; and

\textsuperscript{37} StAUL, B65/23/242. The charter is given in full in Rankin, \textit{Parish Church}, pp. 133-135.
\textsuperscript{38} For an example of the city’s common seal see StAUL, UYSL110/PW/155.
finally there was the university’s administrative structure. All were presided over by the archbishop.

The provost, baillies and burgh council managed much of the day to day administration of the city. In general they worked closely with the ecclesiastical authorities. Far from being a centre of opposition to the Catholic hierarchy, the burgh council appears to have supported St Andrews’ religious bodies until the eve of the Reformation.\textsuperscript{39} Secular officials had a significant role in the city’s governance, but they were always ultimately subject to the archbishop (the feudal head of the burgh), and had to co-exist with the other three strands of governance.\textsuperscript{40}

St Andrews, and much of the surrounding area, was in the unusual position of being a regality. In other words the rights normally reserved to the crown had been transferred to another authority – in this case the archbishop.\textsuperscript{41} The bishop’s officers therefore had the right to judge most criminal cases and pursue a number of the functions of secular governance.

In addition, St Andrews had active ecclesiastical courts, presided over by the archbishop’s representative, the official principal of St Andrews. The Court of the Official Principal dealt with both obviously ecclesiastical matters, and (at least in

\textsuperscript{39} For instance, in 1557, the burgh council decreed that the chaplains of Holy Trinity Church were entitled to collect 4d from every burgess at Easter. StAUL, B65/23/331.

\textsuperscript{40} According to George Martine, traditionally the provost, baillies, council, burgesses and freemen of the city, all swore fealty to the Archbishop. Martine claimed that “the old oath…used to run in these words: ‘I A.B. promitt fealtie and and lawtie to our sovereign Lord the King’s Grace, my Lord Archbishop of St Andrews, Lord of the regalitie of St Andrews’’. Reliquiae, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{41} The charter of James II confirming the establishment of the Regality of St Andrews specifically stated that tenants and feuars within the regality should be answerable only to the bishop’s courts, and were exempt from the normal services owed to the crown. This right was confirmed by James III, and by Mary Queen of Scots. StAUL, B65/23/317.
theory) with any issue involving a cleric or church property. Recent research has suggested that in many ways the court of the official principal was favoured by local people almost as a “community court” which was more accessible than the king’s justice. The rights of this court appear to have been quite widespread and relatively respected by other authorities. In February 1522, for instance, the Sheriff Court of Fife dropped a case between James Laing and Alexander Kincaid because “dauid gregour forespeikar for the said James layng producit ane act of the officialis of Sanctandrois allegeand that the said action wes depending befor him in his consistorie And als producit ane letter of reaggraualacione upone the said Alexander protestand that the schiref sould noucht proceed in the said mater for the causes foresaid”.

Meanwhile, the university possessed its own courts and government and maintained the right to deal with its members through these institutions. (However, university and college officials still made use of the ecclesiastical and burgh courts when dealing with disputes concerning non-members of the university.) The majority of the university’s officials were themselves churchmen. Indeed, the university as a whole, and the individual colleges, regarded themselves as religious institutions.

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45 In the mid fifteenth century the university had attempted to extend its jurisdiction over the town more generally. This was successfully combated by the burgh authorities. In 1443 the burgesses of St Andrews wrote to the civic authorities in Cologne to find out whether the University of Cologne exercised any jurisdiction over the city’s residents. StAUL, B65/23/30.
46 For instance, St Salvator’s College pursued tenants who did not pay their rents through the Court of the Official Principal. StAUL, UYSS110/L/12.
47 The extent to which positions at the university were dominated by clerics is evidenced by the dispute that developed over the election of John Rutherford as Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1557. Despite Rutherford’s strong scholarly credentials (he had held academic posts at the Universities of Coimbra and Paris, and served as a tutor to the younger brother of the essayist Michel de Montaigne) his election as dean was opposed by both the Provost of St Salvator’s College (William Cranston) and the previous dean (David Guild) on the basis that he was not in holy orders. Annie Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium*
Early sixteenth century St Andrews therefore had complex administrative structures, involving a mix of secular and religious institutions and personnel. However, they were given a certain cohesion by the fact that the archbishop had rights over each strand of governance. He was the feudal superior of the burgh; he held the Regality of St Andrews; he was archbishop of the see of St Andrews (which covered much of eastern Scotland); and he was chancellor of the university. This unity at the top level enabled the archbishop to intercede and adjudicate when problems arose. For example, in the early sixteenth century the archbishop mediated between the cathedral priory and the burgh council when local residents feared that the construction of the new abbey mill would affect water levels in the harbour. The presence of both the standard structures of burgh government and a powerful ecclesiastical hierarchy within the city probably meant that the pre-Reformation city of St Andrews was particularly competently governed.

The Church therefore played a fundamental role in St Andrews’ governance. It also played a key role in the city’s economy. The Church protected local traders, attracted wealth to the city, and was a major investor. The archbishop of St Andrews acted both as protector and as regulator of St Andrews’ trade. The burgh’s freedom to hold a market had been bestowed by Bishop Roger in the twelfth century in exchange for an annual fee of a pound of pepper. The archbishops also had the rather more

\[\text{48 Indeed St Leonard’s College and St Mary’s College were both specifically founded to train members of the clergy. Ronald Cant, The University of St Andrews: A Short History (Edinburgh, 1970), p. 34.}\]
\[\text{49 StAUL, B65/23/213.}\]
\[\text{50 StAUL, B65/23/2.}\]
remunerative right to the great customs of the burgh (levied on wool, wool-fells and hides).\textsuperscript{51} Perhaps encouraged by their vested interest the archbishops of St Andrews proved active defenders of St Andrews merchants’ rights. Successive prelates lobbied parliament to confirm that burgesses from St Andrews were entitled to trade in Cupar.\textsuperscript{52} The archbishops seem to have worked hard to use their connections to benefit the city.

The Church also attracted riches to the city. St Andrews’ importance as a religious centre brought people and wealth into the burgh, thus providing St Andrews’ tradesmen with customers. The transient population of pilgrims, ecclesiastical administrators, students, and courtiers meant that there was potentially a greater market for goods than just the permanent residents of St Andrews and its hinterland.\textsuperscript{53} What is more, many of the clerics in St Andrews (both residents and visitors) were relatively affluent.\textsuperscript{54} The practices of pluralism and appropriation meant that much of the Scottish church’s wealth was redirected to its upper echelons.\textsuperscript{55} This ultimately benefited St Andrews.

St Andrews clerics were also direct investors and contributors to the local economy. They proved major donors to local religious institutions, for example investing in numerous chaplainries at Holy Trinity Church, the university colleges, and the

\textsuperscript{51} StAUL, B65/23/6.
\textsuperscript{52} StAUL, B65/23/5; StAUL, B65/23/8; StAUL, B65/23/9; StAUL, B65/23/10; StAUL, B65/23/11; StAUL, B65/23/12; StAUL, B65/23/209.
\textsuperscript{53} The accounts of Cardinal Beaton’s chamberlain make it clear how frequently both laymen and clerics needed to visit St Andrews. There are a number of payments similar to the following, “Master Thomas Marjorybanks and others, coming repeatedly to court at St Andrews about the nonentry of Kylconquhar, 7 l.” Rentale, p. 93.
\textsuperscript{54} Rankin, Parish Church, pp. 52-53.
\textsuperscript{55} John Major complained that “in Scotland the cures are few, but wealthy; and their wealth disinclines the curates to serve their charges in person.” A. Constable (ed. and tr.), A History of Greater Britain As Well England as Scotland: Compiled from the Ancient Authorities by John Major (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 30.
This provided employment for clerics, but also (because of the clauses about alms for the poor) helped the broader economy. For example, when in 1511 the priest Sir John Henderson established an anniversary at Holy Trinity Church he ordered for 2s 2d to be distributed amongst 13 poor persons on the day of his obit.

The Church also contributed to St Andrews’ infrastructure. As well as constructing major religious buildings, ecclesiastical officials invested in mills, drainage, and work at the harbour. Clerics also invested in the burgh’s housing stock. For example, in the fifteenth century, Sir James Braid, the chaplain of the altar of St Fergus in Holy Trinity Church not merely developed his own house (adding amongst other features a bath, six fireplaces, and a dovecot) but spent substantial sums of money improving the homes of his chaplainry’s tenants.

The presence of a large number of clerics within the city also provided trade and work for local residents. Religious officials purchased goods in the local area, and employed craftsmen and servants. In particular, the many religious building projects within the city almost certainly provided extensive employment. During the first half of the

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56 See chapter 3 of this thesis.
57 StAUL, B65/23/194.
58 The majority of St Andrews’ mills were owned (and probably constructed) by the Cathedral Priory. See StAUL, B65/23/212; StAUL, B65/23/213; StAUL, B65/23/283; StAUL, B65/23/300; StAUL, B65/23/337; StAUL, B65/23/389. Meanwhile the main breakwater at the harbour was known as the “Archbischope’s pier”. Pitcairn (ed.), Melville, p. 168.
60 The varied custom provided to St Andrews by the archbishop’s household alone is evinced by the expenses of Cardinal Beaton’s granitar in the year 1545 to 1546. These included: “28 gallons of osay wine bought in St Andrews at 18s. 8d. each...; wax candles for the chapel of the castle, also washing the altar linen, 9s.; repairing the leid of the brewhouse in the castle and the furnace of the same, 9s.; hire of feather beds with necessaries therefor put in the castle for the household...while the Cardinal was there...18l. 15d.;...fodder for the horses of the Cardinal and the Governor’s son in the castle ...10l. 11s. 4d.;...95 c[halders] 5 b[olls] coals bought for the castle, payment of servitors bringing them from the harbour to the coal-house at the castle, and moving of said coals...222l. 15s. 4d.” Rentale, pp. 223-224.
sixteenth century the religious institutions of St Andrews constructed or extended numerous buildings. The Dominican friary was enlarged at least twice, including in 1549 when an aisle was built obstructing part of the pavement in South Street.61 Meanwhile the Cathedral Priory undertook major developments in the 1520s, when Prior John Hepburn renovated the Cathedral and surrounded the entire complex “with a wall, which is strengthened by numerous projecting towers.”62 The sixteenth-century Archbishops of St Andrews were also prolific patrons of building – as the accounts of Cardinal David Beaton’s chamberlain and granitar demonstrate with their regular references to expenses for building work at both the Castle and the new university college of St Mary.63 Following Cardinal Beaton’s assassination Archbishop Hamilton undertook further building projects, notably at St Salvator’s College, St Mary’s College and St Andrews Castle (although the latter was partly the result of the need to repair damage caused by the siege of 1546 to 1547).64

**Conclusion**

Early sixteenth-century St Andrews was relatively prosperous. However, that prosperity was substantially dependent on the presence, protection and wealth of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. St Andrews’ identity, governance and economy were all linked to the church.

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61 StAUL, B65/23/303. There is also an earlier charter from 1530 which refers to the new church of the friars preachers, StAUL, B65/23/253.
63 For instance in 1539 the chamberlain paid Sir Walter Mar (Cardinal Beaton’s Master of Works) £32 13s for repairs to St Andrews Castle and £30 for the work at St Mary’s College as well as paying out 28s for drink money for masons at the College, *Rentale*, p. 61, p. 71, p. 92, p. 96. Similar entries continue throughout the accounts. Beaton’s ambitious building work may have contributed to his downfall, as John Knox claimed that the Cardinal’s assassins gained entry to the castle “the yetts being open, and the draw- brig let down, for receiving of lime and stones, and other things necessary for building (for Babylon was almost finished)”. *HRS*, vol. 1, p. 76.
The church and the wider burgh community were bound together in a symbiotic relationship where each profited from, and was dependent on, the support and authority of the other. The blending of religious and secular structures that characterised early modern St Andrews reflected both the mutual profit that could be derived from such a situation, but also (and perhaps more significantly) mediaeval and early modern concepts regarding religion and the world. In *The Secularization of Early Modern England* C. John Sommerville argues that we should see the residents of pre-Reformation England as inhabiting “a religious culture” – in other words it was assumed that “everything in life had a religious dimension, or to put it the other way around, religion was about the ‘real world’ and not some other realm.”\(^{65}\) This concept is perhaps helpful for understanding the pre-Reformation burgh of St Andrews. The Church permeated St Andrews’ society, and St Andrews’ society worked with the church.

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Chapter 2 – Ecclesiastical Income

The Catholic Church’s investment in St Andrews was made possible by the wealth of the city’s religious foundations and officials. This chapter aims to explore the nature and extent of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical wealth during the 1550s. It will examine firstly the amount of revenue raised by different religious foundations and officials in St Andrews; secondly the types of income they enjoyed; thirdly the places from which St Andrews’ ecclesiastical wealth was derived; and fourthly how the income of St Andrews’ religious institutions and benefice-holders changed over time. It will suggest that until the Reformation St Andrews’ ecclesiastical organisations were raising large sums of money and victual, both from the city itself and from the country more generally.

Approximate Annual Income

Any attempt to calculate the total annual income of St Andrews’ religious institutions before the Reformation is fraught with challenges. Full pre-Reformation accounts survive for only one major religious official and one ecclesiastical foundation based in St Andrews, namely the archbishopric and St Leonard’s College.1 However, extensive sixteenth-century rentals do exist for almost all of the major religious foundations within the city (plus the archbishopric and archdeaconry of St Andrews).2 As a result it

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1 The mid sixteenth-century accounts of St Leonard’s College are currently unpublished, but survive in manuscript. See StAUL, UYSL515. The accounts of Cardinal Beaton’s chamberlain and granitar were published in the early twentieth century. See Robert Kerr Hannay (ed.), Rentale Sancti Andree: Being the Chamberlain and Granitar Accounts of the Archbishopric in the Time of Cardinal Beaton (Edinburgh, 1913).

2 The majority of these rentals were produced at (or immediately after) the Reformation to enable the re-ordering of church revenues undertaken in the 1560s to take place. However, they generally appear to reflect the situation before the religious changes happened. The Books of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices contain rentals for the archbishopric and archdeaconry of St Andrews, the Cathedral Priory, the Dominican Friary, St Mary’s Kirk Hill, and St Mary’s College. The St Andrews burgh records contain a rental for the altars and choir of Holy Trinity Church, plus another rental for the Dominican friary. The
is possible to make relatively reliable estimates of these bodies’ annual income from rents and teinds.

The rentals reveal substantial variation in the amount of money and produce St Andrews’ religious foundations received from their estates. The foundation with the largest annual revenues was St Andrews Cathedral Priory, which (if one includes the income from its dependent cells) received at least £2,794 a year in money. In addition, the Augustinian canons received large quantities of grain and other foodstuffs, meaning that the total value of the priory’s annual income was in the region of £8,507. At the other end of the spectrum, the St Andrews Dominican friars appear to have raised approximately £156 plus 4 bolls of wheat from their estates each year. Between the two extremes of the Cathedral and the Dominican Friary were scattered the other major religious foundations. St Salvator’s College had an annual monetary income of £906, St Mary’s College £587, Holy Trinity Church £500, St Mary’s Kirk Hill £277, and St Leonard’s College £144. If we include the probable values of the revenues in kind which these organisations received a number of these figures rise significantly. Counting both money and victual it is likely that the value of St Salvator’s College’s total annual income from lands and teinds was approximately £1,259, St Mary’s

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3 The total quoted here is perhaps too low. It is based on data provided in the *Books of Assumption*. However, this rental omits a number of annual rents payable to the Cathedral from St Andrews’ properties which are recorded in contemporary charters. For this and succeeding figures regarding the revenues of St Andrews’ religious institutions see table 3 of this thesis.

4 During the 1550s not all of this income went to the religious activities of the priory – a portion was siphoned off to the commendator, Lord James Stewart. For discussion of the extent of the drain placed on the Cathedral Priory’s resources by Lord James’s commendatorship see chapter 4 of this thesis.

5 See table 3 of this thesis.
College £802, Holy Trinity Church £500, St Leonard’s College £485, and St Mary’s Kirk Hill £485.⁶

These figures would suggest that with the exceptions of the Cathedral Priory (which was unusually rich) and the two mendicant houses (which were for ideological reasons relatively impoverished), St Andrews’ religious institutions seem to have been reasonably, but not exceptionally, wealthy. For example, at the Reformation Trinity College in Edinburgh (a medium sized collegiate church founded by Mary of Gueldres) appears to have had a total annual income of approximately £610.⁷ Yet the income of St Andrews’ respective ecclesiastical foundations should not be considered on a purely individual basis. One of the things that set St Andrews apart from smaller Scottish towns was the concentration of ecclesiastical institutions, and the contribution that these organisations made as an entire sector of the local economy.⁸ In total St Andrews’ religious communities raised revenues worth at least £12,174 per annum from their estates.⁹ To put this figure in context, in 1542 the crown received £16,298 in rents from its estates.¹⁰

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⁶ See table 3 of this thesis for data and for note regarding the values accorded to different forms of foodstuffs.
⁷ BA, pp. 111, 118, 175, 404.
⁸ For example, the only religious foundation in Cupar (a town which was typically ranked just behind St Andrews in mid sixteenth-century tax assessments) at the time of the Reformation seems to have been the parish church, the burgh’s Dominican friary having been suppressed earlier in the century. Paula Martin, Cupar: The History of a Small Scottish Town (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 16-19.
⁹ This figure represents the sum of the annual income (including rents and teinds paid in kind) of the Cathedral, the Dominican Friary, St Mary’s Kirk Hill, Holy Trinity Church, and the three university colleges.
The income from St Andrews’ religious foundations’ lands and teinds was considerable. However, it was not the only clerical wealth going through the city. A number of high-ranking ecclesiastical officials possessed extensive holdings in their own right. For example, at the Reformation the Archbishop of St Andrews received from his estates money and produce worth approximately £4,178 a year. Meanwhile, the Archdeacon of St Andrews received (at least in theory) somewhere in the region of £587 per annum from his holdings.\textsuperscript{11}

The money from ecclesiastical estates was far from being the pre-Reformation church’s only source of income. The surviving accounts of Cardinal Beaton’s chamberlain and granitar reveal that between 1539 and 1546 on average only 55 percent of the archbishop’s income was derived from teinds and normal revenues from church estates.\textsuperscript{12} The remaining 45 percent was derived from a mix of sources including taxes levied on more junior members of the clergy, fees from the confirmation of testaments, and payments regarding changes in the tenure of properties. The accounts of St Leonard’s College show a similar pattern. In 1558 the college’s total annual income consisted of approximately £635 in cash, plus victual worth £340.\textsuperscript{13} Of this total, only £134 plus the foodstuffs were actually raised from the college’s estates.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{11} In the period immediately preceding the Reformation the Archdeacon of St Andrews appears to have had difficulties in collecting dues from some parishes in Angus and the Mearns. See BA, pp. 66-67. The difficulty with enforcing payment in Angus may reflect that region’s relatively early enthusiasm for Protestantism. Frank Bardgett, \textit{Scotland Reformed: The Reformation in Angus and the Mearns} (Edinburgh, 1989)

\textsuperscript{12} For details of the income recorded by Cardinal Beaton’s chamberlain and granitar see table 4 of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{13} See table 5 of this thesis. The cash income quoted here does not include the profit St Leonard’s College made from selling excess victual.

\textsuperscript{14} In short only 48 percent of the college’s income was derived from normal income from estates. The remainder was derived from fees paid by members of the college and extraordinary payments from tenants and feuars.
It therefore seems probable that the total annual income of many (perhaps all) the religious foundations discussed earlier was substantially greater than the ordinary revenues from their estates. Indeed, it is likely that each year money and victual worth more than £20,000 was channelled through the hands of the city’s clerics. This was at a time when the total ordinary annual revenue of the Scottish crown was only £45,956.\textsuperscript{15} By the standards of sixteenth-century Scotland the wealth handled by St Andrews’ religious institutions and officials during the 1540s and 1550s was immense.

\textit{Types of Income}

The income of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical foundations and officials came from a variety of sources. Nonetheless, the bulk of the Church’s funds can be broadly categorised as voluntary gifts, compulsory exactions, or revenue from church property. This section will explore the contribution that each of these types of income made to St Andrews’ ecclesiastical revenues.

The patchy nature of the surviving evidence makes it hard to assess the scale of the contribution that gifts (both of money and of food) made to St Andrews’ ecclesiastical economy. It is likely that the Observant Franciscans (who had strict rules on personal and institutional poverty and hence were not allowed to amass substantial estates) derived the majority of their annual income from alms and offerings.\textsuperscript{16} Gifts also appear to have helped maintain guild altars. For example, the bakers’ minute book reveals that

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{15} Figure given is for 1539 to 1540. Murray, ‘The Exchequer and Crown Revenue of Scotland’, p. 121.

\textsuperscript{16} With the exception of the actual site of their convent, there are almost no references to the St Andrews Franciscans owning land. However, there are (in both royal and episcopal accounts) a number of records of gifts of alms to the St Andrews’ Grey Friars. For a list of known gifts to the St Andrews’ Franciscans see table 6 of this thesis. For discussion of the Observant Franciscans’ views on institutional wealth, see Bryce, \textit{The Scottish Grey Friars}, vol. 1, pp. 54-58, 297.
\end{footnotesize}
between 1549 and 1559 the chaplain of the guild altar of St Tobert received on average somewhere in the region of £1 1s 8d a year in money (plus substantial quantities of wax) as a result of gifts made by guild members at transitions to new stages of their careers. However, the extent to which such grants formed a central part of the income of other religious bodies remains unclear.

As well as benefitting from voluntary donations, the church also profited from a large number of compulsory exactions laid upon the laity. The most comprehensive and remunerative of these was the charge of a tenth “on all things that are produced anew from year to year”. The levy of a tenth, or teind, was originally designed as a way of financing local parishes. Yet by the later middle ages a large proportion of teinds had been appropriated to major religious institutions and officials. This posed problems for the parishes but benefited the higher clergy, and by extension centres of ecclesiastical power such as St Andrews.

In particular St Andrews institutions benefited from the teinds of grain (traditionally known as the garbal or great teinds). Garbal teinds formed a significant portion of the

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17 StAUL, msDA890.S1B2, vol. 1. See table 7 of this thesis for further details regarding gifts to the altar of St Tobert.
18 In the thirteenth century the officials of the diocese of Aberdeen stated that tithes should be paid “on all things that are renewed”, and specifically on “agriculture, trade, hay, flax, wool, and milk; and on the profits of mills”. David Patrick (ed.), Statutes of the Scottish Church, 1225-1559 (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 40.
19 BA, pp. xxx-xxxiii.
20 BA, p. xxxii.
21 Garbal teinds were generally the most valuable of the teinds. The overwhelming majority of the surviving records regarding teinds paid to St Andrews religious foundations concern the garbal teinds. However, there is a small amount of evidence regarding the payment of teinds on other forms of produce to St Andrews bodies. For example, St Andrews Cathedral’s dependent cell at Pittenweem is recorded as having the right to Anstruther’s teinds of salt, wool, flax, hemp, and fish. BA, p. 22.
income of both the archbishopric of St Andrews and the Cathedral Priory.\textsuperscript{22} For example, it is possible that during the 1550s as much as two-thirds of the Cathedral’s regular income was derived from teinds levied on wheat, barley and oats.\textsuperscript{23} In many cases the garbal teinds were paid in kind, although there was an increasing tendency to lease for money the right to gather teinds.\textsuperscript{24}

A significant portion of St Andrews religious organisations income was, however, derived from secular property. By the sixteenth century the church had built up substantial landed estates. Across the British Isles the later middle ages had seen an increasing tendency for monastic houses (and for clerics generally) not to farm their estates in hand.\textsuperscript{25} As a result the bulk of the church’s income from their lands was in payments made to them by tenants and feuars. In many cases ecclesiastical organisations simply leased a substantial portion of their property on short term tacks (often for five years or so).\textsuperscript{26} They also at times granted lands on long-term heritable leases known as feu.\textsuperscript{27} Although the implications of these different forms of tenure were ultimately considerable for the church, in the short term both simply meant that in exchange for delegating the farming and day to day management of their properties the church was getting regular payments of money and victual. In addition to these core

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} In the accounting year 1539-1540 approximately 15 percent of the income of the archbishopric of St Andrews was derived from teinds. (Out of a total annual income worth approximately £9,767, roughly £1,540 was derived from teinds.)
\item \textsuperscript{23} See Table 3C1, section defined as the “spirituality” of the cathedral.
\item \textsuperscript{24} For example, Cardinal Beaton’s accounts reveal that in 1540 only £175 6s 8d of the archbishopric’s teinds were paid in cash, and that more than 115 chalders (probably worth about £1,367) were delivered in kind.
\item \textsuperscript{25} J.N. Hare, ‘The Monks as Landlords: The Leasing of the Monastic Demesnes in Southern England’, in Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (eds), The Church in Pre-Reformation Society (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 82-94.
\item \textsuperscript{26} For example, the register of St Leonard’s College contains a large number of mid sixteenth-century tacks of this nature. StAUL, UYSL155.
\item \textsuperscript{27} For further discussion of feuing see chapter 4 of this thesis.
\end{itemize}
estates, many religious organisations also enjoyed rights to collect money from properties that they did not own outright, but only had a share in (a little like a modern mortgage). This was particularly often true of properties in towns. The practice was widespread, and could form a central part of an institution’s income. For example, the majority of the income of Holy Trinity Church’s chaplainries was derived from such sources. The sources from which St Andrews’ pre-Reformation religious organisations derived their income were therefore complex.

Location

The places from which St Andrews ecclesiastical foundations derived their wealth varied. There was a significant concentration in ecclesiastical estates in St Andrews and the surrounding area. As was mentioned in chapter 1, there were a large number of ecclesiastical sites within the city. However, religious organisations also held rights concerning a large number of secular properties. The majority of properties in St Andrews were either owned by the church or paid dues to ecclesiastical organizations. For example, the clerics of Holy Trinity had rights regarding over 400 tenements and crofts within and immediately beside the burgh. Meanwhile, the Cathedral Priory also possessed rights concerning more than a hundred tenements within St Andrews. The majority of St Andrews householders were therefore making annual payments towards the upkeep of the church.

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28 For discussion of how such a situation arose see chapter 3 of this thesis.
29 It is probable that over a quarter of the urban area of St Andrews was occupied by ecclesiastical foundations. See map 3 of this thesis.
30 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39-50.
31 StAUL, UYSL110/C2.
There were also extensive church estates in St Andrews’ immediate vicinity. The city was surrounded by fields technically belonging to the Cathedral Priory.\textsuperscript{32} Meanwhile the neighbouring ferm touns were almost all in the hands of the city’s religious foundations and officials.\textsuperscript{33} The Cathedral Priory, the archbishop, the archdeacon, and the college of St Mary’s Kirk Hill all owned extensive lands in the immediate vicinity of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{34} The church was therefore a major presence in St Andrews and the surrounding area. Local residents’ relationship with the Church was not merely as parishioners or worshippers; they had an economic relationship with a landlord and creditor. These roles were emphasised still further by the way in which rents and other dues from local residents were delivered. Cash payments regarding properties within and immediately adjacent to St Andrews seem to have been delivered by the tenants themselves. For example, the tenants of the Priory Acres were “obleist” to pay their rents “to the said Abbay chamerlaune or factour thairof yeirlie at twa usuall termis in the yeir Witsoneday and Martimes”.\textsuperscript{35} The feu-charter ordering this specifies that “the Witsoneday termes maill to be yeirly payit apon the day of Sanct Jhone the Baptist callit Mydsomerday or thre days immediatlie preceding the sammyn and the Martimes terme upon the day of Sanct Androu the Apostill or thre dayis immediatlie preceding the said day withoutyn ony furthir delay.”\textsuperscript{36} The instructions on prompt payment are reinforced by the insistence “that the said Priour and convent sall nocht be astrickit to sytt for ressait of mailis bot upon the dayis befoir namit”. On the run up to the feasts of St John and St Andrew there must therefore have been almost a procession of people making their way to the Cathedral to pay their rents. This may have seemed a fitting way of

\textsuperscript{32} See NLS, Adv.MS,17.9.3, passim.
\textsuperscript{33} See appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{34} See appendix 3.
\textsuperscript{35} StAUL, B65/23/323.
\textsuperscript{36} StAUL, B65/23/323.
marking two great feasts of the church, though it had the potential to appear as the payment of tribute to a greedy oppressor.

However, the wealth the church received from St Andrews was only a small proportion of ecclesiastical institutions’ revenues. An analysis of the total wealth received by St Andrews religious foundations reveal that although a significant portion of the revenue was from the city and its immediate environs, far more was received from further afield. Out of the total monetary income from the estates of St Andrews’ major religious foundations plus the estates of the archbishop and archdeacon, only 10 percent was derived from the city and the fields immediately adjacent to it.\(^{37}\) The church was in fact bringing in wealth from across Eastern Scotland. St Andrews religious foundations’ estates stretched from Aberdeenshire down to Berwick-on-Tweed, with a particular concentration around the rivers Forth and Tay (widely acknowledged to be amongst the richest areas of the kingdom).\(^{38}\) In effect the St Andrews religious hierarchy were creaming off wealth from the rest of the kingdom and diverting it into St Andrews. It was functioning in an almost imperialist fashion whereby the wealth generated by the Catholic Church in parishes at the periphery was routed back to the central metropolitan power (in this case the archiepiscopal city).

\textit{Change over time}

The patterns described in this chapter were built up over generations. Yet they were not static. The gaps in the surviving source material make it hard to make comparisons over

\(^{37}\) See table 3 of this thesis.

\(^{38}\) Cardinal Beaton’s accounts reveal that the archbishopric of St Andrews received a ferme of 13s 4d from a house “in lye Quarellgait” in the burgh of “Bervik super Tuedam”, plus a ferme of 6s 8d from another house in the same street, plus £5 from the lands called “Magdalenefeild” next to the same burgh of Berwick. \textit{Rentale}, p. 39.
time, but we are fortunate in possessing data from at least two different periods, both for
the archbishopric of St Andrews and for certain of the chaplainries attached to Holy
Trinity Church. In all of these cases they reveal a significant increase in the cash income
of the religious foundations in question. For example, the altar of the Blessed Virgin
Mary rose from an annual income of £7 3s 4d at the start of the sixteenth century to £22
2s 0d just before the Reformation. Over the same period the revenue of the altar of St
Bartholomew rose from £12 8s 2d to £23 18s 4d; the revenue of the altar of St John the
Baptist rose from £2 18s 0d to £8 5s 6d; the revenue of the altar of St Laurence rose
from £4 0s 0d to £6 8s 0d; and the revenue of the altar of St Ninian rose from £6 0s 6d
to £21 17s 2d. Meanwhile the altar of St Fergus’ annual monetary income rose from
£7 2s 0d in the mid 1520s to £9 15s 4d at the Reformation. The archbishopric’s
monetary income from estates similarly rose from an average of £1,604 during Cardinal
Beaton’s time in office to £2,613 when the Books of Assumption were compiled.

This increase was attributable to three main factors: firstly, a tendency to convert victual
rents and teinds to cash; secondly, new donations of lands and rents; and thirdly, shifts
from conventional leases to feuing – a change that in the short term at least brought in
higher revenue from estates. (The following chapters will examine in depth the second
and third of these trends.) The shift from payment in kind to cash probably had
relatively little impact on Holy Trinity’s chaplainries. However, it had considerable
significance for the archbishopric’s estates. The shift to monetary payment was of
course more convenient: it reduced the need to transport and store large quantities of
grain. As the archbishop had received vastly more grain than he needed, he had

39 See Rankin, Parish Church, pp. 106-110. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v.
40 Rankin, Parish Church, pp. 105-124. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v.
normally sold the surplus. Changing to cash payments therefore cut out an inconvenient stage in the conversion of large quantities of victual to money. However, replacing teinds paid in kind with previously agreed cash payments left the archbishopric’s income much more exposed to inflation than it would otherwise have been.

**Conclusion**

Even on the eve of the Reformation, the revenues raised by St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions were still vast. Some of this wealth was derived from St Andrews, but far more came from the rest of Scotland. The church was a magnet bringing wealth into the city. In the years leading up to the Reformation, the affluence of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions was sustained. In some ways, income increased. Foundations continued to receive donations of land and revenue. Feuing produced an immediate increase in cash, however unwise it may have been in the long term; as the increase in feuing took place relatively late, it could be argued that the church gained the benefits without having to suffer the long-term disadvantages. The supply of ready money was also augmented by the increase in cash payments. It has been suggested that the finances of the Catholic Church in Scotland were in a dire state at the time of the Reformation. In St Andrews, however, the Church seemed solvent, even wealthy, though there were, for those who looked for them, possible signs of problems to come.

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42 For example, Cardinal Beaton’s granitar sold 17 chalders and 1 boll of wheat from the crop of 1539, bringing the archbishopric in £252 6s 2d. *Rentale*, p. 99.

43 Admittedly, not all of this money reached the church (an issue that will be explored in chapter 4).
Chapter 3 – The Expansion of Church Estates

The Church in St Andrews had been building up its wealth over centuries.¹ During the sixteenth century St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions continued to acquire new lands, chiefly through the generosity of Scottish nobles, clerics and burgesses, but also by purchasing property and rights. The period between 1450 and 1530 was a golden age of religious endowment in St Andrews.² Probably the only period in which donations to the church reached a similar scale was during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.³ The first stirrings of religious change therefore reached St Andrews at a time when religious organizations had been expanding their estates at an unprecedented rate.

Patterns of giving

There survive records of at least 281 separate major donations (that is gifts large enough to warrant their own charters) to St Andrews religious organisations between 1400 and 1559.⁴ Of these 124 were from before 1500, whilst 157 grants were made in the period 1500 to 1559. It therefore seems likely that the sixteenth century actually saw a higher level of giving to the Catholic Church in St Andrews than the fifteenth century (an era frequently seen as an age of conspicuous piety and religious devotion). This pattern is reflected in figures for the number of recorded donations made per decade. By far the most donations were made in the 1520s, when 49 separate recorded grants were made to

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² For example, between 1450 and 1530 at least 24 new chaplainries were founded at Holy Trinity Church. STAUL, B65/23; STAUL, B65/1; STAUL, B65/1/5; STAUL, msDA890.S1R4.
⁴ The records of the 281 donations are respectively from the series STAUL, B65/23; STAUL, UYUY110; STAUL, UYSL110; STAUL, UYSM100; STAUL, UYSS110; and the unpublished cartularies STAUL, B65/1; STAUL, B65/1/5; STAUL, msDA890.S1R4; STAUL, UYSS150/1; STAUL, UYSS150/2; STAUL, UYUY150/1; plus Thomson (ed.), Liber Cartarum.
St Andrews religious institutions. In contrast the 1480s, the decade from the fifteenth-century with the largest number of surviving grants, had only 26 known donations. Admittedly, it is possible that the greater number of known donations from the later period may simply reflect a better survival rate of the more modern documents. However, the inventories of charters made at the Reformation suggest that, at least in the case of Holy Trinity Church and the city’s Dominican Friary, there have not been many charters lost since 1560. It also seems probable from the university cartularies that the majority of their charters have survived. It is therefore likely that the larger number of sixteenth-century documents recording donations does indicate an actual increase in giving, and thus a concurrent expansion in the lands of the St Andrews religious foundations.

If one accepts the number of surviving charters as a guide to actual donations it would appear that the 1530s saw a drop in donations from the previous decade. Even so, the number of gifts made was still substantially higher than at almost any point in the fifteenth century. The 1540s saw another drop in donations, bringing figures down to a mere eleven major donations throughout the entire decade. However, in the 1550s the quantity of donations rallied somewhat, 16 separate grants being made in the ten years preceding the crisis of 1559. Although significantly less than the number of grants made during the glory years of the 1520s, this figure is comparable to some of the statistics for the fifteenth-century.

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5 StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 1-14, StAUL, B65/1/1, ff. 39-50, 52.
6 StAUL, UYSL155, StAUL, UYSS150/1, StAUL, UYSS150/2, StAUL, UYUY150/1.
7 There survive charters for no major donations of lands or rents in the 1400s, 2 grants in the 1410s, 3 grants in the 1420s, 8 grants in the 1430s, 3 grants in the 1440s, 22 grants in the 1450s, 16 grants in the 1460s, 21 grants in the 1470s, 26 grants in the 1480s, and 23 grants in the 1490s.
It is important not to make too much of the impact on church finances made by the mid sixteenth-century drop in donations. Grants to religious organisations were typically made in perpetuity and so their effect was cumulative. Providing estates were not dispersed by sales or feuings, or diminished by inflation (issues that will be discussed in the next chapter), the religious organisations gradually increased in wealth. At least in theory, and to a degree in reality, St Andrews’ ecclesiastical property was at its greatest extent immediately before the Reformation. The drop in donations merely slowed the rate at which church estates were expanding. The church should still have enjoyed profits from the numerous estates it had already been granted.8

The reduction in the number of gifts to ecclesiastical organisations does, though, potentially raise questions about economic and religious changes within the city of St Andrews. It is notable that the initial decline in donations comes at the very end of the 1520s and start of the 1530s, immediately after the execution of Patrick Hamilton for heresy. In his History of the Reformation in Scotland John Knox claimed that:

for then within St Andrews ... there was none found who began not to inquire:

Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burned? ... And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity.9

It is therefore possible that the decline in donations reflects incipient Protestantism within the city, or at the very least an element of dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church. However, it should also be noted that the 1530s saw economic strains across Scotland as King James V substantially increased the rate of taxation on both clergy and

8 As the rentals compiled at the Reformation suggest, StAUL, B65/1/1, ff. 39-50.
9 HRS, vol. 1, p. 15.
laity. There may simply have been less wealth available to be spent on the church or anything else.

Similarly, the small number of donations during the 1540s probably reflects the successive disruptions St Andrews experienced during this decade. A closer look at the patterns of giving reveals a reflection of these upheavals. There are no surviving donations from 1542 or 1543, possibly indicating nation-wide instability following the renewal of war with England, the defeat at Solway Moss, and the death of James V. Certainly the religious houses in St Andrews appear to have felt under threat at this point. The Dominican friars felt so insecure as a result of the “wars and disturbances” that they removed important charters from their convent and placed them in a chaplain’s house for safe-keeping, from which they were then stolen – a catalogue of misfortunes that was described in a charter from October 1543.

The figures from the late 1540s are still more intriguing. On 29 May 1546 Cardinal Beaton was murdered and St Andrews Castle seized by his Protestant assassins. The Castle was not recaptured until July 1547. In the process the town was bombarded and faced foreign occupation. Unsurprisingly the number of donations to religious organisations was low during this period. However, two grants were made during the time when the Castle was actually under siege. The number of donations remained

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10 Jenny Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, Scotland 1470-1625 (Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 52-53. Perhaps significantly, in 1533 St Andrews was late paying its burgh dues. StAUL, B65/23/268.
11 StAUL, B65/23/293.
13 Ibid.
15 StAUL, UYSS110/M/6, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/107.
low throughout the remainder of the 1540s, which correlates with the long time it took Archbishop Hamilton to be recognised in his see. (He was translated to St Andrews in November 1547 but did not take possession until June 1549).\textsuperscript{16} It seems to have taken until the end of the decade for something approaching normality to be re-established within St Andrews.

The apparent rise in donations during the 1550s suggests that the church and society in general within St Andrews were recovering from the problems of the previous few years. The increase in donations can also be linked directly to Archbishop Hamilton’s programme of Catholic reform. Hamilton made substantial donations to, for example, St Mary’s College, with the avowed aim of combating heresy.\textsuperscript{17} It seems possible that Hamilton’s attempt to rejuvenate the Catholic Church encouraged others to make donations.\textsuperscript{18} Perhaps significantly one of the main donors to Holy Trinity Church during this period was the priest Walter Mar, who had connections to the episcopal household, having been (amongst other posts) Master of Works to Cardinal Beaton.\textsuperscript{19} Whilst the situation in the Scottish church during the 1550s was clearly far from ideal, the evidence of the St Andrews donations suggests both that matters were improving slightly, and that certain sectors of St Andrews society were sufficiently committed to Catholic practices not merely to pay lip-service to them, but to invest substantially in their continuation.

\textsuperscript{16} Janet P. Foggie, ‘Hamilton, John (1510/11–1571)’, \textit{ODNB}.  
\textsuperscript{17} \textsc{StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/6}.  
\textsuperscript{18} In recent years scholars such as Alec Ryrie have highlighted how during the 1550s Archbishop Hamilton “intended a vigorous programme of renewal…which was wider in its ambitions and more consistent in its methods than has usually been recognised”. Ryrie, \textit{The Origins of the Scottish Reformation}, p. 95.  
\textsuperscript{19} Hannay, \textit{Rentale}, p. 83, 86, 92, 107, 108, 110, 115, 121, 131, 137, 150, 154. \textsc{StAUL, B65/23/305, StAUL, B65/23/316, StAUL, B65/23/326, StAUL, B65/23/328, StAUL, B65/23/330}.  

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**Purpose**

From the documents that have survived it would appear that the institutions in St Andrews that were favoured by donors were overwhelmingly the University colleges and Holy Trinity Church. In total 69 donations were made to the University between 1500 and 1560. This constitutes over 43 percent of recorded grants to St Andrews religious foundations. During the same period Holy Trinity received 65 major donations, or just over 41 percent of such gifts. In part these figures may reflect the patchy survival of documents. It is known that we have lost much of the Cathedral archives, and thus it is possible that there were many, now unknown, grants made to the metropolitan church and its monastery. In this context, however, it is worthwhile noting that the Dominican Friary received only 7 recorded donations (4 percent of the total for the period 1500 to 1560) and yet it is thought that the friary’s charters have survived virtually intact.\(^\text{20}\) It is therefore probable that the burgh church and the university were in fact more popular. In the case of Holy Trinity Church this may well reflect its central importance to the population of the burgh as both a parish and a collegiate church. In the case of the university it is probably a sign of the national status of Scotland’s oldest centre of higher education, and the support which that status engendered from high-ranking clerics, nobles and even the crown.

The apparently small number of donations to the monastic houses in St Andrews possibly reflects a trend that emerged across much of Scotland, and indeed England before the Henrician changes, of declining support for the contemplative life.\(^\text{21}\) It does

\(^{20}\)The Dominican friary’s charters were inventoried on at least two separate occasions: firstly following losses in 1543, StAUL, B65/23/293, StAUL, B65/1/1, f. 52.  

\(^{21}\)Christopher Harper-Bill, ‘Colet’s convocation sermon’, in Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Impact of the English Reformation 1500-1640* (London, 1997), p. 20. The Cathedral had received such huge grants of
not, however, necessarily follow that such a decline reflects reduced support for Catholicism. Indeed, a brief examination of the avowed purposes for which donations were made suggests considerable commitment to Catholic theology and practice amongst at least some sectors of burgh society. Nearly half (47%) of all donations made to St Andrews religious organisations between 1500 and 1559 were connected with the funding of intercessory masses. Out of a total of 157 known grants during this period, 43 were for the foundation or endowment of chaplainries (or chantries as they are typically termed in England). A further 29 were for funding anniversary masses not necessarily associated with a particular chaplainry. In addition there were two donations made to fund more general prayers for the soul of the donor. Even gifts made for completely different purposes often stated that the recipients were to offer up prayers for the granter or other named individuals. The support for anniversary masses persisted into the late 1550s, implying a continued acceptance of the doctrine of purgatory. Yet masses for the dead were a practice specifically attacked by Scots Protestants from Patrick Hamilton onwards.22 Their popularity amongst the St Andrews burgesses and elite suggests that the influence of Reformed ideology was limited in the burgh in the years preceding 1559.

Education was another popular purpose for which donations were made. Approximately twenty percent of grants were made with this in mind. As well as reflecting the status of the university within the city, such gifts could also be connected with the defence of Catholicism. A number of gifts were made to St Andrews colleges with specific aim of

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22 *HRS*, vol. 1, p. 9.
improving the education of the clergy and combating heresy.\textsuperscript{23} (Two of the three university colleges were in fact founded for this express purpose.)\textsuperscript{24} The other frequent reason for grants to the university was in order to provide bursaries for poor scholars.\textsuperscript{25} Donations were made which incorporated several different motivations for giving. For example a donation to St Salvator’s Chapel might be in order to fund a chaplainry, which was to be held by a scholar at the university, and in return for this grant the donor requested the celebration of anniversary masses.\textsuperscript{26}

Approximately 52 donations made between 1500 and 1560 either had no specified purpose, or reflect a wide range of individual concerns, such as funding certain building projects or in gratitude for an institution’s past generosity. There are only two surviving early sixteenth-century grants from St Andrews with the sole purpose of providing poor relief, although alms for the poor are often specified as an adjunct to cycles of anniversary masses.\textsuperscript{27} A significant proportion of the donations to Holy Trinity Church seem to have been made with the aim of improving the endowment of the choir (the body of clergy which ran the church and conducted services), presumably in order to raise the general standard of religious observance within the burgh church.\textsuperscript{28} Despite an apparent dwindling of support for monastic houses there appears to have been a considerable willingness to invest in maintaining a large body of clergy for the parish

\textsuperscript{23} StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/14.
\textsuperscript{24} St Salvator’s, StAUL, UYSS110/A/2, St Mary’s, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/14.
\textsuperscript{25} StAUL, B65/23/261, StAUL, UYSL110/A/25, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/5.
\textsuperscript{26} StAUL, UYUY150/1, ff. 92-96.
\textsuperscript{27} StAUL, B65/23/191, StAUL, B65/23/197. StAUL, B65/23/72.
\textsuperscript{28} There does appear to have been a particular concern during the 1520s about the standard of services at Holy Trinity Church. For example, in 1527 a portion of the rents of the altar of the Holy Cross (which are described as excessive) were redistributed to the choir and to other chaplainries on the justification that more elaborate services be celebrated. StAUL, B65/23/240, StAUL, B65/23/241, StAUL, B65/23/242.
Church. The ways in which the St Andrews community expressed their religious devotion underwent changes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it remained fundamentally Catholic.

**Donors**

The most prolific (and sometimes demanding) donors were clerics themselves. Roughly half of all sixteenth-century gifts to St Andrews religious institutions were made by clergymen (76 out of a total of 157). Almost the entire spectrum of the ecclesiastical hierarchy appear as donors to the religious institutions of St Andrews, from Cardinal Beaton down to parish priests. A proportion of these donors were men who were chaplains, canons, or ecclesiastical administrators from within St Andrews. However a large number of the donors were priests whose main benefice was not within the parish

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29 StAUL, B65/23/242.

30 For grants made by clerics see: StAUL, UYSS110/S/1, StAUL, B65/23/171, StAUL, UYSM110/B13/3, StAUL, UYUY150/1, ff. 29r-31r, StAUL, UYUY150/1, ff. 54r-54v, StAUL, B65/23/172, StAUL, B65/23/175, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/70, StAUL, B65/23/179, StAUL, UYSS110/T/4, StAUL, B65/23/183, StAUL, B65/23/184, StAUL, B65/23/185, StAUL, UYSS110/W/9, StAUL, B65/23/190, StAUL, B65/23/191, StAUL, B65/23/192, StAUL, B65/23/194, StAUL, B65/23/195, StAUL, UYSS110/A/5, StAUL, UYSS110/O/8, StAUL, UYSL110/S/16, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/123, StAUL, UYSSM/B1/P1/14, StAUL, B65/23/197, StAUL, UYSL110/A/1, StAUL, UYSL110/A/3, StAUL, B65/23/198, StAUL, B65/23/199, StAUL, B65/23/203, StAUL, B65/23/210, StAUL, B65/23/211, StAUL, UYSSM/B12/18, StAUL, UYSS110/A/3, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/92, StAUL, UYSS110/PW/94a, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/94b, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/125, StAUL, B65/23/220, StAUL, B65/23/221, StAUL, B65/23/222, StAUL, UYSL110/A/7, StAUL, UYSL110/A/8, StAUL, B65/23/228, StAUL, B65/23/229, StAUL, B65/23/232, StAUL, B65/23/234, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/100, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/102, StAUL, UYSS110/T/5, StAUL, UYSS110/T/6, StAUL, UYSS110/A/6, StAUL, B65/23/261, StAUL, B65/23/263, StAUL, B65/23/264, StAUL, B65/23/265, StAUL, B65/23/266, StAUL, B65/23/267, StAUL, UYSS110/R/19, StAUL, B65/23/272, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/3, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/3, StAUL, UYSM110/B15/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P4, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/12, StAUL, B65/23/285, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/3, StAUL, B65/23/295a, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/4, StAUL, B65/23/299, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/6, StAUL, B65/23/305, StAUL, B65/23/330, StAUL, B65/23/311, StAUL, UYSS110/A/10, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B16/1, StAUL, UYSM110/A/11, StAUL, B65/23/326, StAUL, B65/23/328, StAUL, B65/23/330, StAUL, B65/23/335, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/15.

31 StAUL, UYSS110/B15/2, StAUL, B65/23/190.

32 For instance, David Medlrum, Official Principal of St Andrews (StAUL, B65/23/191), Gavin Dunbar, Archdeacon of St Andrews (StAUL, UYSS110/A/5), and John Paterson, Chaplain of St Fillan’s Altar in Holy Trinity Church (StAUL, UYSS110/O/7) were all significant donors.
of St Andrews but much further afield (such as the Dean of Dunblane Cathedral). Many of these were relatively high-ranking ecclesiastics. The large number of clerics from outside the city who nonetheless decided to make donations to St Andrews religious institutions reflects the burgh’s role as a focus of the Catholic Church within Scotland. The practice of clerics from other parts of the country making donations to churches in St Andrews may have damaged churches in other parts of Scotland, in effect stripping them of assets. However, it made St Andrews a centre of ecclesiastical wealth. If their pattern of donations is anything to go by, amongst the Catholic clergy there appears to have been considerable commitment to religious foundations in St Andrews. This is a pattern which persisted until the crisis of 1559. Whilst members of the Cathedral Priory and University may have been flirting with Protestant ideas, a large proportion of the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy seem to have been committed to investing in traditional piety.

The lay men and women who made gifts to the St Andrews churches came from a range of backgrounds and places. Unsurprisingly the very poorest in society were not well represented, their worldly goods presumably being too small to enable them to make substantial donations to the church. Otherwise most ranks within the St Andrews community appear as donors to the church. A proportion of master craftsmen, such as Henry Law (a baker who in 1537 endowed the altar of St Tobert with a rent of 15 shillings per annum from a tenement on North Street), made gifts to the church. Important burgesses and minor gentry frequently appear as donors, particularly to the

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33 Such as Andrew Forman, then Bishop of Moray (though subsequently of course Forman was translated to St Andrews), StAUL, UYSM110/B13/3, Hugh Martin, Canon of Brechin, StAUL, B65/23/184, and Walter Drummond, Dean of Dunblane, StAUL, B65/23/192.
34 StAUL, B65/23/273.
parish church of Holy Trinity. In contrast the high nobility (such as the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Rothes, and the Countess of Errol) appear to have preferred to make grants to either the university colleges or the friaries – possibly indicating a perception that Holy Trinity was very specifically the burgh church of St Andrews, whereas the mendicant houses and the university colleges held a degree of national prestige. (The willingness of some members of the laity to make donations to the friaries is interesting as in 1559 the friaries appear to have been one of the first places to be targeted by the Reformers.)

Even amongst the laity the overwhelming majority of donors were male. Only 9 donations seem to have been made by women acting independently of male relatives. With the exception of Margaret Brown, who made two major gifts to the altar of St Barbara, the first in 1505 and the latter in 1544, all of these women were widows. (Margaret seems to have been a spinster, although her marital status is uncertain.) In at least a further nine cases women are mentioned as donors alongside their male kin, typically as spouses, but in at least one case (the Bayne family’s 1503 grant to the altar of the Holy Cross in St Salvator’s Chapel) a niece is mentioned alongside her uncle and male cousins. In 1522 the widow Catherine Stevenson, along with her son Andrew Simpson and her daughter Alison Simpson, established an anniversary mass in Holy Trinity Church. It would seem from the charter that Catherine was the driving force

35 StAUL, B65/23/273.
36 StAUL, UYSS110/150/2, f. 1r, StAUL, UYSS110/M/9, StAUL, B65/23/214.
37 StAUL, B65/23/166, StAUL, B65/23/169, StAUL, B65/23/182, StAUL, B65/23/204, StAUL, B65/23/225, StAUL, B65/23/239, StAUL, UYSL110/L/1a, StAUL, B65/23/296, StAUL, UYSM110/B16/5.
38 The Margaret in question does appear to have been the same individual as the latter charter refers back to her earlier foundation. StAUL, B65/23/182, StAUL, B65/23/296.
39 StAUL, UYSS110/W/6.
40 StAUL, B65/23/227.
behind this donation. Such examples, though, are notable exceptions, not the standard state of affairs. Rather than indicating any disparity in piety between the sexes, the preponderance of male donors probably reflects general patterns of landholding within and surrounding St Andrews: most land was in men’s hands, although a few widows and heiresses did hold property.

In at least three cases (respectively Robert Lawson, John Mair and William Manderston) the gift was actually made by the donor’s executors in fulfilment of an earlier request.\(^{41}\) This was not, though, standard practice: in two of these three cases previous donations had also been made during the donor’s life time.\(^{42}\) Typically arrangements for anniversary masses and the foundation of chaplainries were put in place during the granter’s lifetime, not when they were in extremis.\(^{43}\) The tendency for chaplainries to be founded some time before a granter’s death is interesting in the context of the work that has been undertaken on Scottish wills. Margaret Sanderson, in her study of pre-Reformation wills recorded by the Commissary of St Andrews, noted that relatively few made provision for masses for their souls.\(^{44}\) The evidence of the burgh and university charters, though, suggests that this does not necessarily reflect a lack of concern about Purgatory but rather a tendency for such concerns to be dealt with earlier in a granter’s life. This may reflect the significance that was attached to such intercessions – they were just too important to be left to one’s final hours, or may reflect the complex planning and forethought that went into such foundations.

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\(^{41}\) StAUL, B65/23/299, StAUL, UYSS110/AA/10, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/5.
\(^{42}\) John Mair and William Manderston had both made several previous donations to St Salvator’s College, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/1, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/2, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/23, StAUL, UYSS110/Y/4. See also below in this chapter.
\(^{43}\) The only St Andrews charter I have found stating that a bequest was made upon a sick-bed is from 1496, and was made by the rector of Crieff who left land in Logies Lane, St Andrews, to Trinity Hospital near Edinburgh, StAUL, B65/23/145.
\(^{44}\) Sanderson, *A Kindly Place?*, pp.159-163.
Amounts Given

The amounts of money and land granted to the St Andrews churches during the early sixteenth-century were considerable. For example, in 1510 David Meldrum, Canon of Dunkeld and Official Principal of St Andrews, gave 200 merks to maintain a poor person at the Hospital of St Leonard. Meldrum requested that the money be invested in property. In 1525 John Archibald gave St Leonard’s College £200 in gold in order to finance an anniversary mass. He ordered that this money should be used to buy an annuity of at least £10. In 1538 David Beaton (then Abbot of Arbroath, but shortly to be made Archbishop of St Andrews) gave St Mary’s College rents worth £55 per annum. Meanwhile in 1554 the Dean of Brechin gave 800 merks split between St Salvator’s and St Mary’s colleges in order to fund a bursary in each. To put such sums in context in 1529 Edinburgh building labourers were earning around 1 shilling per day, whilst in 1534 building labourers in Linlithgow were earning only 8 pence per day. For many donors their gifts must have entailed a serious economic commitment. There is evidence suggesting that clerical donors in particular bought up properties and rents in order to establish chaplainries, anniversaries and bursaries. For example, in the early 1500s Mr John Bonar, the vicar of Crawford Lindsay, spent at least 6 years amassing rents in order to endow a chaplainry of the Virgin Mary at Holy Trinity Church. Similarly in the late 1530s and early 1540s John Mair, the provost of St Salvator’s College, and Dr William Manderston, the rector of Gogar, appear to have built up a

45 StAUL, B65/23/191, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/99, StAUL, UYSL110/B/9.
46 StAUL, UYSL110/PW/99, StAUL, UYSL110/B/9.
47 StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/3.
48 StAUL, UYSM110/B16/1.
49 Gibson and Smout, Prices, Food and Wages, p. 313.
50 StAUL, B65/23/171, StAUL, B65/23/167, StAUL, B65/23/168, StAUL, B65/23/161, StAUL, B65/23/160, StAUL, B65/23/159, StAUL, B65/23/158, StAUL, B65/23/157, StAUL, B65/23/153, StAUL, B65/23/152, StAUL, B65/23/138. After founding the chaplainry Bonar then proceeded to further augment its property, StAUL, B65/23/179.
portfolio of properties before endowing a chaplainry at St Salvator’s College. They were not simply disposing of surplus lands but deliberately acquiring them in order to ensure their foundations had sufficient endowments. It was also not uncommon for donors to augment earlier foundations they, or relatives, had made.

Gifts to religious institutions varied from the donation of rents of a few shillings through to the grant of whole estates. Many grants were of St Andrews tenements, or rents from those properties. These were often not of huge value in themselves, but frequently a bequest would involve the donation of rents from a whole series of properties, which in total could add up to a significant sum.

The foundation of both St Leonard’s and St Mary’s Colleges involved the donation of a large number of lands and rents to fund these institutions. However, in both cases a proportion of the land came from properties previously in the hands of the archbishop or prior of St Andrews. They therefore involved the transfer of land from one religious

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51 StAUL, UYSS110/Y series.
52 Walter Mar was one the most of notable examples of the practice of augmenting earlier foundations, with his succession of grants to Holy Trinity Church during the 1550s, StAUL, B65/23/305, StAUL, B65/23/330, StAUL, B65/23/311, StAUL, B65/23/326, StAUL, B65/23/328, StAUL, B65/23/330, StAUL, B65/23/335.
53 For example, in 1557 John Smith, a chaplain, gave an annual rent of 31 shillings from a tenement and yard in Argyle Street, St Andrews, to Holy Trinity Church in order to fund an anniversary, StAUL, B65/23/332. In contrast, when St Leonard’s and St Mary’s Colleges were founded they were granted extensive estates, StAUL, UYSL110/A/1, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2.
54 For instance, in 1556 Walter Mar granted the choir of Holy Trinity Church the following properties and rents in St Andrews: a tenement on the south side of Argyle Street, an annual rent of 17s 6d from land on the north side of Argyle Street, an annual rent of 28s from tenement on a lane running between Market Street and South Street, an annual rent of £4 11s 4d from land on the north side of South Street, an annual rent of 17s from a tenement on the east side of Church Street, an annual rent of 26s 8d from a tenement on the north side of South Street, an annual rent of 48s 4d from a tenement on the south side of the narrow part of Market Street, an annual rent of 4 merks from a backland on the north side of North Street. In addition to which an annual rent of 46s 8d from the lands of Fingask was also granted. StAUL, B65/23/328.
55 StAUL, UYSL110/A/1, StAUL, UYSL110/A/3, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/3, StAUL, UYSM110/B15/2, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/4, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/12, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/5, StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/6.
institution to another. That is a phenomenon notable in some of the other donations to St Andrews religious institutions: foundations within St Andrews were often expanding their holdings at the expense of other religious organizations. Clerics with benefices in other parts of Scotland would nonetheless donate property to St Andrews churches. Through its position as the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland St Andrews formed a magnet for much of the wealth in the Scottish Church. This focusing of wealth on St Andrews was a policy which was reinforced by, for example, the Archbishops insisting that numerous fines paid by clerics should go to support the fabric of the cathedral church at St Andrews.

There was a degree of blurring of boundaries between donations to the church, sales to the church, repayments of debts to the church, and exchanges of land with the church: all could be dressed up in religious language and portrayed as deeply pious transactions. For example sales of land to the church sometimes requested prayers for the soul of the seller, still further evidence for the continuing significance of the concept of purgatory. The requests for prayers for the dead, when associated with sales, perhaps implies that ecclesiastical institutions were sometimes given discounts because of their religious standing.

56 StAUL, UYUY150/1, fos. 54r-54v, StAUL, B65/23/172.
57 The St Andrews synodal constitutions give a lengthy list of offences for which fines had to be paid for the upkeep of St Andrews Cathedral. These included: clerics who failed to remind parishioners four times a year of their duty to marry before a priest in church (fine 4s), couples who make clandestine marriages (fine 10s), priests who marry couples clandestinely (fine 40s), wearing of arms and armour by clerics (fine – value of the relevant arms), failure to show sufficient respect when carrying the sacrament through the streets (fine 40s), and many more offences. David Patrick (ed.), Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559 (Edinburgh, 1907), pp.260-278.
58 For example the family of Wemyss of Lathockar’s series of donations to St Andrews religious houses (particularly St Leonard’s College) appear frequently to be in repayment of earlier loans, but they are often portrayed as pious grants, StAUL, UYSL110/J/1-11.
59 StAUL, B65/23/278.
During the sixteenth century the religious institutions purchased and exchanged a number of properties, although their main source of acquiring wealth seems to have been through donations. The motivation behind purchases and exchanges often appears to have been similar: the rationalisation of church property. For example both St Mary’s College and the Dominican and Franciscan friaries entered into a series of transactions in order to purchase lands adjacent to their sites and so either expand, or make more logical, their boundaries.\textsuperscript{60} Donations, whilst essential to the economy of the church, could be random, and it was perhaps inevitable that religious institutions made purchases in order to acquire properties fitting their specific needs. The fact that religious foundations undertook a number of purchases in the decades preceding the Reformation indicates at the very least an ability to raise cash, even if it is not necessarily evidence of surplus wealth. The purchase of new properties was a sign of confidence on the part of the church. The numerous donations made to the religious organizations were a statement of confidence in the church on the part of donors and the wider community. With the exception of Sir Walter Mar, who explicitly ordered that his donation should be used to benefit the deserving poor if the clergy failed to celebrate the daily masses or his annual obsequies, donors appear to have believed that their wishes would be carried out for the foreseeable future, not overturned within a generation.\textsuperscript{61}

\textit{Conclusion}

If what people spend their wealth on is any indication as to belief, a considerable proportion of the St Andrews community appears to have valued traditional Catholic religious observance during the early and mid sixteenth century. Throughout the

\textsuperscript{60} StAUL, B65/23/136, StAUL, B65/23/253, StAUL, UYSM110/B16/6.
\textsuperscript{61} StAUL, B65/23/330.
decades preceding the Reformation substantial donations continued to be made to the church in St Andrews. Although the number of donations decreased during the 1530s and 1540s, the Church continued to acquire new lands and rents on a regular basis until almost immediately before the crisis of 1559. In St Andrews the Catholic Church was expanding its lands almost until its downfall.
Chapter 4 – Administration, Secularization and Alienations

It is commonly claimed that the dispersal of church property was well underway by the time of the Reformation. Traditional interpretations frequently suggest that there was a gradual secularization of Scotland’s ecclesiastical estates which would probably have taken place whether or not the country had abandoned Catholicism.\(^1\) This chapter aims to assess the relevance of such a claim in the context of St Andrews. It will explore the amount of lay control over religious estates, the extent to which ecclesiastical revenues had been diverted away from the church, and the degree to which church property had been alienated. It will suggest that whilst there is evidence of all these trends, they should not be over-estimated.

Administration

There was considerable variety in how church property was managed. Different systems were used depending on the nature of the estates, and whether they pertained to an individual or to an institution (and if the latter, what size and type of institution). A proportion of churchmen, mainly those whose income was derived from property within St Andrews, managed their estates personally. For example, a number of the chaplains at Holy Trinity seem to have kept their own records, collected their own rents, and taken the lead in land transactions concerning their chaplainry’s property.\(^2\) However, such direct management was not possible for institutions or individuals with large or scattered estates, and as a result they developed more complex bureaucratic structures.

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\(^1\) For instance, Graham, ‘Scotland’, p. 412.

\(^2\) StAUL, B65/23/143.
The majority of St Andrews’ religious foundations were, at least in theory, administered by a chapter or equivalent body of clerics (such as the choir priests at Holy Trinity, or the masters at the university colleges), headed by a prior, provost, or similar official. Throughout the pre-Reformation period these corporate bodies retained a degree of influence over the running of their foundation’s affairs.\(^3\) However, religious houses (and sometimes individual benefice holders) often delegated much of the day to day administration of their estates to clerics who were members of the institution and to outsiders.

The management of church lands could be delegated in two main ways. Firstly it was possible to appoint officials to administer the estates according to the religious foundation or benefice holder’s wishes. The land holder was therefore basically employing someone to fill a position. Such officials often had extensive powers. For example, the Archbishop of St Andrews’ chamberlain had authority to deal with local court business, oversee the collection of revenues, audit the accounts of more junior officials, and negotiate leases of less than three years.\(^4\) Nevertheless the ultimate say over decisions regarding the estates’ management still rested with the archbishop. Both laymen and clerics acted as chamberlains.\(^5\) For example, during the 1540s the chamberlain of the archbishopric of St Andrews was initially the cleric Master Henry Lumsden, canon of Aberdeen and rector of Tannadice.\(^6\) In about 1541 the post went to Archibald Beaton of Capildrae, a relative of Cardinal Beaton’s, but by the spring of

\(^3\) For example, the masters of St Leonard’s College approved the college’s annual accounts. StAUL, UYSL 515.

\(^4\) Donaldson and Macrae (eds) *St Andrews Formulare*, vol. 1, p. 30.

\(^5\) Because of the debate about the secularization of the Scottish Catholic Church there has been a tendency to focus on the role played by laymen. For example see Peter Murray, ‘The Lay Administrators of Church Lands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 74, no. 197 (April 1995), pp. 26-44.

\(^6\) *Rentale*, p. 104.
1544 he in his turn had been replaced by another cleric, Master Alexander Kinninmonth, the vicar of Panbride, who was then succeeded by Master Bernard Bailey, the rector of Lammyntoun.\(^7\) A simple story of secularization therefore does not fully explain the patterns of appointment.

The second way in which management could be delegated was by farming out specific tasks (or indeed the entire management of the estates) for a set annual payment. In this case the original land holder had little say in the day to day managing of affairs. The only St Andrews example of an entire ecclesiastical estate being farmed out in this fashion is that of the archdeacon, which at the time of the Reformation had been “set to Mr Richard Schoriswod” for “yeirlie payment” of the sum of six hundred pounds.\(^8\) However, the administration of specific revenues or manors was often delegated in this way. Again the contracts were sometimes taken up by clerics and sometimes by laymen.

The degree of influence that the laity exerted over the financial affairs of the late mediaeval Scottish Church has been discussed for centuries.\(^9\) In particular the issue of lay commendators (lay men who held the headship of monastic houses despite not belonging to the religious order) has received substantial criticism, and has been put forward as evidence for the theory that the Catholic Church had lost control of ecclesiastical finances long before the religious upheavals of 1559.\(^10\) Again, their impact can be overstated. The overwhelming majority of institutions did not have lay

\(^7\) *Rentale*, pp. 117, 164, 171.
\(^8\) *BA*, p. 66.
\(^9\) Over three hundred years ago the issue was raised by Father Augustine Hay in his work ‘Ane account of the most renowned churches, bishopricks, monasteries and other devote places from the first introducing of Christianity into Scotland to ... the severall reformations of religion’. NLS, Adv. MS 34.1.8, fo. 292, quoted in Murray, ‘Lay Administrators’, p. 27.
\(^10\) See for example, Graham, ‘Scotland’, p. 412.
commendators, who were generally restricted to a limited number of wealthy religious houses. Out of all the St Andrews ecclesiastical foundations the Cathedral Priory is the only foundation which definitely had a layman at its head at the Reformation. In addition it is possible that the provost of St Mary’s Kirk Hill was a layman, but this is by no means certain.\(^{11}\) The majority of St Andrews’ religious foundations were therefore led by clerics even at the end of the 1550s.

Lay commendators brought some problems, but we should not over emphasise the extent to which they brought about a secularization of the day to day running of ecclesiastical organisations. For example, from 1538 until after the Reformation the technical prior of St Andrews Cathedral was Lord James Stewart, the illegitimate son of James V\(^ {12}\). Yet for much of this period the management of the Cathedral Priory remained firmly in the hands of the Augustinian canons who made up the religious foundation’s chapter. Linda Dunbar’s recent research has emphasised the influence of the sub-prior John Winram in running the cathedral’s affairs whilst Lord James was a minor.\(^ {13}\) Yet even when Lord James achieved adulthood much of the running of the priory’s estates continued almost independently of the foundation’s technical leader. For example, during the spring and summer of 1558 John Winram authorised a number of feus of the priory’s lands whilst Lord James was in France for the wedding of Mary

\(^{11}\) The provost of St Mary’s Kirk Hill between 1540 and 1578 was James Learmonth. It is likely that he was a relation of Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie, the provost of St Andrews. I have been unable to discover from either the evidence in St Andrews or from D.E.R. Watt’s list of mediaeval Scottish churchmen whether James Learmonth was a cleric or a laymen. James Leramouth was accorded the title “Master” in the St Andrews Kirk Session records, but this could reflect his status as the son of a local laird, rather than any academic qualifications. StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 75-76. D.E.R. Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* (Edinburgh, 1969), pp. 372-373.

\(^{12}\) Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, p. 10.

\(^{13}\) Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, pp. 10-11.
Queen of Scots to the dauphin.\textsuperscript{14} At the time of the Reformation the majority of people undertaking the executive decisions regarding St Andrews church estates were still churchmen. By and large in the decades preceding the Reformation ecclesiastical revenues were administered by churchmen for the benefit of churchmen.

Outside periods of major crisis the major religious office holders and foundations within St Andrews appear to have been reasonably effective at organising the collection of tithes, rents and dues. When officials faced difficulties in collecting rents the Church had systems to deal with these problems, both internally and through co-operation with secular authorities. Dilatory or obstructive tenants were frequently pursued through the religious courts. Indeed the Catholic Church actively used ecclesiastical courts to enforce its own property rights. The presence of these courts in St Andrews meant that local religious organisations had convenient access to legal proceedings. The Court of the Official Principal of St Andrews seems to have been commonly used by the city’s ecclesiastical foundations as a means of suing debtors and settling disputes. For instance, in 1550 Thomas Steven, a miller in St Andrews, was failing to pay St Salvator’s College an annual rent of 14s 8d due from a tenement on South Street.\textsuperscript{15} The College appealed to the Court of the Official Principal of St Andrews who ruled that Thomas Steven must pay the rent. Similarly the choir and chaplains of Holy Trinity Church on a number of occasions appealed to the Official of St Andrews, as the post-Reformation inventory of Holy Trinity’s Charters makes clear by entries such as: “Item Thomas Lodean possessor of [a property on Mercat Gait] wes decernit be Officiall of

\textsuperscript{14} NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3, 266v-280v. The charters specifically state that it is Winram who is acting on behalf of the monastery as Lord James Stewart is out of the country.

\textsuperscript{15} StAUL, UYSS110/AC/1.
Sanctandrois to pay to the saidis choristis ten shillings of dayt xxvii Junii anno Domini i m v˚ lviii yearis.”

The Archdeacon, Cathedral Priory (and to a degree the Archbishop) seem to have also used their own baronial courts to settle minor property disputes. The 1555 charter recording the feuing of the “arable land lyand beside the said cite [of St Andrews]” orders that “gif ony contraversy sal happyn in ony tyme cuming betuix ony of the saidis few tennentis” the dispute shall be decided in the Cathedral Priory’s court.

Furthermore the feuars were obliged to attend “the thre hede courtis of the Priorie of Sanctandrois yeirlie to be haldin in the Abbay thairof undirpayne of twelff pennies unlaw to raisit of the absentis”. In St Andrews (and its hinterland) there was little escape from religious jurisdiction. A favourable legal system combined with skilled personnel gave religious foundations the organisational ability to cope with the chaotic nature of their estates. However the church’s position was further reinforced by the backing it received from secular bodies.

Before the Reformation lay leaders usually acknowledged the St Andrews religious foundations’ property rights. From the crown to local craft guilds (and at most levels in between) secular authorities accepted, and at times reinforced, the St Andrews churches’ privileges. On a number of occasions during the sixteenth century monarchs and regents reaffirmed, or granted anew, rights pertaining to the Archbishops of St Andrews, the Cathedral Priory and the University. For instance in June 1553 Mary Queen of Scots and the Lords of the Council confirmed charters by James II and James

16 StAUL, B65/23/355
17 StAUL, B65/23/323
18 StAUL, B65/23/323
III approving gifts made by previous monarchs, and in particular the Archbishop’s right to hold lands surrounding St Andrews as a free regality.  

19 The St Andrews burgh council usually upheld the rights of the church. In particular the provost, bailies and councillors actively enforced the privileges of the parish church of Holy Trinity. This support for the burgh church continued into the late 1550s. In May 1557 the burgh court of St Andrews (presided over by Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie) agreed that because the Chaplains of Holy Trinity were having problems collecting the 4d they were entitled to from every burgess at Easter, a burgh official would go with the procurator of the choir to the houses of those who failed to pay this annual pittance.  

20 (The reason why the choir appealed to the burgh council rather than the church courts was apparently because the sum was so small it would cost more to bring the debtors before a judge than the amount that was owed.)

The craft guilds also helped to ensure payments reached the church. A significant portion of the funding of the altar of St Tobert (in Holy Trinity) was supplied by donations from bakers at their admission to various levels of the Baxter’s Guild. Recently apprenticed bakers had to make a grant of “ane pund off vax and ane half ane mark off sylver…for devote off the altar”, whilst new master bakers were expected to “payand thairfor x shillings alff ane merk ane pund of vax and the vyn to the craft and xii d to the chaplane of the alter and viii d to the clark.”  

21 The making of these payments to the chaplain of the altar was supervised by the craft deacon, or another eminent guild member, and recorded by the chaplain in the minute book. Late payment delayed entry to the guild. These donations were still continuing at the start of 1559: on

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19 StAUL, B65/23/317, StAUL, B65/1, f.. 23v.
20 StAUL, B65/23/331.
21 StAUL, msDA890.S1B2, vol.1, fo. 4r and fo. 5r.
9 January Master Peter Lawson, the chaplain of the altar of St Tobert, recorded that Walter Cowpar “is admittyt lawful prentis and hais pait his pund of vax to the alter of sant tobert … and his alf merk”.  

The hammermen (metal workers) similarly encouraged payments to the church and especially to their guild altar. The oath of admittance to the craft included the promise that “I be my part of paradiss salbe leill and trew to the honor of god and haly kirk and to the weill and gud to the alter of sanct loy” and the standard punishment for hammermen who broke guild regulations was payment of “ane pund of wax to the waill of thair alter and craft”.  

Upon the death of “ony brother or sister of the said craft” each guild member was obliged to “gif ane plak … sa sown as the corps enteris to the erd or within xxiii howris thair effer to the dekyne or the pourtour to despone amang puir chaipellanis for to pray for the saul o the said brother”. Such grants were clearly designed in part to foster a corporate spirit amongst guild members, but they did also guarantee regular donations to clerics in the burgh church. Furthermore, they provided a framework in which support for traditional Catholic piety was encouraged.

The church therefore worked with a range of organisations to ensure the functioning of the system of rents, burdens, tithes and customary donations from which religious foundations derived much of their income. The willingness of secular institutions to enforce the payment of dues to the church reflected the close ties between religious and lay leaders. This may have been partly connected to phenomena such as the introduction

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22 StAUL, msDA890.S1B2, vol.1, fo. 12v.
23 StAUL, ms DA890.S1H2, fo. 1r and fo. 1v.
of lay commendators and other shifts in the late mediaeval and early modern Scottish Catholic Church. However, it was also a result of the long-standing tradition of interaction and co-operation between religious and lay authorities that had existed in Scotland for centuries.

Co-operation with the wider lay community should not be confused with outright secularization (i.e. the passing of absolute control over church revenues to lay men or institutions). The church had for centuries worked with the wider communities it was supposed to serve. This did not necessarily mean that the church gave up their autonomy. Even where lay authorities had an element of influence over church finances it does not necessarily mean that those revenues were being removed from the support of religious activities. For example, the St Andrews burgh council played a considerable role in the administration of a number of the altars at Holy Trinity Church. Nevertheless this seems to have been with the aim of encouraging higher standards of Catholic worship and financing more frequent and more elaborate services. To say that the finances of Holy Trinity had been secularized is therefore an over simplification.

**Diversion of Revenues**

It has frequently been suggested that a large portion of ecclesiastical revenues had been diverted to secular authorities and individuals long before the Reformation. There is

25 For example, when in 1527 the burgh council played a role in encouraging the priests of Holy Trinity to redistribute a proportion of the revenues of the altar of the Holy Cross it was with the specific aim of financing an additional sung mass at the parish church. StAUL, B65/23/242. It is also possible to find evidence at Holy Trinity of a collaborative approach between ecclesiastical and secular authorities with each providing oversight of the other. For example, the chaplain of the chantry of Saints Bride and Columba was obliged to put aside 2 merks each year for the maintenance of his tenement. According to the foundation charter this sum was to be placed in a box to which there were three keys: one for the chaplain, one for the provost of the city, and one for the rector of the university. The chaplain had to be willing to present accounts of how this money had been spent when the rector and provost demanded. StAUL, B65/23/143.
some evidence of this phenomenon in St Andrews. However, the extent to which it posed a problem should not be exaggerated. There were three key ways in which St Andrews church funds were at times diverted into the hands of the laity before the Reformation. Firstly, there was the issue of ecclesiastical offices being held by laymen; secondly, there was the issue of pensions being granted out of church revenues; and thirdly there was the issue of royal taxation. Each was present, and yet their prevalence and the challenge they posed (at least in the context of St Andrews) may have been less than has sometimes been assumed.

As was pointed out previously there was probably only one foundation (or at the most two) in St Andrews which had a layman at its head instead of a cleric. Most religious foundations were still firmly in the hands of churchmen. Meanwhile, the damage caused and the amount of revenue diverted by commendators was, at least in a large well-organised institution, not disastrous. Whilst Lord James undoubtedly took a substantial slice of the Cathedral Priory’s revenues for his own purposes, he appears to have left enough for the Cathedral Priory to be run satisfactorily. During his commendatorship the number of canons at the cathedral almost certainly increased (the expansion only being halted by the Reformation).\textsuperscript{26} It seems likely that the Cathedral Priory was sufficiently wealthy to mean that it could function effectively even with a portion of its revenues being diverted to the upkeep of Lord James. Arguably the role of lay commendators was more significant after the Reformation than it was before. With the benefit of hindsight commendators have acquired considerable significance, but this does not necessarily reflect the state of affairs in the 1550s.

\textsuperscript{26} Dunbar, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Church}, pp. 205-207.
The damage caused by pensions should also not be over-rated. Although the practice of awarding pensions out of church funds did exist it was by no means as widespread as it became after the Reformation.\(^{27}\) Furthermore, a significant number of pensions funded by ecclesiastical revenues seem to have been awarded to churchmen, meaning that funds were effectively being shifted around within the church.\(^{28}\) Of the pensions that were granted to laymen, most were in exchange for specific services. For example, in 1556 the canons at the cathedral awarded John Spens of Coudry a pension of £20 for his work as an advocate on behalf of their foundation.\(^{29}\) Spens’ pension was in effect acting as a sort of salary.

A more serious exaction was royal taxation. Again, though, this does not seem to have crippled St Andrews’ ecclesiastical financial structures. Before the Reformation the level of regular taxation levied on St Andrews’ religious foundations and officials was extremely low. During the 1540s and 1550s the main annual outgoing was the contribution of the archbishopric and cathedral priory to the support of the College of Justice. In total this amounted to £148 8s 0d a year.\(^{30}\) This was at a time when churchmen based in St Andrews were collecting more than £16,000 per annum from

\(^{27}\) See chapter 6 of this thesis for figures comparing number of pensions awarded out of the Cathedral Priory’s revenues before and after the Reformation.

\(^{28}\) By 1561 the revenues of the archbishopric of St Andrews were funding four pensions. These were respectively to: Gavin Hamilton (the commendator of Kilwinning, who appears to have been in holy orders, though not a monk), Mr Andrew Davidson (who may be the same Mr Andrew Davidson who was vicar of Dalkeith at the Reformation), Lord Seton (a layman, though a devout Catholic), and Alexander Somerville (almost certainly a layman). BA, p. 4. NLS, Adv.MS 17.1.3, f. 342v. Similarly, there are records of three pensions being awarded out of the revenues of the Cathedral Priory between 1550 and 1558. These were to William Rule (a student at the university), David Guthrie (the third prior at the Cathedral), and John Spens of Coudry (an advocate). NLS, Adv.MS 17.1.3, ff. 58v, 167r-168v.

\(^{29}\) NLS, Adv.MS 17.1.3, f. 58v.

\(^{30}\) The Archbishop of St Andrews made an annual contribution of £70, as did St Andrews Cathedral Priory. The Cathedral’s dependent cell of Pittenweem made an annual contribution of £8 8s. There is evidence that at the very least the Archbishop’s contribution was still being made at the Reformation. ALC, p.541. BA, p.
ecclesiastical estates.\(^1\) In other words less than 1 percent of the income derived from St Andrews religious estates was diverted to central government on an annual basis.

The impact of extraordinary taxation was more substantial. In particular, during the 1530s King James V secured permission from the Pope to order Scottish clerics to make a number of large grants to the crown. The Lord High Treasurer’s accounts reveal that in 1533 the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Cathedral Priory each paid the crown £441 13s 4d, whilst Pittenweem Priory paid £80, and the College of St Mary Kirk Hill £8.\(^2\) In 1534 the Archbishop of St Andrews paid the king £241 13s 4d, whilst the Cathedral paid £124 5s 4d, the Archdeacon of St Andrews paid £20, and the College of St Mary Kirk Hill again paid £8.\(^3\) In 1537 the Archbishop and Cathedral each made a grant to the crown of £344 7s 10d.\(^4\) These grants must have been a noticeable burden on the St Andrews Church. However, they were far from constituting a disendowment of the wealth of the city’s religious institutions. Firstly, a number of St Andrews foundations do not appear to have been taxed. The university colleges were traditionally exempt from taxation, and there does not appear to be evidence for taxation of the city’s two friaries or Holy Trinity Church.\(^5\) Secondly, these grants were one-off payments, not an annual exaction. The extraordinary taxation of the church in St Andrews was extra-ordinary, not routine. It is possible that for much of the 1540s and 1550s the church in St Andrews was not making comparable extraordinary contributions to the

\(^1\) The total value of the income in money and produce from the estates of St Andrews’ religious foundations, plus the estates of the archbishopric and archdeaconry was in the region of £16,940. See table 3 of this thesis.

\(^2\) ALHT, vol. 6, pp. 143-144, 148, 150.

\(^3\) ALHT, vol. 6, pp. 227-228, 231.

\(^4\) ALHT, vol. 6, p. 360.

\(^5\) In 1522 the crown freed “the universite of Sanctandrois” and its “rector doctoris regentes maisteris [and] scolaris” from “all tributtis exactionis taxationis impositionis collectis gratitudis and utheris sic chargeiss”. StAUL, UYUY150/1, f. 19v.
crown. Certainly, neither the exchequer rolls, nor the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, show evidence of large sums of money being received from St Andrews religious foundations and officials during the decade preceding the Reformation. It is therefore conceivable that the crown’s exactions were in fact getting to be slightly less by the 1550s than they had been in previous decades. The degree of taxation levied on the churches of St Andrews prior to the Reformation may have caused them some financial problems, but by modern standards it was negligible. There was therefore some diversion of ecclesiastical funds away from the church prior to the Reformation, but in general the church still had access to a substantial concentration of wealth.

**Feuing**

The pre-Reformation Scottish Church has been heavily criticised by historians for supposedly squandering its endowments. Richard Fawcett and Richard Oram’s comment that “Long before the precinct was invaded [at the Reformation]” the “landed properties” of Dryburgh Abbey were “disposed of in a haphazard manner”, is representative of the type of remark that abounds even in recent historiography. The phenomenon of feuing (the granting of long-term heritable leases with fixed annual rents) has been particularly censured. Gordon Donaldson condemned the practice as “reckless and ill-considered”. D.E. Easson bluntly stated “The feuing of monastic lands led straight to their alienation.” Margaret Sanderson adopted a more measured

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37 The church was theoretically banned by canon law from selling properties, so the issue of sales of ecclesiastical lands largely did not arise. Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), p. 42. When faced with land they did not want religious organisations often entered into exchanges of property, as the Choir of Holy Trinity did with the St Andrews Franciscan house in 1495. The two foundations swapped the rents of two tenements on Market Street in order that the Franciscans would have the rent to the property adjacent to their own friary. StAUL, B65/23/137.
38 Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 43
tone, yet still described feuing as “the long drawn out disendowment of the medieval church”. This view has become something of a mantra with Robert Dodgshon declaring that monastic rentals “invariably tell the same story of once vast estates diminished by feuing” and Michael Graham maintaining that “The feuing of church lands was Scotland’s equivalent to the Henrician dissolution.”

Such comments provide an excessively negative portrayal of feuing. Like many aspects of sixteenth-century land tenure feuing was a complex matter. The majority of studies of feuing have focused on monastic lands, largely ignoring the extensive properties of, for example, burgh churches, and, in the case of St Andrews, the university colleges.

Yet a substantial proportion of ecclesiastical lands were not in monastic hands. This wider sample is therefore essential for understanding the general economic situation of the pre-Reformation Church. The inclusion of the non-monastic lands in the St Andrews analysis reveals overall trends which are notably different from those produced by an exclusive focus on monastic properties. Although the feuing of ecclesiastical lands undeniably had some drawbacks, we should not overstate the extent to which it damaged church finances. In the light of evidence from St Andrews this section questions the traditional narrative of Scottish ecclesiastical feuing, reconsidering (amongst other issues) the received chronology of feuing, the supposedly disastrous

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40 Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, p. 75.
42 Feuing was not restricted to the church. As Craig Madden’s study of Ettrick Forest demonstrated the Scottish Crown feuded large amounts of land during the early 1500s. Craig Madden, ‘The Feuing of Ettrick Forest’, Innes Review (Spring 1976), vol. 27, no.1, pp. 70-84. However, ecclesiastical feuing has been particularly heavily criticised.
43 For instance, W. Stanford Reid, ‘Clerical Taxation; the Scottish alternative to the dissolution of the monasteries, 1530-1560’, The Catholic Historical Review, 35 (July 1948), pp. 129-153, or Hannay, ‘On the Church Lands at the Reformation’, pp. 52-72. Even Margaret Sanderson in her extensive survey of the feuing of kirklands substantially considers monastic evidence, Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, passim.
effects of inflation, the degree to which feuing constituted a permanent alienation of 
lands, the social background of the feuars, and the church’s motivation for feuing.

First, though, it is important to understand feu-farm in the wider context of sixteenth-
century land tenure. Feuing developed from pre-existing forms of tenancy. Most large 
land-owners (whether secular or religious) leased out the majority of their land.\textsuperscript{44} The 
sixteenth century saw a shift towards longer leases; feu-farm was an extension of this 
practice.\textsuperscript{45} For example, in St Andrews by the mid sixteenth-century even traditional 
leases were sometimes as long as 19 years, whereas in the early 1400s, the Cathedral 
Priory’s leases were typically only of five to nine years duration.\textsuperscript{46} Long leases and feu-
tenure (at least in theory) brought advantages to both landlord and tenants.\textsuperscript{47} Notably, 
the greater security tenants enjoyed gave them an incentive to invest in their land, and 
so potentially brought about an improvement in the property. The scholar John Mair, 
writing shortly before 1521, argued that:

\begin{quote}
... If the landlords would let their lands in perpetuity, they might have double 
and treble of the profit that now comes to them – and for this reason: the country 
folk would then cultivate their land beyond all comparison better, would grow
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{44} Margaret Sanderson, \textit{Mary Stewart’s People: Life in Mary Stewart’s Scotland} (Edinburgh, 1987), p. 6. 
In another of her works Sanderson succinctly describes the importance of leases for land owners’ 
incomes: “No tenant, no rent; no rent, no other form of livelihood in most cases.” 
\textsuperscript{45} Sanderson, \textit{A Kindly Place?}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{46} Elizabeth Rhodes, ‘The Estates of St Andrews Cathedral Priory’ (Unpublished M.Litt. Dissertation, St 
Andrews University, 2009), p. 34. By the mid sixteenth-century, for example, the Cathedral’s mill was 
leased out for 19 years. STAUL, B65/23/300, STAUL, B65/23/301. In the 1540s and 1550s St 
Salvator’s College was also leasing lands for 19 years, STAUL, UYSS110/E/32, STAUL, UYSS110/E/4.5. 
Nineteen years appears to have been a common duration for sixteenth-century leases, 
for example 37 percent of leases made by Arbroath Abbey were for this length of time, Sanderson, 
\textit{Scottish Rural Society}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{47} Sanderson, \textit{A Kindly Place?}, pp. 1-2.
richer, and would build fair dwellings that should be an ornament to the
country...  

To at least some contemporary observers feuing served both the individual and the
public good: providing tenants and landlords with stability and encouraging the
development of estates.

However, despite Mair’s praise for perpetual leases, it seems that in St Andrews the
specific practice of setting lands in feu-farm became widespread only shortly before the
Reformation. From the period between 1520 and 1579 there survive at least 684 feu-
charters of properties belonging to St Andrews religious institutions. Only 69 of these
charters date from before the 1550s, and less than 20 date from the 1520s and 1530s.
In contrast the years between 1554 and 1558 saw the issuing of 279 feu-charters by St
Andrews churchmen. This pattern conflicts with conventional assumptions about the
date of ecclesiastical feuing, but largely fits with Margaret Sanderson’s data (although
not with some portrayals of her conclusions) concerning rural estates. Traditionally
the increase in feuing has been ascribed to the clerical taxation of James V, and

48 Archibald Constable (ed. and tr.), John Major’s Greater Britain (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 31. John Mair
was of course provost of St Salvator’s College, which meant he played an important part in the
management of the college estates. His positive perception of heritable perpetual leases is interesting
given St Salvator’s increasing tendency to grant longer leases, suggesting that rather than mere short-term
profit the practice may have been, at least partly, motivated by a desire for improvements in the land (an
issue which is returned to later in this chapter in the context of urban dereliction).
49 See table 9A of this thesis.
50 See tables 9A and 9C.
51 The figures quoted here are probably slightly distorted by the large number of feus regarding the fields
beside St Andrews known as Priory Acres. These fields were feued in small strips during the 1550s, and
hence produced a very large number of charters. Nevertheless, even if the feus regarding Priory Acres are
discounted the broad pattern of the majority of pre-Reformation feuing taking place in the 1550s remains.
Excluding the charters concerning Priory Acres there survive at least 505 feu-charters regarding St
Andrews ecclesiastical estates from the period between 1520 and 1579. Of these only 68 date from before the
1550s.
52 Sanderson’s figures concerning surviving feu-charters of kirklands give only 107 charters for the entire
period before 1500, 76 charters for 1500-1530, 88 charters for the 1530s, 272 charters for the 1540s, 646
for the 1550s, and 782 for the 1560s. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, p. 65.
regarded as a development of the 1530s. Yet the evidence from St Andrews would suggest that it was in the period immediately preceding the Reformation that feuing increased dramatically (in other words subsequent to James V’s exceptional tax demands).

Revision of the accepted timeline of feu-farming has implications for our understanding of the practice’s supposed negative impact. One of the most criticised aspects of feuing is the fixed nature of the rents. Feu duties were therefore liable to be eroded by inflation. However, if, as seems the case in St Andrews, most church land was only feued very shortly before the religious changes there was insufficient time for the effects of inflation to be felt. Indeed, by converting property to feu-farm and thus receiving the initial payment for this conversion, the Catholic institutions of St Andrews arguably benefited from adopting this form of tenure. (It was their post-Reformation successors for whom the practice posed problems). Regarded as a long-term strategy feuing had some limitations; as a short term policy it was highly remunerative. At the time of the Reformation St Andrews religious institutions had typically feued lands so recently that they mainly received the benefits rather than the difficulties of the system of feuing.

When considering the issue of inflation, it should also be noted that at least part of some feu-duties were paid in kind not in cash. For example, when in 1558 St Andrews Cathedral Priory feued the burgh’s two Abbey Mills, as well as requesting annual

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54 For example, Donaldson argued that “the alienation of property in return for a duty which could never be increased was manifestly not to the advantage of the church”. Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 42.
payment of £9 10s, and certain brewing rights, the chapter also demanded 36 capons each year.\textsuperscript{55} Likewise, the St Andrews Dominican Friary at times favoured feuing lands for goods in kind rather than money. In 1526 when the friars feued to William Lawson, citizen of St Andrews, two and a half particates of arable land at the far end of Market Street, just outside the city gate, they demanded five pecks of good winnowed barley per annum.\textsuperscript{56} Similarly when in 1545 the friars feued the lands known as St Katherine’s Hauch beside Cupar to Thomas Williamson, burgess of that burgh, they required in exchange each year four bolls of good corn.\textsuperscript{57} These payments in kind were, of course, largely unaffected by inflation.

What is more, fixed rents were not a phenomenon unique to feued land. Particularly in urban areas there had been a tradition of granting, or sometimes selling, rents of a set amount from certain properties. These were often granted to the church in order to fund anniversary masses, but were also given to laymen.\textsuperscript{58} Such fixed burdens remained tied to the properties even after the original granter’s death, but could not be increased except by the generosity of the current holder of the property.\textsuperscript{59} A substantial proportion of the income of an urban church such as Holy Trinity in St Andrews came from such

\textsuperscript{55} StAUL, B65/23/337.
\textsuperscript{56} StAUL, B65/23/237.
\textsuperscript{57} StAUL, B65/23/295. Such a policy may have been related to the Dominicans’ ambivalent attitude towards worldly wealth. Janet Foggie, in her study of the Scottish Dominicans, discusses this issue in some detail in the context of land tenure. Foggie, Renaissance Religion, pp. 128-154.
\textsuperscript{58} There are numerous examples of such grants to both the church and to laymen in the St Andrews burgh charters, StAUL, B65/23.
\textsuperscript{59} This practice of perpetual burdens was part of the reason why residents of urban tenements could be paying rents to such a diversity of organisations. For example, when in 1553 a tenement in Argyll Street with rights to half of a bakehouse, half of a malt cobyll (cistern or trough), and 8 crofts, was feued to John Herman by the chaplain of the altar of St Katherine in Holy Trinity Church, Herman was required to pay £3 5s to the altar of St Katherine, 5s to the Choir, 4s to the altar of the Virgin Mary, and 2s to the altar of St Ninian, all in Holy Trinity Church); 20s to the St Andrews Dominican Friary; 2s to St Leonard’s College; 16d to the master of pittances at the Cathedral Priory; plus the burgh ferme of 8d to the archbishop and the (unspecified) customary service. StAUL, B65/23/316.
fixed burdens. The fixed nature of feu-duties was therefore similar to other pre-existing forms of tenure. Such a situation had problems against a background of inflation, but they reflect more the wider difficulties of a society struggling generally to get to grips with the gradually decreasing value of its coinage, rather than a uniquely foolish practice associated with the feuing of ecclesiastical lands.

Alongside the issue of fixed rents, the degree to which feu tenure constituted a permanent alienation is often raised. Contrary to some historians’ portrayals, landowners did retain a degree of control even over feued lands. Most feu-charters contain fairly detailed obligations and restrictions. In addition to payment of an initial lump sum and annual feu-duties (which usually had to be paid at a precise time) selling and sub-letting the property were forbidden. There were also sometimes conditions concerning how the property could be used, the access that was required to the site, and the maintenance and improvements that were demanded. Infringement of any of these

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60 This is apparent from rentals dating from before and after the Reformation. StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff 2-8, StAUL, B65/1/1, ff 39-50.

61 It is notable in this context that Madden’s work on Ettrick Forest showed that the crown was surprisingly unwilling to increase rents even when it was technically possible for it to do so. The impression one receives is of an entire society failing to address the implications of inflation. This was by no means an issue restricted to the church. Madden, “The Feuing of Ettrick Forest”, pp. 70–84.

62 In the context of the impact of inflation, although the early sixteenth century did see a decrease in the value of the Scots coinage, it was during the latter half of the century (i.e. the period after the Reformation) when Scottish inflation dramatically increased. The worst effects of inflation would therefore have been felt by post-Reformation landlords, not by the Catholic Church. At the Reformation it appears that feu-duties were still much more than a “nominal” payment.

63 For example, Sanderson describes how feuing of church lands turned “hundreds of tenants into proprietors great and small”. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, p. 64.

64 For instance when, in 1542, St Andrews Cathedral Priory feued a series of acres in fields surrounding St Andrews to citizens of the burgh, the charter specified that payment of rents must be made at Martinmas (11 November), and that leases were forfeit if payment was not made by the feast of St Andrew (30 November). The leases were heritable but not saleable and could not be sub-let. Tenants were also instructed not to obstruct each other’s access to the acres and were not block the roads leading to the fields. StAUL, B65/23/289.

65 In 1552 when a chaplain of the altar of the Virgin Mary in Holy Trinity Church feued a tenement on the north side of South Street to the St Andrews citizen David Rutherford and his wife Elizabeth Balfour the agreement stated that the feuars would improve the tenement to the value of £20 within two years and would maintain the house in walls, roofs, stairs, doors, bars, and other necessities. StAUL, B65/23/312.
obligations rendered the feu-farm void, and there were instances where the landlord retook possession of a property.⁶⁶ Feu-charters could also be renegotiated, as happened on a number of occasions in relation to arable plots surrounding the city that St Andrews Cathedral Priory leased to burgh residents.⁶⁷ The feuing of land therefore by no means entailed the complete alienation of the property: the landowner still retained a considerable number of rights. Indeed the feuing of lands seems, at least in St Andrews, to have been by no means as unalterable and final as it is sometimes portrayed.

This question of the balance of power between landlord and feuar arises again in the context of the motivation behind the grants. There is a perception that feuing was a process forced on the Church by avaricious members of the aristocracy. For example, Gordon Donaldson described the monks of Melrose as “unwilling accomplices when they appended their signatures to charters”, and portrayed feuing as part of the nobility’s “campaign of secularisation” and regarded it as a means by which “ecclesiastical revenues could be diverted from the clergy to the nobility”.⁶⁸ Yet the majority of feu-charters were not granted to great aristocratic families, but to tenant farmers, burgesses and craftsmen. Excluding the feus of Priory Acres (which were mainly granted to St Andrews residents), St Andrews churchmen issued at least 264 feu-charters between 1520 and 1558. Only 27 of these grants were to nobles or lairds.⁶⁹ This is significant: it was not merely the traditional landed families who were benefiting, but artisans and people who might be regarded as approximating to an urban middle class. The large

⁶⁶ For example, a charter from 1545 recording the St Andrews Dominican Friary’s feuing of lands on the edge of Cupar to Thomas Williamson (a burgess of that burgh) states that the property had previously been feued but the tenant had broken the terms of the agreement. StAUL, B65/23/295.
⁶⁷ Liber Cartarum, pp. 428-429, StAUL, B65/23/245, StAUL, B65/23/289, StAUL, B65/23/323.
⁶⁸ Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, pp. 39-40, 43.
⁶⁹ NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3, ff. 163r, 186v, 305v, 308v, 309v, 316v, 320r, 325v, 327r, 328v, 330v, 331r, 348r; NRS, E14/1, f. 32r; NRS, E14/2, ff. 283, 309, 325, 202, ; StAUL, B65/23/356; RMS, vol. 3, pp. 491-492, 613-614, 709-710; RMS, vol. 5, pp. 283, 345-346, 381, 439.
number of feu charters granted to relatively humble individuals raises questions about the degree of pressure such people were likely to have been able to exert on major religious organisations. In short, it appears that in many cases the pressure to feu lands may well have come from within the Church rather than from outside forces.

There is a tendency for historians to mistrust or even disregard the reasons given in charters for the granting of feu-tenure on the basis that such explanations are mere camouflage for policies arising largely from aristocratic intimidation and a desire for financial gain. Margaret Sanderson warns that “The reasons for feuing, as given in the preambles to charters, need not always be taken at face value” and she dismisses the reasoning in one charter (admittedly from April 1560) as “pious jargon”. Yet we should not be too hasty to dismiss the justifications feu-charters provide. In some instances the charters’ claims are backed up by other evidence. For example, an instrument from 1515 records that the Choir of Holy Trinity Church feued a plot of waste land on Market Street, just outside the Market Port. As the name of this plot was “Brunt Hous” (i.e. Burnt House) it seems probable that the site may have genuinely been derelict.

The claim that land is being feued because the property is waste is a recurrent one in the St Andrews’ charters. At least 9 feus of St Andrews tenements from the period between

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70 Donaldson claims that “whatever undertakings were entered upon, it had become a sufficient motive for granting feus that they enabled the clergy in possession to raise large capital sums in anticipation of the deluge.” Donaldson, Scottish Reformation, p. 43.
71 Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, p. 67 and 73.
72 StAUL, B65/23/205.
73 StAUL, B65/23/205.
1520 and 1558 cite the poor repair of the property as the reason for feuing.\textsuperscript{74} The charters usually contain instructions for the rebuilding and maintenance of the property and typically set a deadline by which date improvements must have been undertaken. For instance, in 1514 when the chaplain of the Altar of St Katherine (in Holy Trinity Church) feued a tenement in South Street to David King and Elizabeth Mortimer, the chaplain demanded that the property be improved to the value of £20 within 4 years. If this condition was not met the feuars had to pay a penalty of £40.\textsuperscript{75} Similarly, in 1520 when St Salvator’s College feued a tenement on South Street to Robert Anderson and his wife Elizabeth Canon, they specified that the property must be brought up to the value of £20 within three years, and that a minimum of 10 merks must be spent in the next two years.\textsuperscript{76} A feu-charter from 1555 issued by the chaplain of the Altar of St Fergus in the parish church order the feuars William Neish and Mirabel Black to retile the roof of their tenement on South Street.\textsuperscript{77} The charter explains that such repair is needed in order to preserve the patrimony of the chaplainry, and to ensure that no pretext is provided for future generations to cease the divine service commanded by the original foundation. If one accepts the evidence of the charters, it would seem that feuing was at times motivated by a desire to keep properties in good repair. The charters almost suggest that the privilege of feu-tenure was used to encourage urban regeneration. It therefore seems possible that rather than simply looking to the church’s

\textsuperscript{74} Respectively: StAUL, UYSS110/W/10, StAUL, B65/23/274, StAUL, B65/23/283, StAUL, B65/23/312, StAUL, B65/23/313, StAUL, B65/23/316, StAUL, B65/23/321, StAUL, B65/23/327, StAUL, B65/23/329.
\textsuperscript{75} StAUL, B65/23/200.
\textsuperscript{76} StAUL, UYSS110/W/10.
\textsuperscript{77} StAUL, B65/23/327.
finances when searching for reasons for urban feuing, we should also be considering broader issues to do with dereliction and abandonment of properties.\textsuperscript{78}

In the light of the St Andrews evidence it would appear that we should question received assumptions about the alienation of church lands. Firstly, we should perhaps revise the timeline of feuing. Secondly we should emphasise the relatively lowly social status of the majority of the feuars. Thirdly, in the light of both the previous points we should possibly reconsider motivations for feuing, and perhaps give greater credence to the avowed motives of feu-charters. Finally, we should consider whether feuing was quite such a catastrophe as it has been portrayed, and whether the balance of power did not remain substantially more with the land owner than has traditionally been suggested.

\textit{Conclusion}

In the 1550s the Catholic Church in St Andrews was essentially functioning. It had the support of key secular institutions and retained a central role in burgh life. Scottish Catholicism had faced difficulties during the 1540s, but the Church in St Andrews was largely recovering from that problematic period. Indeed in many ways St Andrews seems to have been enjoying something of a renaissance in traditional Catholic piety during the 1550s. There were, admittedly, issues that could have in the long term caused problems, such as the increase in feuing, but in general the impact of these policies had not yet been felt. The Catholic Church seemed as though it was resurgent, wealthy, and central to burgh affairs. There were some cracks in the structure of the Church, but, as

\textsuperscript{78} The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw significant urban decline and dereliction of town properties in England. This crisis has been analysed in particular depth in the context of Coventry, see Phythian-Adams, \textit{Desolation of a City}, pp. 16-50. It seems probable that Scotland was also affected but more research is needed both into the theme of urban decline generally in Scotland and specifically into the issue of waste and derelict properties.
late as the start of 1559, there was little sign that the entire institution was about to collapse.
PART 2 – POST-REFORMATION

Chapter 5 – The Reformation Crisis

According to Jane Dawson the people of St Andrews “awoke on Sunday 11 June 1559 in a town full of Catholic churches and went to bed that night with a Protestant burgh and a Reformed parish church.”¹ This is perhaps an exaggeration. Nevertheless, St Andrews did undergo a startlingly swift transition from Catholic to Protestant control. In the spring of 1559 St Andrews was still a functioning Catholic city.² By the end of the summer the burgh had become a bastion of the Protestant cause.

The Reformation of St Andrews was planned and partially implemented by a select group of Protestant nobles and activists. At the beginning of June 1559 Lord James Stewart, the prior of St Andrews Cathedral, and his fellow Protestant sympathiser, the Earl of Argyll, wrote to the lairds of Dun and Pittarrow, the Provost of Dundee, and “others, professors in Angus,” asking them to come to St Andrews “for reformation to be made there”.³ On Sunday 11 June the Reformers launched their campaign to convert

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² Certainly, the officials of institutions such as the burgh council and the craft guilds were still showing support for Catholic practices such as chaplainries and anniversary masses during the latter months of 1558 and at the beginning of 1559. See chapter 4 of this thesis.
³ HRS, vol. 1, pp. 180-181. Lord James Stewart and the Earl of Argyll had “joyned themselves to the Congregatioun openlie” at the end of May 1559. Letter from John Knox to Anna Lock, dated at St Andrews, 23 June 1559. WJK, vol. 6, p. 24. The idea that Lord James and Argyll were central to the decision to reform St Andrews is given further credence by a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to William Cecil which states that: “the erle of Argyle and the pryer of Savynt Androus hath defaced dyvers churches with plucking donue the Images…and as I heir say they ar presently going to one of the riches churches in Scotland for to spoile”. This letter is dated Alnwick, 18 June 1559. Given the delay in news travelling from Scotland to northern England it seems likely that Northumberland was referring to the reformation of St Andrews Cathedral (which was probably in progress at the time the earl was writing). TNA, SP 52/1, f. 73.
Scotland’s religious capital. In direct contravention of a “strait commandment” from the archbishop of St Andrews, John Knox did “occupy the place” of preaching in Holy Trinity Church. Knox took as his text “the ejection of the buyers and sellers forth of the Temple of Jerusalem”, likening “the corruption that was there to the corruption that is in the Papistry”. Knox continued to preach in Holy Trinity for a further three days. During that time Archbishop Hamilton (finding that he was openly defied by sections of the local community) fled the city, and “the Provost and Baillies, [with] the commonalty for the most part” came out openly in support of the Protestant cause. This paved the way for the official Reformation of St Andrews to begin on 14 June. From this date onwards the burgh of St Andrews was administered by Protestants. In the days that followed local churches were stripped of their altars and images, a kirk session was established to enforce Calvinist moral discipline, and efforts were made to secure the lasting conversion of the local population. By the end of the year more than three hundred men from St Andrews had signed a document publicly pledging their support for the Protestant Lords of the Congregation and promising that they would assist “with our bodies, geir and force, for maynteyning of the trew religioun of Christe, and downe

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4 There is a slight debate about this dating, see footnote HRS, vol. 1, p. 182. However, 11 June fits with Knox’s claim to Anna Lock that he preached for three days in St Andrews before the Reformation of the city began on 14 June. See footnote 9 of this chapter.
5 WJK, vol. 6, p. 25. HRS, vol. 1, p. 182.
6 HRS, vol. 1, p. 182.
7 WJK, vol. 6, p. 25. This summary of Knox’s sermon might portray it as more measured than it actually was. The anonymous author of the ‘Historie of the Estate of Scotland’, which was transcribed in 1663 but was probably based on an earlier work, claimed that Knox stated that “the Papists and Idolators should be whipt and driven forth of the Kirk of God”. Anonymous, ‘Historie of the Estate of Scotland, from the Year 1559 to 1566’, in D.Laing (ed.), The Miscellany of the Wodrow Society, pp. 59-60.
9 In his letter to Anna Lock of 23 June, Knox stated the Protestant leaders had determined that in St Andrews “Christ Jesus sould…be openlie preached, the places and monuments of idolatrie sould be removed, and that superstitious habits sould be changed.” He reported that “This reformatioun there was begun the 14th of June”. WJK, vol. 6, p. 25.
10 The first entry in the St Andrews Kirk Session minutes is dated July 1559. StAKS, vol. 1, p. 1.
putting of all superstitioun and idolatrie”\(^\text{11}\). In the space of a few months the religion of the burgh had been fundamentally changed\(^\text{12}\).

The transformation of St Andrews from a focal point of Catholic church governance to an openly Protestant community had major implications for patterns of landholding within and around the city. Partly as a result of processes started in the summer of 1559 the vast estates built up by the Catholic Church in St Andrews were dispersed. This redistribution of landed wealth can be broken down into three overlapping phases. The first stage was the initial disruption to the ownership and use of religious properties triggered by the Reformation crisis itself; the second stage was the official reallocation of estates undertaken during the mid 1560s; and the third stage was the wider breakdown in tenurial structures which began in the summer of 1559, but continued throughout succeeding decades. This chapter will explore the first stage – the upheavals of 1559 to 1561. It will maintain that the public religious conversion of St Andrews had almost immediate repercussions for property within the burgh. The events of the late spring and summer of 1559 initiated the destruction of longstanding traditions concerning ecclesiastical property rights and brought about significant changes to the ownership of a number of key sites. A combination of the actions of the Reformers, the decisions of former Catholic churchmen, and the opportunism of local rent-payers

\(^{11}\) *StAKS*, vol. 1, pp. 6-11.

\(^{12}\) To contemporaries the permanence of this transition was not necessarily quite as obvious as it is with hindsight. At least two abortive attempts were made by Mary of Guise and French forces to capture St Andrews for the Catholic cause. Immediately after the archbishop’s flight, Mary of Guise and Archbishop Hamilton prepared an army to retake St Andrews. However, they appear to have lost their nerve and, following a stand-off at Cupar Muir on 13 June 1559, the regent and the archbishop entered into negotiations with the Protestant leaders, enabling the conversion of St Andrews to continue. *HRS*, vol. 1, pp. 183-186. During the winter of 1559 to 1560 St Andrews again seemed threatened by Catholic forces. In a letter dated 20 January 1559 (New Style 1560), the Earl of Arran (who was then at Dysart) reported to William Maitland of Lethington that his troops had been troubled for sixteen days by “frenche men” whom he supposed wished “to pas fordwart to sanctandros” but he had successfully “stoppit thair enterpris”. TNA, SP 52/2, f. 7.
ensured that patterns of land-holding in St Andrews had been fundamentally disrupted long before the government in Edinburgh announced official policies on the treatment of church estates.

**Changes implemented by Protestants**

When the Protestant leaders arrived in St Andrews their avowed aim was the reformation of religion. In pursuing this ideal they brought about significant alterations to the use of ecclesiastical precincts and to the allocation of church revenues. The changes directly implemented by the Protestant Lords of the Congregation and their followers stemmed from a mix of ideological and practical considerations. Both their innovative religious views and the need to raise cash to finance the Reformation rebellion encouraged Scottish Protestants to disrupt the status quo regarding church lands in St Andrews.

Protestantism introduced radical ideas about the nature of sacred space and valid forms of religious observance. At his heresy trial in 1546, George Wishart stated that the rationale for churches was simply as a place for people to congregate “there to heare of God”. This view was taken up by the Protestants who implemented the Scottish Reformation fourteen years later. The authors of the first *Book of Discipline* (compiled in 1560) ordered that all “Abbayis, monkeries, freireis, nunreis, chapellis, chantreis, cathedrall kirkis, channounreis, [and] colledges, uthers than presentlie are paroche kirkis or sculis,” should be “utterlie suppressed”. In the eyes of many Scottish Reformers

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14 *AM* (1570 edn.), p. 1486.
15 *WJK*, vol. 2, p. 188.
religious buildings designed for purposes other than the parishioners’ Sunday worship were unnecessary, papist, and superstitious.

Before the Reformation substantial areas of St Andrews had been occupied by ecclesiastical foundations of the types proscribed in the *Book of Discipline*.\(^{16}\) Scottish Protestants’ rejection of “costly churches” as monuments “to the honour of God”, combined with their condemnation of Catholic traditions, such as the contemplative life, the veneration of relics, and masses for the dead, made these edifices redundant (or even idolatrous).\(^{17}\) St Andrews was equipped with vastly more churches than were required for the local residents to hear sermons on the Sabbath, and it was therefore almost inevitable that a shift in confession would entail changes to the use of ecclesiastical sites, and indeed cause the abandonment of many. However, the policies enacted by the Reformers in the summer of 1559 did much to speed up the process.

According to John Knox, when the Lords of the Congregation planned the Reformation of St Andrews, they specifically decided that “the places and monuments of idolatrie sould be removed”.\(^{18}\) To this end Scotland’s Protestant leaders encouraged their followers to attack statues and other “idolatrous” elements of Catholic material culture. The text Knox chose to preach on in Holy Trinity (the expulsion of the moneychangers from the temple) was probably selected with this in mind; certainly this biblical incident was used by other Reformers to justify the destruction of popish church furnishings. In

\(^{16}\) St Andrews was by no means unique in this respect. For example Edinburgh had numerous religious foundations, both within the burgh proper and in its adjacent suburbs. Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981), p. 4.

\(^{17}\) The quotations are from John Foxe’s account of the Catholic inquisitors’ interpretation of Wishart’s beliefs at his heresy trial. *AM* (1570 edn.), p. 1486.

\(^{18}\) *WJK*, vol. 6, p. 25.
later years Knox proudly claimed that it was as a result of his preaching that the St
Andrews residents agreed “to remove all monuments of idolatry, which also they did
with expedition.”

It seems that within a few days of the burgh’s official conversion to Protestantism there
had been significant destruction of religious images. In a letter to Anna Lock, dated 23
June 1559, Knox boasted of the burning of St Andrews’ “idols” in the presence of the
“Doctors” of the university. Meanwhile a letter from Sir James Croft to the English
government, dated 20 June 1559, reports more general wreckage of church furnishings,
stating that the Lords of the Congregation “have put downe the pryorye of Sancte
Androwes in thys sorte: alteryng the habyte, burninge of Images and mas bokes and
brekyng of awters”. The archaeological record also implies that extensive iconoclasm
took place in St Andrews. For example, in 1894 a finely carved head of Christ, the
sculpted head of a young king, and the head and shoulders of a statue of a bearded saint
(perhaps St Andrew) were all discovered in the main sewage channel of the Cathedral
Priory.

There was, evidently, considerable damage to the furnishings and decorations of St
Andrews’ religious institutions during the early days of the city’s Reformation. It is
probable that some destruction of buildings also took place, particularly at the city’s
monastic sites. In his memoirs Lord Herries declared that the Reformers descended on
St Andrews and “spoyled all; and not content with the spoyl of the whole Churches and

19 HRS, vol. 1, p. 182.
20 WJK, vol. 6, p. 25.
21 TNA, SP 59/1, fo. 212v.
Monasteries, they pulled doune the verie walls of the Gray and Black Friers Monasteries, goodlie things and of great antiquitie". Similarly, Bishop Lesley of Ross claimed that the Protestants in St Andrews “cast doun alteris, burn[e]d] the images of all the kirkis within that citie,” and set out “to pull doune the freris places, kirkis and bigginis, with the college kirke of Heuche, and all uther privat chapellis within the toun”. Both Herries and Lesley wrote their histories some time after the events they recounted, and it is possible that they ascribed to the summer of 1559 damage that was in fact the result of subsequent dilapidations. Yet their accounts are partly confirmed by contemporary documents from St Andrews.

Evidence from St Andrews charters suggests that, at the very least, the Protestants demolished sections of the Dominican and Franciscan convents. In a charter dated 21 June 1559 Friar John Grierson (dean of theology at St Andrews University and provincial of the Dominican order in Scotland) complained that the St Andrews Black Friars had been “violently expel[led] from their destroyed place”. On 14 April 1561 Grierson specifically stated that the church, cloister and dormitories of the Dominican convent were in ruins. The Franciscans do not appear to have fared any better. A notarial instrument from 21 September 1559 (drafted by John Motto, the common clerk

25 Furthermore, it should perhaps be noted that Herries and Lesley were highly partisan witnesses. However, George Buchanan (equally biased, but in the other direction) also reported that the St Andrews friaries were demolished. George Buchanan, quoted in David Hay Fleming, *The Reformation in Scotland* (London, 1910), p. 362. The ‘Historie of the Estate of Scotland’ states that the St Andrews friaries were stripped of their furnishings on 13 June, although the author does not mention damage to the main structure at this date, simply stating that the Protestants “passed to the Friers Black and Gray, who wes fledd before, being guiltie apparently in their consciences; and before the sunn wes downe, there wes never inch standing bot bare walls”. Anonymous, ‘Historie of the Estate of Scotland’, p. 60.
27 StAUL, B65/23/343.
to the city) describes the site of the St Andrews Franciscan friary as “waste” land, and the buildings as “overthrown”. By the end of 1559 the burgh’s monastic houses had ceased to fulfil their traditional functions and some ecclesiastical buildings had probably suffered partial demolition, an outcome that was substantially brought about by the actions of John Knox, the Lords of the Congregation, and their supporters.

However, the changes implemented by the Reformers encompassed more than just attacks on churches and convents. The Protestant leadership also took over secular buildings belonging to the Catholic Church. Notably, the Lords of the Congregation occupied St Andrews Castle. A letter from the English diplomat Thomas Randolph to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft, dated 12 October 1559, reported that the Archbishop of St Andrews’ castle would be taken that day by the Protestants.28

The Reformers’ appropriation of St Andrews Castle took place at a time when the Lords of the Congregation and their supporters were interfering more generally with the archbishop’s estates. The same letter from Randolph which mentioned the seizure of the castle stated that the Duke of Châtelherault (then a new adherent to the Protestant Congregation) had banned any man from paying rent to the Archbishop of St Andrews.29 Châtelherault’s instructions that rents should not be paid to Archbishop Hamilton fitted with the course of action pursued by much of the Protestant leadership at this date. In the months after the conversion of St Andrews, Reformist nobles and

29 Archbishop Hamilton was of course the Duke of Châtelherault’s half-brother, so it is possible the order was related to an internal family dispute. Equally, though, Châtelherault may have been attempting to prove his Protestant credentials, having only abandoned Mary of Guise on 19 September 1559. J. Foggie, ‘John Hamilton, (1510/11-1571)’, ODNB.
officials appropriated the income from a range of church properties both within and without the burgh. The Reformers’ seizure of ecclesiastical revenues appears to have arisen from a convenient melding of the need to find ways of funding the military campaign against Mary of Guise with a general desire to punish Catholic clerics who refused to join the Protestant Congregation.

The St Andrews Kirk Session records reveal that between the autumn of 1559 and the summer of 1561 the Reformers in the city undertook a concerted drive to persuade Catholic clerics to convert to Protestantism. Thirty priests and monks are listed as either publicly recanting Catholic beliefs or officially joining the Congregation during this period. Although the Kirk Session records state that the conversions were “of there awin fre motyve willis”, it is clear that at times substantial pressure was placed on the churchmen. At least one recantation took place in front of the English admiral and vice-admiral (whose presence must have acted as a reminder of the military force at the disposal of the Protestant party). Another conversion was triggered by the priest in question being imprisoned in St Andrews Castle. Economic pressure was an additional incentive which the Protestant Congregation could use to encourage Catholic benefice holders to convert.

Protestant officials treated in a markedly different fashion the revenues of those clerics who joined the Congregation from those who refused to do so. The contrast between the two groups was clearly demonstrated in the handling of the income of St Mary’s Kirk

30 StAKS, vol.1, pp. 12-82.
31 StAKS, vol.1, p.12.
33 StAKS, vol. 1, p. 81.
Hill. On 25 April 1561 “the Superintendent [John Winram] and holl ministerie, wyth consayll of the … Provest of Sanctandrois, Rector and chief membris of the Universite” decreed that “the Lady College Kyrk upon the hewch” was “ane prophane hows, and sa to be haldyn in tym cuming”. The college’s provost and prebends were called to appear before the Superintendent and give “confession of thar fayth”. Mr James Learmonth, provost of St Mary’s, and Mr Henry Foulis, prebendary of Lambieleatham, both duly appeared, proved that they “war adjonit to the congregacion” and were confirmed in their revenues. However, Mr Thomas Methven, prebendary of Kingask and Kinglassie, Mr James Henryson, prebendary of Kinkell, and Mr William Ballingall, prebendary of Cairns and Cameron, did not appear before the Superintendent to demonstrate their loyalty to Protestantism. As a result Winram ordered “the diaconis of the kyrk of the citie of Sanctandrois to resave and intromit wyth the frutis of thar foysaidis prebendreis, to be distrubutit at the discrecioun and sycht of the holl ministerie”.

John Winram’s judgement about the prebendaries of Kirk Hill conformed to the guidelines of the Lords of the Congregation regarding church estates. By the end of 1559 the Reformation rebellion had developed into outright civil war, and the Protestants needed increasingly large sums to finance their army. On 4 November 1559 the Lords of the Congregation commanded that “a generall contribution and benevolence, of all noble men, gentlemen, and borough townes, and a taxacion upon the

34 *StAKS*, vol. 1, pp. 75-76.
35 *StAKS*, vol. 1, p. 77. A few months later Thomas Methven was prosecuted for refusing to join the Congregation, threatened with imprisonment and eventually handed over to the magistrates of St Andrews for them “ether to caws hym obeye the ordor of the kyrk…or ellis to exclud hym this citie”.
36 *StAKS*, vol. 1, p. 77.
“kirke lands” be collected to pay for Protestant garrisons, munitions, and “other necessaries”.

In addition, the Lords ordered that the “hole profettis of suche kirkmen as be against the congregacion” should be appropriated. It is likely that this decree brought about one of the more spectacular diversions of church revenues in Reformation St Andrews: the seizure of the profits of the estates of the archbishop and archdeacon by the Earl of Arran.

The first set of the accounts of the collectors of the thirds of benefices (compiled in 1562, but concerning the revenues of 1561) record that “the money of the archbischoiprik of Sanctandrois”, along with “the hale utheris fructis of the said archbischoiprik” were “lifted and uptaken by my loird Arrane and his factouris”. The accounts also state that the Earl of Arran had lifted the profits “of the archdenerie of Sanctandrois” as well as “the Witsounday males of the lands of Kinglassie and Kingask”. All of the St Andrews revenues seized by Arran had previously pertained to clerics who had either fled the city or were refusing to join the Protestant Congregation.

It is possible that Arran took the revenues of the archbishopric, archdeaconry, and the prebend of Kinglassie and Kingask, for his own personal or familial profit. It is, though, more likely that they were seized in order to finance the Protestant campaign. James Hamilton, the third Earl of Arran, was one of three men listed in the November 1559 decree of the Lords of the Congregation as having management of the expenditure of

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37 TNA, SP 52/2, fo. 97r.
38 TNA, SP 52/2, fo. 97r.
39 The Earl of Arran was of course the son of the Duke of Châtelherault and nephew to Archbishop Hamilton. Rosalind Marshall, ‘James Hamilton, third Earl of Arran (1537/8?–1609)’, ODNB.
40 ACTB, pp. 56, 95-96.
41 ACTB, p. 96.
Protestant garrisons. During the autumn of 1559 and for much of 1560 Arran was in command of a substantial number of troops, and exerted considerable efforts on behalf of the Protestant cause. A letter dated 12 October 1559, sent by Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Croft to Sir William Cecil, reported that “muche talke there is, of the good courage and forwardnes…of the erle of Arrayn, who, as they saye, rideth to and fro, Hymilton, Sterling and St Androwes, with vii or viii hundred horse”. Conveniently for Protestant leaders, the seizing of church revenues belonging to unrepentantly Catholic clerics was both morally justifiable and helped tide them through a difficult financial situation.

During the two and a half years between the summer of 1559 (when Protestantism was publicly established in St Andrews) and the winter of 1561 (when the government in Edinburgh began to formulate policies concerning kirk lands) the Reformers effected substantial changes to St Andrews’ ecclesiastical estates. The Protestant leaders’ reallocation of the wealth of recalcitrant Catholic clerics involved the diversion of significant sums of money. The Earl of Arran’s incursions alone potentially transferred in excess of £3,200 (not to mention considerable quantities of wheat, barley and oats) away from pre-Reformation benefice holders. Meanwhile, a combination of the actions of Reformist iconoclasts and the policies of St Andrews’ new Protestant administration brought about major changes to the appearance and use of ecclesiastical sites within the city. The burgh’s two friaries almost certainly ceased to fulfil their

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42 TNA, SP 52/2, fo. 97r.
43 TNA, SP52/1, fo. 222r.
44 Before the Reformation the annual income in money the archbishopric derived from rents and teinds was approximately £2,613. The theoretical income of the archdeaconry of St Andrews was approximately £587. The income in money of the prebend of Kinglassie and Kingask was slightly more than £24. See appendix 1 of this thesis.
religious purposes in June 1559. It is also probable that it was during the early days of
St Andrews’ Reformation that the cathedral, the collegiate church of St Mary Kirkhill,
and the chapels of the university colleges of St Mary and St Salvator stopped being used
for worship.\(^45\) If this was so, it would mean that the Reformation crisis altered the use of
approximately a quarter of the urban area of St Andrews. Contrary to claims that the
Reformers did not “mellit with a penny worth of the wealth pertenit to thir kyrk”, it
seems that in St Andrews the Protestant Congregation had a direct, rapid, and
significant impact on church property.\(^46\)

**Changes implemented by Catholic Churchmen**

The impact of the Reformation on church estates was not restricted to policies
implemented by Protestant activists. Choices made by former Catholic clerics increased
the rapidity and extent of the redistribution of church property in St Andrews. The
Protestant leadership brought about temporary diversions of revenues, but it was
officials from the Catholic Church who began transforming the actual ownership of
religious estates. Between May 1559 and December 1561 substantial tracts of
ecclesiastical lands and revenues were disposed of by members of the burgh’s regular
and secular clergy. The alienations arose from a mix of motives - a desire to obstruct the
Reformist cause, benefit friends and relations, or simply find enough money to survive -

\(^45\) In March 1564 Lord James Stewart stated that the “college kirk” of St Salvator’s was “presentlie ane
void hows”, implying that it had stopped being used for worship. StAUL, UYSL110/C3. The fate of the
chapel of St Mary’s College is less certain, but by the time the Geddy Map was created in around 1580 it
was clearly ruinous. NLS, MS 20996. St Mary’s Kirk Hill had presumably stopped being a religious
foundation at the latest by 1561 when the St Andrews Kirk Session declared the foundation “suspendit”.
StAKS, vol. 1, p. 76. I have found no evidence of regular worship at the cathedral after the summer of
1559. The ending of religious observance at these sites would fit with the St Andrews Kirk Session’s
campaign to get all the local residents to “adjunit to heyr the word of God, and resaive the sacramentis
and disciplyn, in the parrochie kyrk”. StAKS, vol. 1, p. 76.

\(^46\) On 1 July 1559 Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange wrote to Sir Henry Percy stating that the Reformers
“have nevir as yet mellit with a penny worth of thir wealth pertenit to the kyrk”. Admittedly, this
comment may refer specifically to the situation at the start of July 1559. TNA, SP52/1, fo. 92v.
but the course of action followed was usually shaped by the reaction of the cleric in question to the religious changes.

St Andrews churchmen’s responses to the Reformation differed significantly from person to person. Some clerics embraced Protestantism with enthusiasm; others publicly rejected the new beliefs and went into exile; whilst many (perhaps the majority) quietly joined the Reformed Church, but did not play an active role in its expansion or administration. The manner in which a churchman approached Protestantism influenced what happened to his lands. A cleric’s religious views defined the options open to him. Most notably there was a distinction between the experiences of those clerics who refused to adopt the Reformed faith and left St Andrews, and the churchmen who converted and remained in the burgh. This section will therefore examine the two groups separately; beginning with the men who demonstrated their distaste for the new religious regime by fleeing the city.

The total number of clerics who left St Andrews as a result of the burgh’s public conversion to Protestantism is unknown. However, some of the city’s most prominent Catholic officials, such as the Archbishop, the Archdeacon, and the Official Principal, departed either for other parts of Scotland or for overseas. In addition, a select group from the College of St Salvator and all the members of the Franciscan order are

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47 The St Andrews Kirk Session records show that substantial numbers of former Catholic clerics joined the Protestant Congregation at varying points between July 1559 and the spring of 1561. StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 6-82.
48 HRS, vol. 1, pp. 182-183. George Durie, archdeacon of St Andrews, refused to convert to Protestantism and in January 1561 went into exile in France. Mark Dilworth, ‘George Durie (d.1577)’, ODNB. For details of William Cranston, Official Principal of St Andrews see below in this chapter.
believed to have abandoned St Andrews at this time.\textsuperscript{49} Simply by quitting St Andrews these churchmen increased the likelihood of changes to ecclesiastical estates. (For example, the fact that Archbishop Hamilton had left the burgh almost certainly made it easier for Protestant leaders to divert the archiepiscopal revenues.) Some clerics went further, though, and deliberately reallocated their lands before leaving the city.

By the autumn of 1559 the Lords of the Congregation’s policy towards the estates of émigré clerics was clear – the revenues of exiled churchmen should be transferred to the needs of the Reformed Kirk.\textsuperscript{50} Even before the Protestant leadership’s official pronouncement it probably seemed likely that either the Reformers, or other opportunistic individuals, would do their best to appropriate the lands of Catholics who had left the country. Not all clerics were willing to accept such an outcome. In at least two instances, one before and one after the Lords of the Congregation’s pronouncement, churchmen who left St Andrews implemented their own plans regarding the dispersal of church estates. Both the provost of St Salvator’s and the St Andrews Franciscan friars gave away large amounts of institutional property before going into exile. The actions of these men complicated and accelerated the changes to land-holding in St Andrews, and it is therefore worthwhile examining the cases in a little more detail.

The Franciscan friars arguably commenced the revolution in land ownership that accompanied St Andrews’ Reformation. In May 1559, shortly before the Lords of the Congregation reached the city, the St Andrews Franciscans gave the garden and


\textsuperscript{50} TNA, SP52/2, f. 97r.
buildings of their convent to the local community.51 This was the first time a St Andrews religious foundation had alienated the actual site of the institution. The reason for the Franciscans’ grant was not stated, but it was probably triggered by the developing religious crisis.

The mendicant orders were detested by the Reformers and in the months preceding St Andrews’ change in denomination Scottish friars had been threatened with violence if they did not give up their property. At either the end of 1558 or the start of 1559 notices purporting to be from “the blynd, cruked, beddrelles, wedowis, orphelingis, and all uther pure” had appeared “upon the doores of everie place of Friers” in Scotland, demanding that the mendicant orders remove from their properties before “the Feist of Witsunday” or else the poor would “enter and tak possession”.52 On 11 May 1559 (three days before Whit Sunday) a Protestant mob sacked the friaries and charterhouse in the burgh of Perth.53 News of the attacks in Perth must have reached St Andrews, and this, combined with the warning of the so-called “Beggars’ Summonds” earlier in the year, may well have contributed to the St Andrews Franciscans’ decision to hand over “thar closter place and haill boundis tharof, with all that tharin is, be themselfis undisturbut” to the burgh council.54 The grant was made by the warden, Friar Simon Maltman, and the friary’s vicar, Friar John Ferguson, on 18 May 1559, exactly a week after the riots in Perth, and three weeks before John Knox’s inflammatory sermons in St Andrews.

51 StAUL, B65/1/1, f. 31.
Given the surrounding circumstances it is likely that the St Andrews Franciscans’ grant was an attempt to deflect Protestant resentment, and so avoid an experience similar to their brethren in Perth. It is also possible that the friars hoped to buy the support of the burgh council, and thus obtain protection should the Lords of the Congregation descend on St Andrews. If so, the grant failed. The St Andrews Franciscan Friary was almost certainly attacked by Reformers in June 1559, and the friars seem to have fled to the Netherlands. After the summer of 1559 there are no further references to Franciscans being resident in St Andrews. A combination of the Grey Friars’ own decisions and the actions of reformers ensured that within a matter of weeks the Franciscan order’s influence was eradicated from both the religious and economic life of the city. It was almost inevitable that following the burgh’s Reformation the ownership of the St Andrews Franciscan Friary would ultimately change hands. However, the rapidity with which the transfer took place was a direct result of the policy pursued by the friars themselves.

Not all churchmen who disliked the religious changes left the burgh as quickly as the Franciscans. Most clerics who were opposed to (or ambivalent about) Protestantism delayed acting until after the burgh’s official Reformation. However, churchmen who waited until the Protestants had actually taken control of the city found that they were taking decisions in a changed religious and political climate. Institutions such as the burgh council were no longer broadly supportive of the traditional ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the right of staunchly Catholic churchmen to control their estates was being questioned. This altered state of affairs meant that clerics who adhered to the

Roman Church had to approach the alienation of their lands in a slightly different manner. When, in September 1560, William Cranston, the provost of St Salvator’s, decided to leave St Andrews, rather than gifting lands to public bodies (as the Franciscans had done), he made private arrangements with friends and relatives - a change that arguably reflects the altered relationship between loyal Catholics and the burgh authorities that the summer of 1559 had introduced.

Provost William Cranston was one of the more important clergymen in pre-Reformation St Andrews, having an impressive portfolio of ecclesiastical positions. In addition to his role as provost of St Salvator’s College, Cranston was Official Principal of St Andrews, overseeing Scotland’s chief church court.\(^\text{56}\) He was also dean of the Merse region, provost of the collegiate church in Seton, held the rectorship of a number of parishes, and in the mid 1550s was chamberlain of Coldingham Priory.\(^\text{57}\) When the Reformation crisis hit St Andrews Cranston did not join the Protestant Congregation.\(^\text{58}\) In the autumn of 1560 he gave up the provostry of St Salvator’s (probably under pressure from supporters of the Reformed Church) and went into exile in France. Before Cranston departed he gave his brother’s family lands, rents and documents belonging to St Salvator’s College.\(^\text{59}\) In addition Cranston may have transferred to his sister-in-law the college’s “jewellis and weary costlie silver wark”, and he perhaps made gifts to William Maitland of Lethington from “the spoyle of Sanct Saluatoris”.\(^\text{60}\)

Cranston’s real and supposed actions sparked a bitter dispute within the College - an argument which became so convoluted and acrimonious that it is difficult to tell exactly how much of St Salvator’s property Cranston actually alienated. In 1588 James Martine, then provost of St Salvator’s College, claimed that Cranston had “delapodat ten thousand pundis worth” of the college’s common goods, as well as giving his nephew the “maist pairt of the hail evidentis perteining to the college”.\(^{61}\) Provost Martine’s figures sound suspiciously high given the annual income of the college at the Reformation was somewhere in the region of £900.\(^{62}\) Nevertheless, Martine’s general perception that Provost Cranston had deprived the college of revenues and documentation was probably correct. At the end of the 1580s the Cranston family seem to have had possession of the revenues pertaining to the chaplainry of St Katherine in the College of St Salvator.\(^{63}\) They also cultivated a yard which had previously belonged to the College, and admitted having “sum evidentis” concerning St Salvator’s.\(^{64}\) The Cranstons argued that property from St Salvator’s College had been lawfully granted to them by Provost William Cranston (a point that was contested by subsequent provosts of the college).

The precise details of Cranston’s actions remain controversial.\(^{65}\) Yet even the problematic evidence at our disposal reveals some pertinent points. Firstly, it is notable that Cranston chiefly made grants to family and friends, not to organisations. Unlike the Franciscans who disposed of their property slightly earlier, Cranston was benefiting

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\(^{61}\) NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7, ff. 143v-146r.  
\(^{62}\) See table 4 of this thesis.  
\(^{63}\) NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7, ff. 143v-146r.  
\(^{64}\) NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7, ff. 143v-146r.  
personal connections, not institutional ones. Secondly, it seems that Cranston made these grants as an individual, rather than having the consent of the college as a whole. In 1588 James Martine specifically complained that Cranston’s alienations had been made “without assent and adwyss of the rest of the maisters”.\textsuperscript{66} This again was in contrast to the Franciscans’ actions, and was probably a result of internal divisions at St Salvator’s. (Although at least three of the masters, in addition to Cranston, went into exile, most of the rest of the foundation seem to have conformed to Protestantism and therefore may have been opposed to Cranston’s conduct.)\textsuperscript{67} Thirdly, it is apparent that the way in which Cranston acted had immediate and long-term consequences for college property. His gifts of lands and documents brought significant disruption to the estates of an institution which would ultimately survive the Reformation, and which might otherwise have expected to experience fairly limited changes to its holdings. Furthermore, the manner in which Cranston chose to alienate property (i.e. through private arrangements unconfirmed by his colleagues) encouraged dissension and disputes, and paved the way for at least three decades of arguments about the grants’ validity. Cranston’s personal decisions before going into exile therefore both altered the ownership of college property at the time, and set up problems for the future.

The very fact that the Reformation crisis saw a number of St Andrews’ highest ranking churchmen leave the city must by itself have had implications for the burgh’s landholding. These men had after all been in receipt of considerable revenues as well as playing central roles in the administration of ecclesiastical estates. The degree of change brought about by Catholics who fled the city was further added to by clerics such as

\textsuperscript{66} NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7, f. 143v.
Cranston and the Franciscans who deliberately reallocated property before they departed. The Franciscans handed over in its entirety a religious site that for nearly a century had encompassed most of the north-western edge of St Andrews. Meanwhile Cranston deprived St Salvator’s College of a substantial amount of money and land (or so it seemed to subsequent college officials). Both were moves that had a bearing on the distribution of ecclesiastical wealth in St Andrews.

The clerics who fled St Andrews were only one section of the pre-Reformation Catholic clergy. Most of the city’s churchmen remained in the burgh. Amongst the clergy who stayed behind there was a considerable range of religious views. A proportion of St Andrews’ churchmen seem to have actively welcomed the religious changes. For example, on 23 June 1559 John Knox reported that “Diverse channons of Sanct Andrewes have given notable confessiouns, and have declared themselves manifest enemies to the Pope, to the masse, and to all superstitioun”. A large number of the canons from St Andrews Cathedral are also known to have served in the Reformed Church, which suggests they had a reasonable degree of commitment to the Protestant cause. Yet some St Andrews clerics, such as Friar John Grierson (head of the Dominican order in Scotland), were reluctant to adopt the new faith. It was not until March 1560 (nine months after the official Reformation of St Andrews) that Grierson publicly recanted Catholicism and joined the Protestant Congregation. Even after this date Grierson is known to have made plans for the return of the Dominican order to

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68 StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 6-82.
70 Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, pp. 210-219.
71 StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 16-18.
Scotland, implying that his conversion was not especially deep-rooted. 72 Significantly, though, Grierson had officially disavowed Catholicism. This was true of virtually all the Catholic churchmen who remained in St Andrews. Whatever their personal views, almost all of these clerics eventually conformed to Protestantism, at the very least in public, if not in private. 73

Clerics who converted to Protestantism theoretically enjoyed a more advantageous economic situation. As mentioned previously, the Lords of the Congregation recognised the right of churchmen who conformed to the new faith to retain ecclesiastical revenues. In principle therefore St Andrews clerics who joined the Reformed Kirk should not have faced great changes to their economic situation. However, the reality could be rather harsher.

A combination of the attacks on religious houses, the general upheaval in the burgh, and the cessation of Catholic services (and many of the traditional payments associated with them) brought about a significant reduction in clerical incomes. When the Books of Assumption were compiled numerous priests in Fife reported a drop in their income brought about by changes in religious practices. 74 In particular benefice-holders complained of the ending of “corpse presentis, umaist claithes, Pasche fynes and offerand silver, of the quhilk now na payment is maid”. 75 The impact that the Reformation had on ecclesiastical revenues, even for institutions which were broadly

72 John Durkan, ‘John Grierson (c.1486-1564?)’, ODNB.
73 Remaining in the burgh and refusing to accept Protestantism was not really an option. It seems from references in the St Andrews Kirk Session records that at some point during 1561 a declaration was made ordering unrepentant Catholics to leave the burgh. StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 137-138.
74 BA, pp. 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 88, 90.
75 BA, p. 78.
supportive of the Protestant cause, is graphically demonstrated by the accounts of St
Leonard’s College. In 1558 the annual monetary income of St Leonard’s College was
£680 1s 4d. In 1559 it dropped to £449 11s 6d, and by 1560 it had fallen still further to
£365 6s 10d.\(^{76}\)

St Andrews clerics’ responses to their changed financial circumstances varied. Some
simply accepted the situation and (so far as we are aware) took no major action to
increase their income.\(^ {77}\) A few found various forms of non-religious employment. For
example, Mr Peter Lawson, who had been chaplain to the altar of St Tobert in Holy
Trinity Church, worked as a public notary.\(^ {78}\) Other churchmen attempted to realise what
assets they still possessed by calling in debts and alienating lands and rents.

Within weeks of the Reformation St Andrews clerics were re-organising their estates.
On 21 June 1559, a mere seven days after the official conversion of the city, the St
Andrews Dominicans feued the garden of their convent to a group of local citizens
(namely William Morris senior, William Morris junior, Andrew Morris, John Bicarton,
and a man named George Swyne from Methill) in recognition “of good services
rendered and to be rendered, and of a sum of money paid to [the friars] in their need”.\(^ {79}\)
On 22 June 1559 the canons at the cathedral feued their property at East Balrymonth to

\(^{76}\) The difference between the 1559 and 1560 accounts is probably explicable by the fact that in 1559 the
college had half a year of relative normality before the Reformation crisis really hit the city. StAUL,
UYSL515.

\(^{77}\) This seems to have been the course followed by the Choir of Holy Trinity Church. StAUL, B65/1/1, ff.
39-50.

\(^{78}\) Lawson had qualified as a notary before the Reformation but that does not seem to have been his
primary identity until the summer of 1559, when he ceased describing himself as a chaplain, and began
emphasising his notarial qualifications. StAUL, msDA890.S1B2.

William Myrtoun.\textsuperscript{80} Four days later they also feued arable land beside the city.\textsuperscript{81} These early alienations were not restricted to the estates of former monastic houses. For example, on 7 July Andrew Watson, chaplain of the altar of the Blessed Mary of Pity in Holy Trinity Church, feued to his relative Alan Watson a tenement on North Street belonging to his chaplainry.\textsuperscript{82}

Subsequent months saw chunks of ecclesiastical land being alienated. The chapter of St Andrews Cathedral (probably guided by Lord James Stewart and John Winram) seems to have undertaken an extensive programme of feuing during the winter of 1559, which affected properties both within and without the burgh.\textsuperscript{83} Other religious foundations also re-ordered their estates at this time. The masters of St Leonard’s College and the St Andrews Dominican friars disposed of particularly large portions of property. By the end of 1561 the masters of St Leonard’s had feued the majority of their tenements within the burgh of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{84} Meanwhile the Black Friars had either alienated, or inadvertently lost control of, almost the entirety of their estates.\textsuperscript{85}

A proportion of the feu-charters issued by St Andrews clerics between May 1559 and January 1562 may have been unrelated to the religious changes. For example, the cathedral had been feuing sections of arable land beside St Andrews since at least the mid 1550s.\textsuperscript{86} In continuing to dispose of such areas Lord James Stewart and the cathedral chapter were therefore perpetuating a policy that had been in place before the

\textsuperscript{80} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3, ff.180v-181r.
\textsuperscript{81} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3, f. 97r.
\textsuperscript{82} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3, ff. 114v-115r.
\textsuperscript{83} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3, ff. 98v, 111v-112r, 173v-177r, 183r-184r.
\textsuperscript{84} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3. StAUL, UYSL155.
\textsuperscript{85} NRS GD1/1042/6; NRS, GD150/1153; NRS, GD150/1155; NRS, GD150/1160; StAUL, B65/23/340; StAUL, B65/23/342; StAUL. B65/23/343.
\textsuperscript{86} NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3.
Reformation. There is, though, reason to believe that a number of the alienations initiated in the months after June 1559 were directly triggered by the religious crisis. Firstly, it is notable that there were some changes to what was being feued. Following the summer of 1559 ecclesiastical institutions were willing to feu a much greater range of properties. Most spectacularly the actual sites of religious foundations began to be alienated, but this period also saw the feuing of mills, barn yards, and granges (types of property which had a relatively high value, were central to the administration of large estates, and carried with them traditional associations of lordship). The second reason to connect at least some alienations with the religious crisis is the explanations given in the charters themselves, and in particular the comments made in documents produced by the Dominican order.

With one exception, all of the feu-charters and letters regarding land-holding issued by the St Andrews Dominicans between 1559 and 1562 state that the changes to their estates were necessitated by financial difficulties arising from the sack of their convent. For example, in February 1560 when Friar John Grierson was attempting to persuade the lairds of Lathockar to convert an annual rent into a one-off cash payment, he explained that the transaction was needed because of the friars’ “gret urgent necessitie to get part of our awin guddis to leif upon, we beand violentlye put furth of

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87 For example, in November 1559 the Cathedral feued to David Orme and his wife the barn-yard of Balone. In March 1560 the Cathedral feued the Walk Mill in Dairsie. Likewise, in April 1560 the Yard Mill at Balone was feued. Admittedly, mills pertaining to the Cathedral Priory had been feued before the religious changes, though generally only during the late 1550s (for example, in 1558 the abbey mills in St Andrews were feued to Henry Cairns). However, the early 1560s seems to have seen far more alienations of this type of property. NLS, Adv. MS.17.1.3. ff. 111v-112r, 118r-118v, 181v-182v.

88 NRS GD1/1042/6; NRS, GD150/1153; NRS, GD150/1155; NRS, GD150/1160; StAUL, B65/23/340; StAUL, B65/23/342; StAUL, B65/23/343.
our place and the said place cassing doun and distroyit”. Similar remarks abound in other records produced by the Dominicans at this date.

The conditions that the Dominicans imposed on their feuars certainly suggest that the alienations arose from the problematic circumstances in which they found themselves, rather than being part of a long-term strategy. In June 1559 when the friars feued their convent’s garden they specified that:

if any of the brethren in said place, or in any other place of their order within Scotland, shall be again recalled to the service of God…in regular habit, according to the statutes and rule of the order of Friars Preachers, the grantees shall, without obstacle and without the repetition of any sum of money large or small, renounce all rights of feu.

Similarly, when in March 1560, the Dominicans took the still more drastic step of feuing the actual friary buildings to Lord Seton they stated that if “through the Lord’s mercy” any Scottish friars were “recalled to serve God in the said monastery” the “aforesaid noble lord and his heirs” must “renounce all right, and title of right” to the property. The former friars also ordered that the ruins of the church, cloister and dormitories were not to be further demolished by removal of the stones, and

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89 NRS, GD1/1042/6.
90 The dire picture of the Dominicans’ circumstances painted by Grierson and his fellow friars was probably based on reality. It was not until early 1562 (two and a half years after the friaries in St Andrews had been sacked) that the situation regarding pensions for monastics was sorted out. In the mean time monks and friars had to find some way of supporting themselves, frequently after their accommodation had been partially demolished, and many of their moveable goods (including food) removed. For example Knox states that at Perth the food found in the friaries was distributed by the Reformers to the poor. HRS, vol. 1, p. 163. BA, pp. xiv-xv.
92 StAUL, B65/23/343. Translation from Hay Fleming, Reformation, pp. 606-607. The choice of Lord Seton as feuar may be significant given the Seton family’s Catholic sympathies.
commanded that the Setons maintained such “houses, workshops [and] walls” as were still standing. Such restrictions imply that the St Andrews Dominicans were hoping they might one day be able to return to their friary. From the evidence of their charters it would appear that the Dominicans’ alienation of property was something they were forced into by their situation following the events of June 1559, and not something the friars wanted to implement.

The Dominicans’ hopes of a triumphal return to St Andrews were of course never realised. As a result the feuing of their estates became another alienation of church property, comparable to those undertaken by the clergy at the cathedral, the masters of St Leonard’s, and some chaplains at Holy Trinity Church. Between June 1559 and December 1561 former Catholic clerics transferred the ownership of, or renegotiated the contracts pertaining to, a wide range of ecclesiastical properties both within and without St Andrews. The actions of the Catholic churchmen (in particular the decisions of the Dominican and Franciscan friars to alienate the actual sites of their convents) significantly added to the upheaval in land-holding St Andrews faced in the immediate aftermath of the Reformation. A proportion of the gifts made by these churchmen were reversed by later policies. However, a number of the grants made by Catholic clerics and institutions in the months surrounding the arrival of the Lords of Congregation helped shape patterns of land holding in St Andrews during the late sixteenth-century and beyond, remaining in some cases the subject of controversy for decades after the crisis of 1559.


**Broader changes to land-holding in St Andrews**

The religious turmoil brought about a dramatic disruption to St Andrews’ administrative structures. The archbishop, who had traditionally acted as an arbitrator and intermediary between the different strands of governance within St Andrews, fled the city. The Catholic church courts, which had played a major role in resolving property disputes, ceased to operate.\(^93\) The university became divided and barely functional.\(^94\) Even the craft guilds appear to have had problems – the St Andrews baxters’ guild minute book, which generally has several pages of records for each year, has no entries for the months between May 1559 and September 1563.\(^95\) Some of these disruptions in local governance were later resolved. However, in the period 1559 to 1561, St Andrews’ four strands of administration (the church, the regality, the burgh council, and the university) were each facing substantial challenges. This crisis in the burgh’s administrative and judicial systems, combined with extensive reallocation of church lands, created a situation in which unauthorized seizures of lands and non-payment of rents and teinds could flourish – an issue which this final section of the chapter will briefly explore.

It is unclear how many unofficial seizures of lands took place in the immediate aftermath of the religious crisis. In the nature of things illicit transactions are less likely to be recorded. However, it is evident that at least some lands and rents were diverted to new owners with little or no authorization from previous holders or the Protestant leadership. For example, in 1562 the masters of St Mary’s College complained that the

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93 BA, p.xii.
94 Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p. 35.
95 StAUL, msDA890.S1B2.
revenues of “Sanct Johnne the Evangeliste altare within the abbay kirk of Sanctandrois” were “haldin violentlie fra the college” by Mr William Murray.\footnote{96 The entry for this property is slightly confusing, and it is possible that the seizure of revenues pre-dated the Reformation. Particularly odd is the fact that William Murray is described as archdeacon of St Andrews – despite there being no other evidence of a man of such a name holding that position. \textit{BA}, p. 65.}

Probably more widespread than the illegal diversions of revenues was the phenomenon of people simply stopping making payments of feu-maills, rents and teinds. The 1562 \textit{Books of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices} contain numerous complaints about unpaid rents and teinds. No less than nine institutions and benefice-holders in Fife told the compilers of the \textit{Books of Assumption} that they were having difficulties in collecting rents.\footnote{97 \textit{BA}, pp. 56, 67, 70, 74, 77, 79, 80, 87, 89.} Non-payment was often explicitly linked to the religious changes. For example, the vicar of Kilconquhar stated that “befoir the rysing of the Congregation” he had been paid £80 but that he had received “nathing thir thrie yeris bygane”.\footnote{98 \textit{BA}, p. 77.} Similarly, the vicar of Kinghorn complained that he had not received any of his stipend “for the past term by reason of the tumult of the said year”.\footnote{99 \textit{BA}, p. 80.}

The non-payment of rents affected estates which had pertained to religious institutions in St Andrews. In 1562 John Winram (who through his role as sub-prior at St Andrews Cathedral was also technically prior of Portmoak) reported to the commissioners for the assumption of thirds of benefices that the vicarage of Portmoak “which formerly paid freely 80 merks, now, however, has paid next to nothing”.\footnote{100 \textit{BA}, p. 56.} Complaints about non-payment are also listed in the \textit{Books of Assumption} entries for St Mary’s Kirk Hill, the university college of St Mary, the Dominican Convent, and the estates of the
archdeacon of St Andrews.\textsuperscript{101} The majority of these complaints concerned properties outside the burgh, but there is also evidence of non-payment of rents within St Andrews. For example, when, in the late 1560s, the burgh council took over the estates of Holy Trinity and the two friaries, the provost and bailies were forced to commence a large number of prosecutions against church tenants for non-payment of annual rents, suggesting that there had been considerable problems with rent collection earlier in the decade.\textsuperscript{102} Although unofficial, such actions both increased the extent of the upheaval to St Andrews’ land holding and initiated a longer-term undermining of traditional property rights, which will be explored more fully in later chapters.

\textit{Conclusion}

Traditionally, the Scottish Reformation has been regarded as having a limited impact on land-holding.\textsuperscript{103} In particular historians have sometimes assumed that “the years around 1560” saw relatively few changes to church estates.\textsuperscript{104} However, the evidence from St Andrews suggests a rather different story (at least in Scotland’s religious capital). Within weeks of the Reformation crisis reaching St Andrews there had been damage to ecclesiastical buildings, alterations to the use of religious sites, changes in ownership of both the sites of religious foundations and some secular properties within and alongside the city, and disruption to church courts and other organisations which had played a vital role in deciding pre-Reformation property disputes. Over the months that followed there was a large-scale reallocation of church revenues, more extensive changes to the

\textsuperscript{101} BA, pp. 55, 65, 67, 89.
\textsuperscript{102} STAUL, B65/1/1, ff. 39v-50v.
\textsuperscript{103} For example, see Michael’s Graham’s summary of the events of the Scottish Reformation. Graham states that the feuing of church lands “would have taken place whether or not there was a Reformation”, and that changes to church land-holding were “gradual”. Graham, ‘Scotland’, p. 412.
\textsuperscript{104} Sanderson, \textit{Scottish Rural Society}, p. 3.
ownership of ecclesiastical estates, and increasing problems with enforcing payment of rents and teinds. In the two and a half years between May 1559 and December 1561 St Andrews saw rapid and far-reaching alterations to both the distribution of wealth within the burgh, and the actual ownership of lands and rents. By the end of 1561 there was hardly a major benefice-holder or religious foundation in St Andrews which had not experienced significant change. The revenues of the archbishop and archdeacon had been diverted to the Earl of Arran and the Protestant cause. The cathedral had ceased functioning as a religious organisation and was undertaking large-scale feuing of its estates. St Leonard’s College, likewise, was implementing extensive alienation of church lands. Both the friaries had disposed of the sites of their foundations. Three of the prebendaries of St Mary’s Kirk Hill had had their revenues diverted to be disposed of at the discretion of the Protestant Kirk. St Salvator’s College had been deprived of a proportion of its revenues, and probably a substantial number of documents concerning the institution’s estates. Even Holy Trinity Church, which probably experienced less drastic financial changes at this date than many organisations, saw the property of some of its chaplainries being alienated. St Mary’s College is the only religious foundation for which we do not have evidence of significant change to its holdings between 1559 and 1561 (apart from the seizure of the revenues of the altar of St John the Evangelist), and this may relate to the limited documentation for this period, rather than to actual stability and continuity.

The Scottish Reformation came at a time of change in ecclesiastical land-holding. Nevertheless the religious crisis vastly exacerbated and accelerated the extent of the alterations. Decisions taken by groups as varied as the Lords of the Congregation, new
Protestant officials such as the Superintendent and members of the Kirk Session, former Catholic clerics, and local residents, meant that there was extensive change to the de facto ownership and administration of church property in St Andrews long before the agreement of a national settlement regarding ecclesiastical revenues. By the spring of 1562 the situation regarding land-holding within and around St Andrews was far removed from what it had been at the beginning of 1559.
Chapter 6 – Settlement of the 1560s

At the start of the 1560s the situation regarding church estates, both nationally and in St Andrews, was chaotic. Rents were going unpaid, the ownership of many properties was disputed, and the long-term plans for ecclesiastical lands were unclear.¹ Such a state of affairs was highly unsatisfactory, and both evangelicals and traditionalists called for something to be done. In the spring of 1560 the Protestant compilers of the First Book of Discipline advocated major economic reforms, in order that the Kirk “may recover hir libertie and fredome”.² Six months later members of the Catholic clergy petitioned Parliament to bring about a return of their revenues.³

The representatives attending Scotland’s Reformation Parliament (which met in August 1560) recognised that the recent religious upheavals had raised several problems concerning church property. On 24 August 1560 legislation was passed banning the Archbishop of St Andrews, and certain other senior churchmen, from issuing any tacks or feus.⁴ At the same time Parliament ordered that the possessors of teinds should collect their money and produce as usual but must “retain the payment thereof in their own hands until they get commandment of the council to whom it should be paid.”⁵ It seems likely from this statement that the Protestant leadership thought that a national settlement regarding church lands would soon be forthcoming. In fact central government guidance on this matter was not immediately produced, probably because of disagreements about what the settlement should be like. Whilst John Knox and many of the more radical Protestants believed the old church’s lands should be used to support

¹ For discussion of non-payment of rents see chapters 5 and 7 of this thesis.
² WJK, vol. 2, p. 223.
³ RPS, A1560/8/10.
⁴ RPS, A1560/8/8.
⁵ RPS, A1560/8/9.
the Reformed Kirk, poor-relief, and education, other Protestants suggested that monastic revenues could be granted to the crown. Meanwhile the Catholic clergy (and some Reformist nobles who had benefitted from feus and commendatorships) wished for the economic structures of the 1550s to be restored.

By the time Mary Queen of Scots returned from France in the summer of 1561 it was evident that the issue of church estates urgently needed to be addressed. The Queen and her advisors rapidly set about tackling the problem. On 10 September 1561 (less than a month after Mary had arrived back in Scotland) the Privy Council decreed that proclamations should be made “at all mercat croces of the burrowis of this realme” forbidding the practice of sending to Rome for confirmation of ecclesiastical feus. Shortly afterwards the Queen’s councillors initiated discussions with former Catholic clerics in an attempt to create a national compromise regarding church property. As a result of these talks, during the winter of 1561 a tentative settlement concerning church lands was devised. On 22 December the Privy Council agreed that ecclesiastical property should be “assignit to the auld possessouris”, on the condition that benefice-holders paid a portion of their revenues to the monarch to “sustene the [Protestant] ministeris throw the hale realme” and enable “the Quenis Majestie to interein and sett

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6 Some Protestants hoped that if they offered the Queen the monastic revenues she would lend her backing to the Reformed church. As early as July 1559 Sir William Kirkcaldy reported to the English government that if Queen Mary was willing to support “ane general reformation” the Lords of the Congregation might offer to “anex the hale revenues of the abayes to the croune”. TNA, SP52/1 f.92 v. WJK, vol. 2, pp. 221-226.

7 According to John Knox the Protestant nobles who were “most unmercifull to the poor Ministers” were those “which had greatest rents of the Churches”. HRS, vol. 1, p. 344.

8 For example, Alexander Scott’s contemporary poem ‘Ane New Yeir Gift to the Quene Mary quhen scho come first hame’ devotes no less than three stanzas to abuses and problems relating to church lands. See John and Winifred MacQueen (eds), A Choice of Scottish Verse, 1470-1570 (London, 1972), pp. 179-186.

9 This was stated to be necessary because “be occasioun of the last trublis, the maist part of the clergy and ecclesiastical estait hes on thair pretendit maner, set the lands unite and annexit to the kirk in fewferme and heretage, to the greit hurt, nocht onlie of the Quenis Majestie, bot als of the pure tennentis thairof”. RPCS, vol. 1, p. 162.
fordwart the commone effaris of the cuntre”. 10 Two months later, on 15 February 1562, the contribution to the crown was set at a third of annual revenues, causing the policy to be known as the “thirds of benefices”. 11 At the same time, in a crucial but often overlooked amendment, special provisions were introduced concerning the lands of the friars and the urban rents of chaplainries and collegiate churches. 12

Traditionally, historians have regarded the arrangement of the thirds of benefices, and Queen Mary’s policy towards ecclesiastical lands generally, as a conservative compromise which brought little change to church estates. For example, in the mid twentieth century Gordon Donaldson confidently claimed that “the assumption of thirds” left “the old structure intact”. 13 Yet the extent of continuity in Scottish religious landholding during the 1560s may have been overstated. This chapter will explore how the national settlement of 1561 to 1562 affected the estates of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions, and the ways in which the policies of central government interacted with local developments. It will suggest that during the five and a half years of Queen Mary’s personal rule there were (at least in St Andrews) extensive alterations to the allocation of religious revenues, the administration of church lands, and the ownership of many ecclesiastical properties. The precise nature of the restructuring varied across different institutions, and between town and country, but the overwhelming trend was for reorganisation and innovation. On St Andrews estates the decade following the Reformation seems to have been a time of change, not continuity.

**Urban Settlement**

The most dramatic changes to St Andrews’ church property almost certainly took place in the city itself. By the late 1560s many ecclesiastical holdings within the burgh had been redistributed. Between the winter of 1561 (when the national settlement regarding church lands was drawn up) and the summer of 1567 (when Queen Mary abdicated) St Andrews saw the reallocation of the sites of three major religious foundations, numerous tenements and gardens, and more than 700 annual rents.\textsuperscript{14} This revolution in local landholding was substantially triggered by the policies of central government, but it was also fostered by the fall-out from the Reformation crisis and the political upheavals of the late 1560s.

The two biggest transfers of urban ecclesiastical property implemented in St Andrews during the mid 1560s were almost certainly a gift made by Queen Mary to the burgh as a whole, and a donation from the Earl of Moray (as Lord James Stewart had by then become) to the College of St Leonard.\textsuperscript{15} Both grants had their roots in the Privy Council’s February amendments to the settlement of the thirds of benefices.\textsuperscript{16} These modifications to the main policy of the thirds have received surprisingly limited attention from historians.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{14} In 1567 Queen Mary transferred to the burgh council (amongst other properties) the sites of the College of St Mary Kirk Hill, the Dominican Friary, and the Hospital of St Nicholas. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v. The total of 700 annual rents was calculated by adding together the rents from Holy Trinity Church granted to the burgh by Queen Mary, and the rents from the Cathedral transferred to St Leonard’s College by the Earl of Moray. This figure should therefore be taken as a minimum number of rents reallocated. It is very likely that in fact significantly in excess of 700 annual rents levied on St Andrews tenements were reassigned during the mid 1560s. Evidence from contemporary rentals suggests that the transfer of these rents affected the majority of households within the burgh. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39r-53v.

\textsuperscript{15} StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v. StAUL, UYS1110/C2. Lord James Stewart was granted the earldom of Moray in January 1562. Mark Loughlin, ‘James Stewart, first earl of Moray (1531/2-1570)’, *ODNB*.

\textsuperscript{16} RPCS, vol. 1, pp. 201-203.

\textsuperscript{17} The fact that the ordinance of 15 February confirmed that the crown’s tax on benefices would be fixed at a third of annual revenues is noted by many scholars. However, the other amendments included in the same entry are rarely commented on, or if they are mentioned are referred to very much in passing. For
Privy Council in the spring of 1562 seem to have had a significant influence on the
treatment of ecclesiastical property in St Andrews and other Scottish towns.

The Privy Council’s ordinance of 15 February 1562 had two key clauses concerning
urban religious property. Firstly, it stated that “all annuellis, males [i.e. feu-mails], and
deweis within fre burrowis or utheris townis” which formerly pertained to
chaplainries, prebendaries, and friaries, “togidder with the rentis of the freris lands
quhairevir thai be”, should be granted by the Queen “to hospitaliteis, scolis, and utheris
godlie usis as sall seme best be Hir Hieness, be the avyse of hir Counsale”.18 Secondly,
it commanded that the provost and baillies of burghs where friaries “ar nocht
demolissit” should “uphald the saidis freris places standand in the said townis, upon the
commone gudis thairof” and use them “to the commone weill and service of the saidis
townis”.19 These amendments in effect created a distinct policy regarding much of the
Catholic Church’s holdings within Scottish burghs: rather than returning these urban
lands and revenues to their pre-Reformation possessors, the crown would allocate them
to the benefit of the wider community. This strategy echoed some of the suggestions put
forward by the authors of the First Book of Discipline, and may have been adopted by
the Queen and Privy Council as a conciliatory gesture towards the radical Reformers
who had condemned the main settlement of the thirds of benefices.20

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Example, even James Kirk’s excellent introduction to his edition of the Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices only allots one sentence to the Privy Council’s special provisions regarding the urban rents of chaplainries, prebends and friaries. BA, p. xiv.

20 The First Book of Discipline stated that “the patrimonye of the Kirk” should be expended upon the support of the Reformed ministry, the care of the poor, and funding education. In particular, “all annualrentis, both in burgh and land, perteanyng to Preastis, Chanterie, Colledgeis, Chaplanryis, and to Freiris of all Ordouris, to the Sisters of the Seanis, and to all utheris of that Ordour” should be used to support the work of the church locally. WJK, vol. 2, pp. 196-201, 224.
The Privy Council’s provisions concerning the urban holdings of chaplainries, prebendaries and friaries seem to have formed the foundation for the grant made by Mary Queen of Scots to the burgh of St Andrews in the spring of 1567. Indeed, it is probable that the monarch’s gift to the city was one of the donations to “hospitaliteis, scolis, and utheris godlie usis” envisaged by the Privy Council five years earlier. On 17 April 1567 Queen Mary, with “the advice of the Lords of the Privy Council” assigned to the provost, bailies and community of St Andrews an extensive portfolio of former ecclesiastical lands and revenues. The gift was supposed “to provide for the ministers of the word of God and that Hospitals for poor, maimed and ill and suffering people, orphans, the bereaved and infants be preserved within the said City”, a rationale which directly reflects the wording of the Privy Council’s 1562 amendments. The categories of property transferred were also similar to those mentioned by the Privy Council. The Queen granted to the citizens of St Andrews the “lands, tenements, houses, buildings, churches, chapels, orchards, gardens, acres, crofts, annual rents, fruits, dues, profits, benefits, victual rents, alms, daill silver… offerings in respect of the dead, and anniversary payments” belonging to the “chaplainries, altarages or benefices” attached to the Parish Church of Holy Trinity, the Collegiate Church of St Mary Kirk Hill, the Chapel of St Anna, the Hospital of St Nicholas, and the chapels of Kinglassie and Kinninmonth, plus “the places, bounds, gardens, acres of lands, annual rents,

21 It should perhaps be noted that whilst the framework for the Queen’s gift was laid by the amendments of 1562, the actual trigger for the grant was probably the Privy Council’s act of 10 January 1567. This stated that the “Quenis grace, with avyise of hir Counsall…gevis and grantis to the saidis burghis…the annuells of Alteragis, Chapellanereis, and Obittis within the samyn”. RPCS, vol. 1, p. 497.
22 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v. Translation from Calendar of St Andrews Charters, StAUL, B65/22, no. 352.
23 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v.
benefits and dues...which formerly belonged to the Dominican or Preaching Friars and to the Minorites or Franciscans of the said City”.24

The Queen’s gift of 1567 appears to have been designed as a departure both from the pre-Reformation allocation of property within the burgh, and from the reorganisation undertaken during the crisis of 1559 to 1560. For example, the government ordered that the rents and properties given by the crown to the people of St Andrews should be established into a new body called the “Queen's Foundation of the Ministry and Hospital of St Andrews”.25 Furthermore, the charter of 17 April 1567 stated that the Queen’s grant over-rode all earlier alienations of ecclesiastical property inside the burgh.26 The royal donation was deliberately intended to form a break with the past.

The impact on St Andrews of the crown’s 1567 grant was considerable. Queen Mary’s donation gave the St Andrews burgh officials the management of the majority of the ecclesiastical property within the town.27 The transfer of the rents of Holy Trinity Church and the Dominican friary alone brought the burgh council control of revenues worth at least £512 16s 4d a year.28 In total the Queen’s gift reallocated revenues of around £800 per annum, plus several large properties within the urban area of St Andrews. The extent of disruption caused by the royal grant is arguably reflected in the considerable amount of documentation the transaction generated. Not merely were the charter, precept and instrument of sasine recording the gift copied into both the Register

24 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v.
25 StAUL, B65/1, f. 39r.
26 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-38v.
27 The 1567 charter of donation actually stated that it applied to all church property within the city of St Andrews with the exception of the estates of the Cathedral and the three university colleges. StAUL, B65/1, f.38r.
28 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v, 52r-53v.
Book of the City of St Andrews and one of the cartularies belonging to Holy Trinity Church, but the burgh council also commissioned new rentals of the property of the parish church and the Dominican friary, and inventories of their archives.\(^{(29)}\) For example, a mid sixteenth-century list of the Black Friars’ charters states that it was made at the “command of the provest balleis and consaill” of St Andrews after “the quenis grace maria grantand ane fule charter and precept of all and hayll thai frutis landis annuellis rentis possedit be the said freris to the provest bailles and communitie of the cite of sanctandrois”\(^{(30)}\).

The Queen’s gift marked a substantial transfer of wealth. Indeed, the crown’s grant probably formed the largest single reallocation of lands and rents located within the burgh of St Andrews since the mid twelfth century.\(^{(31)}\) Through this one donation the monarch and Privy Council brought major changes to St Andrews’ landholding. Yet the influence of the Queen and her ministers on St Andrews property patterns was not limited to the grant of 1567. The principle of using urban ecclesiastical revenues for education and the common good (a practice which was recommended by the Privy Council’s ordinance of 15 February 1562) seems to have shaped at least one other major redistribution of St Andrews property implemented during the 1560s: namely, the donation made by the Earl of Moray and the Chapter of St Andrews Cathedral to St Leonard’s College.

\(^{(29)}\) StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39r-53v. StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 15-20.
\(^{(30)}\) StAUL, B65/1, 52r.
\(^{(31)}\) The crisis of 1559 had triggered major upheavals to property within St Andrews. However, a large number of these reallocations were rather fragmentary. The Queen’s gift is the most sweeping redistribution of property recorded in the St Andrews burgh archives (which contain material dating back to the 1160s) before the early seventeenth century. StAUL, B65 series.
On 20 May 1562 the Earl of Moray (with the consent of the Cathedral chapter) transferred to St Leonard’s College all of the annual rents formerly levied by St Andrews Cathedral from tenements within the burgh.\textsuperscript{32} The gift was described as being made for the good of the Christian religion, and to further the study of the arts. Aside from generic remarks about the wish to encourage education, the charter of donation does not provide any further explanation for the reallocation of the cathedral’s rents. However, the timing of the grant (a mere three months after the issuing of the Privy Council’s amendments to the main policy of the thirds of benefices), its purpose (to fund education), and the type of property alienated (urban annual rents), all make it extremely likely that the donation was influenced by contemporary government statements.

During the early 1560s the Queen and her advisors openly expressed their wish to support education generally, and the universities in particular. For example, the tax of a third on the 1561 revenues of St Mary’s College was remitted “for the zeale hir majestie beris to the propagatioun of letters”.\textsuperscript{33} Meanwhile, the Privy Council’s amendments of February 1562 suggested that the sites of former friaries might be used for “scolis” and “collegis”.\textsuperscript{34} One year later (in June 1563) Parliament ordered the establishing of a commission to investigate the funding of St Andrews University.\textsuperscript{35} By transferring urban Cathedral property to the university college of St Leonard the Earl of Moray was working within the general trend of government policy at the time.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{32} StAUL, UYSL110/C2.
\textsuperscript{33} ACTB, p. 86.
\textsuperscript{34} RPCS, vol. 1, p. 202.
\textsuperscript{35} RPS, A1563/6/26. See also Reid, Humanism and Calvinism, pp. 39-40.
\textsuperscript{36} In fostering university education Moray was also of course echoing the recommendations put forward in the First Book of Discipline, which had proposed that “the hoill revenew of the temporalities of the
The Cathedral’s 1562 grant to St Leonard’s College formed a substantial disruption to St Andrews’ landholding. It both brought to an end the Augustinian Priory’s four hundred year old role as a major landlord within the burgh of St Andrews, and constituted a considerable transfer of urban wealth. In total, the donation to St Leonard’s College encompassed 117 rents, bringing in an annual income of £59 6s 7d, plus 30 capons and 1 lb of wax.\(^{37}\) This was equivalent to the revenues of a reasonably prosperous Fife vicarage. (For example, at the Reformation the vicar of St Andrews received £66 13 4d per annum, the vicar of Largo £53 6s 8d, and the vicar of Monimail £26 13s 4d.)\(^{38}\) The market value of the rents was of course greater than the annual income they provided. To purchase perpetual rents bringing in yearly revenues of just under £60 the masters of St Leonard’s would probably have had to spend somewhere in the region of £1,200.\(^{39}\) Moray’s grant was therefore of significant value to the college.

The grants made by Mary Queen of Scots and Moray transformed patterns of landholding within St Andrews. Yet these large-scale broadly philanthropic reallocations were by no means the only upheaval regarding property the burgh experienced during Queen Mary’s personal rule. At the same time as the monarch and her half-brother were implementing their comprehensive redistributions of lands and rents, the city was also seeing the transfer of a number of individual properties. During

\(^{37}\) StAUL, UYSL110/C2.

\(^{38}\) The vicarages listed here were fairly wealthy ones. Some parishes were much less remunerative. For example, the vicars of Inverkeithing and Ballingry received respectively £10 and £8 13s 4d per annum. BA, pp. 74, 76, 78, 86.

\(^{39}\) The purchasing price of a perpetual annual rent was typically about twenty times what it brought in each year. For example, in 1545 Robert Banys gave the choristers of Holy Trinity Church £20, in order to enable them to purchase an annual rent bringing in a yearly income of £1. StAUL, B65/23/297.
the mid 1560s many of the tenements within the burgh pertaining to ecclesiastical institutions and clerics were feued to new holders. Between 1562 and 1567 the masters of St Leonard’s College feued at least eight tenements located within the city of St Andrews (not to mention numerous crofts beside the burgh).\footnote{StAUL, UYSL155, pp. 96-99, 112, 114-117. NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3, f. 136r.} To a considerable extent the feuing of these burgage plots was part of a broader pattern going back to the 1550s. However, the mid 1560s also saw the alienation of large residential properties which had previously been occupied by high-ranking ecclesiastical officials, the disposal of which would have been almost unthinkable before the Reformation. For example, in March 1566 Robert Pitcairn (who had been the designated successor to the archdeacon of St Andrews before the crisis of 1559 and took over that official’s property in the spring of 1562) feued the “Archdeinis Innes”, a substantial house opposite the Cathedral which had been the main lodging of the archdeacon of St Andrews when he was staying in the city.\footnote{NRS, E14/2, f. 81.} The willingness of Catholic clerics (and their relatives and successors) to dispose of such significant properties probably reflects both a recognition that the old religious hierarchy was unlikely to be restored, and the beginnings of St Andrews’ decline as a major national centre. The rich and powerful were increasingly loosening their ties to the former religious capital.

Like the years of the Reformation crisis, the period between 1562 and 1567 saw substantial changes to St Andrews’ landholding. However the alterations of the mid 1560s were slightly different from those which had preceded them. In the first place, the crown and the Privy Council (which had exerted little influence over St Andrews’ affairs during the months of the Reformation rising) played a major role in shaping the
reallocation of property. Secondly, perhaps partly because of the crown’s involvement and the development of a national settlement regarding church lands, there was an increasing tendency for sweeping redistributions of entire categories of property belonging to particular institutions. Thirdly, these reallocations were explicitly designed to be long-term, whereas a number of the alienations or seizures of the Reformation years were regarded as temporary measures implemented as a response to a crisis. Fourthly, there appears to have been an increased emphasis on assigning urban lands to the common good of the community. The Reformation rising saw numerous transfers of lands, yet in many cases the redistribution was frantic and unplanned. For much of the 1560s, and in particular during the years of Queen Mary’s personal rule, there appears to have been an attempt to bring about a more lasting settlement regarding urban ecclesiastical property – a settlement which largely reflected the Reformed Kirk’s aspirations of helping the poor, supporting the ministry, and funding education.

**Rural Settlement**

The policies adopted by Queen Mary and her advisors concerning rural ecclesiastical estates were very different from those applied to urban church property. In contrast to the innovatory measures the government encouraged in Scotland’s towns and cities, the crown’s strategy regarding religious lands in the countryside was relatively conservative. Nevertheless, during the 1560s the rural holdings of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical organisations underwent substantial alterations. There was change in the countryside - it was just implemented by different means. Rather than the Queen and the Privy Council taking the initiative (as they had within the burgh of St Andrews and other urban centres), the restructuring of religious institutions’ rural property was
chiefly instigated by the landholders themselves. Ultimately, the reorganisation of St Andrews churchmen’s landward estates was extensive, but it was substantially non-governmental.

In order to understand how such a situation arose it is worthwhile considering in a little more detail the impact on St Andrews estates of the main provisions of the settlement of the thirds of benefices, the policy which formed the cornerstone of the Marian regime’s plans for rural church property. As previously mentioned, in the winter of 1561 to 1562 the Privy Council agreed that most rural ecclesiastical revenues should be returned to their “auld possessouris” on the condition that benefice-holders paid a tax of a third to the crown. The Queen would then use the money thus gained for her own expenses and to fund the Reformed Kirk. Initially, serious efforts seem to have been made to enforce this national compromise, both in St Andrews and much of the surrounding area. During the spring of 1562 assessments of ecclesiastical wealth were compiled in order to facilitate the collection of the crown’s share of revenues, and a number of St Andrews estates were returned to their pre-Reformation holders. By the start of 1563 Archbishop Hamilton was almost certainly once again in receipt of a proportion of the archiepiscopal revenues. Meanwhile, the holdings of the archdeaconry of St Andrews were ostensibly allocated to Robert Pitcairn, the nephew and designated successor of George Durie (the previous archdeacon who had fled Scotland at the Reformation).

42 RCP5, vol. 1, pp. 192-194, 201-203
43 BA, xvi-xxvi.
44 Certainly by this stage Hamilton appears to have been regarded by the crown as being responsible for the payment of the thirds from the archbishopric’s estates. ACTB, p. 12.
45 BA, pp. 66-67.
Throughout the early years of Queen Mary’s personal rule government officials also worked to secure payment of the crown’s third of rural ecclesiastical revenues. The accounts for the crop of 1562 show that the monarch received in that year alone more than £1,260 (plus 49 chalders of grain) from St Andrews benefices. A substantial portion of the money and goods given to the crown (from St Andrews lands and elsewhere) was then passed on to the Reformed ministry. In 1563 the Scottish government disbursed at least £2,196 in stipends to the ministers and readers of Fife. This amounted to approximately thirty nine percent of the annual monetary income the crown received from the charge of the third on Fife benefices.

Superficially, therefore, the settlement of the thirds enjoyed a degree of success, particularly during the first year or so after its introduction. For a short while the compromise engineered by the Queen and Privy Council brought the crown a new source of revenue and provided the Reformed Kirk with a modicum of funding. However, notwithstanding these positive aspects, there were substantial problems with the policy and its application. The *Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices* reveal that the government never received anything approaching the full amount of money and victual to which it was technically entitled, and that this shortfall got worse as Queen Mary’s reign wore on. The gap chiefly arose from the Queen’s tendency to exempt those she favoured from paying the charge of the third. St Andrews benefice-

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46 In this context grain is being used to encompass wheat, barley, oats and meal. The contribution of the St Andrews benefices amounted to approximately 2% of the money, and 3% of the grain the crown received in total from the charge of the thirds. At that time the rural estates of St Andrews pre-Reformation religious foundations also provided more than a quarter of the total money that the crown received from benefices in Fife. In total the crown received from Fife £4,778, plus 340 chalders of grain. *ACTB*, pp. 12-13, 29-42.

47 *ACTB*, pp. 242-245.

48 In 1563 the crown theoretically received £5603 18s 11d from Fife benefices (this figure includes arrears). *ACTB*, p. 237.
holders and institutions featured particularly prominently amongst those who were discharged from paying the tax of the third on ecclesiastical revenues. According to the collectors’ accounts for 1562 the rector of St Andrews University, the prebendary of Lambeletham (attached to the collegiate church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill), the university college of St Mary, and the priories of St Andrews and Pittenweem were all excused their contribution to the crown. It is probable that the tax of the thirds was also not applied to the colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard. The number of remittances granted to St Andrews benefices increased as the 1560s wore on. In 1563 the revenues of the Priory of Portmoak (then in the hands of John Winram), and the oatmeal payable to the prebendary of Kinglassie and Kingask, were both exempted from the charge of the third. Five years later the vicarage of St Andrews, the Hospital of St Nicholas, and the archdeaconry of St Andrews also gained exemptions, as did a number of benefices held by students at the university. By the end of the 1560s the remittances granted by the crown to St Andrews benefice-holders lost the government at least £1,854 a year.

The tax of the thirds was therefore unevenly applied to St Andrews benefices; numerous land holders were simply exempted from the contribution to the crown. This trend raised problems for both the government and the Reformed Kirk. In 1564 the Privy Council complained that, because “mony inoportunlie and without forder respect bot their awin privat lucre, hes abusit hir Hienes limitie and greit liberalitie” by “purchessing dischargeis on thair thirds” and seeking “unressonabill pensionis furth of the samyn thrids”, the revenues from the tax had become of such “small vale” they no longer

49 ACTB, pp. 147-149.
50 Neither of these colleges appear in the assessment for the charge of the thirds. As was noted in chapter 4 of this thesis the University of St Andrews had traditionally enjoyed an exemption from royal taxation.
51 ACTB, p. 241.
52 ACTB, p. 241.
covered the Queen’s expenses, and “the ministeris gettis na payment of thair appointit stipends”. The monarch’s decision not to enforce the charge of the thirds therefore ultimately reduced the amount of money at the disposal of the Protestant Kirk, as well as diminishing the income of the crown itself.

The issues with the thirds of benefices were, though, not restricted to its implementation. The basic policy had fundamental flaws. The Queen and Privy Council’s decision to recognise the rights of pre-Reformation land-holders formed the centre-piece of the 1561 settlement regarding rural estates. Yet this was a challenging commitment to make. There had been drastic changes between the summer of 1559 and the winter of 1561: lands had been reallocated, clergy had moved residences, and many of the administrative and legal institutions which had enforced the Church’s property rights had ceased to function. By the time the crown declared its intention to uphold the claims of the “old” possessors the situation was not the same as it had been at the start of the Reformation rising.

The ordinances issued by the Privy Council during the winter of 1561 and the spring of 1562 brought about a partial return of revenues to pre-Reformation churchmen. However, central government diktats could not (and never attempted to) restore the authority, purpose, and structures of Scotland’s pre-1559 Catholic Church. As a result, benefice-holders found themselves facing very different conditions from those they had experienced before the religious crisis. The newly restored possessors of ecclesiastical lands were often heavily in debt, had lost the support network of the old religious

53 *RPCS*, vol. 1, p. 287.
hierarchy, and had problematic relations with at least some sections of the local community. Unsurprisingly benefice-holders sought means of coping with the challenges that beset them, but the solutions they employed frequently encouraged further alterations to the distribution of revenues, the management of estates, and the tenure of numerous properties. Far from resolving the instability of the Reformation years, the rural settlement of the thirds of benefices ushered in a new era of change in land-holding.

The mid 1560s saw substantial shifts in how the wealth generated by St Andrews’ rural ecclesiastical estates was allocated and used. Notably, there seems to have been a subdividing and dispersal of former religious revenues. This phenomenon was particularly apparent in relation to the income of St Andrews Cathedral Priory. Despite the depredations of King James V and his illegitimate son Lord James Stewart, before the Reformation a substantial proportion of the revenues of St Andrews Cathedral still went to fund the communal activities of the Augustinian canons. However, the events of the summer of 1559 caused the cathedral priory to cease functioning as a monastic house. Following the religious changes a number of the canons moved away, and the cathedral chapter met relatively infrequently. These alterations had significant ramifications for the treatment of the priory’s revenues. The foundation’s assets no longer had a communal religious purpose, but instead increasingly provided salaries and

54 For example, Archbishop Hamilton spent much of the 1560s effectively exiled from the burgh of St Andrews. In 1563 Hamilton complained that as a result of “this trubblis tyme” he had “diverss creditoris”. NLS, 17.1.3, f. 350v.

55 It is uncertain precisely how many of the Cathedral canons moved away at the Reformation. However, the employment of at least 18 former canons as either ministers or readers in parishes outside St Andrews strongly implies that a significant proportion of the former monks moved out of the Cathedral precincts. Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, p. 36. The relative infrequency of post-Reformation chapter meetings can arguably be inferred from the pronouncement made in April 1570 that in future there would be two “chapters generall…haldin within the said abbay”. NLS, Adv.MS 17.1.3, f. 355v.
pensions for individuals. In the decade before the Reformation only three pensions had been granted from the income of St Andrews Cathedral. In contrast, between 1562 and 1569 the Earl of Moray consented to at least 35 new annual pensions being paid out of the cathedral priory’s revenues. Twenty pensions were granted between May and December 1566 alone - perhaps suggesting a significant reorganisation of the priory’s estates in the wake of Moray’s return to Scotland in the March of that year. The majority of the pensions were awarded to former canons. However, at least twelve were given to laymen of varying ranks. For example, a burgess of Edinburgh (John Murdo), a servant of the Earl of Moray’s (David Melville), and the uncle of Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange (John Kirkcaldy), all received annuities funded by the estates of St Andrews Cathedral.

A number of the pensions awarded (both to former canons and to laymen) were of considerable value. For example, in September 1566 the cathedral awarded George Douglas (the brother of William Douglas of Lochleven) an annual pension of 1000 merks, plus the right to collect the teind sheaves of Markinch and Kennoway. The total amount of money and victual diverted into funding pensions was extraordinary. By the end of the 1560s the bulk of the cathedral priory’s yearly revenues were probably funding pensions. Certainly, it would appear from the cathedral’s main cartulary that the pensions granted between 1562 and 1569 alone amounted to annual

56 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 58v, 167r, 168v. These pensions were granted to: William Roull (a student at the university), John Spens of Coudry (the Cathedral Priory’s advocate in Edinburgh), and David Guthre (the Cathedral’s third prior).
57 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 98r, 115r, 119v, 132v-134v, 136v, 138r-141r, 142r-147r, 192v, 195v, 196v, 355v, 378v, 385r-v, 391r.
58 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 146r, 147r, 378v.
59 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, f. 133r.
60 Pensions were normally granted for life.
The changes of the 1560s were not confined to the reallocation of monastic revenues. This period also saw alterations to how estates were administered. During Queen Mary’s personal rule there seems to have been a transfer of authority and control away from members of the old ecclesiastical hierarchy. Before the Reformation religious land holders had often made use of lay men in the administration of their estates. In the 1560s the influence of these temporal office-holders substantially increased, and in some cases became permanently established. In April 1562 Archbishop Hamilton granted Sir Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie (and his male heirs) the position of hereditary baillie, steward and justiciar general of the Archbishopric of St Andrews. This gave the Learmonth family control over the legal affairs of the regality of St Andrews and the management of most of the archbishop’s property north of the Forth. Meanwhile at the Cathedral Priory, much of the running of the estates seems to have been increasingly delegated to the chamberlain, David Orme. Like the Learmonths, Orme and his family also gained substantial benefits during the 1560s, being granted feu on a succession of priory properties (including a yard within the walls of the cathedral, between the

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61 The total annual value of the pensions granted by the Cathedral chapter during the 1560s was at least £2,579 9s 4d. A proportion of this expense appears to have been met by making payments in kind. Nevertheless, it was still a vast yearly outgoing. NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3.
62 RMS, vol. 4, p. 466. Sir Patrick Learmonth had held these offices since the mid 1550s, but had not originally been granted them as hereditary positions.
63 For example, when the crown sought to seize the Cathedral Priory’s property in the aftermath of the 1565 Chaseabout Raid it was David Orme who was ordered to produce the priory’s account books, rentals and tacks. RPCS, vol. 1, pp. 403-404. ALHT, vol. 11, p. 411.
“gaisthall” and the “ledy hous”). Orme would remain in control of the Cathedral Priory’s finances into the 1580s. The increasing power of men such as Sir Patrick Learmonth and David Orme partly reflected the fact that during the 1560s both Archbishop Hamilton and the Earl of Moray were preoccupied with events outside St Andrews. However, it was probably also necessitated by the destruction of the Catholic Church’s bureaucracy, upon whose administrative skills St Andrews landholders had previously relied.

The old ecclesiastical hierarchy’s abdication of authority was further apparent in benefice-holders’ treatment of church lands and teinds. During the mid 1560s there seems to have been an escalation in the number of teinds which were set in assedation (ie. leased out for a significant length of time). For example, in April 1564 Moray issued no less than twenty tacks granting laymen the right to collect the Cathedral Priory’s teinds. At around the same time St Leonard’s College also implemented a reorganisation of their teind-gathering processes granting six new tacks during the spring and summer of 1564. Meanwhile in the summer of 1563 the archbishop of St Andrews leased the right to gather teinds from a number of parishes on the south bank of the Forth. As well as seeing an increase in the quantity of tacks granted, the 1560s saw changes in the status of the people to whom teinds were set in assedation. This was particularly apparent in relation to the archbishop’s estates. Following the Reformation Archbishop Hamilton granted the right to collect teinds to several extremely high-

64 StAUL, UYSL110/D/1.
65 Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, p. 167.
66 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 198v-200r.
67 StAUL, UYSL155, pp. 102-106.
ranking (and often religiously conservative) aristocrats. In August 1563 he set a succession of teinds in assedation to Agnes Sinclair, the mother of the fourth Earl of Bothwell. In the same month Hamilton also set to his half-brother, the Duke of Chatelherault, the teinds of Listoun, in the sheriffdom of Linlithgow. It is probable that some of these tacks were bestowed as compensation for assistance given to Hamilton following the crisis of 1559. For example, the grant to Agnes Sinclair stated that it was made:

for the sowme of aught hundreth merkis usuall money of this realme remunerat and debursat to ws in owr urgent necessitie in this trubblis tyme for the relief of ws and the handis of diverss creditoris be ane nobill and mytie lady dame agnes sinclair lady of morham.

Yet whatever the motivation, such grants ultimately helped reduce the archbishop’s influence over his estates.

St Andrews benefice-holders’ decreased control over their estates was perhaps most graphically reflected in the amount of church property feued during the 1560s. Between 1562 and 1567 the holders of St Andrews church estates issued at least 108 feu-charters. Particularly extensive feuing was undertaken on the estates of the archbishop and the Cathedral Priory. In both cases the alienations seem to have been concentrated in a few brief bursts of activity, rather than being a gradual process spread out over several years. For example, most of the post-Reformation feu-charters issued by

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69 This trend arguably started with Archbishop Hamilton’s (technically illegal) grant of teinds from the parish of Kirklistoun to Lord Seton in July 1561. NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 349v-350r.
70 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3, ff. 350v-351r.
73 See appendix 2 of this thesis.
74 NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3. NRS, E14.
Archbishop Hamilton date from between April and July 1565; whilst in March 1567 the Earl of Moray granted at least 34 feus of cathedral lands.\textsuperscript{75}

This pattern of short periods of intensive feuing of church property may just reflect when Archbishop Hamilton and the Earl of Moray chose to re-organise their estates. However, it seems more likely that the phenomenon arose from the various financial and political crises that both Moray and the archbishop faced during the 1560s.\textsuperscript{76}

Although feuing could be problematic for landlords in the long term, in the short term it brought in substantial amounts of cash – making it a tempting proposition for proprietors in straitened economic circumstances.\textsuperscript{77} Certainly, a letter from Queen Mary (under the Privy Seal) dated 31 January 1567, strongly suggests that the Earl of Moray’s rapid disposal of land in 1566 and 1567 was triggered by his financial problems at that time. The letter not merely claims that Moray’s finances were in a parlous condition (he being “indettit in divers greit sowmes of money to sindrie… creditouris”), but explicitly links the Earl’s shortage of money to the decision to alienate property, stating that because of this:

\begin{quote}
he and [the] convent of the said abbay ar forcit to set thair landis and patrimony thairof in few and thair kirkis, teindscheves and uthiris teindis…in tak and assedation…that thai thairby may obtaine sic gressumes…as thairwith thai may repair the housis and parroche kirkis perteining to the said abbay now in thir
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{75} NLS, Adv.MS. 17.1.3.
\textsuperscript{76} For further discussion of the Earl of Moray’s problems in the mid 1560s see chapter 7 of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{77} The short term profit was largely derived from the upfront fee (or grassum) that tenants paid to convert their leases to feu-tenure.
troublish tymes fallin in decay, and the said erle may be supportit to continew in their hieness service.\textsuperscript{78}

In the mid 1560s a range of factors (including the increasing difficulties of administering church estates following the Reformation, changed religious needs and expectations, and broader economic and political developments) almost certainly combined together to encourage benefice-holders to alienate church property. From the perspective of ecclesiastical landholders facing an immediate and severe need for cash, converting properties to feu tenure probably seemed like a logical means of rapidly raising substantial sums of money. However, the practice ultimately reduced regular income. The negative financial implications of the widespread alienation of ecclesiastical property seems to have been felt extremely quickly – perhaps indicating that many feus were issued on terms that were (from the landlord’s perspective) disadvantageous.\textsuperscript{79} In January 1567, only five years after the assumption of the thirds of benefices had been undertaken, the government’s assessment of the wealth of St Andrews Cathedral Priory had to be revised downwards because Moray and the remaining canons had alienated so much land that the rental submitted in 1562 was no longer accurate.\textsuperscript{80} The \textit{Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices} show a similar trend regarding the estates of the archbishop of St Andrews: whilst the third of

\textsuperscript{78} RSS, vol. 5, part 2, p. 255. Of course, matters may have not been as simple as this letter suggests. It is, for example, conceivable that Moray’s decision to feu lands in March 1567 was designed to build up reserves of cash in preparation for challenging the Earl of Bothwell’s growing influence. In this context it is perhaps worthwhile noting that Moray had previously feued property on the eve of a crisis. His most extensive pre-Reformation feuing of the Cathedral Priory’s lands took place in the months leading up to the rising of the Lords of the Congregation. See chapter 4 of this thesis.

\textsuperscript{79} The issuing of feus on poor terms for the landlord may have been related to a desire to buy the support of the feuar. However, it is also possible that it simply reflects the chaotic circumstances in which (even in the mid 1560s) the reorganisation of church lands was taking place.

\textsuperscript{80} RSS, vol. 5, part 2, pp. 255-257. In January 1567 the Queen ordered her officials either to compile a new rental for St Andrews Cathedral Priory or “to deleit furth of the auld rentale the excrescence and gretar sowmes”. 
the archbishopric was initially recorded as being £968 a year, by 1568 it was only £820 per annum, implying that in less than six years the annual revenues from the episcopal lands had fallen by approximately £444.81

**Conclusion**

During Queen Mary’s personal rule St Andrews experienced substantial redistribution of church property. However, the means by which land was reorganised varied between town and country, as did the ultimate settlement reached. Whilst sites and rents within the actual city of St Andrews were generally transferred to institutions for the benefit of the local community, lands in the countryside were more commonly alienated to individuals or families. This distinction shaped land-holding in and around St Andrews for decades afterwards, and had considerable ramifications for the burgh’s economy. The processes by which restructuring was implemented differed across institutions and types of property, yet ultimately almost all the estates of St Andrews’ former and current religious institutions underwent extensive change during the 1560s.

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81 *ACTB*, p. 12.
The 1560s saw numerous reallocations of property in and around St Andrews. Major grants of lands and revenues were made to the university, the burgh council, and private individuals.¹ Yet all of these transfers were only worth something if the new holders could enforce their claims. Following the Reformation many St Andrews institutions experienced severe difficulties implementing their theoretical rights: property disputes were common and non-payment of rents, teinds, and other dues was widespread.² Such problems continued even after the reorganisation of church revenues undertaken during Queen Mary’s personal rule. This chapter aims to explore the challenges that St Andrews’ religious and educational landholders and officials faced in imposing their authority between 1562 (when the post-Reformation settlement regarding church lands was initially implemented) and 1587 (when the Act of Annexation was introduced).³ It will suggest that during the post-Reformation period ecclesiastical property rights became increasingly contested, both formally through the courts, and informally by means such as non-payment. For much of the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s there seems to have been a crisis in the management of St Andrews’ current and former church estates – with detrimental consequences for the city’s ecclesiastical, charitable, and educational institutions.

¹ See chapter 6 of this thesis.
² See chapter 5 of this thesis.
³ For discussion of Act of Annexation see chapter 8 of this thesis.
Disputes

At the end of the 1590s the eminent Protestant preacher and former moderator of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, Robert Pont, condemned the prevalence of disagreements regarding church property. He claimed that since the change in religion:

everie one would pull from another; some the Landes, some the teindes, some the patronages, some the Prelacies, some the other benefices…And albeit, there be many ungodly contentiones and controversies in the lande…yet for no cause arise there so many pleadings in the lawe, as for the teinds and Ecclesiastical goods. 4

Pont’s remarks were made as part of a sermon attacking infringements of the Kirk’s rights, and therefore served a rhetorical purpose. Nevertheless, it is likely that his portrayal of a factious and acquisitive society squabbling over the assets and privileges of the church was substantially rooted in reality. Indeed, Pont’s comments may have been partly inspired by his own experience in St Andrews. 5

In December 1581 Robert Pont was offered the position of minister at Holy Trinity Church. 6 However, the appointment rapidly foundered because of issues with his stipend. The precise problem is unknown, but it seems likely that the commendator of St Andrews Cathedral (Robert Stewart, the Earl of March) was diverting the resources

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5 Pont had a long association with the burgh of St Andrews. Besides the episode discussed here, Pont was a student at St Leonard’s College, a signatory on the burgh’s 1559 declaration of support for the Protestant confession of faith, and an elder of St Andrews Kirk Session between 1559 and 1561. Although, in the early 1560s Pont’s career in the Reformed Church took him away from St Andrews, he retained ties to the city, owning property on North Street, and staying in the burgh during the winter of 1571. StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v. StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 2-4. R. Pitcairn (ed.), Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, by Richard Bannatyne (Edinburgh, 1836), p. 214. James Kirk, ‘Robert Pont (1524-1606)’, ODNB.
6 StAKS, vol 1, p. 463.
allocated to the minister’s stipend into his own pocket. The St Andrews Kirk Session minutes for 9 May 1582 record that representatives from the church had to be sent to “confer with my Lord of Marche, for gude ordour to be takin for Mr Robert Pont minister, and for his stipend, that he may be hestit to cum hame”. Meanwhile, in April 1583 Robert Pont informed the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that “with loss of his heritage and worldly commodity” he “had served on his own charges a whole year” in St Andrews, but that he begged the kirk “not to lay the charge upon him against his will”.

The argument about Pont’s stipend was one of many late sixteenth-century disputes concerning St Andrews’ ecclesiastical finances. Although significant gaps in the St Andrews burgh and commissary court records mean that it is hard to quantify precisely the amount of post-Reformation litigation regarding church estates, the extant national and university records point to an increase in disputes regarding the assets of both the old and new churches. In particular, there appear to have been more arguments between members of the St Andrews establishment, and less ability to resolve such disputes locally.

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7 StAKS, vol. 1, p. 481.
9 Unfortunately, the earliest extant minute book of the St Andrews burgh court (StAUL, B65/8/1) dates from 1589, meaning that for material prior to this date we are reliant on a limited number of extracts from the proceedings preserved in the burgh council’s register book (StAUL, B65/1/1). Meanwhile, the earliest book of acts and decreets from the St Andrews Commissary Court (NRS, CC20/1/1) dates from 1573.
10 For example, between 1570 and 1579 the Privy Council was appealed to in at least six disputes regarding St Andrews’ ecclesiastical and university finances and appointments. In contrast, the Register of the Privy Council includes no such comparable interventions for the period between 1550 and 1559. RPCS, vols 1, 2 and 3. Specifically, vol. 2, pp. 101-103, 208, 238-40, 529-530, 542-532, 561; vol. 3, p. 95, p. 243.

The records of St Salvator’s College suggest a similar pattern. Between 1540 and 1559 St Salvator’s College was involved in five disputes regarding its estates. Four were resolved in the Court of the Official Principal of St Andrews, and one was settled by the local burgh court (all were relatively brief arguments with laymen regarding non-payment of rents). In contrast, of the six lawsuits regarding college property
The prevailing discord concerning St Andrews’ ecclesiastical estates was probably fostered by a combination of factors. The complicated nature of the post-Reformation settlement regarding religious revenues created considerable potential for misunderstanding, disagreement, and opportunism. In itself, this need not have proved disastrous; confusing economic arrangements could be made to work with the right sort of political and legal backing. However, when accompanied by serious failures in religious and secular governance, the complexity of the arrangements concerning current and former church lands was deeply problematic.

In the decades after the Reformation the majority of St Andrews’ institutions were poorly placed to uphold muddled (and at times unpopular) financial structures. Despite the development of new Protestant bodies, such as the Kirk Session and the Commissary Court, there were real problems with the governance of St Andrews and its hinterland during the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s. A calamitous mix of broader political upheavals, local power struggles, and ideological disagreements generated major divisions within the St Andrews establishment, which only worsened with the upheavals that St Salvator’s College entered into between 1570 and 1579 only one was resolved locally (by the St Andrews Commissary Court), the remaining five being dealt with by the Privy Council and the Court of Session. For pre-Reformation disputes see StAUL: UYSS110/L/12, UYSS110/M/14, UYSS110/O/9, UYSS110/S/10, UYSS110/AC/1. For post-Reformation disputes see the series StAUL: UYSS110/E, UYSS110/G, UYSS110/Q, UYSS110/W, UYSS110/Y, UYSS110/AD.

11 For discussion of the complexities of the policies of the 1560s see chapter 6 of this thesis. This initial settlement was then made still more unclear and unstable by the establishment of a Protestant episcopacy following the 1572 Convention of Leith. For an overview of the financial implications of the reintroduction of episcopacy see James Kirk, *Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Church* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 349-351.

12 For example, the administrative structures of Holy Trinity Church before the Reformation were extremely complicated, yet in general appear to have functioned effectively.

13 The St Andrews Kirk Session was of course established in the summer of 1559. StAKS, vol. 1, p. 1. In 1564 Commissary Courts were established to deal with many of the cases previously handled by the Catholic Church’s Consistory Courts. On the recommendation of the Earl of Moray the St Andrews Commissary Court met in St Salvator’s Chapel – a choice that would be the source of much contention. StAUL, UYSS/110/C3.
surrounding the abdication of Mary Queen of Scots in July 1567. Serious rifts developed over a range of issues including the deposition of the Queen, the restoration of episcopacy, and the influence of the Hamilton family in the kirk and the university.\(^{14}\) Lacking an effective leader who could unite, or at least placate, the different factions, St Andrews’ officials increasingly undermined each other, frequently casting aspersions on their colleagues’ honesty, competence and doctrinal orthodoxy.\(^{15}\) This political and religious infighting had substantial implications for local landholding. The broader conflict within the city appears not only to have encouraged property disputes, but it also inhibited the successful resolution of such quarrels when they occurred.

During the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s a variety of disagreements arose regarding St Andrews’ ecclesiastical estates. Whilst some disputes were straightforward arguments over who owned or should occupy a specific property, many were more complicated. The composite nature of the settlement regarding religious lands created by the Marian regime meant that there were numerous opportunities for highly complex controversies associated with both the old entitlements of the Catholic Church and the new claims of the Protestant Kirk.


\(^{15}\) Before the religious changes, the archbishop of St Andrews had often mediated between different factions within the city. Following the upheavals of 1559, the leaders of the Protestant Kirk struggled to fulfil this role. Both the superintendent of Fife (John Winram) and the first two Protestant archbishops of St Andrews (John Douglas and Patrick Adamson) faced serious personal animosity from some sections of the St Andrews community. Indeed relations between Archbishop Adamson and the burgh’s elites deteriorated so much that in 1582 Patrick Learmonth (one of the sons of the provost of St Andrews) conspired to murder him. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, pp. 124-126. D.F. Wright, ‘John Douglas (c.1500-1574)’, *ODNB Online*. Joy Adamson, ‘Patrick Adamson (1537-1592)’, *ODNB Online*. Pitcairn, (ed.), *Memorials*, pp. 222-228. For examples of the invective levelled at St Andrews ecclesiastical officials see Pitcairn, (ed.), *Memorials*, pp. 256-263; StAKS, vol. 1, pp. 334-335; Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, pp. 126-129.
Although the Reformation swept away much of the economic underpinning of Scotland’s Catholic Church, elements of the rights and privileges that ecclesiastical officials and institutions had obtained were still theoretically enforceable. However, the ways in which these older rights should be implemented in a vastly altered religious climate was often unclear. Effectively, the nature and applicability of many pre-Reformation privileges had to be worked out afresh. This process of redefining and refashioning traditional rights was often highly controversial, as the squabbles that developed over a number of Fife properties following the Earl of Moray’s 1565 rising against Queen Mary demonstrate.

In August 1565 (in the opening phase of the crisis now known as the Chaseabout Raid) the Privy Council ordered the confiscation of the estates of the Earl of Moray and his supporters.\(^\text{16}\) This was a standard punishment for rebels, and should not have proved too contentious (except with Moray and his allies). However, amongst the places confiscated were a number of lands within the Regality of St Andrews, including “the houssis and place of the Abbay of Sanctandrois” itself.\(^\text{17}\) The crown’s take-over of these properties went against established pre-Reformation conventions, and sparked a succession of legal battles. The resulting disagreements regarding the estates of St Andrews Cathedral Priory have been considered in some depth by Linda Dunbar in her insightful biography of John Winram.\(^\text{18}\) Yet the fight for the Cathedral’s lands was in

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\(^{16}\) *RPCS*, vol. 1, pp. 353-354.

\(^{17}\) *RPCS*, vol. 1, pp. 353. StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 40r-42v.

\(^{18}\) Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, pp. 140-142. Understandably, given the focus of her study, Dunbar focuses on how the disputes affected John Winram and St Andrews Cathedral Priory. Yet this perspective arguably makes Dunbar’s analysis less sympathetic to other participants in the quarrel, and encourages her to portray the disagreement chiefly as an attack on the priory’s estates. (For example, Archbishop Hamilton is described as “scheming for the spoils of the priory”.) However, an alternative (and perhaps more rewarding) way to perceive the quarrel is as part of a complex process of defining the interaction between old and new rights.
fact one part of a broader struggle concerning the applicability of the old church’s rights.

The row surrounding the government’s confiscation of the estates of Moray and his supporters was arguably sparked by the decision of Archbishop John Hamilton (who was newly released from prison) to contest the crown’s decision to seize the property of rebels within the Regality of St Andrews. Before the religious changes the archbishop of St Andrews had enjoyed the rights to all forfeited (or otherwise vacant) lands within the regality.\(^{19}\) According to precedent, therefore, the estates of the rebels within the bounds of the regality should have been given to the archbishop, rather than being retained by royal officials. On 15 December 1565 the Lords of Council and Session decided that the archbishop’s objection to the crown’s actions was valid, and confirmed that Hamilton had the right to escheats (i.e. forfeited or vacant property) within the Regality of St Andrews, and specifically to the holdings of Andrew, Earl of Rothes, James Haliburton (provost of Dundee), George Learmonth of Balcomie, and David Monypenny of Pitmilly.\(^{20}\) However, this ruling by no means ended the wrangling. Archbishop Hamilton went on to maintain that as well as having a right to the property listed in the Lords of Session’s decision, he should also enjoy the escheat of the estates of St Andrews Cathedral Priory (a claim which almost certainly formed a departure from traditional Catholic policy regarding the assets of religious foundations).\(^{21}\) Unsurprisingly Hamilton’s assertion was disputed by the surviving members of the Cathedral chapter, who seem to have successfully persuaded the Privy Council that the

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\(^{19}\) StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 40r-42v. Reliquiae, pp. 89-90.

\(^{20}\) StAUL, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 40r-42v.

\(^{21}\) The estates of the cathedral were technically held by the priory as a religious community and hence (at least before the Reformation) should never have been subject to confiscation simply because of a crime committed by the prior.
estates of the priory were not the Earl of Moray’s property, but pertained to the institution as a whole – and hence should never have been confiscated in the first place, let alone be handed over to the archbishop.\(^{22}\)

The controversies associated with the confiscation of properties within the Regality of St Andrews reveal the post-Reformation confusion regarding former ecclesiastical estates. The crown’s initial willingness to overlook the entitlements of both the archbishop and the cathedral indicates the extent to which even national authorities assumed that the old church’s privileges were no longer applicable. However, as Archbishop Hamilton’s actions demonstrated, the fact that a number of the pre-Reformation rights had not been officially abolished meant that there was always the possibility that interested persons might try to enforce them, sometimes in contexts (such as the escheat of the Cathedral’s property) where they would never previously have been applied. The difference between many people’s perception of the post-Reformation situation and the rights that technically still survived provided ample opportunity for disagreements, which were frequently only resolved by litigation.

The efforts of Protestant ministers and officials to expand and enforce their economic perks and privileges also proved highly contentious. On occasions the demands of the Reformed Kirk’s personnel directly conflicted with privileges traditionally held by other bodies within St Andrews (such as the university colleges). Disputes over such matters seem to have been particularly common when there was already some disagreement over what the pre-Reformation rights had been. For example, at the start of the 1570s a

\(^{22}\) For more details of how the argument concerning the Cathedral’s estates unfolded see Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, pp. 141-142.
major argument developed between the superintendent of Fife, John Winram, and the
provost and masters of St Salvator’s College regarding the right of presentation to the
chaplainry of St John the Evangelist in St Salvator’s College. The college officials
wished to give the revenues of the chaplainry to a poor student named James Fiddes to
pay for his food and clothes. 23 Yet John Winram alleged that appointment to the
chaplainry had previously rested with the Abbot of Lindores and that it now pertained to
himself (thanks to the Privy Council’s 1566 decision that “small benefices” should
“always be disponit to sic parsonages as the superintendentis and assemblie of the kirk
eftir dew examinatioun, sall find abill, qualifiet, and suffi
cient”). 24 In contrast, the
college maintained that the Provost of St Salvator’s, Mr John Rutherford, had “just and
undoutit rycht to the donatioun of the said chaplanerie…lyke as his predecessouris,
provestis of the said College, hes bene in use of donatioun of sic chaplanriis foundit
tharin in all tymes begane”. 25 In March 1573 the Privy Council upheld the college’s
right, and ordered Winram and his nominated appointee (his cousin Mr Robert Wilkie)
to desist from “all calling, presenting and intrometting” with the chaplainry “in tyme
cuming”. 26 The provost and masters of St Salvator’s therefore eventually achieved their
desired outcome, though at the cost of a major legal battle and the loss of two years
worth of revenues from the chaplainry. 27

23 StAUL, UYSS110/Q/9. RPCS, vol. 2, pp. 208-209. Dunbar, Reforming the Scottish Church, pp. 125-
126.
27 Apparently John Winram and his cousin had “stoppit and debarrit” the poor student James Fiddes “fra
the said chaplanerie and answering of the rentis thairof continewalie sen the donatioun foirsaid maid be
the said Maister Johnne Rutherfurd”. Even when the college won their case, these lost rents do not appear
to have been compensated. RPCS, vol. 2, p. 208. StAUL, UYSS110/Q/9.
Winram’s dispute regarding the chaplainry of St John seems to have both been part of an on-going feud with the provost of St Salvator’s College, John Rutherford, and to have related to a broader campaign to extend the superintendent’s authority (particularly in the sphere of ecclesiastical appointments).\textsuperscript{28} However, Winram was not the only official of the Reformed Kirk to attempt to extend the economic privileges associated with his office. For example, in the mid 1570s Thomas Wood, who had been granted the vicarage of St Andrews, entered into a dispute with Archbishop Adamson regarding the provision of a better manse and glebe.\textsuperscript{29}

It has been suggested that Wood’s demands for improved accommodation were connected to the opposition he had experienced when taking up his position in St Andrews.\textsuperscript{30} Certainly, many disputes regarding church lands became bound up with other grievances, often triggering a drawn-out succession of lawsuits. For example, in the 1570s St Salvator’s College became involved in a series of disputes with the St Andrews Commissary Court over a range of issues including the use of the college chapel as a court room. The argument regarding the chapel continued for more than twenty years (lasting from at least 1575 to 1599), and appears to have seriously soured relations between the two bodies.\textsuperscript{31}

The prevalence of disputes regarding church lands almost certainly had negative consequences for the institutions involved, and to a degree for the broader community. Even in the sixteenth century legal proceedings were not without costs. For example, in

\textsuperscript{28} For discussion of the feud between Rutherford and Winram see Dunbar, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Church}, pp. 124-126.
\textsuperscript{29} Dunbar, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Church}, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{30} Dunbar, \textit{Reforming the Scottish Church}, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{31} StAUL, UYSS110/C/5.
1578 when pursuing a suit regarding the parsonage of Forteviot, the masters of St Salvator’s College were obliged to borrow money from Alexander Bonar of Balgirsoch in order to continue their action.\(^{32}\) The settlements reached often posed a further financial drain on the participants. For instance, the masters of St Salvator’s eventually regained the parsonage of Forteviot by paying David Home (the minister of Oldhamstocks who was disputing the college’s claim to the benefice) 400 merks, and agreeing to accept his two sons on bursaries.\(^{33}\)

Critically, the arguments over church property also intensified divisions among the St Andrews elites, sometimes with implications for the enforcement of economic obligations. For instance, the conflict between St Salvator’s College and the Commissary Court meant that the Commissary, William Skene, was at times unwilling to assist the college and its members. In 1576 the St Andrews Commissary Court refused to recognise the right of Mr James Martine, second master of St Salvator’s College and executor of the will of Mr David Guild (another member of the college), to pursue Guild’s debtors, on the basis that the will had been confirmed by the provost of St Salvator’s, and not by the Commissary of St Andrews.\(^{34}\) The principal masters of St Salvator’s appealed to the Lords of Council for assistance, who decided in the college’s favour, and threatened the Commissary of St Andrews with horning if he did not give a decreet on the matter.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{32}\) StAUL, UYSS110/E/4.8.
\(^{33}\) StAUL, UYSS110/E/4.10.
\(^{34}\) StAUL, UYSS110/AD/2.
\(^{35}\) StAUL, UYSS110/AD/3.
The disputes regarding church property and rights almost certainly made it harder for St Andrews institutions to deal with broader challenges to their economic structures. In particular, the fact that so many of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical and educational institutions were fighting each other created a situation where the local establishment was divided and in little position to deal with external opposition. Ultimately, the formal disputes in the law courts probably increased the likelihood of informal challenges through means such as non-payment of rents and teinds.

**Non-payment**

Throughout the post-Reformation period St Andrews landlords and benefice-holders had substantial problems simply exacting the money and victual to which they were legally entitled. The patchiness of the source material means that it is hard to compare levels of non-payment of rents and teinds before and after the crisis of 1559. Nevertheless, contemporaries undoubtedly believed that following the religious changes many tenants who had previously observed their obligations satisfactorily became increasingly recalcitrant. For example, in the early 1560s the parson of Hauch, near Haddington, linked his decreased income to the rising of the Lords of the Congregation, stating that “befoir the tyme of trubill” his parishioners had made “guid payment”.

The reasons why people failed to meet their obligations almost certainly varied. Many probably became debtors simply a result of poverty. However, there is reason to

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36 BA, p. 170. For further details see chapter 5 of this thesis.
37 During the 1560s and 1570s Scotland experienced a series of subsistence crises. A combination of bad weather and political upheaval meant that between 1560 and 1580, the country faced at least nine years when food shortages were widespread. In such circumstances grain prices rose, and families’ disposable income fell, increasing the likelihood that people would be unwilling or unable to meet additional
believe that non-payment was sometimes more directly connected to the upheavals of the Reformation. In October 1561 John Melville, the new Protestant minister of Crail, complained to the Court of the Superintendent of Fife that when he admonished his congregation to pay their dues, William Morton of Cambo responded saying, ‘My brother is and salbe vicar of Crayll quhen thow sal [beg] thy mayt, fals smayk”.\(^{38}\) For Morton (and some other parishioners of Crail) non-payment appears to have been part of a broader dissatisfaction with the new religious regime.\(^{39}\) Similar motivations may have played a part within the city of St Andrews itself. For example, it is perhaps significant that in 1567 two former Dominicans, Henry Mason and Thomas Liston, were amongst the tenants sued by the burgh council for failing to pay rent on a yard formerly belonging to the Black Friars.\(^{40}\)

Resistance to paying teinds and other ecclesiastical exactions may also have come from elements within the Reformist camp. In 1599 Robert Pont denounced “Gentlemen and labourers of the grounde, that were put in hope to have their teindes altogether discharged. And in that respect (rather then any zeale of religion) did assiste the reformation”.\(^{41}\) According to Pont these individuals “were frustrate of their expectation”. It is possible that some of these disappointed Reformers took matters into their own hands, simply by stopping paying their contributions to the church.\(^{42}\)


\(^{39}\) Significantly, only a few days after the incident with William Morton, there was another disruption in the church at Crail, when a woman named Elizabeth Arnot took exception to the minister’s criticism of “the fals bretheren of Papistis”. StAKS, vol. 1, p. 107.

\(^{40}\) B65/1, ff. 55r-v.

\(^{41}\) Pont, *Against Sacrilege*, p. 6.

\(^{42}\) This was, for instance, a response taken in parts of Germany by peasants who resented paying perpetual rents to the church. See Lawrence Buck, ‘The Reformation, Purgatory and Perpetual Rents in the Revolt
Yet, whether triggered by poverty or by ideology, non-payment posed a serious problem for landlords and benefice-holders. There is evidence from St Andrews of individuals refusing (or being unable) to pay wide range of types of exaction, including annual rents, feu-mails, teinds, and the charge of a third on benefices. The phenomenon affected properties both within and without the city of St Andrews, and debtors came from almost all ranks of Fife society. At the start of the 1570s the notable East Neuk lairds George Learmonth of Balcomie and James Sandilands of St Monans were both prosecuted for refusing to pay the St Andrews burgh council the rent due from properties formerly owned by the Dominican friars.43 Similarly, the *Accounts of the Collectors of the Thirds of Benefices* reveal that in the early 1560s Sir Patrick Learmonth, the provost of St Andrews, failed to pay the crown the required tax of a third from the estates of the provostry of St Mary’s Kirk Hill (the lands of which he was administering through his position as baillie).44 Meanwhile, at the other end of the social spectrum, during the early 1570s a widow named Elizabeth Baxter, who lived on Huckster’s Wynd (one of the poorest streets in St Andrews), was sued by St Salvator’s College regarding her non-payment of an annual feu-mail of £1 13s 4d due from her house.45

Frequently issues with non-payment dragged on for a number of years. Even a relatively simple case, such as the St Salvator’s masters’ attempts to extract their feu-mail from

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43 StAUL, B65/1, ff.55-56.
44 ACTB, p. 166.
45 StAUL, UYSS110/W/13.
Elizabeth Baxter, could last for four or five years.\textsuperscript{46} Other disputes were far more protracted. For example, St Salvator’s College spent at least twenty-two years pursuing the Clephane family regarding payment of an annual rent of £16 due from the lands of Carslogie (just west of Cupar).\textsuperscript{47} The College commenced legal proceedings against James Clephane in February 1574, continued the dispute with his nephew George Clephane, and eventually came to a settlement in February 1596 when George (belatedly) paid up.\textsuperscript{48} Sometimes, rather than a single lengthy dispute there were several successive disagreements. This seems to have been particularly likely with the payment of teinds: certain parishes almost established a tradition of poor payment. For instance, St Salvator’s College is known to have had problems with the collection of the teinds of the parish of Cults (in the Howe of Fife) in 1579, 1590, 1591, 1596, 1597, 1612 and 1613.\textsuperscript{49} Similarly, the teinds of the parish of Portmoak posed a recurrent problem first for John Winram and then for the masters of St Leonard’s College (to whom the estates of the priory of Portmoak were transferred in 1580).\textsuperscript{50}

The long duration of many of these disputes almost certainly reflects the tenuous hold on authority that both the government and the judiciary had in the decades following the Reformation (and in particular during the minority of James VI). Throughout the 1560s,

\textsuperscript{46} The dispute between St Salvator’s and Elizabeth Baxter went on for at least four years. The college initially took Elizabeth Baxter to court for non-payment in December 1571. However, in the summer of 1575 the problem still was not resolved. By that stage the college was owed more than £10. In July 1575 the St Andrews Commissary Court ordered that Elizabeth Baxter’s moveable goods should be seized. At this point the dispute disappears from the St Salvator’s College records – perhaps indicating a satisfactory outcome for the college. The fact that a relatively humble St Andrews resident, living a few hundred yards away from her landlord, was able to draw out a dispute over non-payment for several years suggests that there were serious problems with the enforcing of tenurial obligations within St Andrews. StAUL, UYSS110/W/13. StAUL, UYSS110/AC/2.

\textsuperscript{47} See the series StAUL, UYSS110/Y.

\textsuperscript{48} StAUL, UYSS110/Y/13.

\textsuperscript{49} See the series StAUL, UYSS110/G.

\textsuperscript{50} See the series StAUL, UYSS110/H. Significantly, before the Reformation the parishioners of Portmoak apparently met their obligations fairly reliably. It was (at least according to John Winram) after the religious changes that the problem commenced. See chapter 5 of this thesis.
1570s and 1580s St Andrews institutions turned both to central and to local courts in their efforts to combat non-payment. Yet often legal proceedings did not resolve the problem. Even if the creditor’s suit was successful, the judgment of the court was frequently disregarded by debtors. On several occasions a succession of court cases (at a variety of levels) was required before payment was eventually enforced.

The difficulties associated with implementing court decisions are illustrated by the St Andrews burgh council’s experience with rents formerly due to the choir and chaplains of Holy Trinity Church and the local Dominican friary. After being awarded a series of rents by the Queen’s gift of April 1567 the provost and bailies of St Andrews determined to enforce payment, and commenced a number of prosecutions against uncooperative households.\(^{51}\) Between May 1567 and December 1568 at least 12 tenants of the former choristers of Holy Trinity Church were sued in the St Andrews burgh court for non-payment of annual rents. This was more than the total known number of such cases concerning choir tenants for the whole preceding half century.\(^{52}\) The burgh court issued a series of decreets commanding the obstructive tenants to honour their obligations. However, these local judgments failed to settle the matter. Therefore, at the end of the 1560s the St Andrews burgh council appealed to the Court of Session in Edinburgh to enforce the payment of rents due from both former Holy Trinity and friary properties.\(^{53}\) In February 1570 the Lords of Session decided in favour of the burgh council and ordered that payment be made for all monies owed back to 1567, and that any debtors who failed to do so should be imprisoned in Blackness Castle.\(^{54}\) Yet,

\(^{51}\) For details of the grant see chapter 6 of this thesis.
\(^{52}\) StAUL, B65/1, ff. 39v-50v.
\(^{53}\) StAUL, B65/23/358.
\(^{54}\) StAUL, B65/23/358.
despite such a serious threat, a number of rents remained unpaid. Legal proceedings continued, and in August 1573 (more than six years after litigation had commenced) representatives from St Andrews burgh council appeared before the Lords Commissioners claiming they were still not receiving rents from many of the properties in question.\textsuperscript{55} The Lords Commissioners seem to have been favourably inclined towards the St Andrews officials and ordered them to:

\begin{quote}
bring agane the nixt assemblie ane sufficient rentale of the haill freiris landis rentis and annuells and in particulare quhair thay ar to be up leftit and siclyke the particulare rentaillis of all the chamlanis [chaplainries] alsweill being at the townis gift as at thair patronis gift within the said toun, with the rowmes and places quhail thai salbe uplifit.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}

During the winter and spring of 1573 to 1574 crown officers sent a series of letters to former tenants of the St Andrews Dominican Friary (including the local lairds George Learmonth of Balcomie and James Sandilands of St Monans) stating that they would be put to the horn if they did not straightaway submit to being warded in Blackness Castle until their debts to the burgh council had been paid off.\textsuperscript{57} Only at this point does the dispute disappear from the surviving records, perhaps indicating that the immediate prospect of imprisonment frightened the debtors into payment. The fact that even with the backing of the Lords of Session it took the burgh council (a body which was in a highly privileged position within the local community) seven years to enforce payment of rents from relatively ordinary properties within and around St Andrews indicates the extensive difficulties facing institutional landlords after the Reformation.

\textsuperscript{55} NRS, CH8/31, f. 15r.
\textsuperscript{56} NRS, CH8/31, f. 15r.
\textsuperscript{57} StAUL, B65/1, ff.55-56.
The experience of the burgh council was by no means unique. In the mid 1570s, when attempting to enforce payment of an annual rent of 22 merks from the lands of Penicuik (in Midlothian), the masters of St Leonard’s College similarly discovered that favourable judgments by courts and crown officials did not always immediately resolve matters. Despite having obtained the the backing of the regent (the Earl of Morton), the College had to undergo a lengthy struggle to get John Penicuik (the laird of Penicuik and the principal debtor) to pay up.\(^{58}\) Both the threat of warding in Doune Castle and a payment plan negotiated by the regent seem to have been ineffective. The laird of Penicuik failed to honour the terms of the agreement with St Leonard’s College, and when his sheep were seized in settlement of the debt sent fifteen men (including his two sons) “violentlie” to reclaim them.\(^{59}\) Penicuik and his associates were then summoned before the Privy Council but failed to appear, leading to his being denounced as a rebel.\(^{60}\) There are no further records of the dispute. However, as the Penicuik family remained in possession of their estates until 1603 it is possible that the controversy was resolved at some point.\(^{61}\)

Although both the burgh council and St Leonard’s College may have ultimately been successful in enforcing payment, the amount of time and money spent on these cases was considerable. Extensive lobbying and legal battles were an option available only to well off organisations, and only sensible when the sums owed were substantial. It was simply not realistic to pursue all debtors in this fashion. Both tenants and property-holders appear to have been aware of this fact, and increasingly landlords gave up

\(^{58}\) RPCS, vol. 2, pp. 529-530.

\(^{59}\) RPCS, vol. 2, p. 530

\(^{60}\) RPCS, vol. 2, p. 530.

attempting to enforce low value rents. As the author of the 1599 rental of the estates of St Leonard’s College resignedly remarked the masters could not sue “for vid or xiid, the cost would over-gang the profit”\textsuperscript{62} Non-payment of rents and other dues not merely caused a nuisance to landholders at the time: in some cases the phenomenon ensured that obligations were effectively abolished.\textsuperscript{63}

**Conclusion**

During the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s St Andrews landlords had major problems in enforcing their authority. The effective administration of the city’s former church estates was severely undermined both by the internal divisions within the St Andrews establishment, and by the considerable challenges associated with securing payment of rents, teinds and other revenues. These problems with the management of St Andrews current and former ecclesiastical property had negative consequences for the kirk, the burgh council, and the university. The failure to deliver to the ministry, the burgh council and the university colleges the full funds to which they were entitled, would inevitably restrict their capacity to implement the pastoral, educational and social reforms that had been envisaged during the Reformation crisis and the early years of Queen Mary’s personal rule. Ultimately, the problems with enforcement that St Andrews faced in the years after 1562 meant that the post-Reformation economic settlement was less favourable to philanthropic organisations than had been hoped, and

\textsuperscript{62} StAUL, UYSL156, p. 91. Although not vast sums in and of themselves, low value annual rents had formed an essential part of the pre-Reformation church’s financial structures. For example, the chaplainries of Holy Trinity Church were substantially maintained by large number of rents of a few shillings each.

\textsuperscript{63} For example the 1599 rental from St Leonard’s College states that the pittance silver “is never pay’d”. StAUL, UYSL156, p. 91.
instead benefited those who deliberately prevailed “against them of lesse power, and such as they may hinder”.  

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64 Pont, *Against Sacrilege*, p. 7.
Chapter 8 – Legacy

In July 1587 the Scottish parliament confirmed that King James VI had officially attained his majority and “may do all things that…a prince of lawful and perfect age might have done or may do of the law”.\(^1\) In the same session of parliament the representatives of the three estates also passed the legislation now known as the “Act of Annexation” which stated that (with a small number of exceptions) all temporal lands belonging either to “ecclesiastical or beneficed” persons, or to cathedrals, monasteries, collegiate churches and chantries, should be “hereafter taken, held and reputed as it were the property and patrimony of the crown, to remain therewith in all time coming”.\(^2\)

The Act of Annexation was by far the most explicit assertion of the Scottish monarch’s control over current and former church lands that had been made to that date, and it constituted a significant departure from the compromise settlement the crown had negotiated during the 1560s. From this point, until the partial repeal of the act in the early seventeenth century, the king could (at least in theory) treat a substantial portion of the pre-Reformation church’s property as “his own patrimony”, to be kept or disposed of as he chose, not as the kirk, the nobility, or custom dictated.\(^3\)

For the residents of St Andrews, the implications of the Act of Annexation were probably mixed. Despite the compensation offered to those affected, the crown’s take-over of the church’s temporal lands posed a problem for some individuals. For example, according to George Martine’s late seventeenth century history of the see of St Andrews, following the annexation “the rents and revenues” of the archbishopric “were

\(^1\) RPS, 1587/7/11.
\(^2\) RPS, 1587/7/18.
all uplifted by the king’s officers, except a pittance thereof allowed to Mr Patrick Adamsone then Archbishop, for his subsistence”. However, it is likely that the impact of the Act of Annexation on the St Andrews church as a whole was diminished by the great shifts in religious landholding that had previously taken place. By the time the king came to assert his authority over ecclesiastical property a substantial portion of the pre-Reformation church’s rights and wealth had already been dispersed.

This chapter aims to explore the broad changes which had happened to St Andrews’ church estates by the mid 1580s, and how these alterations impinged on the wider burgh community. It will suggest that during the three decades between the Reformation crisis of 1559 and the Act of Annexation of 1587, St Andrews’ religious economy was transformed. A combination of the actions of local residents and officials, the policies of the crown, and broader economic and political developments brought about both a major decrease in the resources available to St Andrews’ religious organisations, and a substantial increase in lay influence over ecclesiastical estates. Together these trends produced a state of affairs which was profoundly different from the situation which had existed before the Reformation, and which was highly problematic for the kirk and city of St Andrews.

4 *Reliquiae*, p. 152. By the early seventeenth century even the crown conceded that the Act of Annexation caused problems for the episcopate. The 1606 Act Regarding the Restitution of the Estate of Bishops declared that although the Act of Annexation “was neither meant by his majesty nor by his estates that the said estate of bishops…should in any way be suppressed; yet his majesty, by experience of the subsequent time, has clearly seen that the dismembering and abstracting from them of their livings has brought them in such contempt and poverty that they are not able to furnish necessaries to their private family, much less to bear the charges of their wonted rank in parliament and general councils”. RPS, 1605/6/31.
Reduction in Ecclesiastical Income

Among the fundamental economic changes that took place in the years after St Andrews’ public conversion to Protestantism was the decrease in the amount of money at the disposal of the city’s religious bodies. It is likely that in the mid 1550s St Andrews’ religious foundations and officials received in the region of £5,683 per annum (plus considerable quantities of victual) from their estates. In contrast, by the early 1570s the city’s churches and religious personnel were almost certainly getting less than £2,041 a year from their estates and stipends - a decrease in monetary terms of more than sixty percent. However, as the late sixteenth century was a time of high inflation the real terms drop was even greater than these figures indicate.

During the late sixteenth century the income of St Andrews’ religious institutions and personnel was reduced in two ways. Firstly, the city’s ecclesiastical estates generated less revenue. Secondly, much of the money and victual that was produced was diverted

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5 This figure forms the sum of the income of the estates of the archbishopric, archdeaconry, the spirituality of St Andrews Cathedral Priory, the priories of Pittenweem and Portmoak, the Dominican friary, the prebendaries (but not the provostry) of St Mary’s Kirk Hill, and the parish church of Holy Trinity. It does not include the estates of the university. If the property of the university colleges is counted the pre-Reformation total is probably closer to £7,320, and the post-Reformation total in the region of £3,737. All of these figures only represent the monetary income from church estates. Before and (to a slightly lesser degree) after the Reformation, institutions and officials received substantial payments in kind. It should also be remembered that the income from estates was only one part of the overall income of the pre- and post-Reformation churches. For more in depth discussion of the additional sources of income of the Catholic Church see chapter 2 of this thesis. For fuller details of the pre-Reformation income from ecclesiastical estates see appendix 1 of this thesis.

6 This figure is calculated for 1572 (i.e. after the revenues of the archbishopric had been transferred to the Protestant Kirk). It forms the sum of the income from the archbishopric of St Andrews (minus the charge of a third), the priory of Portmoak (which was in John Winram’s hands), the allowance made to Holy Trinity Church for its upkeep, and the stipends of the Superintendent and minister of St Andrews. This figure should be treated with caution – it is probably slightly too high as it does not take into account the effects of non-payment and the significant inroads made by pensions.

7 During the late sixteenth century Scotland experienced relatively high inflation (both in relation to other countries, and to what went before). The cost of basic necessities rose substantially. For example, the average price of a boll of oatmeal in Fife increased from 16s 0d in 1559 to £10 0s 0d in 1585. Meanwhile a boll of barley rose from £1 7s 0d to £10 13s 4d over the same period. Gibson and Smout, Prices, Food and Wages, p. 84. C.E. Challis, ‘Debasement: The Scottish Experience in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries’, in D.M. Metcalf, Coinage in Medieval Scotland (Oxford, 1977), p. 173.
to secular purposes. Many of the trends that contributed to these changes have been examined in previous chapters. Yet it is perhaps worthwhile reviewing them in conjunction with each other.

The overall drop in revenue from St Andrews’ religious lands and privileges arose from a number of shifts in the administration of church estates and in the behaviour of tenants and parishioners. Following the Reformation several common ecclesiastical exactions were abolished, whilst the ones that remained (like teinds) were sometimes reduced. For example, a 1588 rental from St Salvator’s College records that since 1556 the teinds of the parish of Kilmany had “diminisched” from 40 chalders, 11 bolls and one firlot of victual per year, to 30 chalders and 6 bolls of victual. Disadvantageous tacks and feus further decreased the income derived both from estates which remained in church hands, and from lands which were effectively secularised. Notably, the revenues of the Cathedral Priory fell dramatically as a result of injudicious alienations of property. As we saw in chapter 6, in 1567 the government’s assessment of the wealth of St Andrews Cathedral had to be revised downwards because so much land had been feued that the rental submitted in 1562 was no longer accurate. Indeed, by the beginning of the 1590s the situation had deteriorated to such an extent that the Priory’s estates were described as being “exhausted by tacks and pensions”, and there was reckoned to be a risk that the commendator (the Duke of Lennox) would receive “little or no commodity

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8 For brief discussion of abolished exactions see chapter 5.
10 This was nationally recognised to be a problem. Indeed a series of acts of parliament were passed to attempt to deal with irresponsible alienations. In 1581 parliament passed an act regarding the “dilapitation of rents” by ministers. The act states that a minister must not “make or set any feus, tacks, rentals, convey pensions or make other dispositions of the rents of his benefice to the prejudice of his successor and the diminution of the rental”. In 1585 similar provisions were extended to all “bishoprics, abbcacies, priories or whatsoever inferior benefices, being at his highness presentation”. RPS, 1581/10/22. RPS, 1585/12/14.
thereof”. Non-payment of rents and teinds also seriously reduced the income from current and former religious lands. For example, in 1588 the provost of St Salvator’s complained to the commissioners for the visitation of the university that the masters’ lost “great sowmes of money” because the college was “defraudit of syndrie annuall rentis”. When combined these factors meant that by the 1580s St Andrews’ church estates were raising much smaller sums of money and victual than they had before the religious changes.

By the later sixteenth century church officials were also receiving a smaller proportion of the revenues available. This re-routing of religious wealth resulted from several trends including changes in the purpose of certain institutions, the government’s charge of a third on benefices, and the tendency to grant pensions funded by ecclesiastical revenues. Each of these factors played a significant part in transferring money and victual away from St Andrews’ post-Reformation Kirk, although the way in which they did so differed substantially.

To comprehend the diversion of St Andrews’ religious wealth, it is important to remember that the Reformation removed the traditional purposes of the majority of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical institutions. As we saw in chapter 5, following the upheavals of 1559 the Cathedral, the College of St Mary’s Kirk Hill, the Dominican and Franciscan friaries, and the chaplainries attached to both Holy Trinity Church and the university, all ceased to fulfil a religious function. Certain ecclesiastical officials such as the

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12 RPS, 1592/4/115.
13 See chapter 7 of this thesis.
14 NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.7, f. 144r.
archdeacon (and temporarily the archbishop) also stopped having a religious role. Unsurprisingly, the removal of these organisations’ and officials’ reason for existence had implications for their revenues. Considerable sums of money simply stopped being needed to fund clerics and religious buildings. Whilst some of this redundant wealth was assigned to the new Reformed Kirk and to the University (an organisation which could in many ways be regarded as an extension of the Kirk), a substantial portion of the revenues was diverted to secular purposes. For example, the income of the Cathedral Priory (which had previously been divided between the needs of the monastery and Lord James) was increasingly used on the personal expenditure of a succession of aristocratic commendators. In March 1567 the Earl of Moray was described as having “expendit and debursit” the “rentis and patrimony” of the priory on “continuall awaiting upoun thair majesteis service”. By the early 1580s Moray’s successor as commendator, the Earl of March, was reputedly spending “the kirk-rents of the Pryorie” upon “the goff, archerie, guid cheir &c”. The revenues of the archdeaconry of St Andrews underwent a similar, if slightly more protracted, process of secularization. After a chaotic period during the Reformation crisis when the revenues

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16 For discussion of the degree to which religious revenues had been diverted to secular purposes before the Reformation see chapter 4.
17 In theory the Queen’s settlement of the 1560s provided for (an unstated) portion of the wealth of the friaries, St Mary’s Kirk Hill, and Holy Trinity Church’s choir and chaplainries to be used for the support of the Reformed ministry. However, it is likely that less than a quarter of this wealth was ultimately assigned to the church, instead being dispersed through non-payment, or used on the burgh council’s pet projects. For further discussion of this aspect see later in the chapter. As was pointed out in chapter 6 the Cathedral’s annual rents from the city of St Andrews were transferred to St Leonard’s College. Meanwhile the estates of the university’s chaplainries were in the main used to provide bursaries for students within the three colleges, as was the St Mary’s Kirk Hill prebend of Dura and Rungally – a practice that was encouraged by parliament in its 1567 act “Concerning the disposition of provostries, prebendaries and chaplainries to bursars to be founded in colleges”. *RPS*, A1567/12/12. *ACTB*, p. 242. NLS, Adv. M.S.29.2.7. StAUL, UYSS110/Q series.
18 *RSS*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 255.
19 Pitcairn (ed.), *Diary of James Melville*, p. 126.
were seized by the Earl of Arran, the estates became for some time effectively the private property of the Pitcairn family, before in 1587 being assigned to George Young, one of the king’s personal servants. The routes to secularization varied, but the destination reached tended to be similar.

The diversion of ecclesiastical revenues to non-religious purposes was arguably further encouraged by government policy during the 1560s. Although not as inequitable a settlement as some radicals claimed, the compromise of the thirds of benefices did allow for a greater share of ecclesiastical income to pass into the royal coffers than had previously been typical. For instance, before the religious changes the archbishops of St Andrews’ main contribution to crown expenditure (aside from extraordinary taxation) was their annual payment of £70 to the Lords of Council. However, after the introduction of the settlement of the thirds of benefices a charge of at least £800 per annum was levied by the crown on the episcopal estates. Whilst some of the crown’s third did go to fund the Protestant ministry a significant portion (and one that probably increased over time) was diverted to cover the monarch’s secular expenses. In January 1572 the Commissioners of the Kirk assented to the entire money of the third of the archbishopric of St Andrews (at that point £830 12s 3d) being used “for the support of the Kingis Majesteis estate and commoun effaris of the realme” both in that year and “in tyme cuming.” Twelve years later, in August 1584, parliament assented to the whole of the crown’s third of the wheat, meal and peas (and some of the barley) from the

20 *RPS*, 1587/7/119. The grant did require that Young provided the stipends for two ministers (neither of them in St Andrews). However, the remainder of the revenue was completely at Young’s disposal.
21 Famously, John Knox remarked that the compromise of the thirds would “see two parts freely given to the Devil, and the third…divided betwix God and the Devil”. Knox further predicted that in the long term even “the Devil shall have three parts of the Third”. *HRS*, vol. 2, p. 29.
22 *BA*, p. 4.
23 *ACTB*, p. 12.
24 *RPCS*, vol. 2, pp. 111-112.
archbishopric of St Andrews being permanently assigned to the captains and keepers of the castles of Blackness, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, and Stirling.²⁵

Even when revenues were theoretically assigned to church officials, portions were often diverted to laymen and women. This phenomenon was particularly encouraged by the tendency of both the crown and religious officials to grant pensions funded by ecclesiastical revenues. Following the Reformation there seems to have been a substantial increase both in the number of pensions financed by religious revenues and in the proportion of these allowances which were given to members of the laity.²⁶ The archbishopric of St Andrews (which of course in the 1560s had gone through a period of being effectively secularised) was especially afflicted by this trend. According to an act of parliament passed in 1584 regarding pensions given out from the archbishopric of St Andrews and the bishopric of Aberdeen, during James VI’s minority the granting of pensions “increased to such a high disorder” that the benefices became “exhausted” and there was concern that if “the said pensions remain as a burden” the bishops “shall not be able to…sustain the charge of the oversight of their diocese[s] and to assist his highness with their advice and council”.²⁷ The 1584 act claimed to annul most of the pensions associated with the archbishopric of St Andrews and the bishopric of Aberdeen. However, it left in place pensions worth £696 per annum, plus 9 chalders and 2 bolls of victual, to be distributed annually from the revenues of the archbishopric of St

²⁵ RPS, 1584/5/83. The act confirming this grant makes it clear that this allocation of victual had in fact been standard practice for at least 5 years.
²⁶ For discussion of the situation regarding pre-Reformation pensions see chapter 4 of this thesis.
²⁷ RPS, 1584/5/93.
Significantly, the majority of these exempted pensions were to laymen, such as the local laird Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, or Hieronymus Bowie, the master of the king’s wine cellar. To a considerable extent the already much diminished revenues of the archbishopric were being used to reward the friends of the king rather than sustain the episcopate.

Within a few years of 1559 most of the assets of St Andrews’ pre-Reformation ecclesiastical institutions were no longer allocated to religious purposes. This redistribution of ecclesiastical assets was partly planned, and partly inadvertent. The settlement devised during the 1560s deliberately provided that substantial sections of the Catholic Church’s wealth should not be assigned to the Reformed Kirk. However, the general disintegration in the management of the old church’s estates (as seen in both imprudent alienations and extensive non-payment of dues) was almost certainly never intended to happen – it was a consequence of the political, religious and economic upheavals of the time.

Increased Secular Control

As well as seeing a reduction in the amount of funds allocated to the church, mid sixteenth-century St Andrews also saw an increase in the influence of the laity over the religious revenues that remained. By and large the Protestant ministry had much less control over the estates technically assigned to their support than the Catholic clergy.

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28 RPS, 1584/5/93. Even this modified list of pensions probably constituted approximately forty percent of the annual income of the archbishopric – implying that the act of parliament was not exaggerating when it claimed that the amounts previously assigned to pensions were ruinous.

29 The two main groups who appear on the revised list appear to be people with a tradition of service to the king and relatives of Archbishop Adamson.

30 For further details of settlement of 1560s see chapter 6.
had enjoyed over their holdings.\textsuperscript{31} Instead, both national and local secular authorities acquired a much greater sway over church finances.

The 1560s saw a major increase in the crown’s influence over church finance.\textsuperscript{32} To a considerable extent the nature of the post-Reformation Kirk’s financial provision was determined firstly by Mary Queen of Scots and her advisors, and then by the respective regents for James VI and their counsellors.\textsuperscript{33} Although representatives of the Kirk were generally consulted, the ultimate decisions over church funding lay with the monarch, the Privy Council and Parliament. This formed a significant alteration in the balance of power between religious and secular authorities.\textsuperscript{34} The church’s wealth, instead of being (at least theoretically) an inalienable heritage built up by pious donations through the centuries, became something that was in the monarch’s gift.\textsuperscript{35}

The broader shift in authority over church lands had substantial implications for St Andrews. By the mid 1570s the Reformed Kirk in St Andrews held the majority of its assets as a direct result of decisions taken or approved by the crown and its

\textsuperscript{31} For discussion of Catholic clerics’ control over church lands see chapter 2 and 4 of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{32} Of course, as was discussed in chapter 4, the monarch had possessed a degree of influence over church estates prior to the religious changes. However, the extent of that influence increased dramatically from 1561 onwards.
\textsuperscript{33} For example, the settlement of the thirds of benefices was originally implemented as a result of decisions taken by the Privy Council, and subsequently confirmed by act of parliament. \textit{RPCS}, vol. 1, p. 193, pp. 201-203. \textit{RPS}, A1567/12/9. Likewise, a significant portion of the decisions regarding the housing and maintenance of the ministry were introduced through parliamentary legislation. For instance the decision to transfer manses and and glebes to the Reformed Kirk’s ministry was decided by parliament. \textit{RPS}, 1563/6/8.
\textsuperscript{34} This shift is demonstrated in the way the General Assembly went about dealing with financial difficulties. For example, in 1568 the representatives of the Kirk appealed to Regent Moray to sort out their economic problems rather than feeling in a position to remedy matters themselves. Shaw, \textit{Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies}, vol. 1, pp.160-165.
\textsuperscript{35} This shift in authority and attitude is reflected in the wording by which the crown presented ministers to vacant benefices. According to the sample letter included in the Privy Council “Our Soverane Lord” (with advice and consent from the regent) “nominatand and presentand” the candidate. Meanwhile at the actual appointment the candidate had to not merely receive the confession of faith, but also take “his ayth for acknowleding and recognoscing of oure Soverane Lordes auctorite”. \textit{RPCS}, vol. 2, p. 108.
representatives. For example, the archbishop only possessed what remained of the archiepiscopal estates as a result of the compromise regarding benefices negotiated between “the commissionaris for the Kingis Majestie” and the representatives of the Reformed Kirk at the 1572 Convention of Leith.  

Similarly, the minister of St Andrews held his manse and glebe as a result of the 1563 act of parliament ordering that “those who are appointed or are to be appointed to serve and minister at any kirk within this realm [shall] have the principal manse of the parson or vicar, or so much thereof as shall be found sufficient for furnishing them”. The stipend of the superintendent and other church officials was also substantially dependent on the crown’s generosity — being funded out of the monarch’s share of the charge of the third on benefices. Meanwhile, the upkeep of St Andrews’ parish church was (at least in part) funded by the rents Queen Mary had in 1567 transferred to the burgh council for the support of the Kirk, education, and those in need.

The transition from the church holding its property as “free alms” in perpetuity to being assigned its wealth by the crown had considerable consequences. On a fundamental level it almost certainly made the Reformed Kirk’s holdings less secure — what the crown had given it might take away again. It also had implications for the routine administration of church estates. Having generously granted lands to the Kirk, the

37 RPS, 1563/6/8.
38 ACTB, p. 246.
39 StAUL, B65/1, ff. 38r-v.
40 Much of the pre-Reformation church’s property was granted as “free alms”, meaning that the lands were normally free from standard temporal obligations, and were solely subject to religious jurisdiction. Alice Taylor, ‘Common burdens in the regnum Scotorum: the evidence of charter diplomatic’, in Dauvit Broun (ed.), The Reality Behind Charter Diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain (Glasgow, 2011), pp. 166-234.
41 Of course this was what in part happened in 1587. For example, the temporal wealth of the archbishopric of St Andrews which in the 1570s had been restored to the Reformed Kirk was once again removed by the Act of Annexation.
crown (and its representatives) seem to have then interfered more regularly with the management and allocation of church revenues. For example, there is evidence to suggest that some of the pensions assigned from the revenues of the archbishopric of St Andrews were in fact granted because of pressure placed on the archbishop by high-ranking officials during James VI’s minority.\textsuperscript{42}

The national shift in power was echoed on a local level – particularly in relation to the funding of St Andrews’ parish church. During the 1560s (and to some extent during the decades thereafter) there appears to have been an increase in secular control over both the income of the minister serving at Holy Trinity and the upkeep of the church. Before the Reformation the burgh council played a role in the administration of the estates of Holy Trinity, yet substantial amounts of authority remained both with the clerics attached to the parish church, and with the archbishop and the canons at the cathedral. In contrast, following the upheavals of 1559, control over financial matters seems to have almost entirely shifted out of the hands of religious personnel and into the hands of members of the laity. Much of the management of the church’s day to day finances passed into the hands of the lay deacons attached to the Kirk Session.\textsuperscript{43} Meanwhile the rents assigned to the Kirk by Queen Mary were administered by the burgh council, and it seems that the collection of the parish’s teinds rested with representatives of the lay commendator at the cathedral priory.\textsuperscript{44} The minister (at least in theory) received a

\textsuperscript{42} The 1584 act annulling many of the pensions states the pensions were in part given “by the means of them that governed the realm for the time when the said benefices became vacant” (i.e. the period following Hamilton’s death and before the appointment of John Douglas) and “partly by the importunate and ardent soliciting, yea, partly by the menacing and boasting of such as our sovereign lord knows it was hard for them to withstand”. \textit{RPS}, 1584/5/93.

\textsuperscript{43} The \textit{First Book of Discipline} specifically ordered that deacons rather than ministers should have control over financial matters. \textit{WJK}, vol. 2, pp. 222-223.

\textsuperscript{44} Certainly in the 1590s the teinds of the lands surrounding St Andrews were held by the Duke of Lennox (then commendator at the Cathedral Priory. \textit{StAUL}, msDA890.S1R4, ff. 9-15. \textit{StAUL}, B65/23/381.
stipend for his services, but his influence over broader church finance was severely curtailed. This transition altered the relationship between the church’s religious personnel and the broader community. Rather than being in control of their own estates, the post-Reformation ministers became in effect employees of the local elites. ⁴⁵

This alteration had attendant problems. It is likely that even at the best of times the increased secular control resulted in a smaller proportion of revenue reaching the church than had previously been the case. An undated mid sixteenth century rental drawn up by the burgh council reveals that of the several hundred pounds the choir and chaplains of Holy Trinity were receiving before “the infeftmentis of service departit of this lyf was obrogatit”, the council decided that £57 should be allocated “to the uphald of the paroche Kyrk”. ⁴⁶ There is also evidence from the main post-Reformation rental of the holdings of Holy Trinity Church (which was probably compiled in or around 1573) which suggests that at least some of the assets of the parish church’s chaplainries were being diverted to the burgh council’s own projects. For example, a note regarding a chaplainry in St Thomas’s Aisle states that:

the mony quhilk Schir James Balfour layd down for land…wes exponit upon the byggyn of volt at the west end of the towbuth be the Den of Gild of the sayd cite at the townis command. ⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Of course not all pre-Reformation clerics had been in control of their own estates. For example, curates were in essence employees of whoever held the vicarage. However, the effective employer was generally a clergyman. It also should be noted that before the Reformation even the chaplains of Holy Trinity had generally held a moderate amount of influence over their holdings. For more discussion of the administrative structures of Holy Trinity before the Reformation see chapters 2 and 4 of this thesis.


⁴⁷ StaUL, B65/1, ff. 39r-53v. The misappropriation of church funds by burgh officers became a long standing grievance. In 1586 the citizens complained to the Privy Council that the provost, Sir Patrick Learmonth, had “appropriat the commoun landis to himselff…quhilkis wer appointit for uphald of thair schoir, kirk, tobuth, portis and uthiris commoun efeearis in the citie”. RPCS, vol. 4, p. 43. Similar allegations were made in 1593. RPCS, vol. 5, p. 62.
In many cases the increased control that St Andrews’ secular authorities enjoyed over church finances caused substantial problems for the Reformed Kirk’s religious personnel. For example, several of Holy Trinity’s post-Reformation ministers had major problems obtaining their salaries. In December 1570, Robert Hamilton, the then minister at Holy Trinity, complained to the Kirk Session that he had not been paid his stipend “the space of twa yeris and mair”.48 Meanwhile, as we saw in chapter 7, in the early 1580s Robert Pont almost certainly refused to stay in St Andrews because of issues with his stipend – a problem that may have arisen out of deliberate misappropriation of funds on the part of the commendator of the priory and the city’s secular elites. Certainly, James Melville subsequently claimed that during the 1580s “the Pryor [the Earl of March] and his gentleman-pensionars...colluded with the rewallers of the town to hald the ministerie vacand; and in the mean tyme tuk upe the stipend, and spendit the sam”.49 It appears that within a few years of the Reformation the church in St Andrews was struggling to get the money it needed to function properly. Ultimately, St Andrews’ post-Reformation Kirk seems to have been much poorer and much less economically influential than the Catholic Church had been before the religious changes.

**Impact on the Burgh**

The Reformation triggered a substantial redistribution of St Andrews’ church estates. In theory this should have benefitted the city’s secular institutions, local magnates, and even the burgh’s residents, as all of these on paper acquired property and revenues as a

48 *StAKS*, vol. 1, p. 344.
49 Pitcairn (ed.), *Diary of James Melville*, p. 126.
result of the religious changes. However in reality the legacy of the Reformation was more problematic for the inhabitants of St Andrews.

Before the religious changes the local economy had been partially based on the ecclesiastical revenues diverted from estates and parishes across the rest of the country. St Andrews had acted as a magnet for the wealth of the church and much of this had then been invested in the local community.\textsuperscript{50} Ecclesiastical revenues had not merely helped finance religious foundations, education within the city, and the care of the poor and sick; they also appear to have helped fund an entire service economy within the burgh. St Andrews, although it had major international connections, was not a great centre for imports or exports.\textsuperscript{51} Its economic importance was substantially derived from its role as a focal point for the wealth of the Catholic Church. Rather as much of the United Kindom’s wealth today is funnelled through the city of London, so much of the religious wealth of sixteenth century Scotland was channelled through St Andrews, with corresponding benefits.\textsuperscript{52} The Reformation blew this system apart. A substantial portion of the pre-Reformation Church’s revenues stopped being received by organisations and individuals based in St Andrews. Much of the Catholic Church’s wealth was either diverted to recipients outside the burgh or simply ceased being collected. Meanwhile, even those revenues which continued to be received by organisations within St Andrews

\textsuperscript{50} See chapter 1 of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{51} For a graphic representation of the way in which St Andrews barely registered as an exporting burgh see the charts in Peter McNeill and Hector MacQueen, \textit{Atlas of Scottish History to 1707} (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 250-260.
\textsuperscript{52} There is reason to believe that by the late sixteenth century some residents of St Andrews had realised the advantages that accrued from being an administrative centre. When it was suggested in the early 1580s that the Commissary Court should be removed from St Andrews the citizens petitioned the Privy Council to campaign against it, claiming that it would “redound to the utter herschip of the haill inhabitantis of the said cite”. \textit{RPCS}, vol. 3, p. 342.
declined significantly in value as a result of the high inflation of the late sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{53} A valuable source of investment in the city virtually dried up.

Critically, this blow to the St Andrews economy came at the same time as the burgh was facing other serious challenges. A contract from 1611 between the archbishop and residents of St Andrews states that it is necessary because so many of the ancient evidents “be ressoun of the pest civile and foreyne weir…oftymes ar not [extant] bot destroyit”.\textsuperscript{54} This remark sums up the mid to late sixteenth century history of St Andrews. From the death of James V onwards the city suffered a catalogue of calamities. In the 1540s St Andrews experienced terrorism and foreign invasion.\textsuperscript{55} Similarly, the Reformation crisis brought political upheaval and elements of conflict to the burgh. Meanwhile during the post-Reformation period the city experienced spasmodic outbreaks of internal unrest and at least one serious outbreak of plague.\textsuperscript{56} At the same time as these catastrophes were sweeping the city St Andrews was also experiencing serious economic competition and political challenges from neighbouring Fife burghs.\textsuperscript{57} Internally divided, deprived of its traditional ecclesiastical protectors, and

\textsuperscript{53} The strain that inflation placed on institutions in St Andrews is clearly expressed in the St Salvator’s College records. For example, in 1595 the college had to end one of the bursaries founded by William Manderston in the 1530s because the money no longer covered the cost of financing a student. StAUL, UYSS110/Y/22.

\textsuperscript{54} StAUL, B65/23/402.

\textsuperscript{55} HRS, vol. 1, pp. 86-96.

\textsuperscript{56} St Andrews appears to have suffered a particularly bad outbreak of plague in the mid 1580s. The Kirk Session records were not kept for ten months, and a subsequent remark in the records states that during the time of the plague “all gude ordour cessit in this citee”. StAKS, vol. 2, pp. 559, 561. Regarding civil unrest, the register of the Privy Council contains a number of references to problems in St Andrews. For example, in April 1589 James VI and his councillors were called upon to intercede between the university and the city because of “the grite troublis divisioun and dissentioun…betuix certane memberis of the Universitie of Sanctandrois and sum utheris inhabitantis of the said Citie, quhairupoun slauchter and bluidshed hes followit”. RPCS, vol. 4, p. 370.

\textsuperscript{57} For example, in 1596 St Andrews entered into a dispute with Crail and Anstruther over the times of their markets. St Andrews appears to have deliberately altered the times of its markets in order to make them clash with the East Neuk burghs – perhaps indicating an attempt to deprive neighbouring burghs of trade. The strategy backfired and the residents of St Andrews were ordered by the Convention of Royal
undergoing major economic upheavals, it is perhaps hardly surprising that in general the city failed to rise to the challenge.

It is possible that the city of St Andrews was beginning to struggle as early as the 1560s. In 1564, the Earl of Moray (when recommending the establishment of the Commissary Court in St Salvator’s Chapel) referred to the “povertie and decay” of St Andrews.\(^{58}\) By the 1580s the city appears to have been facing difficulties on multiple fronts. In January 1586 a group of St Andrews residents lodged a complaint with the Privy Council stating that the city was badly misgoverned, the common goods were being appropriated by the provost and relatives, and numerous unfair exactions “quhilk charge the said citie is not able to beir” were being laid on the residents.\(^{59}\) Matters did not improve in the 1590s. In 1593 the provost, baillies and council of St Andrews bemoaned “the miserable estait and povertie quhairunto the said burgh is presentlie redactit”, and alleged that “thair haill commoun werkis, sic as thair peir and shoir, thair poiritis and calsayis, quhairwith our said Cietie of auld wes decorit, ar altogidder becumit ruynous and decayit”.\(^{60}\)

St Andrews’ decline was a lengthy and complex process which is deserving of research in its own right. However, the evidence which is currently available strongly suggests that the city was on a downward trajectory by the late sixteenth century. There is, for

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Burghs to return to their traditional timing for markets. The fact that St Andrews lost the argument with Crail and Anstruther forms a notable departure from traditional patterns – prior to the Reformation the citizens of St Andrews had an excellent record of winning disputes with neighbouring burghs.\(^{58}\)\(^{58}\) \(CRB, \) vol. 1, p. 485. For pre-Reformation disputes see StAUL, B65/23 series.

\(^{58}\) StAUL, UYSS110/C/3.

\(^{59}\) \(RPCS, \) vol. 4, pp. 42-44. Matters seem to have been brought to a head by the recent outbreak of plague. However, many of the issues which are complained about had been developing for some time.

\(^{60}\) Perhaps unsurprisingly these remarks were put forward as a means of justifying one of the burgh council’s schemes, namely the sale of the city’s common lands of Pilmure and the North Haugh. However, it is likely that the council’s comments, though made with an ulterior motive, did reflect reality - even the people who opposed the plan admitted that the city was impoverished. \(RPCS, \) vol. 5, pp. 56-57, 62-64.
example, reason to believe that during the personal rule of James VI St Andrews was experiencing unusually high levels of emigration overseas in comparison to other moderate-sized east coast burghs – perhaps indicating that that residents were having to seek opportunities abroad because of the worsening situation in their home town. 61 By the early seventeenth century there is evidence of substantial number of waste properties within St Andrews. A notarial instrument from 1622 provides an insight into the extent of dereliction even within the heart of the burgh. 62 The instrument records the transfer of a waste tenement on Market Street from the daughters of a deceased citizen Alexander Miller to a widow named Janet Ogilvie. Not only is the tenement in question abandoned, but the property which bounded it to the west is also apparently waste. Meanwhile the tenement to the north of the Miller property is described as pertaining to the late Walter Adie, and may therefore also have been unoccupied. Only the property to the east appears to have been held by a living resident of the burgh, Thomas Manson.

Conclusion

By the end of the sixteenth century the wealth of both the Kirk and the burgh was not what it had been – almost certainly in part as a result of the upheavals of the Reformation. Although initially the burgh received substantial grants of land and revenues and certain private individuals acquired considerable assets the religious changes fundamentally undermined the economic foundations of the burgh. Partly as a result of the loss of the protection, the investment, and the general spending of the Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchy, St Andrews entered into serious economic decline.

61 I am grateful to Professor Steve Murdoch for drawing my attention to this point. The high emigration figures for St Andrews are particularly striking as it was not a major trading port. For details of emigrants to northern Europe see Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean’s biographical database of Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe. Available at: http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/.
62 StAUL, B65/23/423a.
Unfortunately for the city, this situation was then further exacerbated by additional challenges such as plague, internal divisions and increasing competition from the East Neuk burghs. By the mid seventeenth century St Andrews had become a ghost town, a place where things used to happen. In 1656 when Thomas Tucker compiled a report on Scottish trade for the English government he stated that: “St Andrews hath formerly been bigger, and although sufficiently humbled in the time of intestine troubles, continues still proud in the ruines of her former magnificence.”63 The economic influence of St Andrews had substantially disappeared.

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63 Although Tucker in some respects speaks positively of St Andrews, referring to the city as “a seate for the Muses”, his figures on shipping indicate the degree to which the burgh was becoming of marginal significance economically. Only one vessel of twenty tonnes is listed as belonging to St Andrews. In contrast, Anstruther had ten ships. John Murray (ed.), Report by Thomas Tucker Upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland, A.D. MDCLVI (Edinburgh, 1825), p. 31.
Conclusion

The fate of St Andrews’ ecclesiastical estates remained a matter of contention for more than a hundred years after the city’s official adoption of Protestantism. The seventeenth century saw attempts by James VI, Charles I and Charles II to re-endow the archbishopric of St Andrews and to undo, at least partially, the changes of the Reformation period. Yet none of these efforts ultimately proved successful. The Scottish crown’s failure to provide the Protestant archbishops of St Andrews with the sort of permanent resources that the pre-Reformation church had enjoyed was partly the result of bitter local and national opposition to episcopacy. However, it was also a consequence of the disruption to religious revenues that St Andrews experienced during the sixteenth century. The pre-Reformation church’s economic structures had been so comprehensively dismantled that they were beyond the power of the king to restore.

The residents of sixteenth-century St Andrews witnessed, and took part in, an economic revolution. Prior to the religious rising of 1559 St Andrews had profited from a long-established system of church finance which diverted revenues from across eastern Scotland to the archiepiscopal capital. This system was destroyed, and the wealth dispersed, by the actions of Catholics and Protestants during and immediately after the Reformation. The religious crisis of 1559 to 1560 had a major and immediate economic impact on St Andrews. Ecclesiastical property was reassigned, the administrative

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1 In 1605 James VI revoked the Act of Annexation and officially restored the Scottish bishops “to their ancient and accustomed honour, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, livings, lands, teinds, rents, thirds and estate”. In reality, though, portions of the former episcopal estates were withheld. In the 1630s Charles I undertook a major reorganisation of the governance and finance of the diocese of St Andrews. However his reforms were overtaken by political events. Similarly, Charles II’s efforts at re-endowing the archbishopric of St Andrews were undone by the abolition of the Scottish episcopacy in 1689. *RPS, 1605/6/31. RPS, 1689/6/36. Reliquiae*, pp. 175-179.

2 For an in-depth (if rather biased) discussion of the ways in which the actions of earlier generations affected the economic rights of the seventeenth-century archbishops of St Andrews see George Martine’s history of the see of St Andrews. *Reliquiae*, passim.
structures of the Catholic Church fell apart, and tenants increasingly resisted longstanding tenurial obligations. In St Andrews the years around 1560 formed a significant break with traditional patterns of religious landholding and finance. The changes which accompanied the Reformation crisis were then extended and entrenched by the events and policies of the succeeding three decades. During the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s there was a secularization and fragmentation of ecclesiastical estates. This had negative consequences for the church and burgh of St Andrews. The failure of the Reformed Kirk in St Andrews (and to some extent the local community) to preserve and acquire the revenues of the Catholic Church both limited Protestant officials’ ability to implement religious and social reform, and probably contributed to the city’s decline. The Reformation was not merely one of the most significant religious events to take place in St Andrews; it was also one of the most important economic phenomena in the city’s history.

The dispersal of St Andrews’ church estates had a major impact on the burgh. Yet it also had significance for the wider area of eastern Fife. St Andrews was a regional centre and the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside and coastline looked to the city for religious and administrative leadership. In the spring of 1561 Alison Calland, a resident of St Monans, appealed to the St Andrews Kirk Session to grant her a divorce on the basis that her parish was “destitute of ministeris and eldares” and people “in tymes bypast, hed ever recours to the said cietie of Sanctandrois as a place of justice”. However, the post-Reformation reduction in St Andrews’ wealth and influence probably meant that the former metropolitan city was increasingly poorly placed to provide

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3 StAKS, vol. 1, p. 64.
support for the surrounding area. In recent decades both Jane Dawson and John McCallum have commented on the way in which the Protestants of St Andrews failed to foster an effective programme of religious reform in the surrounding Fife countryside. It seems likely that this failure is partly explained by the economic crisis the church in St Andrews faced. Many of the policies the reformers wished to implement (such as the provision of a well-educated ministry, the maintenance of church buildings, the establishment of schools, and care for the poor and sick) required money. During the late sixteenth century the St Andrews Kirk simply did not have the surplus wealth available to support such ambitious projects. The break-up of St Andrews’ religious estates therefore not only affected the city, but almost certainly had negative implications for the surrounding area.

The approaches and themes explored in this thesis may, though, have a broader relevance for Scottish history. The trends regarding religious estates uncovered by this study are rather different from those traditionally propounded - notably it appears that the Reformation caused much greater economic upheavals than previously thought. The disconnect between the established narrative concerning the fate of the pre-Reformation church’s wealth and the version of events put forward in this study is perhaps partly attributable to the fact that as an important ecclesiastical centre St Andrews had an especially dramatic experience of religious reform. However, it may also arise from the way in which the material concerning the burgh of St Andrews and its religious wealth was approached. Consideration of the entire range of religious institutions present in St Andrews meant that the comprehensive disruption that the Reformation caused to the

city’s ecclesiastical revenues became more apparent than it might have seemed within a study of a specific foundation or type of organisation. The sort of evidence examined may have further contributed to the different findings. Substantial use was made of local records concerning landholding and finance. These provided a different perspective from that suggested in central government records. Similar sources exist for many Scottish burghs. Yet they are often overlooked, or, if used, rarely as a source for the economic transactions they primarily document. It seems likely that study of such local economic records regarding other Scottish burghs might reveal patterns at variance with the received view of events. For example, evidence from Edinburgh and Aberdeen suggests that there was more disruption to urban ecclesiastical landholding in the period 1559 to 1561 than has previously been assumed.⁵ At least some of the trends that St Andrews experienced in the sixteenth century may have been common to many Scottish urban centres. To discover the full extent of the changes further research is needed into the economic impact of reform in Scotland’s towns and cities.

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⁵ For example, in April 1561 the Edinburgh burgh council ordered that “the rentis annuellis and vtheris emolimentos quhilkis of before war payit furth of landis and tenements within this burgh to papistis, preistis, feris, monkis, nonis, and vtheris of that wikit sort” should “be applyit to mair proffitable and godlie vssis”. J.D. Marwick (ed.), Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1557-1571 (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 105-106. Even the relatively conservative burgh of Aberdeen saw rapid disruption to ecclesiastical landholding. By the spring of 1560 the estates of the Grey, Black, and White Friars appear to have been in the burgh council’s hands. P.J. Anderson, Aberdeen Friars: Preliminary Calendar of Illustrative Documents (Aberdeen, 1909), p. 97.
Appendix 1 – Tables

**TABLE 1: Tax Assessments of Scottish Burghs, 1535 and 1557**

*A. Contribution to the King’s expenses in France, 1535*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Burgh</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>£833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>£321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>£315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>£247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Haddington</td>
<td>£110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>St Andrews</td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Cupar</td>
<td>£90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Montrose</td>
<td>£90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>£84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ayr</td>
<td>£78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Contribution (includes contributions of smaller burghs not listed here) £3,333

Source: *CRB*, pp. 514-515

*B. Contribution to the expenses of the Queen’s marriage, 1557*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Burgh</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>£2,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dundee</td>
<td>£1,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>£945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>£742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>St Andrews</td>
<td>£300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (joint)</td>
<td>Cupar</td>
<td>£270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (joint)</td>
<td>Montrose</td>
<td>£270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ayr</td>
<td>£236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dunfermline</td>
<td>£210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>£202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Contribution (includes contributions of smaller burghs not listed here) £10,000

Source: *CRB*, pp. 524-526

Note
All sums of money have been rounded down to the nearest pound.
TABLE 2: Major Religious Foundations in St Andrews (pre-Reformation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Type of Foundation</th>
<th>Date Founded</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Clerics at the Reformation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St Andrews Cathedral</td>
<td>Cathedral and Augustinian Priory</td>
<td>Religious site in existence by 747. Augustinian Priory founded c.1140.</td>
<td>Eastern end of burgh</td>
<td>Between 36 and 44 Augustinian canons (Prior not a cleric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary's Kirk Hill</td>
<td>Collegiate Church</td>
<td>Before 1249</td>
<td>North of Cathedral</td>
<td>Provost and at least 5 prebendaries (Provost possibly not a cleric)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity Church</td>
<td>Parish Church</td>
<td>Founded before 1144. Moved to South Street site 1412.</td>
<td>South Street</td>
<td>Vicar and at least 27 chaplains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Friars</td>
<td>Dominican Friary</td>
<td>Oratory founded before 1464. Convent status granted 1477. Convent fully established 1519.</td>
<td>South Street</td>
<td>Between 5 and 10 friars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey Friars</td>
<td>Observant Franciscan Friary</td>
<td>Before 1465</td>
<td>West end of Market Street</td>
<td>At least 6 friars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Salvator's College</td>
<td>University College</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>North Street</td>
<td>Provost and 6 clerics on main foundation, plus at least 6 chaplains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Leonard's College</td>
<td>University College</td>
<td>1512</td>
<td>South Street</td>
<td>Principal (a canon at the cathedral) and 6 clerics on main foundation, plus at least 2 chaplains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary's College</td>
<td>University College</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>South Street</td>
<td>Provost and 16 clerics on main foundation, plus at least 4 chaplains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Nicholas Hospital</td>
<td>Poor Hospital (annexed to Dominican Friary)</td>
<td>Founded before 1127. United to Dominican Friary 1529.</td>
<td>To the south of the burgh.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Note**
Figures for university colleges exclude students.
TABLE 3: Theoretical Revenues of Benefices and Religious Organisations, c.1559

Figures in the Total Value columns are the sum of Total Money and the approximate monetary value of Total Victual based on 1542 prices. This is the last year before the Reformation for which details survive of the prices of wheat, barley, oats and oatmeal in St Andrews. Because measures varied from place to place it is problematic using known prices from other burghs – for example a boll of wheat in Leith was different from a boll in St Andrews. The prices in St Andrews in 1542 were as follows: wheat 264d per boll, barley 204d per boll, oats 144d per boll, oatmeal 192d per boll. These prices had probably increased by 1559. According to the 1559 Fife county fiar a boll of barley was typically 324d, although a boll of oatmeal was still only 192d. The Fife fiar does not provide prices for wheat and oats during this period. In these tables the quantities of grain have been rounded down to the nearest boll, and money to the nearest pound.

A. Annual Revenues of Archbishop of St Andrews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>£58</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 20c. 1b. Barley: 22c. 13b. Oats: 27c. 5b. Oatmeal: 12b.</td>
<td>£1,775</td>
<td>£2,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 7c. 11b. Barley: 14c. 8b. Oats: 30c. 13b. Oatmeal: None</td>
<td>£838</td>
<td>£1,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£58</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 27c. 12b. Barley: 37c. 5b. Oats: 58c. 2b. Oatmeal: 12b.</td>
<td>£2,613 ²</td>
<td>£4,178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Notes
1 This table shows the Archbishop of St Andrews’ revenue from lands, teinds and customs duties. To gain an impression of the additional sources of income of the archbishopric see table 7 of this thesis.
2 This figure was reached by adding up the sources of revenue listed in the Books of Assumption of Thirds of Benefices. It is not, however, the same as the total that the scribes compiling that document reached. The scribes recorded the total income in money of the archbishopric of St Andrews as £2,904 17s 2d.
**B. Annual Revenues of Archdeacon of St Andrews**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£360</td>
<td>£360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£227</td>
<td>£227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£587</td>
<td>£587</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: BoA, pp. 66-67.

**Notes**

1 This figure is based on a reference to 32 shillings (£1 12s 0d) “annualrent of Sanctandrois” in the *Books of Assumption*. It does not reflect the extent of the archdeacon’s revenues from St Andrews’ immediate hinterland. For instance, a draft feu-charter from April 1550 (NRS, GD241/206) records that the archdeacon’s house, orchard and lands at Strathryrum, along with “Cukis Croftis” beside the city of St Andrews, were to be feued for £39 6s 8d to Alexander Inglis of Pettinbrog.

2 This money appears to have been derived from the archdeacon’s estates at Strathryrum (adjacent to the burgh of St Andrews) and Wilkiestoun (approximately 5 miles from St Andrews).

3 According to the *Books of Assumption* at the date the assessment was compiled (some time after the beginning of 1562) the archdeacon had not received this money “be the space of vii yeris bigane”.

4 This is a notional total of the revenues the archdeaconry should have yielded. It is based on adding £360 0s 4d (the amount from the archdeacon’s temporal estates that the *Books of Assumption* claim had been paid in recent years) and £227 12s 8d (the amount of the “annuellis, vicaregis, procurationis and jurisdiction of denry” that parishes in Angus and the Mearns should have paid the archdeacon). According to the *Books of Assumption* in reality the entirety of the archdeacon’s estates had been leased to Mr Richard Schoriswood. He was contracted to pay the archdeacon £600 per annum, but (because of issues with non-payment) at the time that the rental was submitted to the crown the archdeacon was only receiving £360 0s 4d. All of the figures relating to the archdeaconry of St Andrews should be treated with caution, both because of the complexity of the archdeacon’s financial arrangements and because the rental included in the *Books of Assumption* seems to be incomplete.
C.i. Annual Revenues of St Andrews Cathedral Priory and Dependent Cells based on Data from the Books of Assumption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality of Pittenweem Priory</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 1c. 9b. Barley: 4c. 6b. Oats: 2c. 2b. Beans &amp; Peas: 1c. 11b. Salt: 24c. 0b.</td>
<td>£179</td>
<td>£293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality of Portmoak Priory</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£75</td>
<td>£75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirituality of Portmoak Priory</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Barley: 1c. 12b. Oats: 4c. 8b.</td>
<td>£63</td>
<td>£130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Cathedral

- £175
- £2,243 ³ 7,580

Total Cathedral and Cells

- £175
- £2,794 ⁴ 8,507

Sources: BoA, pp. 8-21.

Notes

1 These totals exclude salt, beans and peas, as we lack extant mid sixteenth-century St Andrews prices for these products.
2 This total is almost certainly too low as the Books of Assumption omit the majority of the Cathedral Priory's annual rents from tenements in the burgh of St Andrews. These were probably excluded from the Books of Assumption because in 1562 Lord James Stewart granted these rents to St Leonard’s College. For further details of the Cathedral’s annual rents levied within St Andrews see Table 5.
3 The total reached by the scribes who compiled the Books of Assumption is £2,237 18s 1d.
4 These calculations are based on the main rental provided in the Books of Assumption, which was probably submitted early in the 1560s. There is a second section to the rental which shows a larger
proportion of the teinds as having been leased or feued (mainly to laymen) for money. This later section is not included in these calculations as it records the reassessment of the cathedral’s wealth undertaken in 1587. This revised rental was compiled because the post-Reformation commendators had “set ane greit pairt of the said thrid pairt in tak and assedatioun” and had generally disposed of revenues “at thair plesour”, meaning earlier assessments were no longer accurate.

C.ii. Annual rents and canes paid to officials and monastery of St Andrews Cathedral (not listed in the Books of Assumption) ¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Produce from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Produce</th>
<th>Total Money²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community of monastery</td>
<td>£29 17s 6d</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>30 capons</td>
<td>£49 4s 2d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabric of monastery</td>
<td>£5 3s 7d</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£5 3s 7d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precentor</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 lb wax</td>
<td>£2 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacristan</td>
<td>£1 5s 6d</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£2 18s 10d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£36 6s 7d</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>30 capons, 1 lb wax</td>
<td>£59 6s 7d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: StAUL, UYSL110/C/2

Notes
¹ These annual rents were granted to St Leonard’s College in May 1562. They were all omitted from the list of the Cathedral Priory’s revenues included in the Books of Assumption.
² In this table figures are given in £ s d because of the low values involved.

D. Annual Revenues of the Collegiate Church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value ¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provostry: Temporality</td>
<td>£3 ²</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Oats: 1c. 6b. Fowls: 60</td>
<td>£43</td>
<td>£56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provostry: Spirituality</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Barley: 3c. 9b. Oatmeal: 9c. 11b.</td>
<td>£104</td>
<td>£276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebend of Cairns</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£17</td>
<td>£17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebend of Dura and Rungally</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebend of Kinglassie and Kingask</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Oatmeal: 1c. 12b.</td>
<td>£24</td>
<td>£47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebend of Kinkell</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>£40</td>
<td>£40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prebend of Lambeletham</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£28</td>
<td>£28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Oats: 1c. 6b. Barley: 9c. 11b. Oatmeal: 11c. 7b. Fowls: 60</td>
<td>£277</td>
<td>£485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: BoA, pp. 55, 71-72, 77, 80, 86-87.

Notes
¹ This figure excludes the value of the fowls for which we lack extant St Andrews prices.
² This is from annual rents from properties in St Andrews. The rents are described in the Books of Assumption as being “of evill payment”.
### E. Annual Revenues of Holy Trinity Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vicar</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>£66</td>
<td>£66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choir</td>
<td>£105</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£105</td>
<td>£105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplainries</td>
<td>£327</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown¹</td>
<td>£327²</td>
<td>£327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£434</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>£500</td>
<td>£500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *BoA*, p. 86, StAUL, B56/1, ff. 39v-50v.

Notes

¹ The burgh council’s post-Reformation rental of Holy Trinity’s chaplainries only lists payments in cash. However earlier rentals contain references to payments in kind. For example, according to an undated rental (probably from c. 1500) the Rood Altar was theoretically entitled to 24 sheaves of oats from every plough in the parish and to one round cheese from every cheese press.

² This figure should be taken as a minimum as some of the chaplainry rentals are incomplete.

### F. Annual Revenues of the Dominican Friary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Friary</td>
<td>£14</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 4b.</td>
<td>£101¹</td>
<td>£106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital of St Nicholas</td>
<td>£25²</td>
<td>Beef, Bread and Ale (unspecified amount)³</td>
<td>Beef, Bread and Ale granted by Cathedral</td>
<td>£25</td>
<td>£25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Friary and Hospital</td>
<td>£40</td>
<td>Beef, Bread and Ale (unspecified amount)⁴</td>
<td>Wheat: 4b. Beef, Bread and Ale granted by Cathedral</td>
<td>£126</td>
<td>£133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *BoA*, p. 89, StAUL, B65/1, ff. 5sr-54v, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/128.

Notes

¹ The *Books of Assumption*’s assessment of the St Andrews Dominicans’ revenues omit most of the annual rents the friars received from tenements in Cupar and St Andrews. The figure given here was reached by collating the list in the *Books of Assumption* with the separate rental of the Dominicans’ property created by the St Andrews burgh council shortly after the Reformation.

² According to the rental produced by St Andrews burgh council at the Reformation, the estates of the Hospital of St Nicholas had been feued to James Learmonth of Dairsie in exchange for £25 7s 10d. Of this £20 was taken by the Friary and the remainder was used to finance St Nicholas Hospital.

³ A charter from June 1582 records that Robert Stewart, Commissor of St Andrews, granted to the poor of St Nicholas Hospital 5 bolls of oats. This was in recognition of the fact that before the “reformatioun of religioun” the canons of St Andrews Cathedral had made weekly gifts of beef, bread and ale from the stores of the priory to the “puir seik folks” residing at the hospital. The amount of food the Augustinian Priory gave to St Nicholas Hospital is not specified.

⁴ In addition to the food listed here the Dominicans seem to have received annual donations of 2 bolls of wheat and 3 bolls of barley from the archbishop of St Andrews.
G. Average Annual Income of the Franciscan Friary from Alms, 1539-1546

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Average Victual</th>
<th>Total Average Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Franciscan Friary</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Wheat: 9b. Barley: 1c. 8b.</td>
<td>£12 3s 0d</td>
<td>£42 9s 0d²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Notes

1. We have no extant rentals or accounts from the St Andrews Franciscan Friary and the convent was not included in the Books of Assumption. The St Andrews burgh charters provide evidence of only one annual rent being paid to the local Franciscans. In the absence of detailed records it is hard to be certain, but it is possible that the grey friars were chiefly financed by alms (rather than revenues from their own lands). This would fit with the strict rules on both individual and institutional poverty that the Observant Franciscans theoretically followed. The above figures have been derived from references to alms given to the Franciscan Convent in St Andrews in royal records, and the accounts of Cardinal Beaton. The Cardinal’s accounts refer to the “customary annual alms to the greyfriars”, implying that his grants were regular donations rather than one-off gifts. However, the totals given above should be treated with extreme caution given the problematic nature of the sources.

2. In this table figures are given in £ s d because of the low values involved.

H. Annual Revenues of St Salvator’s College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value ¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provostry</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£100</td>
<td>£100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Foundation of College</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 3c. 11b. Barley: 8c. 3b. Oats: 18c. 7b. Capons: 18</td>
<td>£640</td>
<td>£993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplainries and Altarages</td>
<td>At least £14</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£165</td>
<td>£165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>At least £14</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 3c. 11b. Barley: 8c. 3b. Oats: 18c. 7b. Capons: 18</td>
<td>£906</td>
<td>£1259</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: NLS, Adv. MS 29.2.7, f. 117-r-v. ¹

Note

1. The rental on which these figures are based is undated but was probably produced between 1540 and 1560. It refers to two bursaries of “Masters Mair and Manderston” which are known to have been founded in 1540, suggesting it was created after this date. However, there is no indication in the rental of the alterations wrought by the Reformation, implying that it either pre-dated, or was roughly contemporaneous with, the religious changes.
### I. Annual Revenues of St Leonard’s College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Foundation of College</td>
<td>£68</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 2c. 12b. Barley: 13c. 9b. Oatmeal: 8c. 8b.</td>
<td>£132</td>
<td>£473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplainries and Alterages</td>
<td>At least £12¹</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>At least £12</td>
<td>At least £12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£81</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 2c. 12b. Barley: 13c. 9b. Oatmeal: 8c. 8 b</td>
<td>£144</td>
<td>£485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Note**

¹ This figure is based on a pre-Reformation rental of the altar of St John the Evangelist and St Mary Magdalene. There are known to have been other chaplainries attached to St Leonard’s College but these lack extant rentals. It is therefore almost certain that the total amount of money the chaplainries of St Leonard’s College received was in fact more than £12 2s 0d.

### J. Annual Revenues of St Mary’s College

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Money from St Andrews</th>
<th>Victual from St Andrews</th>
<th>Total Victual</th>
<th>Total Money</th>
<th>Total Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Foundation of College</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 3c. 8b. Barley: 6c. 0b. Oats: 5c. 10b.</td>
<td>£551</td>
<td>£766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplainries and Alterages</td>
<td>£35</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£35</td>
<td>£35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>£35¹</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Wheat: 3c. 8b. Barley: 6c. 0b. Oats: 5c. 10b.</td>
<td>£587</td>
<td>£802</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BoA, pp. 64-65.

**Note**

¹ This total is based on the revenues of the St Andrews chaplainries pertaining to St Mary’s College. It is likely (but not certain) that majority of the income of these foundations was derived from annual rents uplifted from tenements in St Andrews.
TABLE 4: Annual Income of Archbishopric of St Andrews, 1539-1546

A. Money

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>£648</td>
<td>£631</td>
<td>£472</td>
<td>£1,059</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£167</td>
<td>£570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermes and annual rents</td>
<td>£1,406</td>
<td>£1,416</td>
<td>£1,440</td>
<td>£1,453</td>
<td>£797</td>
<td>£1,693</td>
<td>£1,784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teinds</td>
<td>£173</td>
<td>£175</td>
<td>£175</td>
<td>£175</td>
<td>£102</td>
<td>£175</td>
<td>£258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great customs of St Andrews</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>£50</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£100</td>
<td>£67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits from Deans of Christianity</td>
<td>£1,222</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>£860</td>
<td>£766</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free-will subsidy</td>
<td>£2,671</td>
<td>£40</td>
<td>£20</td>
<td>£166</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grassums and similar fees</td>
<td>£911</td>
<td>£522</td>
<td>£165</td>
<td>£36</td>
<td>£151</td>
<td>£3</td>
<td>£16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation of testaments</td>
<td>£563</td>
<td>£458</td>
<td>£448</td>
<td>£1,195</td>
<td>£164</td>
<td>£727</td>
<td>£540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>£74</td>
<td>£6</td>
<td>£4,372</td>
<td>£2,224</td>
<td>£2,840</td>
<td>£999</td>
<td>£559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding arrears)</td>
<td>£7,073</td>
<td>£2,869</td>
<td>£7,531</td>
<td>£6,068</td>
<td>£4,052</td>
<td>£4,269</td>
<td>£3,226</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Rentale*, pp. 88-212.

**Note**

All sums of money have been rounded down to the nearest pound.

B. Victual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Victual</th>
<th>Crop of 1538</th>
<th>Crop of 1539</th>
<th>Crop of 1540</th>
<th>Crop of 1541</th>
<th>Crop of 1542</th>
<th>Crops of 1543 and 1544</th>
<th>Crop of 1545</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>43c. 2b.</td>
<td>43c. 2b.</td>
<td>43c. 2b.</td>
<td>43c. 2b.</td>
<td>47c. 9b.</td>
<td>86c. 4b.</td>
<td>43c. 2b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>58c. 11b.</td>
<td>60c. 5b.</td>
<td>62c. 10b.</td>
<td>58c. 11b.</td>
<td>58c. 11b.</td>
<td>117c. 7b.</td>
<td>58c. 12b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>115c. 2b.</td>
<td>115c. 2b.</td>
<td>115c. 2b.</td>
<td>115c. 2b.</td>
<td>115c. 2b.</td>
<td>230c. 8b.</td>
<td>115c. 4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meal</td>
<td>9c. 1b.</td>
<td>12b.</td>
<td>12b.</td>
<td>12b.</td>
<td>12b.</td>
<td>1c. 8b.</td>
<td>12b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>4b.</td>
<td>4b.</td>
<td>4b.</td>
<td>4b.</td>
<td>4b.</td>
<td>6b.</td>
<td>4b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding arrears)</td>
<td>226c. 4b.</td>
<td>219c. 9b.</td>
<td>221c. 14b.</td>
<td>217c. 15b.</td>
<td>222c. 6b.</td>
<td>436c. 1b.</td>
<td>218c. 2b.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Value in money   | £2,778       | £2,694       | £2,723       | £2,669       | £2,750       | £5,347                 | £2,674       |

Source: *Rentale*, pp. 77-225.

**Notes**

All quantities have been rounded down to the nearest boll.

Peas have been omitted from calculations of monetary value of victual.
TABLE 5: Income of St Leonard’s College, 1558-1560

A. *Money*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Revenue</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1558</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1559</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1560</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrears</td>
<td>£58</td>
<td>£9</td>
<td>£27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermes</td>
<td>£88</td>
<td>£58</td>
<td>£86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual rents</td>
<td>£44</td>
<td>£44</td>
<td>£44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canes</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>£1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money from table-companions [i.e. fees from members of college]</td>
<td>£497</td>
<td>£313</td>
<td>£165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casualties</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>£4</td>
<td>£4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of victual</td>
<td>£44</td>
<td>£27</td>
<td>£63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding arrears)</td>
<td>£680d</td>
<td>£449</td>
<td>£365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Note**

All sums of money have been rounded down to the nearest pound.

B. *Victual*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Victual</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1558</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1559</th>
<th>Account submitted October 1560</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>5c. 2b.</td>
<td>1c. 4b.</td>
<td>2c. 12b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meal</td>
<td>8c. 8b.</td>
<td>8c. 8b.</td>
<td>8c. 8b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (excluding arrears)</td>
<td>28c. 5b.</td>
<td>23c. 7b.</td>
<td>24c. 15b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value in money</td>
<td>£340</td>
<td>£262</td>
<td>£288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Note**

All quantities have been rounded down to the nearest boll.
TABLE 6: Gifts of Alms to the St Andrews Grey Friars, 1500-1559

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Donor</th>
<th>Donation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 1504</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>£2 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1504</td>
<td>King James IV (on behalf of the Archdeacon of St Andrews)</td>
<td>£3 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1504</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>£2 2s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1506</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>14s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 March 1506</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>14s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 March 1506</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>£2 2s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1508</td>
<td>King James IV</td>
<td>14s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 3 September 1538</td>
<td>King James V</td>
<td>2 bolls wheat, 2 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 30 August 1539</td>
<td>King James V</td>
<td>2 bolls wheat, 2 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1 Oct 1539</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 1 chalder barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 8 January 1540</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 1 chalder barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 14 May 1540</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£15 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 14 May 1540</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£4 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 25 August 1540</td>
<td>King James V</td>
<td>2 bolls wheat, 2 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 14 February 1541</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>1 boll wheat, 2 bolls and 2 pecks barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 11 April 1541</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£4 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 23 August 1541</td>
<td>King James V</td>
<td>2 bolls wheat, 2 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 8 March 1542</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 1 chalder barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 11 March 1542</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£3 6s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 14 July 1542</td>
<td>King James V</td>
<td>2 bolls wheat, 2 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 6 December 1542</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 1 chalder barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 28 May 1543</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 4 chalders barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 28 May 1543</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>Half an ox (value £1 4s 0d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 12 November 1543</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£7 10s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 31 August 1545</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£22 10s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 31 August 1545</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>1 chalder wheat, 2 chalders barley, 7 bolls oatmeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 8 April 1546</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>£15 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 29 May 1546</td>
<td>Cardinal David Beaton</td>
<td>8 bolls wheat, 1 chalder and 6 bolls barley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 December 1546</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£13 4s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 December 1546</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£12 14s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1548</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£20 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1549</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£5 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1551</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£20 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1553</td>
<td>Lord Governor</td>
<td>£20 0s 0d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Money: £173 10s 0d  
Total Wheat: 4 c. 11 b.  
Total Barley: 12 c. 2 b. 1 p.  
Other: Oatmeal 7 b.; ½ ox

### TABLE 7: Gifts to the Altar of St Tobert, Holy Trinity Church, recorded in the St Andrews Baxters’ Guild Minute Book, 1549 - 1559

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total amount of money given</th>
<th>Total amount of wax given</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1549</td>
<td>13s 4d</td>
<td>2 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>£1 13s 4d</td>
<td>5 lb 2 oz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>5s 0d</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>£1 0s 0d</td>
<td>3 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554</td>
<td>6s 8d</td>
<td>1 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>£3 0s 0d</td>
<td>9 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>13s 4d</td>
<td>2 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>£1 8s 4d</td>
<td>3 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>£2 12s 4d</td>
<td>4 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>6s 8d</td>
<td>1 lb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£11 19s 0d</strong></td>
<td><strong>30 lb 2 oz</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: StAUL, msDA890.S1B2, vol.1, ff. 3r-12v.

### TABLE 8: Major donations of lands and rents to St Andrews religious foundations, 1500-1559

#### A. Number of grants made per decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>No. of donations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1500-1509</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1510-1519</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1520-1529</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530-1539</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540-1549</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1559</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: StAUL, B65/23; StAUL, UYSL110; StAUL, UYSM110; StAUL, UYSS110; StAUL, UYSS150/1; StAUL, UYSS150/2; StAUL, UUY150/1.

#### B. Number of grants per religious foundation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>No. of donations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity Church</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Salvator’s College</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Leonard’s College</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cathedral Priory</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mary’s College</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Friary</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Institutions</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: StAUL, B65/23; StAUL, UYSL110; StAUL, UYSM110; StAUL, UYSS110; StAUL, UYSS150/1; StAUL, UYSS150/2; StAUL, UUY150/1.
TABLE 9: Number of feu-charters granted by St Andrews religious foundations, 1520-1579

A. Number of feu-charters per decade

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>No. of extant feu-charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1520-1529</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530-1539</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540-1549</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1559</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560-1569</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1579</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>684</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *LC*; *RMS*, vols. 3-5; *NLS*, Adv.MS.17.1.3; *NRS*, E14/1; *NRS*, E14/2; *StAUL*, B65/23; *StAUL*, UYSL110; *StAUL*, UYSL155; *StAUL*, UYSS110; *StAUL*, UYSS150/2.

B. Number of feu-charters per decade excluding those regarding Priory Acres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>No. of extant feu-charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1520-1529</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1530-1539</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1540-1549</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1550-1559</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560-1569</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1570-1579</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>505</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: *LC*; *RMS*, vols. 3-5; *NLS*, Adv.MS.17.1.3; *NRS*, E14/1; *NRS*, E14/2; *StAUL*, B65/23; *StAUL*, UYSL110; *StAUL*, UYSL155; *StAUL*, UYSS110; *StAUL*, UYSS150/2.
C. Number of feu-charters per year, 1550-1569

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of extant feu-charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1562</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1563</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1564</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1566</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1569</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: LC; RMS, vols. 3-5; NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3; NRS, E14/1; NRS, E14/2; StAUL, B65/23; StAUL, UYSL110; StAUL, UYSL155; StAUL, UYSS110; StAUL, UYSS150/2.
### Number of feu-charters per year excluding those regarding Priory Acres, 1550-1569

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of extant feu-charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1550</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1554</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1560</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1562</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1563</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1564</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1565</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1566</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1567</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1568</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1569</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>368</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sources: LC; RMS, vols. 3-5; NLS, Adv.MS.17.1.3; NRS, E14/1; NRS, E14/2; StAUL, B65/23; StAUL, UYSL110; StAUL, UYSL155; StAUL, UYSS110; StAUL, UYSS150/2.*
Appendix 3 – Overview of St Andrews Church Estates

The majority of properties in St Andrews were either owned by the church, or paid dues to ecclesiastical organizations.¹ Most of the religious institutions and clerics with land in St Andrews were based in the city. However a few high-ranking clerics from outside St Andrews, such as the Bishop of Moray, and the abbots of Scone, Dunfermline and Lindores, held property within the town.² Unfortunately the evidence regarding land owners who were not from St Andrews is limited. This overview therefore focuses on religious land-owners who were based in St Andrews, considering their pre-Reformation holdings within the burgh, and placing the St Andrews properties in the context of their wider estates.

Archbishopric of St Andrews

The archbishop’s estates were traditionally divided into “temporal” and “spiritual” properties, or in other words, lands which were devoted to secular uses, and lands and dues which were directly related to the church’s religious function.³ The archbishop of St Andrews possessed extensive temporal and spiritual properties across Fife and Angus reflecting his dual role as both a religious leader and a major player in the regional economy.⁴

¹ For instance, it is apparent from the post-Reformation rental of the parish church that prior to the religious changes the choir of Holy Trinity alone were collecting rents from over 116 properties within St Andrews. StAUL, B65/23/355. Rankin, Holy Trinity, p. 101.
² StAUL, B65/23/140. StAUL, B65/23/118. StAUL, UYSS110/R/20, StAUL, UYSL110/PW/69.
³ The lordship of an estate, customs duties and burgh fermes were all classified as temporal properties, whilst teinds, and the rents of vicarages and churches were classed as spiritual income. BA, pp. 2-3.
⁴ According to the assessment of 1561/2 the archbishopric received £361 5s 5d from the temporal lordship of Angus. BA, p. 2.
The bishopric of St Andrews formerly held the whole of the St Andrews peninsula and its hinterland, in addition to properties spread throughout Eastern Scotland from Aberdeenshire down to the border with England.\textsuperscript{5} During the Middle Ages the generosity of the bishops towards the Augustinian priory, and latterly the new university, reduced episcopal holdings, especially in the area immediately surrounding St Andrews. Despite such depredations, at the start of the sixteenth century the archbishop’s estates were still considerable, and brought in large amounts of cash and produce. In 1540 the total income of the archbishopric was £7073 in money, whilst in addition Cardinal Beaton’s granitar collected more than 43 chalders of wheat, 60 chalders of barley, and 115 chalders of oats.\textsuperscript{6} At this date rents and fermes from secular properties accounted for £1,406 of the archbishopric’s income.\textsuperscript{7}

The monetary income from the archbishop’s St Andrews property was relatively small: in 1539 the burgh fermes amounted to only £8 Scots.\textsuperscript{8} However this figure does not reflect the extent of the archbishop’s land within the burgh of St Andrews. For instance, the bishop’s main residence, the castle, occupied a substantial portion of the town, but was not leased out, and was a financial drain rather than a source of revenue.\textsuperscript{9} The burgh of St Andrews was, therefore, not the source of archbishop’s wealth, but rather the beneficiary.

\textsuperscript{6} Rentale, p. 91, pp. 98-99.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., pp. 88-89.
\textsuperscript{8} This figure appears to have been fixed. The Books of Assumption record the same figure over twenty years later. Although the fermes from St Andrews itself were quite a small sum, larger amounts were derived from estates in the immediate vicinity of St Andrews. For example, the lordship of Dairsie brought in £84 16d. Hannay, Rentale, p. 89. BA, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{9} At the Reformation it was recorded that a long list of properties were “Not charged with capons and poultry and gifts of augmentations because they were not accustomed to be sold or set for money but reckoned towards the upkeep of the castle of St Andrews annually”. BA, p. 3.
Archdeaconry of St Andrews

The precise location of the archdeacon’s estates is difficult to assess as the relevant entry in the Books of the Assumption of Thirds of Benefices is incomplete. The Books of Assumption state that “the haill archdeanrie” was “set to Mr Richard Schoriswood...for yeirlie payment of the sowme of £600”, and mentions two parish churches in Angus and the Mearns and “temporall landis within Fyffe, Scatirrun [Strathtyrum] and Wilkiesstone” but gives no assessment of the value of these properties. The land at Strathtyrum (just outside the burgh of St Andrews), had been granted to the archdeacon by the priory in 1212 in exchange for other estates within the Boar’s Raik. In April 1550 the Archdeacon of St Andrews feued the lands of Strathtyrum (with house and orchard) and Cukis Crofts beside the city of St Andrews to Alexander Inglis.

The archdeacon also had a large house within St Andrews at the far end of South Street on the site of the building now known as Dean’s Court. There is some evidence that the yard at Dean’s Court was expanded during the fifteenth-century. In 1523 Thomas Muirton, then archdeacon, granted the chaplains of Holy Trinity a rent of twenty shillings from a tenement on South Street to fund two trentals at Holy Trinity Church. However, it would appear from the charter that the property was specially purchased to fund this gift. Although possessed of a significant residence in St Andrews, the

10 BA, pp. 66-67.
11 Ibid., p. 66.
12 Thomson, Liber Cartarum, pp. 315-316.
13 NRS, GD241/206.
14 D. Hay Fleming stated that Dean’s Court was once called the “Archdeacon’s Inns”. David Hay Fleming, Hand-book to St Andrews and Neighbourhood (St Andrews, 1894), p. 57.
15 StAUL, UYSL110/PW/25.
16 StAUL, B65/23/229.
archdeacons do not appear to have had a large number of tenements or other lands within the burgh.\textsuperscript{17} Certainly their estates did not compare to the property of the Cathedral Priory.

\textit{St Andrews Cathedral Priory}

St Andrews Cathedral Priory was one of the largest and richest monasteries in early modern Scotland.\textsuperscript{18} It had enjoyed centuries of generosity from lay and religious leaders.\textsuperscript{19} The Augustinian canons of the priory were not merely members of a major religious house; they also formed the Cathedral chapter.\textsuperscript{20} There does not, however, appear to have been a distinction made between the lands of the Cathedral and the lands of the religious house: both were administered as the estates of the Priory of St Andrews. In addition, St Andrews Priory had two dependent houses, Portmoak and Pittenweem.\textsuperscript{21} Although the priors of these cells were typically canons of St Andrews, the lands of Portmoak and Pittenweem were frequently treated differently from the main estates of the Cathedral Priory.\textsuperscript{22}

The priory held land and rights in Lothian, Perthshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, and Fife, with the focus of the monastery’s estates lying in the area immediately surrounding St

\textsuperscript{17} The archdeacon is in 1506 described as the superior of a tenement on South Street, whilst a charter from 1519 records that the tenants of a tenement beside the “Greit Innis” must pay the archdeacon 30 pence per annum. The archdeacons, however, are referred to far more infrequently in relation to St Andrews tenements than the chaplainries of Holy Trinity, the Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard, or the Cathedral Priory. StAUL, B6S/23184. StAUL, UYSM110/B12/20.

\textsuperscript{18} Mark Dilworth, \textit{Scottish Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages} (Edinburgh, 1995), p.42.

\textsuperscript{19} Thomson, \textit{Liber Cartarum}, passim.

\textsuperscript{20} John Dowden, \textit{The Medieval Church in Scotland} (Glasgow, 1910), p.59.

\textsuperscript{21} Mark Dilworth, ‘The Dependent Priories of St Andrews’, in David Mc Roberts (ed.), \textit{The Medieval Church of St Andrews} (Glasgow, 1976), pp.157-166.

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Ibid.} p. 160.
The burgh of St Andrews was encircled by priory properties. Northbank, Claremont, Denork, Balgove, Denbrae, Balone, Drumcarrow, Cassindonald, Priorletham, Grange, Balrymonth, and Stravithie all belonged to the Priory. The fields immediately adjacent to the city (known for centuries after as Priory Acres) also belonged to the Augustinian religious house. These included: the Warren, New Grange, Langlands, Easter and Wester Sandyhill, Nether and Over Balbeildie, the Roundel, Greig's Tofts, Over and Nether Schoolbraids, Eighteen Acres, the Horsleys, Easter and Wester Broomfauld, Cairnsbank, Sandilands, Stonyflat, Hungryhill, Balloneyard, Hallow Hill, the head of Bassaguard, Corsflett, Auld Ballone, Wester Rufflet, Middle Shed, Boughscrook, North Muir and Garrowflats.

Within the burgh of St Andrews the priory’s property was extensive. The Cathedral Priory and its enclosure covered most of the eastern end of the burgh and included the city’s mills (which were owned by the monastery). In addition the priory held several plots within and beside the town. For example the priory had crofts in the suburb known as Argyle immediately outside the Westport, and tenements on South Street, Abbey Street and Fisher Street (now North Castle Street). The Cathedral collected rents from at least 117 different properties within and immediately adjacent to the burgh of St Andrews. For example, the priory held extensive property in Linlithgow and Haddington (Lothian), lands in the burgh of Perth, Dow in Atholl, and the Carse of Gowrie (Perthshire), lands and rights in and surrounding Dundee, (Angus), the kirk of Migvie and Tarland, and a tenement in Aberdeen (Aberdeenshire). BA, pp. 8-12.

An agreement of 1555 between the priory and Patrick Learmonth, provost of St Andrews, describes them as “acris of arable land lyand besyde the said cite in divers placis and scheddis”. StAUL, B65/23/323, StAUL, B65/23/245, StAUL, B65/23/289.

StAUL, B65/23/373.


StAUL, B65/23/38, StAUL, UYSL110/B/4, StAUL, UYSS110/W/10, StAUL, SL110/6/21, SL110/8/117.
Andrews. The cathedral chapter’s role as rector of Holy Trinity Church meant that technically the estates of Holy Trinity also pertained to the priory, but in practice they were administered separately.

The scale of the priory’s site, clearly defined by Prior Hepburn’s high walls and impressive gateways, demonstrated the Augustinian house’s dominance of the burgh. Priory estates surrounded the city (including the fields that many St Andrews citizens leased), whilst within the town the priory held a number of tenements. Although the Cathedral Priory’s land in St Andrews formed a small proportion of its overall estates, the monastery was one of the burgh’s major landholders.

**St Mary’s Kirk Hill**

The collegiate church of St Mary’s Kirk Hill was just to the north of the Cathedral, beside the sea. It had a varied history and for much of the later Middle Ages was a chapel royal. In the early sixteenth century St Mary’s formed a community of at least five (and possibly as many as eleven secular clerks), headed as was conventional for collegiate churches by a provost.

St Mary’s estates were mainly in Fife. The majority of these properties were at a slight remove from St Andrews, (for example the Church of St Mary had lands in Ceres); this

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29 StAUL, UYSL110/C/2.
30 StAUL, B65/23/240.
33 Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 184. It should be noted that only 5 prebends are recorded at the Reformation. BA, p. 55. StAUL, B65/23/360, StAUL, B65/23/361.
perhaps reflects the Cathedral Priory’s near monopoly on the lands encircling St Andrews. The College of St Mary Kirk Hill had some property in the burgh: the Books of Assumption record £3 8s of annual rents from lands “within the toun of St Andrews”. Unfortunately the records for St Mary’s are extremely patchy and, with the exception of one rent of 12 shillings from a property on Rattonrow (now South Castle Street), and an isolated reference to a tenement towards the “narrow” end of Market Street, it has not been possible to relate this figure to known tenements or crofts.

**Dominican Friary and the Hospital of St Nicholas**

The Dominican Friary on South Street, St Andrews, was founded during the fifteenth century. It expanded and increased in importance during the early sixteenth century. In the early 1500s the friary’s church was significantly extended, and the domestic buildings also appear to have been improved. This development was probably funded both by the St Andrews’ friars’ acquisition of the property of other Dominican houses and by a series of gifts from members of the laity, including James V.

The friary’s estates were located in Fife and Perthshire, with a particular concentration around St Monans and Cupar (a result of Pope Leo X suppressing the friaries in those burghs and transferring the lands to the St Andrews Dominicans). In 1529 the St

34 BA, p. 55.
36 StAUL, B65/23/101, StAUL, B65/23/82.
38 StAUL, B65/23/253, StAUL, B65/23/303.
40 Amongst other properties the friary held lands in Fildes and Keillour (Perthshire), StAUL, B65/23/207, StAUL, B65/23/246. Within Fife the St Andrews Dominicans has property in Kingsbarns and Rathillet,
Andrews friary also took on the running of the Hospital of Nicholas, on the outskirts of St Andrews. The hospital was one of the oldest in Scotland, probably being founded in 1178 in order to care for lepers. By the sixteenth century it had become a home for the poor and sick generally. With the acquisition of the hospital the Dominicans also took over the St Nicholas estates, which were feued to James Learmonth of Dairsie for £25 7s 10d. Twenty pounds of this was taken by the St Andrews friary and the remainder was allocated to the running of the hospital.

The Dominicans held a number of tenements in St Andrews. They had properties on Argyll Street, Baxter Wynd, and Market Street, as well as rights to numerous plots on South Street (including a yard, barn and threshing floor). The Friary also had a few acres of arable land immediately adjacent to the town, just by the end of Market Street. Overall the St Andrews Dominicans’ estates were not extensive. The Dominican friary was, however, a significant land-owner actually within the burgh of St Andrews. To St Andrews residents, therefore, the Dominicans’ wealth may have appeared greater than it was in reality.

as well as considerable holdings in Cupar, St Andrews and St Monans. The decision to suppress the Dominican friaries in Cupar and St Monans was justified on the grounds that “the house of St Monans was in a very poor fishing town while the house of Cupar is situated in a town almost dilapidated”. In contrast St Andrews is regarded as a university town and a fit place “render service night and day to God and the saints and study sacred theology”, According to the Books of Assumption the rents of properties in St Monans amounted to £20 per annum, a considerable sum given the size of the burgh. BA, p. 89. 41 See StAUL, B65/23/356, inventory of charters of Blackfriars.
44 StAUL, B65/23/356.
45 StAUL, B65/23/356.
46 StAUL, B65/23/32, StAUL, B65/23/34, StAUL, B65/23/46, StAUL, B65/23/65, StAUL, B65/23/81, StAUL, B65/23/253, B65/23/260
47 StAUL, B65/23/237.
**Franciscan Friary**

The Friary of the Observant Franciscans lay between North Street and Market Street towards the western end of the burgh.⁴⁸ According to the 1559 instrument of sasine whereby the site of the friary was transferred to the burgh council the convent and its bounds covered six roods (one and half acres).⁴⁹ The St Andrews Franciscans’ holdings are difficult to assess as the friary’s records have been lost. However it seems probable that aside from the site of their monastery the Franciscans held little property within the burgh.⁵⁰ There survives only one pre-Reformation reference to the St Andrews Franciscans holding secular property within the city. A charter from August 1495 records that John Rind, factor of the Friars Minor of Observance, exchanged with the chaplains of Holy Trinity Church rights to a tenement on the south side of Market Street for a tenement on the north side of the street.⁵¹ The limited property of the St Andrews Franciscans probably reflects their order’s commitment to institutional (as well as personal) poverty.

**The University**

There had been lands dedicated to the support of poor scholars in St Andrews long before the University was founded in 1410.⁵² The University acquired its first buildings

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⁴⁸ See NLS MS.20996. A charter from 1533 when describing the location of a croft states that it lies on the north side of Market Street and is bounded by the crofts of George Allanson and the heirs of John Martin to the west, the place of the friars minors to the east, and by the king’s highway to the north and south. StAUL, B65/23/269.
⁴⁹ StAUL, B65/23/339.
⁵⁰ An early seventeenth-century charter by Archbishop Gladstone refers to the lands, houses and yards formerly belonging to the Black and Grey Friars within St Andrews. However it is probable that the properties referred to are chiefly those which belonged to the Dominicans. StAUL, B65/23/402.
⁵¹ StAUL, B65/23/136, StAUL, B65/23/137.
for teaching, the chapel and college of St John the Evangelist on South Street, in 1419.\textsuperscript{53}

In the 1430s this site was developed into the pedagogy for the Faculty of Arts.\textsuperscript{54} By the early sixteenth century St Andrews University was an important landowner both within the burgh and in eastern Scotland more generally.\textsuperscript{55} During the 1500s the University substantially expanded its estates through donations from both laymen and churchmen.\textsuperscript{56} Increasingly, though, the University’s estates were administered (and usually acquired) by the individual colleges rather than by the rector or faculties.\textsuperscript{57}

\textit{St Salvator’s College}

St Salvator’s was the richest of the university colleges.\textsuperscript{58} It was established in 1450 by Bishop James Kennedy.\textsuperscript{59} Large donations were made to the college at this time, many of which concerned lands and benefices in Fife. For instance, the foundation charter records that Bishop Kennedy granted St Salvator’s College the rectorship of the parishes of Cults, Kemback, Dunino and Kilmany.\textsuperscript{60} Meanwhile the site of the College on North Street in St Andrews was granted by King James II.\textsuperscript{61} Over the following century St Salvator’s College continued to amass considerable teinds, lands and rents.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item \textsuperscript{53} Annie Dunlop, (ed.), \textit{Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588} (Edinburgh, 1964), p. xviii.
\item \textsuperscript{54} James Maitland Anderson (ed.), \textit{Early Records of the University of St Andrews} (Edinburgh, 1926), p. xxii.
\item \textsuperscript{55} See StAUL, UYUY100-199.
\item \textsuperscript{56} In particular the foundation of St Leonard’s College and St Mary’s College substantially increased the university’s property. StAUL, UYSL110/A/1. StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2.
\item \textsuperscript{57} For instance the creation of the College of St Mary on the site of St John’s Pedagogy saw considerable property being diverted from the Faculty of Arts to the new college. StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/2.
\item \textsuperscript{58} John Mair remarked that “no one has yet made any magnificent gift [to St Andrews University], except James Kennedy, who founded one college, small indeed, but fair to look at and of good endowment.” Aeneas Mackay (ed.), \textit{A History of Greater Britain As Well England as Scotland Compiled from the Ancient Authorities by John Major, by name indeed a Scot, but by profession a Theologian} (Edinburgh, 1892), p. 28. Whilst Mair is undoubtedly correct in stating that St Salvator’s College was comparatively well endowed, contrary to Mair’s claims the other colleges did receive major donations. See the series, StAUL, UYSL110 and StAUL, UYSM110.
\item \textsuperscript{59} StAUL, UYSS110/A/2.
\item \textsuperscript{60} All of which are in Fife. StAUL, UYSS110/A/2.
\item \textsuperscript{61} StAUL, UYSS110/A/1.
\end{thebibliography}
The majority of these properties were acquired through donations from both successive bishops of St Andrews, and from notable laymen. However, the College also purchased properties. In 1519, for example, the canons of St Salvator’s College bought lands in Cairnie (Perthshire) and Dunlappie (Angus) from the Earl of Rothes.

By the mid sixteenth century the college’s property included estates in Aberdeenshire, Angus, Fife, Perthshire and Midlothian. In particular it held extensive property within St Andrews. Amongst other plots of land St Salvator’s College had tenements on Buckler Wynd (now College Wynd), Castle Street, North Street, South Street, Market Street and Ratton Row (now South Castle Street). The tower and chapel of St Salvator’s tower loomed over North Gate, dominating a substantial portion of the street. Its extensive ownership of buildings and crofts in St Andrews meant that St Salvator’s formed a noticeable presence within the burgh.

**St Leonard’s College**

St Leonard’s College was on the site (and appears to have occupied the buildings) of the old St Leonard’s Hospital, which provided succour to pilgrims visiting St Andrews. It had been used by the University for nearly a century before it was officially established.

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62 Bishop Kennedy made a series of further grants and bequests: StAUL, UYSS110/B/5. William Scheves, Archbishop of St Andrews was another significant donor: StAUL, UYSS110/E/1, StAUL, UYSS150/2, f. 6r. Lay donors included local lairds such as Andrew Balfour, Laird of Mountquhanie, David Dunbar, Laird of Auchtermoonzie or Sir John Oliphant of Kellie: StAUL, UYSS110/D/4, StAUL, UYSS110/M/2, StAUL, UYSS150/1 f12v.

63 StAUL, UYSS110/E/4.1

64 See the St Salvator’s College Cartularies, StAUL, UYSS150/1, StAUL, UYSS150/2.

65 StAUL, UYSS110/S/1, StAUL, UYSS150/2 f71r-73v; StAUL, UYSS110/T/6, StAUL, UYSS110/T/4, StAUL, UYSS110/Q/1.

as a college in 1512. The college inherited a large proportion of the estates of the hospital and, like the hospital, had close ties with the Cathedral Priory (the principal was one of the Cathedral canons and from 1545 the priory theoretically had ultimate authority over St Leonard’s). In addition, the College chapel served as the church for the parish of St Leonard which encompassed much of the land surrounding the burgh of St Andrews.

In the fifty years preceding the Reformation St Leonard’s College further expanded its estates. Although St Leonard’s was much less wealthy than St Salvator’s, by 1560 the college had acquired a significant collection of lands and rights across Fife and Lothian. The College had a large number of tenements within St Andrews. Many of these had been granted specifically to the college, but several were given to fund chaplainries within the Church of St Leonard, foundations which in some case predated the establishment of the College. For example, the altars of St John the Evangelist and St Mary Magdalene were founded in the fifteenth century and in the early 1500s collected rents from at least nineteen St Andrews properties.

67 Dunlop, Acta Facultatis, p. xviii.
68 StAUL, UYSL110/A/1, StAUL, UYSL110/A/6, StAUL, UYSL110/A/7, StAUL, UYSL110/A/9.
70 StAUL, UYSL110/A/7, StAUL, UYSL110/A/8, StAUL, UYSL110/A/25.
71 As well as lands relatively close to St Andrews the colleges had property in Haddington and Leith, StAUL, UYSL110/A/1, StAUL, UYSL110/A/7, StAUL, UYSL110/A/8, StAUL, UYSL110/A/25, StAUL, UYSL110/B/8.
72 For example a donation made by Peter Sandilands in 1536 granted the college rights to rents from seventeen tenements and one croft within St Andrews, StAUL, UYSL110/A/25.
73 StAUL, UYSL110/B/2, StAUL, UYSL110/B/3, StAUL, UYSL110/B/4.
St John’s Pedagogy and St Mary’s College

In 1538 Archbishop James Beaton founded the College of St Mary on South Street. It occupied the site of the pedagogy of the Faculty of Arts (established in the fifteenth century). The foundation charter specified that the new college would possess a chapel, and granted the organisation the parish of Tannadice (in Angus) and Tyninghame (in East Lothian). During the succeeding twenty years the New College (as it was usually referred to at this date) received a large number of donations, mainly from the archbishops of St Andrews. In particular St Mary’s became central to Cardinal Beaton and Archbishop Hamilton’s attempts to combat heresy, and many of Hamilton’s gifts were made with this avowed aim.

The college’s lands were mainly in Fife and Angus, although it did possess property in Tyninghame (East Lothian). Interestingly, the estates in Fife were not particularly
focused around St Andrews.\textsuperscript{80} This perhaps reflects the domination of lands in the immediate vicinity of the burgh that older religious foundations had achieved - by the time St Mary’s College was founded in the 1530s other St Andrews organizations already held virtually all the lands near the city. The College had some property actually within the burgh itself, including perhaps a stable and inn on South Street (this had belonged to St John’s Pedagogy).\textsuperscript{81} During the 1540s and 1550s St Mary’s acquired a number of tenements in St Andrews.\textsuperscript{82} However, instead of being a source of income, many of these were bought to expand the College grounds and to ensure that the boundaries were arranged in a more “utilius” fashion.\textsuperscript{83}

**Holy Trinity Church**

The religious organization which collected rents from the most tenements in St Andrews was the burgh church of Holy Trinity.\textsuperscript{84} This served as the parish church for the majority of the laity in St Andrews and had close connections with burgh’s secular authorities.\textsuperscript{85} The Provost and bailies were heavily involved in the administration of Holy Trinity, whilst trade guilds had altars within the church.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{80} For example the College had lands at Muircambus near Leven (StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/2 – the original document is missing but a Victorian transcript survives), Inverry, now known as St Monans, (StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P2/4) and Tarvit on the far side of Cupar (StAUL, UYSM110/B1/P1/14).

\textsuperscript{81} StAUL, UYSM110/B12/21.


\textsuperscript{84} See rental in the Black Book, StAUL, B65/1, folios 39-50.

\textsuperscript{85} For instance in 1495 the provost and community of St Andrews agreed to maintain the choir of Holy Trinity “in wallis tymmyr that durris windowis in bukis chalis westimensis ande in all and sindry wthir ornamentis chargis ande dewities”, StAUL, B65/23/134.

\textsuperscript{86} The provost and bailies of the St Andrews were patrons of Holy Trinity’s richest altar, the Holy Rood, before the administration of this altar’s property was passed to the choir in 1527, StAUL, B65/23/242. Charter is given in full in Rankin, *Holy Trinity*, pp.133-135. The Baxters were patrons of, and made regular donations to, the altar of St Tobert, see volume 1 of the St Andrews Baxters’ Book, StAUL, ms DA890.S1B2. There has been an abridged edition of the baxters’ book published but it omits the majority of the donations made to the church that the manuscript records. J.H. Macadam, ed., *The Baxter Books of St Andrews* (Leith, 1903).
Holy Trinity Church had originally been located within the Cathedral precincts. In the early fifteenth century the church moved to a site on South Street, but the rectorship still lay with the Augustinian priory. Although theoretically under the control of the Cathedral Priory, Holy Trinity was essentially a collegiate church (it had a community of secular clerks, known as the choir, who governed the church and celebrated daily masses). Before the Reformation there were a large number of chaplainries established within the parish church for the celebration of anniversary masses. It is likely that a community of over thirty clerics served this one church. These men were substantially maintained by the rents from land within St Andrews.

The clerics of Holy Trinity possessed property on every significant street in St Andrews. They had rights pertaining to over 450 tenements and crofts within and immediately beside the burgh. The majority of St Andrews householders were therefore making annual payments towards the upkeep of the priests of the parish church. This situation arose because of the generosity of St Andrews citizens. During the century before the Reformation large numbers of clerics and laymen granted rents in perpetuity to Holy Trinity Church to finance masses for their and others’ souls. Such a system was of course cumulative, meaning that in the period immediately prior to 1559 Holy Trinity Church, at least in theory, enjoyed its greatest wealth.

87 Rankin, *Holy Trinity*, p. 17.
89 Rankin, *Holy Trinity*, pp. 4-5.
90 See StAUL, B65/1, StAUL, B65/5.
91 The names survive of 27 clerics who served the church at the Reformation. However, a large number of bequests for anniversary masses at Holy Trinity request that a trental should be celebrated with 30 priests. StAUL, B65/1, folios 39-50. StAUL, B65/23 series.
92 StAUL, B65/1, folios 39-50.
93 StAUL, B65/1, folios 39-50.
94 See StAUL, B65/23 series.
Other Religious Institutions

In addition to the major religious foundations there were several chapels in St Andrews. The degree of documentation relating to them varies substantially. Perhaps the best documented is the Chapel of St Anne which was on North Street slightly to the east of St Salvator’s College. 95 The Chapel may have had some associated properties but where they were located is uncertain.96

During the thirteenth century there was a chapel of St Peter on the road leading to the castle.97 It has been suggested that St Peter’s may have survived until the sixteenth-century, but there does not seem to be written evidence for its existence this late.98 Within the Cathedral precincts there were associated chapels and churches, most notably the church of St Rule, but there are also references to a chapel of St Mary Magdalene.99 It is unclear how these chapels were financed.

The religious institutions of St Andrews had extensive estates, both within the burgh and across Scotland. Through the sites of the religious houses they visibly dominated the town, but through their ownership of manors, crofts and tenements in St Andrews and its hinterland they also exerted considerable economic influence. The church was

95 StAUL, B65/23/328, StAUL, B65/23/352, StAUL, B65/23/206.
96 The wording of Queen Mary’s charter of 1567 implies that St Anne’s had ancillary properties. StAUL, B65/23/352.
97 Taylor, Place-Names of Fife, pp. 427-428.
the landlord of almost everyone in St Andrews. The fate of the church, and the administration of its estates, had a direct bearing on the lives of St Andrews citizens.
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